



Centre for  
Human Rights and  
Restorative Justice

# HISTORY REFERENCES

Mauritius Truth Commission

## Abstract

Notes on discussions of history, as well as a list of coding themes and references to history in the Mauritius Truth Commission.

Chelsea Barranger

## Table of Contents

Researcher Notes .....	3
Links to Data Visualization.....	6
History Coding for the Mauritius Report .....	7
History References.....	9
History Child Node References .....	137
<i>Class</i> .....	137
<i>Colonialism</i> .....	146
Caste System.....	221
Indenture .....	225
Slavery .....	232
<i>Commemoration</i> .....	258
<i>Economy</i> .....	283
<i>Education</i> .....	306
<i>Ethnicity</i> .....	321
Chagossians .....	349
Chinese .....	349
Creole .....	352
Indians .....	358
Rodriguans .....	364
<i>Invoking Others</i> .....	368
<i>Land</i> .....	372
<i>Legacy</i> .....	381
<i>Medicine and Disease</i> .....	408
<i>Nation</i> .....	412
<i>Politics</i> .....	425
<i>Professional vs Public History</i> .....	434
<i>Recommendations</i> .....	445
<i>Reconciliation</i> .....	452
<i>Social Justice</i> .....	455
<i>True or Accurate</i> .....	458
<i>Truth Commissions</i> .....	464

<i>Victims</i> .....	476
<i>Violence</i> .....	485
<i>Women</i> .....	493

## Researcher Notes

Report details:

- published in 2011
- pdf has 2887 pages
- several chapters dedicated to history
  - section is 182 pages
- according to NVivo's text search, the word history (using stems) is referenced 1273 times, representing 0.55% coverage
- after deleting references from the bibliography, notes or headers, there are **549 broad references** to history in the content of the report
- detailed discussions of the history of and legacy of colonialism in Mauritius (e.g., slavery, indenture, sugar plantations, ethnicity, etc.)

History is referenced in the report in the following ways:

- detailed discussion of the background and legacy of colonialism (e.g., slavery, indentured servitude, etc.) in Mauritius
- no literature on slavery and indentured servitude in Mauritius history
- people live in ignorance of their ancestor's past - this is an attempt to unveil the past
- need to commemorate the history of slavery better (e.g., put up monuments)
- need for reconciliation to unite and heal
- re-establish the true history
- every country who has undertaken a truth commission is different and yet the commissions share similarities (e.g., people who do not wish to face the past but want to ignore it)
- want to revise the history to reflect the events that happened
- focus of commission to get at the nation's history and the people who lived it
- commissions note that the under development and poverty in Africa direct consequence of slavery
  - "suggest that it is the West which is in debt to Africa, not Africa which is debt to the West"
- need to teach students the past
- difference between professional historians' truth and public history truth - professional history does not always reach the local communities
- history is always being written and rewritten
- collecting hundreds of community voices and ancestors' stories
- identities should not be imposed
- commission wanted to collect past documents and share them with the public
- conducted family histories to trace the historical movements of ex-slaves
- slave trade resulted in not just the loss of family but sense of self
- French and others need to share documents so Mauritians can better research their family's histories

- tribal inhabitants ignored in the historiography
- Bengali speaking immigrants not recognized in history books
- slaves and indentured servants brought their cultures and traditions with them and kept them alive
- emphasis on families keeping histories alive
- absence of women from historical discussions
- shifted to apprenticeships after slavery - became a new kind of slavery that people sought freedom from
- ex slave population faced displacement and shifted from camp to camp
- unwritten history of port workers
- youth not aware of the past suffering of the community
- state needs to apologize to the metayers
- access or discrimination surrounding education and its ramifications for various communities
- need to rethink, revisit, and repair colonial history of the country
- some people thought the commission would help them recover land or get compensation
  - informal or undocumented land exchanges mean historians and researchers cannot always trace land transmissions
  - land major factor shaping the economic and social development of the country
  - never was a large-scale redistribution of land / landowners kept power
- looking at US slavery and reparations
- Creole descendants trying to re frame history of victimization to one of resilience
- false discourse denying the history of caste system in Mauritius
- history, myths, and legend as fictions used to reinforce power
- legacy of slavery is internalized
- discussion of diseases and medical treatment
- teachers expressed frustration at amount of information they had to know and teach and the emphasis on assessment over tracking learning progress
- Rodrigues treated as separate or lower than Mauritius - inequality in education, work etc.
- no stories of slave resistance
- little history or documentation on the Chagos Islanders -oral histories were not ready in time so no voices of the Chagossians in this report
- descendants of former colonial society working towards memorialising the past
- heritage work before was focused on the system of slavery and colonial officials not the slaves and indentured servants but not the memorial process is evolving
- role of the colonial elite and their descendants in shaping museums and memorials
- museums select items to represent the nation or community and visitors only get a scattered view of the past and specific people
  - museums present history of Mauritius through the eyes of the white elites
  - want a museum that shows all components of Mauritius society
- Mauritius segmented and in need of a united national history

History and truth are discussed in the following ways:

- commission wanted to establish the true history

- need to revise written histories of the past to reflect the true events
- trying to incorporate the forgotten or silenced voices
- noting the difference between academic and public understanding of the past

\*References of history and truth appear under the highlighted coding theme/section **True or Accurate** starting on page 458

## Links to Data Visualization

This section contains links to all data visualization for the Mauritius report.

### Word Frequency Cloud

- [word frequency cloud](#)
- [excel sheet of word frequency cloud findings](#)

### Word Trees

- [history](#)
- [women](#)
- [children](#)
- [youth](#)
- [forgive](#)
- [victim](#)
- [truth](#)
- [reconciliation](#)
- [land](#)

\*NVivo software can only edit word trees by changing the central search term and branch sizes. Word trees includes references from bibliography, headers, and notes that cannot be edited out using NVivo software. Researchers will need to manually remove unsightly branches using editing software (e.g., paint, photoshop, etc.)

### History Hierarchy Coding Chart

- [history hierarchy coding chart](#)
- [excel sheet of history hierarchy coding chart results](#)

## History Coding for the Mauritius Report

The following chart breakdowns the child nodes used for coding history references based on themes and discussions surrounding history in the Mauritius report.

History	All references or discussions of history in the Mauritius report
Class	References or discussions of class
Colonialism	References or discussions to colonialism
Caste System	References or discussions of the caste system
Indenture	References or discussions of indenture and indentured servants
Slavery	References or discussions of slaves, slavery or the slave trade
Commemoration	References or discussions of commemoration, remembrance, heritage, museums, etc.
Economy	References or discussions of the economy, economics or economic systems
Education	References or discussions to education, curriculums or teaching of the past
Ethnicity	References or discussions of ethnicity, ethnic lines, ethnic divisions and racism
Chagossians	References or discussions of the island of Chagos and its inhabitants
Chinese	References or discussions of China, Chinese immigrants and their descendants
Creole	References or discussions of Creoles
Indians	References or discussions of India, Indian immigrants and their descendants
Rodriguans	References or discussions of the island of Rodrigues and its inhabitants
Invoking others	References or discussions invoking other countries and their histories for comparison
Land	References or discussions of land, land ownership, land compensation claims, etc.
Legacy	References or discussions of the legacy, impact or long-term consequences of colonialism and violence
Medicine and Disease	References or discussions of disease, medicine or treatment of the sick

Nation	References or discussions of the nation, nations, national unity or nationalism
Politics	References or discussions of politics, political parties or sitting or past governments
Professional vs Public	References or discussions of professional historian's vs public history and family vs academic histories
Recommendations	References or discussions of report recommendations that involve history
Reconciliation	References or discussions of reconciliation
Social justice	References or discussions of social justice
True or Accurate	References or discussions of true, accurate, genuine or revised history

## History References

This section contains all references to history from the Mauritius report.

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC\_.Report-FULL> - § 549 references coded [2.10% Coverage]

### Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission has, therefore, focused, in the first instance, on the continuities in history up to the present, especially, from an economic and social perspective, and then, on specific themes relating to colonialism, slave trade, slavery and indenture. We shall, therefore, elaborate on the resulting observations and findings before elaborating on the recommendations.

### Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

For long, there has been a dearth of literature on the real history of slavery in Mauritius. The history of the colony of Mauritius was first viewed as the history of the ruling class consisting of French colons and their descendants. Most of the descendants of ex-slaves live in such total ignorance of the history of their ancestors, that an attempt to unveil their history is very recent. Further, it is not easy to assess the exact number of citizens who claim ancestry of slaves of African

### Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

Even today, no monument has been erected to remind us of their contribution to history and to the development of the country.

### Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

The members shall be persons having wide experience in the field of history, anthropology, culture, economics or law and shall perform their functions independently of the control or authority of any person or body and in an impartial manner.

### Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

“The history of our country is based on a continuous quest for freedom and social justice. Our past has been marked by the forcible removal of thousands of people from the mainland of Africa, Madagascar and Asia. These are the darkest and most shameful pages of our history. The introduction of indentured labour under slavish conditions was no less shameful and evil.”

### Reference 6 - 0.02% Coverage

“This Commission will pave the way to reconciliation, social justice and national unity through the process of re-establishing the historical truth. It is the legitimate expectation of everyone to know our true history. It is only after we have been faced with this reality that we can

consolidate unity in our country. It is important therefore that we recognise our past history and lay that past to rest so that we can move on to reconciliation, justice and national unity.” In passing the Truth and Justice Commission into law, the Assembly has followed in the footsteps of a number of diverse countries around the world which have conducted Truth Commissions over the past 25 years. In total, there have been 40 such Commissions, with several more in the offing. Without fail, all stressed the importance of dealing with the past and the moral duty to assist those who had suffered through policies and actions in the past. There is no one size that fits all. Each country is unique in its history, its political systems and its culture. Nevertheless, there are striking similarities in each country’s search for Truth and Justice. There is always violence present in the histories of all of these countries, and there are always victims who have suffered from this violence. There is also always denial. There are many in each of these countries who have sought to deal with the past, as well as people who opposed it and who favoured amnesia rather than remembering. They argued that it was better to turn the page, not to disturb the past, but to move forward. Fortunately, there have also always been those who believe that it is impossible to build a democracy and a human rights culture in any country without taking seriously the past of that country. As George Santana put it, “Those who forget the past are condemned to repeat it”. Thus, it is possible to learn from the experiences of widely differing Commissions without duplicating their journey.

The Mauritian Commission is unique in its focus. Mauritius is the only country in the world to have succeeded in establishing a Truth Commission relating to Slavery and Indenture. It is the only Commission which has investigated the history and consequences of Slavery and Indenture. There are many countries in Africa, such as Liberia, Senegal, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sierra Leone, who have never addressed the grotesque acts of forcing people into slavery. Certainly, those Arab countries which, hundreds of years ago, traded in slavery have never come to terms with that evil either. It is well known that the United States of America has never ever attempted to deal concretely with the consequences of slavery in that country. This is true also of the Caribbean. Hopefully, these countries, and many others, more especially Madagascar and Mozambique, will learn from the Mauritian experience. Mauritius has indeed set an example to the world.

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

As soon as the Truth and Justice Commission Act was promulgated, Professor Robert Shell was appointed as Chairman of the Commission and four additional Commissioners were appointed: Dr. Vijayalakshmi Teelock (Vice-Chairperson), Mr. Benjamin Moutou, Dr. Paramaseeven Veerapen, Mr. Lindsay Morvan. On 8th April 2010, Mr. Morvan resigned from the Commission and the President of the Republic appointed Mr. Jacques David on 1st July 2010 to fill the vacancy. Premises were obtained in the capital, Port Louis, and a plan of action was drawn up. This included a communications policy, a website, and a brochure in four languages, English, French, Creole and Bhojpuri (the text was drafted by Mr. Morvan and translated by Mr. Robert Furlong, Dr. Police Michel and Ms. Suchita Ramdin). There was also a logo competition and a workshop which focused on major themes such as Gaps and Silences in the History of Slavery and Indentured Labour, Methodology and Approaches, Achieving Justice and Equality. A notice was published, inviting the public to participate in the work of the Commission and to send in documents. Contact was made with the media, which resulted in extensive coverage on television, radio and in the print media.

#### Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

It was further decided that there would be three broad areas of research; firstly, the revision of History from 1723 to 2009 (slavery, indentured labourers and identification of elements of History which have not been studied yet or hidden or not known, i.e., the caste system, post-1835 situation of ex-slaves, etc); secondly, the consequences of slavery and indentured labour on society. Thirdly, measures to achieve Social Justice. In addition, a number of critical specialist studies were undertaken on land, reparations, the role of religion and the collecting of views of people who are not so visible or vocal through Oral History.

There were a number of project teams established. These included Slave Trade and Slavery; the Indentured Experience; Mauritian Economic History; Culture, Ethnicity, Memory and Identity; Health; Education; Towards a Just Society; Rodrigues, Agalega, Chagos and St. Brandon Islands; Recommendations.

#### Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

“The issue is this. The under-development and poverty which affect the majority of countries in Africa and in the Caribbean, as well as the ghetto conditions in which many black people live in the United States and elsewhere, are not, speaking in general terms, the result of laziness, incompetence or corruption of African people or their governments. They are in a very large measure the consequences the legacy – of one of the most massive and terrible criminal enterprises – in recorded human history; that is, the transatlantic slave trade and the institution of slavery”.

#### Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

“African governments today, who have tried to rectify the under-development which they have inherited from history, have borrowed from the financial institutions of the West and are now in a virtually uncontrollable spiral of debt. In reality – and in morality – I suggest that it is the West which is in debt to Africa, not Africa which is debt to the West”.

#### Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

3. To assess the quantitative value of the labour by future researchers trained in Economic History and historical statistics.

#### Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

ii. Provide Mauritians with all the data required, free of charge, to reconstruct this family tree in recognition of the numerous difficulties faced by ordinary Mauritians to collect relevant and accurate data concerning their family history.

#### Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

iii. Children, victims of abuse (sexual/physical/gross neglect/ill-treatment) and who are placed at shelters (NGOs) are at times placed at the RYC at a very young age, given their behavioural problems – there is a need for proper assessment and psychological intervention and close follow-up at such cases so that they get the necessary caring and supportive environment to help them grow and deal with their past history.

#### Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

x. History of Agalega should be taught from Primary level onwards. The book of Father Dussercle Agaléga Petite Île is an excellent manual for secondary students.

#### Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

A museum, with what is left of the ancient establishment and families, will be a living memory of traditions and culture, and an open book of history.

#### Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

There are different coconut fields with different names. Their delimitation, with their proper names, will be a practical exercise in pedagogy to teach the History of Agalega to all the population, particularly young students. Names of streets and avenues should also be marked. This measure will reinstate the dignity of the people: from Camp Noir to Avenue, from hut to bungalow.

#### Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

Part of the Mandate of the Truth and Justice Commission requires the assessment of the consequences of slavery and indenture. The task of assessing these consequences entails, inter alia, a review of 350 years of Mauritian History. As pointed out by the Chairman in his introduction, the Commission has, therefore, focussed on three aspects: History; consequences, and how to achieve a more just society.

#### Reference 18 - 0.02% Coverage

1. Establishing the ‘Truth’ about History is not an easy task. Firstly, there is the professional historians’ point of view that there is no such thing as ‘permanent truth’, since new research will change what has been accepted. There is also ‘public history’ which often contains ‘perceptions of truth’. This is the truth that the TJC has attempted to deal with. In addition to this mandate, the TJC also had an underlying mandate which was to promote reconciliation. In Mauritius, reconciliation was seen by many as being possible, only if one did not talk about one’s history. This was no longer possible in contemporary Mauritius. Although some institutions and individual Mauritians have understood this, the TJC did clash with several institutions that possessed important repositories of documents but did not wish to open them to the TJC or to the public. Summons were issued and, in some cases, the access issues were resolved. Whether the access to the public will continue, is a matter which the TJC has, no control over. The TJC is, at least, sure that the public is fully aware that these archives exist, the Mauritian public has every

right to access them, and that the State has the responsibility of preserving these documents and not allowing private appropriation of these documents. Opening access and a more forceful policy of encouraging historical research and an open debate, rather than engaging in parallel debates, will lead further to national reconciliation in the future.

2. The TJC has held 212 hearings at its offices and outside Port Louis. These also constitute the TJC archives as they show clearly public perceptions about Mauritian History and lives of Mauritians. They are, however, representative of the most vocal sections of Mauritians, rather than the voiceless. The TJC endeavoured to collect the views of Mauritians whose voices had no chance of being heard in Port Louis, and it embarked on a massive oral history collection exercise. The TJC feels that we have reached a wide cross-section of the Mauritian community and covered a variety of historical experiences of Mauritians living in the 20th century. These are personal experiences of contemporary Mauritians and reveal their personal interpretations of their history. The statements, when taken together, are amazingly similar, and a full study was undertaken by a multidisciplinary team of Historians, Anthropologists, Sociologists and Ethnographers. The results are presented in the technical papers in Volumes 3 and 4 of the Report. The evidence shows even more clearly how many Mauritians know so little about Mauritian history and their family history. What Mauritians have preserved about their own history is limited, although this is to some extent understandable, because most Mauritians have led difficult lives. However, it is clear that their approach to life differs considerably, depending on their culture, religion (or absence of it), class and economic status in life.

The TJC cannot claim to have rewritten the whole history of slavery and indenture, but it has, at least, given a conceptual and structural version of Mauritian history free from political and racial agendas. It is now incumbent on future scholars and community groups to reflect and build on this and continue the work accomplished. The TJC has provided the tools and the sources where the historical material may be found, and civil society must now take this further. TJC's version of history cannot be considered as the 'official' history, but the beginning of a new 'national' history, in the sense that TJC recognises the fact that there are different perspectives and approaches.

#### Reference 19 - 0.02% Coverage

3. A third issue that the TJC has dealt with, has been the suspicion and concern expressed in many quarters about academic history not reaching the local population. The TJC attempted, therefore, to bring together, through its historical projects, scholars, community groups and the local population. There was, we believe, frank discussions where community views were able to feed on the work of scholars, (local and foreign) who were able to voice their views, share their knowledge and arrive at a consensus. The TJC feels it was the start of a new historical 'adventure' and hopes that this approach will be continued in the future. It is hoped that the historians involved, have recognized the value of this work. TJC thus avoided what has become common elsewhere, where Western academic scholarship has clashed with community-based' histories. TJC has also ensured that other forms of historical research have been used, in particular oral history and that archaeological and ethnographic research has been used and promoted in the various studies. Such studies finally aroused a great deal of public attention, and this is indeed very encouraging for the future. It is clear, however, that the gap between academic history and communities being researched needs to be narrowed even further. TJC has devised a

policy that will guarantee access to most of the data collected (archival, oral, ethnographic, and archaeological) to the public as well as the academic community.

Knowledge production is still an issue as people from particular ethnic groups tend to read what historians from their own ethnic groups write, even though it may not be completely objective and scientific in its approach. The class, caste and gender approaches need also to be incorporated into Mauritian History. These historians and communities would benefit from sharing their perspectives, and this would go a long way towards a shared history and a shared heritage in the future. Academic historians need, therefore, to popularize their writings. They also need to relate their findings to the contemporary situation.

4. How one faces the past was another area of concern. Will apologies and forgiveness heal the wounds of the past? Some believe so. TJC believes it is not enough and that public institutions must ensure that the debate about our history never ends, because history is always being written and rewritten. Although many wish to close the book, this will not be possible. Rather, TJC invites Mauritians to continue uncovering the Truth, and not to forget that Injustice can always recur and that Mauritians must be vigilant.

#### Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

history and their past but to do this, they need not to be harassed by religious, political, social and cultural 'leaders' giving instructions on how they should behave, talk, dress because this is how certain communities are 'supposed to behave'. In other words, identities should not be imposed upon them. The variety of our origins is omnipresent in our identity, and there is not one, two or three groups (as defined by the existing Constitution), but many more.

#### Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

1.2. A website to be designed to include the following:-the Act, Members of the Commission with their CVs, a bibliography of slavery and indentured labourers, a chronology of Mauritian History and links to other institutions.

#### Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

As the Act mandates the Commission to enquire into the History of slavery and indenture and study its consequences, a number of enquiries were proposed:

#### Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

1. Revision of History from 1723 to 2009 (slavery, indentured labourers, and identification of elements of History which have not yet been studied, is hidden or not known, i.e. the caste system, post-1835 situation of ex-slaves, etc.);

#### Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

4. Collecting views of people who are not so visible or vocal through collection of Oral History.

#### Reference 25 - 0.01% Coverage

To empower Mauritians to research their own History, the Commission has focussed on: 1. The collection of data with the aim of dissemination for future scholars and the public at large; 2. Pointing to new and innovative ways of looking at Mauritian History by some selective and indepth studies which will also guide future policies in History Education and Teaching; 3. Encouraging institutions to open up their collections rather than preserve it for the select few.

#### Reference 26 - 0.01% Coverage

Due to the volume of research being commissioned, it was necessary for the TJC to devise a policy, guidelines and framework for research projects. These were amended from time to time, as a result of various consultations with researchers, public and private institutions about confidential/personal/oral data. Two workshops were successfully held: one on Oral History and another on Data Protection. The Commission also decided to create Digital Archives, given the number of audio, film and other iconographic data collected. Conditions of access also needed to be specified for this for the future. This policy is to be found in Appendices One and Two.

#### Reference 27 - 0.01% Coverage

It was not understood by these institutions that the aim of collecting these documents was twofold: (a) to enable an objective and comprehensive study to be made, and (b) to make these documents available to the Mauritian public so they may study their own history and, in so doing, dispel the many myths and misconceptions that abound in Mauritian History. As stated above, it is a fact and this was confirmed during hearings held at the TJC, that most Mauritians are not familiar with basic facts about their own history. They must, in future, be given the tools with which to be able to judge the veracity and objectivity of what they hear and read which unfortunately, more often than not, is only partial information, often not objective and also ethnically-inspired.

#### Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

Volume I contains the Commission's report and covers all topics falling under the mandate of the Commission, namely the history of the slave trade, slavery and indenture; the economics of slavery and indenture; legacies, consequences and continuities; racism and casteism; education and health, land reform, social justice, ending with main findings and recommendations. The last part of the recommendations is a consolidated version with those considered high priority on top of the list. A time-frame for implementation is also included.

Volume Two consists of papers prepared by the Land Team on Land issues in Mauritius, as well as the results of the analysis by the same Team on the 340 claims concerning land dispossession. It is divided into a History of Land Tenure section, detailed studies on selected topics such as Lack of capital, prescription and a summary of each case and the main findings of the Land Team. As Commissioners were not Land experts, the Commission has borrowed heavily (but not exclusively) from the Report of the Land Team to make its general findings on cases being heard before the Commission.

Volumes Three and Four consist of technical papers, research reports and surveys conducted by a team of consultants, researchers and research assistants. It is divided thematically. Volume

Three consists mainly of studies of contemporary Mauritius and surveys which Mauritians had expressed themselves or participated in. Volume Four consists mainly of studies by specialists in the field of History, Economics, Anthropology, Psychology, using an immense amount of archival material. Both volumes also contain the recommendations of the persons or teams undertaking the study and a substantial set of references.

Volume Five in digital format, is the collection of all audio and film material collected by the Commission and is divided into: a Hearings Section, where the audio and the transcriptions are included; the oral history interviews that were not confidential and their transcripts; a press cuttings database and photos and film strips covering the work of the Commission during field-trips, surveys and site visits.

#### Reference 29 - 0.01% Coverage

The Dutch had, in effect, started a set of historical processes which would dominate the history of Mauritius: the introduction of sugarcane (though to produce arrack and rum only), using enslaved people from Madagascar, India and South-East Asia as labour, developing slave trade in the region, developing trade between Madagascar and Mauritius, using Mauritius as a strategic position in the

#### Reference 30 - 0.01% Coverage

The period 1810-1839 in the history of Mauritius saw the creation of a mono crop economy, with the destruction of the cultivation of other crops. The economy became equally resolutely exportoriented, with little consideration being given to the development of productive forces for a balanced perspective.

#### Reference 31 - 0.01% Coverage

Those events of 1937 are landmarks in the History of Mauritius. Further, in 1938, there were strikes in Port Louis by the dockers and in 1943, Sugar Industry labourers in the North, with three of them shot dead by the police. This unprecedented wave of protests and resistance by the laboring classes forced the Colonial Government to shake off its lethargy and indifference with regard to the laboring classes.

#### Reference 32 - 0.01% Coverage

This has been answered in Chapter Two, where the economic history of the island has been reviewed from the Dutch period to the present, and where the conclusions are manifest. Continuities in economic systems are clear, as are the economic legacies that slavery and indenture have left us. It is of much concern that an island which has known such repressive labour systems and exploited populations from Madagascar, Mozambique India and China should continue to import cheap labour from the very same countries, in conditions which, in many cases, are deplorable.

#### Reference 33 - 0.01% Coverage

This has been one of the most intractable questions, given the lack of information. Here too, one must refrain from treating all ex-slaves as one uniform mass of persons. However, it is not so much how they travelled but where they ended up at different times in history, up to today. What was their trajectory? The TJC used the migration pattern of inhabitants of one village to attempt to reconstruct this history. More family histories need to be undertaken nationwide to assess the full extent of the mobility of ex-slaves and their families across Mauritius from 1835 to the 1940s. One must not forget, however, those who were free before that date and their trajectories in life.

#### Reference 34 - 0.01% Coverage

As stated, the aim is not to review the entire history of slavery, rather to look at lesser-known aspects which deserve to be better known.

#### Reference 35 - 0.01% Coverage

Recommendations relating to the history of slavery and slave trade are contained at the end of this volume in a consolidated chapter of recommendations.

#### Reference 36 - 0.01% Coverage

These are not accounted for and cannot be accurately calculated as yet, given the lack of information, but their history deserves to be remembered.

#### Reference 37 - 0.01% Coverage

The cultural relationships including lineages, languages, and traditions, which, from the mideighteenth to the early twentieth centuries, emerged in the slave trade and slavery and after, in the region, need to be better known by Mauritians. The Commission has initiated this by undertaking a preliminary study of Mozambique-Mauritius slave trade to better understand the full extent of our cultural origins and our history. This must be continued.

#### Reference 38 - 0.01% Coverage

Economic and accounting historians of the slave trade study slavery and the slave trade from an economist's or financial analyst's perspective. However, historians cannot focus only on what is quantifiable, but have to look at the unquantifiable: the 'intangible' issues of history, such as identity or culture loss, mental and physical stress, mobility, laws, consequences on family life or the sense of loss felt as a result of being removed from one's homeland.

#### Reference 39 - 0.01% Coverage

Accounting historians have been investigating how the accounts of the slave trade were kept. A unique journal, the *Guide du commerce*, written by Gaignat de l'Aulnais in 1771, has led to a detailed and equally unique historical study by Cheryl McWatters.<sup>95</sup> In this journal, McWatters highlights the basic documents required for a slave trading expedition, according to Gaignat.

These were: “Le journal de traite, le livre de factures, le journal de vente des noirs et achats en retour et enfin le grand livre” (Eng trans: The slave trading journal, the receipt book, the sales of slaves book, and purchases book and finally the big book). Although written for Atlantic voyages, it seems unlikely that it would have been any different in the Indian Ocean, since many of the ships and Captains were the same. A greater search of the accounts of slave traders might reveal as yet unknown facets of the history of slavery and the slave trade. For example, it is currently impossible to quantify the volume of trade carried on in the interior: those who were simply captured and kidnapped from their villages and where no trading took place. Oral traditions in Mozambique exist and deserve further study. Benigna Zimba, Mozambican historian, has recommended that memorialisation of this part of the history of the slave trade should also be included in future representations of slavery in Mauritius.

#### Reference 40 - 0.01% Coverage

merchants and traders are listed in Port Louis and a good number were involved in the slave trade. Allen has quoted, for example, Messrs. Closnard, Cloupet, Collique, Drieux, Geoffriou, De La Rochelle, Le Blanc, Rolland, Le Bouchet, Le Bourdé, Dahuy Solminiac, La Corte, Laurent Raphaël, d’Hotman and Vally. Louis Monneron also had family links with merchants in India, while Morice focused on slave trading with Zanzibar. Apart from the traders there are also the captains of ships, many of whom have descendants today in Mauritius. Many were also corsairs and this is publicly stated. However they are less public about the slave trading involvement of that ancestor. In France, “Si le titre de corsair est loin de déplaire dans nos annales de famille, ce n’est pas sans regret que nous trouvons celui de négrier.”<sup>126</sup> The same could be said of many families in Mauritius where some parts of family histories are thought best left hidden or conveniently forgotten.

#### Reference 41 - 0.01% Coverage

The slaves: The challenge for descendants of slaves on what origin to look back to help to uncover lost or forgotten identities is of a different nature. The slave registration returns do not show the original names but adopted names in Mauritius. With the mixing of slave populations and absence of adequate civil status records, it is a difficult task to reconstruct one’s family history and identity.

#### Reference 42 - 0.01% Coverage

In Mauritius, cases of smallpox were reported as far back as 1771. But the first major epidemic occurred in June 1792, when a slave ship from South India reached Port Louis with smallpox on board. The disease spread rapidly among the population, amidst heated debate over the practice of inoculation. Some slave owners asserted their right to inoculate their slaves, while others were vehemently against this practice because of the possibility of the inoculated person developing a severe infection and transmitting smallpox to others. Megan Vaughan of Nuffield College Oxford, writing on Social History of Medicine, has made the following observations on the attitude adopted by the colonists:

#### Reference 43 - 0.01% Coverage

Had the French National Archives documents been available to him (photo 2), these questions would have been answered. It is imperative that authorities pay attention to the urgent need to obtain copies of all documents found overseas pertaining to Mauritian slavery. These are important, not only for historical records, but also for memorialisation purposes and allow Mauritians to better research their history.<sup>226</sup>

#### Reference 44 - 0.01% Coverage

For the first time, the inequality of groups on the basis of colour was legally established under the Law, making it unique in French legal history, and institutionalizing what amounts to a 'racial

#### Reference 45 - 0.01% Coverage

The Muslim part among the French India population has been studied by Emrith and Jumeer. Most had come from from Bengal. Their history needs to be further researched using notarial records and Civil Status records. Although there was reluctance to use non-Christian labour, the shortage of labour had forced Governors to engage Indian Muslim sailors. They were all Urdu speaking, according to Jumeer. We know from research, conducted with one family who has traced their ancestry to the French period, although they have kept the memory of their family origins that they seem to reject their Indian ancestry. In 1805, they secured from Governor Decaen a plot of 250 toises to build a mosque, an unthinkable act in an island where Catholicism was the only authorized religion. However, it fitted in well with the principle of segregation of races, as envisaged by Decaen and so, may not seem so incongruous an action, in hindsight. The separate cemetery created at Rivière Lataniers was also symbolic of the separation of cultures at this time, demanded by part of the population itself and allowed by French Authorities. It is among this group that the first Yamse religious festival was held in 1765 (Emrith: 9).

#### Reference 46 - 0.01% Coverage

As with most neglected histories, they come to light only when the criminal records mention them. Thus Delport, probably the most famous of them all was accused of multiple crimes: receiving stolen goods, encouraging slaves to steal and giving them resources to steal, squatting on 'unconceded' land etc.<sup>232</sup> Despite all this, they did enjoy the benefits that having a whiter skin colour proffered on them. A black skilled worker would never be equal to a white skilled worker in French Mauritius.<sup>233</sup>

#### Reference 47 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission also recommends the continuation of an inventory of documents found in France and elsewhere and the continuation of input into the Slave Trade Database. The aim is to establish a list of all ships and their cargo in order to better document the slave trade and arrive at an improved assessment of the volume of the slave trade to Mauritius, and the actual number of slaves having been disembarked in Mauritius. It is also necessary to include in calculations, those ships/persons/slaves destined for Mauritius but who never arrived, due to revolts, shipwrecks,

diseased etc. This information will be inserted in the database. Scholars from overseas working on the slave trade to Mauritius, in their respective countries, need to be included in this project, such as Thomas Vernet and Benigna Zimba. It is further recommended that this database work be continued by the University of Mauritius in partnership with other institutions with an interest in the slave trade and slavery. The University possesses both history and computer science departments who can collaborate with minimal cost with each other to maintain the database. It also has a pool of students every year who can be initiated and trained in historical research and data entry. However, appropriate funding must be provided and this work is to be shared with the public through an online database.

The Commission recommends the establishment of an Intercontinental Slavery Museum on the Port Louis Waterfront as a permanent reminder of the existence of slavery and the contribution of slaves to the history of Mauritius. We recommend that the Project be initiated and supervised by the Prime Minister's Office in collaboration with related institutions. Being located in the capital city Port Louis will ensure the history of slavery is given its due importance and also to ensure financial sustainability for the Museum once it is opened.

Finally the Commission recommends a NATIONAL GENEALOGY CENTRE, which will help numerous Mauritians, many of whom of African and Malagasy descent, who faced enormous difficulties in tracing their family history and genealogy. This has also caused much distress in families, and some believed they had lost property as a result. These families were unable to furnish basic information on their ancestors to the TJC. Consequently, the TJC helped a large number of families in recreating their genealogical trees and, during this process, it was able to verify for itself the difficulties mentioned by these families.

#### Reference 48 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission has also addressed the continuing discussion (albeit sterile) about whether indenture was similar to slavery. This debate is summarized here and an explanation offered as to why these perceptions have held good, despite documentary evidence to the contrary. Ignorance of basic facts of one's history and concepts appear to be rampant in Mauritius, in spite of the high rate of literacy of its population.

What were the conditions of indentured labourers on estates? Did all indentured labourers work on sugar estates? Were all indentured labourers Indian or Hindu? Did all indentured labourers obtain land and become educated in baithkas? These are some questions we have answered through fundamental research on demography, landownership and education, as well as detailed histories of families and their lives in Mauritius. Just as it has been stated that one cannot generalize for the slave population, so one cannot do so for the indentured population: the family and life histories presented in Volumes 3 and 4 here show the immense variety of indentured experience, and it is clear that more such family histories, using interdisciplinary methodologies, need to be compiled.

It has been common in public and official discourse to demarcate, along clear lines, the slaves from indentured immigrants; yet, Mauritius at the time was not divided into these two groups: due to the extreme shortage of female immigrants, intermarriage and cohabitation occurred. Intercaste, interregional and interethnic marriages occurred, as evidenced by the family histories compiled. Many, if not most, Mauritian families have undergone a higher rate of métissage than they care to admit.

#### Reference 49 - 0.01% Coverage

Are these consequences of indentured labour or the actions of Mauritians in post Independence Mauritius? The choice to maintain a caste system and to maintain division of ethnic groups in census is clearly a choice of independent Governments since Independence, and it is difficult to see how the indentured system could be held responsible. The choice not to teach a common history rather than a compartmentalised history, and for political and religious leaders to make public speeches where the failure of one ethnic group to achieve in one particular field is underlined, is a dangerous policy to tolerate. Over the years, this has led to increased social and cultural fractures. To avoid further divisions, these need to be stopped and should no longer be sanctioned officially.

#### Reference 50 - 0.01% Coverage

In France, a complete inventory of all French engagés arriving to Mauritius has already been undertaken and published, and it is not necessary to list all of them. Their history, however, is little known in Mauritius, as many returned to France and have left no descendants. A reading of their conditions is strangely reminiscent of indenture of the 19th century in many respects. Their names were often misspelt and they did not speak French but Breton, and their names are spelt differently on several documents. Their conditions were not always good as one might think, despite the wages. For example, fines were imposed for absences: Antoine Aimé, soldier and locksmith, is described as 24 years, 5'1", with curly brownish hair, square face, small grey eyes. He arrived on the *Badine* on 8 June 1731, worked for a year and left for Bourbon. As his contract included fines, a fine was imposed on him for a day's absence for which he paid 3 livres.

#### Reference 51 - 0.01% Coverage

'African Recaptives' and 'Prize Slaves'. The trade thus continued and involved many of the islands further out in the Indian Ocean such as Rodrigues and Seychelles where slaves could be better hidden. This history has yet to be written using sources found in all these countries and would need a concerted regional effort, currently lacking.

#### Reference 52 - 0.01% Coverage

2. The Commission recommends that the Ministry of Arts and Culture reclaim all historical documents given to Mahatma Gandhi Institute concerning Liberated Africans and currently incorrectly labelled 'Indian Immigration Archives', so that the descendants, professional researchers and others may research their history in full freedom without the administrative and political constraints imposed on them at this institution.

#### Reference 53 - 0.01% Coverage

From the much quoted figure of 453,000 believed to have come to Mauritius, about one-third returned to India, while another 1/3 did not survive their indenture and did not leave any descendants. This makes the request by the Mahatma Gandhi Institute, which houses the Immigration Archives even more ridiculous, when they ask researchers to 'get the permission' of

descendants, before embarking on tracing family histories. It appears they are not aware that the bulk of immigrants never left descendants and are now consigned to oblivion in Mauritian History books, because of uninformed and unscientific based policies.

Mauritians, thus, still needs, to do justice to the history of these immigrants. Truth and Justice Commission 154

#### Reference 54 - 0.01% Coverage

5. Reasons in Mauritius: The economic history of sugar ad impact of immigration is more fully dicussed in chapters 1 and 4. However for the period of 1858 and 1859 which witnessed the highest rates of emigration was in part due to the huge rise in sugar prices and consequent increase in sugar cultivation.

#### Reference 55 - 0.01% Coverage

Tribal Indians constitute one of the most, if not the most, ignored groups in Mauritian historiography. Indeed, many Indo-Mauritians are unaware of their own tribal origins. Reconstruction of this history, therefore, has been through immigration records, rather than family histories, as is the case for most other groups. Since it was not possible to study the whole tribal population as part of the enquiries undertaken by the Commission, a sample using the earliest records available was used. Tribal immigration was discontinued by the British as mortality was high among them in Mauritius, and their arrivals dwindled for the 1860s, and today, in the written records, they almost completely merge with the Hindu, Christian or Muslim population of Indian origins. The sample studies conform to the origins of the bulk of arrivals in the early phases of immigration, namely from Calcutta and neighbouring districts. Nowadays, much of this forms part of the newly-created tribal State of Jharkand.

#### Reference 56 - 0.01% Coverage

The lack of interest in tribal history on the part of Indo-Mauritians is disturbing. During the course of TJC work, many Mauritians did not want to even talk about this subject. It is perhaps the association in India and reinforced by the current elitist policies of assigning Tribals to the lower caste category, even they are outside the caste system which has created this.

#### Reference 57 - 0.01% Coverage

The history of Calcuttiya Muslims was no different to that of other labourers on plantations. Housing arrangements were made, when they did not want to live near pig-breeders among the labourers families. But, in general, they went through the same evolution. After indenture, many became small planters, share-croppers (known as métayers in Mauritius) and others migrated to the town of Port Lous and opened textile shops, some of which are still in existence today. It is not known yet how many returned, but one family story does not confirm that there were immigrants who returned after the indenture. Many left families in Mauritius since those born in Mauritius, were not eligible for return passages. One immigrant returned to India, kept up a correspondence with his family, but remarried and reindentured to Guyana and was lost from view from then on.<sup>270</sup>

#### Reference 58 - 0.01% Coverage

In terms of language those who came from the North of India and from Bhojpuri regions, spoke Bhojpuri and many, especially of those of a higher status, could also speak and write Urdu. With 'Islamisation', many have rejected this Bhojpuri/Indian culture and it is mainly the elderly alone in rural areas who continue to speak it. Many have opted for a more 'Arab-style' culture. The celebration of the Muharram festival, called in Mauritius the Ghoon or Yamse, which has existed in Mauritius since 1790s and where many Calcuttiya Muslims have joined in the 19th century, is also frowned upon today as being 'unIslamic'. However, among the younger generation of historians, there are interesting studies being carried out on family histories and their evolution as Mauritians. These studies deserve to be incorporated into a larger study and published.<sup>271</sup> The Bengali language also spoken among those originating from districts located around Calcutta are unknown to descendants interviewed.

#### Reference 59 - 0.01% Coverage

The Bengali-speaking immigrants have received no recognition yet in History books, despite the large numbers emigrating to Mauritius and despite the evidence of emigration from what is today Bangladesh, Dacca, the 24 Pargunnahs, all Bengali-speaking territory. Various 'Camp Bengali' existed in Mauritius and many families up to the 1980s still had members of families speaking Bengali.

#### Reference 60 - 0.01% Coverage

If slavery and indenture as economic systems have received due attention on the part of scholars, the lesser-known aspects deserve also mention. Indentured labourers like slaves, brought with them their cultures, life-styles which they were in varying degrees able to keep. In the case of Indian labourers, how were their cultures and social life transformed by indenture? In other words, what was the impact on their non-working lives? Women have been recognised in Mauritian history as having kept the traditions brought from India. This was possibly because they stayed at home, unlike other labour immigrants and so were able to provide the nurturing roles. The absence of women, for example, in the early years deserves mention, as this was a matter of concern for authorities.

#### Reference 61 - 0.01% Coverage

During the period of indentured immigration, children were also brought either accompanying their parents or came alone. There are many ways in which a child could have ended up on a ship alone. A parent may have died in the Depot or abandoned children being an easy prey for unscrupulous recruiters would be enticed into the ship. Their stories will probably never get into the History books as so little written evidence has survived. What we do have today are the few descendants who have kept alive their family history and recounted how their ancestors arrived as children.

#### Reference 62 - 0.01% Coverage

One can infer that the so-numerous 'Vaish', identified in Mauritius today, probably belonged to other castes before indenture. This is to be regarded as another example of upward caste mobility. Some 'jatis' belonging to lower castes in India have been 'upgraded' in the Mauritian caste system. But such upward mobility often goes hand in hand with temptations to deny the popular origins they shared with other indentured labourers. This reluctance to acknowledge their real history may explain the MGI's insistence that caste information of indentured should not be revealed to public. This attitude is reminiscent of descendants of slaves in Mauritius as well as descendants of convicts in Australia. In Mauritius, however, this is tied up with claims of political representation and caste quotas.

Upward mobility was also possible through intercaste marriages. Numerous examples exist in family histories. Loss of caste identity occurred at several stages apart from the Emigration and Immigration Depot in Calcutta and Mauritius.

#### Reference 63 - 0.01% Coverage

Suspicion on the part of immigrants towards schools also existed, as these were seen as sites of proselytisation missions. This situation continued long after indenture and lasted well into the 20th century as the numerous oral histories conducted with elderly Mauritians show, with girls suffering the most from this exclusion.

#### Reference 64 - 0.01% Coverage

Significant outbreaks of Malaria occurred in 1856 - 1859, 1862 and 1865. But the first serious epidemic struck the Island in 1867. It was a major calamity causing 40, 000 deaths in a population of 333, 000. Ronald Ross qualified the epidemic as the greatest disaster in Mauritian history. Thereafter, Malaria remained endemic in Mauritius until 1950's. The result was a serious source of wastage in terms of manpower and money, through deaths and reduction of population; loss of manual labour in plantations, factories, farms etc; sickness among labourers and officers, incapacitation and deaths among higher officials and soldiers.

#### Reference 65 - 0.01% Coverage

Among one of the conclusions of our review of the history of slavery and indenture is the fact that slavery and indenture, as they evolved in Mauritius, were in many ways continuations of an economic system based on the exploitation of unpaid or cheap, plentiful and docile or coercible labour. The Mauritian experience of slavery and indenture contrasts singularly with the Atlantic world in several respects.

#### Reference 66 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission thus recommends measures that encourages the holders of economic and political power to morally and materially repair the harms and injustices of the past in order that will benefit not only the presumed descendants of slavery and indenture but the Mauritian nation as a whole so that Mauritius can be finally at peace with its history.

#### Reference 67 - 0.01% Coverage

The history of Mauritius has been characterized and fundamentally determined by the evolution of the Sugar Industry during the era of British Colonialism and later of British Imperialism. Two key events were the turning points in the evolution from economic and financial perspectives: (a) as Crown Colony, Mauritius was given access to the British sugar market as from 1815; (b) in 1825, the tariffs imposed by Britain on sugar imports from Mauritius and from the Caribbean were equalised.

The understanding of the consequences for contemporary Mauritius of these key events would be largely insufficient unless a holistic view of history is adopted. The Commission finds that there is a continuous evolution of economic exploitation, social and cultural oppression. This has led to contradictions between British Imperialism, the plantocracy of both French and British origin on the one hand and, on the other hand, labour (the enslaved, the indentured and their descendants). The wealth created throughout Mauritian history is the result of the impressive contribution of labour on the one hand and the capital and know-how of colonists and British Imperialism on the other hand. However most of this wealth has been appropriated by colonists and the British Imperial and Colonial States, whilst large proportion of the laboring classes faced unemployment and poverty during the Colonial era ending in 1968. The intermediate social and economic classes such as traders, merchants, middlemen and medium planters were able to retrieve some of the wealth. There have been thus two complementary historical processes: development and substantial material advancement for the few and underdevelopment for the many constituting the labouring classes.

#### Reference 68 - 0.01% Coverage

History has repeated itself. About one hundred and thirty years ago, the plantocracy recruited indentured labourers from a vast reservoir of cheap labour found in British India. As a result, the plantocracy accumulated capital which was partly siphoned off to financiers/ investors abroad (Britain and France mainly) and partly reinvested in modernising the sugar factories. The new dimension, this time, lies in the fact that the reservoir of cheap labour came from within Mauritius: women and the unemployed. Unemployment and poverty were the direct consequences of policies of free trade by British Imperial Government and of cheap labour policy of the Colonial Government and the plantocracy.

#### Reference 69 - 0.01% Coverage

There was some concern that, with the social stratification among the Indian immigrant population, a conflict of interest of the wealthy against the poor small planters might jeopardise the emerging cooperative movement. Unfortunately, history would prove this concern to be a very valid one indeed.

#### Reference 70 - 0.01% Coverage

The apprenticeship system has been researched in some depth in Mauritian Historiography, as well as the opposition to it coming from abolitionists who saw it as not being much different from slavery. The complicity of the local Government in creating a system that was no different

from slavery and ensured that labour stayed on estates until contract labour system was established, while owners enjoyed the compensation money and invested in their sugar estates. Apprentices were quick to see they had been duped of their freedom. They expressed this disapproval of this 'new system of slavery' in several forms. Some marooned and were hunted in exactly the same manner as they had been under slavery. When caught they were flogged in the same manner. Others chose to withdraw from plantation labour (but not from agriculture), knowing full well that this is what would strike at the heart of plantation's operation. Others still bought their freedom from apprenticeship, just as, when slaves, they had bought their manumission. They were still advertised as slaves for hire, even though slavery had been abolished. While the stereotype of women is that they were downtrodden people, the number of applications for freedom from apprenticeship are very revealing. These women's history must not be forgotten and deserves further study.

#### Reference 71 - 0.01% Coverage

The number of apprentices who bought their freedom must also be acknowledged in Mauritian History. This phenomenon has yet to be analysed by historians. However, the interpretation of the motive of the apprentice is doing so is currently not conclusive. We know that 9,000 did not want to be 'given' freedom; they wanted to buy their freedom. For some observers, it was a matter of

#### Reference 72 - 0.01% Coverage

Reports in 1845 of the whereabouts of the slave population indicate a high rate of mobility between regions: in Black River, for example, 1/3 of the slave population left the district, only to be replaced by others entering it.<sup>335</sup> This too deserves further attention. TJC's research into family histories is a pioneering venture in that it helps to determine the exact location of families and how they moved from one region to another, after abolition of slavery. This has been the most challenging part of the TJC's work: to retrace family genealogies between 1840s and 1860s, which appear to be periods of high mobility among the ex-slave population. Yet, here unfortunately, the records are deficient. Large numbers of Civil Status registers for ex-slaves, in particular, are missing from the institution concerned, making the task of Family History reconstruction extremely difficult.

#### Reference 73 - 0.01% Coverage

Elsewhere in Mauritius, the ex-slave population, which did not own land, was shifted from camp to camp, depending on the whim of employers who tended to be those owning large estates and needed land for clearing the woods for sugar cultivation. Informal and verbal arrangements were made with owners concerning the length of stay in any particular area, and many considered the camp as 'home'. The detailed study of censuses, combined with Family History research, and Oral History work conducted in the past few years by various institutions and individuals are sufficient evidence of the numerous camps that existed in the 19th century and which have survived up to the 21st century; this indicates constant mobility and shifting of 'home'. Displacement of persons of African and Malagasy origin, whether as slaves, ex-slaves or descendants appears to be a continuing and apparently constant feature of Mauritian History and

custom. The history of the former inhabitants of the original Le Morne Village/Trou Chenille, as well as the History of the Chagossians, are some of the most publicized of cases, but such displacement continues in ‘modern’ Mauritius.

#### Reference 74 - 0.01% Coverage

languages and religions? Fortuné, through the oral history of elderly persons of Afro-Malagasy descent in Mauritius, has collected a large number of the surviving practices and rituals. However, as noted, the criminalisation of non-Christian practices led most ritual to be performed surreptitiously, and such is still the case today.

#### Reference 75 - 0.01% Coverage

History has its part to play in this state of affairs. The History of slavery which has been repressed does not ‘disappear’; it forms part of the subconscious. Absence of a sense of belonging and a sense of personal history induce life-styles and ways of spending which penalise whole families. Living on credit and overspending on occasions of celebrations (weddings and first communion) are ways of positioning self and the family, acquiring respect and dignity, whatever the price to pay.

#### Reference 76 - 0.01% Coverage

Moreover, the relationship to space and time has to be structured since early childhood and is due to many socialisation processes, which are transmitted from generation to generation. But when the past does not form part of History, when “lineage” cannot exist, projection into the future is blocked and the present overwhelms all perceptions. Strategies cannot be set up, specially in the absence of assets, financial and cultural; hope does not exist.

#### Reference 77 - 0.01% Coverage

In order to achieve control or maintain hegemony, dominant groups construct fictions and homogeneity relating to various intra community group. Myth, legend and history as fictions against others enable the crafting and reinforcement of power. Struggle between the desire to obtain an “essential” identity that makes for political currency among the dominant groups, and the experience of new cultural values, transiting in all ethnic communities, has been and is still a main issue for power relationships.

#### Reference 78 - 0.01% Coverage

3. More openness is needed in reflections on History to loosen existing controls over meaning and identity.

#### Reference 79 - 0.01% Coverage

For those who stayed in Mauritius and who are the focus of this Commission’s study, general histories have been written which have become stereotypical: labourer becomes sirdar or

recruiter, saves money and purchases a plot of land. Children become educated, are employed as civil servants or professionals and are considered a success. This picture of the supposed typical 'experience' of the trajectory of the indentured labourer is reproduced regularly by those of nonindentured ancestry, by those who create the myths of the success story etc.

However, it ignores the other reality: those who never obtained land, those who were never highly educated, those who never became urbanized, and were still working on sugar estates until a decade ago. The Commission has investigated both of these sets of experiences through detailed family histories, life histories and in-depth interviews. Hundreds of descendants have been consulted and the results published in Volumes 3 and 4.

#### Reference 80 - 0.01% Coverage

Slavery and indenture were primarily economic systems responsible for many ills. Both were also ideological cultural social institutions which created a particular society that many believe to be unique. There may be a case for 'Mauritian exceptionalism'. The particular situation Mauritius was in (geography proximity, existence of local capital, insularity, highly mixed populations, coupled with huge interest of the powers in Mauritius has led to the creation to new communities in the midst of the existing populations. Some of them marked Mauritian history as indelibly as the colonists, slaves and indentured labourers without being any one of these groups or perhaps being a bit of all of these groups. They have been labelled a 'transitional' group or a 'dying' group or even people who did not fit in any category.

In the Commission's attempt to be as inclusive as possible and to cover a wide range of experiences occurring under slavery and indenture, it has focussed some attention on those groups who are neither slaves nor indentured, nor pure ex-slaves nor pure ex-indentured. These are for example the Gens de Couleur because they emerged out of the interaction of slaves, indentured and colonists, the fishermen and pig-breeders who refused to bow to plantation labour and become the unidentified mass living and eking out miserable existences in Port Louis, but chose activities that made them autonomous, the métayers who did not fit into the category of labourers who rose from 'rags to riches' (the traditional stereotype of indentured labourer history). There are also the Indian Christians, who are still struggling to find a place for themselves and who appear to be both rejected or ignored by both mainstream Hindu and Catholic communities.

#### Reference 81 - 0.01% Coverage

The Gens de Couleur are part of the intermediate and unique categories that emerged from slavery and indenture but have been forgotten by History because they do not fit into the all-encompassing categories that officials and scholars alike, and Mauritians in general, have created throughout Mauritian History in order to classify Mauritians. As a 'minority within a minority', and because of their higher social position, they have been ignored, if not undermined at times, for their association with the elite. As stated above, however, as a group which emerged directly from slavery and indentured immigration, it was felt they deserved the attention of the Commission.

Several terms have been used throughout Mauritian History to describe this group: 'Coloured Population', 'Libres de Couleur', 'Gens de Couleur', 'Free Population', 'Creoles Ferblan', 'Mulatres' etc. We have chosen the term Gens de Couleur as it implies a certain social status

whether neither of the other terms do. Their ethnic and social composition was varied: European, Indian, Malagasy, African, Chinese as well as having slave, free and indentured origins. However, not all these origins have been recognized equally by them and the tendency has been to be Westernised and reject the non-European ancestry. In the 18th, 19th and part of the 20th centuries, when relationships between different groups were forbidden or frowned upon, their relationships were not hidden from public view. However, painful this is for the population to admit, it must also be stated that some were the product of sexual exploitation and rape of slave and indentured women on plantations and in urban areas by owners and employers and heads of establishments. They occupied a unique social and economic status which, only in the past few years, is being uncovered, as more and more family histories are brought to light.

#### Reference 82 - 0.01% Coverage

that all communities have made a vital contribution to our history, irrespective of their origins. “History is philosophy teaching by examples,” declared Lord Bolingbroke. Educating the young through the teaching of a balanced History of Mauritius is the way forward. Only then, can cultural memory take on its true significance for young Mauritians – seeing the present through the past and envisioning the future through the present. Otherwise, old clichés will persist.

#### Reference 83 - 0.01% Coverage

The railways, still in 1962, employed mostly Creole workers. Railway employees were laid off without any compensation in the wake of the closure of the Railway Department in 1962. They all had to be satisfied with a small gratuity for the rest of their life.<sup>424</sup> No real study has yet been undertaken to highlight the immense contribution of Creole workers, mostly descendants of exslaves, the Sugar Industry and in the Aloe Fibre Industry, nor has any attempt been made to collect oral archives on their history.

#### Reference 84 - 0.01% Coverage

##### 3000 Short History

Artisanal fishing has existed since the days of slavery and was practised by all categories of persons. Estates located on the coast used slaves for fishing activities although it is not certain whether the slaves were free to fish for themselves. After slavery, ex-slaves, who wanted autonomy, found in fishing the perfect economic activity. Marooned slaves on the run waited for dusk to install batatran, a sort of creeper growing in the coastal region in passages to catch certain varieties of fish, entering the lagoon at night, thus ensuring a diet rich in protein content for those living by the sea.<sup>432</sup> Fishing is, thus, is closely associated with the history of slavery and freedom. Trou Chenille in the Le Morne region and many of the coastal fishing villages, Le Morne, Tamarin, La Gaulette on the Black River coast, was one of the renowned places for fishing and also where ex-slave communities established themselves. This area has great symbolical value for descendants of exslaves today.<sup>433</sup> Other coastal settlements, inhabited by Creoles, are Mahebourg, Trou d’Eau Douce and Grand Gaube, Grand Baie, Poudre d’Or and Poste de Flacq.<sup>434</sup>

#### Reference 85 - 0.01% Coverage

The initiative of pig-breeders of Roche Bois to set up a Co-operative Society was followed by breeders in a few other localities, and a Federation of Pig-Breeders was set up. As a result of formal registration, the voice of pig-breeders made itself heard. The Port Louis Municipality decided to grant a pork stall to the Federation for the sale of pork meat. This was a great landmark in the history of pig-breeders, a class of producers who had, for generations, been the subject of shameful exploitation by butcher/ traders bouchersabattant. For the first time, a direct link between producers at farm gate and consumers had successfully been established. The Port-Louis Market is the main centre for the sale of fresh pork. Every day, a Chinese tradesmen would sell pork at the pork stalls to people in quest of fresh pork. The operation of the co-operative stall came to break the cartel of unscrupulous traders/butchers, and the move was considered as a laudable initiative.

#### Reference 86 - 0.01% Coverage

At the same time, for the first time in the history of pig-breeding, Government agreed to release a plot of State Land of 25 arpents on long-term lease for a small holding pig farm. The lease was granted to the Plaisance Pig Credit and Marketing Co-operative Society in 1984 to be onlet to its bona fide pig breeders.

#### Reference 87 - 0.01% Coverage

Port activities today represent a vital economic sector because of the insularity of Mauritius and the fact that all imports and exports transit through Port Louis, making it into a strategic activity. Any disruption in its running undeniably affects the economy of the island. The port is a place of business and all its activities revolve around it; without the port, the city is in peril. In Mauritian History, the contribution of the port workers to the history, political life and economy of Mauritius has not been recognized. They are the builders of Modern Mauritius alongside slaves and indentured labourers. To date only a short history has been produced by the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund, extracts of which are reproduced here. The Commission is not aware of any other study on the history of port workers.

Work in the port was, and still is, male-centered. It was not until the 1990s that the port authorities hired women in administration. This section was written based on interviews of port workers and represents their thoughts about their lives.<sup>441</sup> This is as yet the unwritten history of the port.

#### Reference 88 - 0.01% Coverage

Although the 1970s are considered as glorious years of Trade Union activity, there is another history yet to be written concerning the emergence of communalism and division among the working classes, which emerges ironically at the same time. According to Fortune, a full historical investigation is required into the political movement of the 1970s and 1980s and whether it was responsible, among other things, for the propaganda concerning race and the supposed 'labour aristocracy' status of port workers. Was it done as a deliberate move to curtail the port workers' political strength in Mauritian society? Fortune questions how a political movement as such which gathered itself under the slogan 'One People, One Nation' and was

sustained entirely upon working class efforts would create racially charged dissension as a means of political strategy.

In this propaganda, race and the supposed wealth of Creole port workers, mostly urban dwellers, was pitched against the much documented stark poverty of rural field labourers, rekindling old tension between these two communities. The propaganda worked well, according to Fortune, in the already racially charged atmosphere of Mauritius of late 1970s and early 1980s, with the riots of 1965 and 1968 only a decade or so ago. The racial discourse concerning the riots of 1965 between Hindus and Creoles, and 1968 between Creoles and Muslims, the strikes of 1971 and the elections of 1982 and how the subject of race was addressed or excluded in the political discourse are part of the history of neglect of port workers. This deserves further study.

Furthermore, the ethnic composition of the population working in the port was used to justify the supposed racial homogeneity that the Trade Unions of the 1970s and the elections of the 1980s had brought back to the surface. The historical literature available, however, paints a picture of the port as a racially diverse sector since the early days of the Colony. To think therefore, that in the 1970s and 1980s, the port suddenly became racially homogenous is rather hard to believe.

The Trade Union leader of the port workers in 1938 was no less than Sandivi, of Indian origin as were many port workers and in his grandson's words, a 'Creole Malbar'.<sup>444</sup>

#### Reference 89 - 0.01% Coverage

When the Dutch arrived, labour was brought from Batavia, which at the time was mostly composed of Chinese immigrants, traders and victims of kidnapping. <sup>447</sup> However "there are no known descendants on the island from this period."<sup>448</sup> In the 18th and 19th centuries, colonized by the French and the British, Mauritius became a colony deeply dependent on slave labor for its plantation workforce. The presence of Chinese slaves in the history of the country is specific to a short period of time and a small group of individuals. Only two persons from Macao are listed on the Register of the Government slaves. In 1792, a 60-year old male Chinese slave is recorded as having died in Flacq. "Another, Jean Benoit, born on the Isle de France of Chinese parents, is reported as having died in the same region, in 1791."<sup>449</sup> Louis Vigoureux, a slave-owner manumitted two Chinese slaves, Gratia and Pauline from Canton, in 1745.<sup>450</sup> The manumission of Chinese slaves created a free Chinese community in the Isle de France.<sup>451</sup> "But they became gradually absorbed into the Creole population."<sup>452</sup> Some other 300 Chinese slaves were also captured and brought to Mauritius.<sup>453</sup>

#### Reference 90 - 0.01% Coverage

However, while looking forward to the younger generations moving up the social ladder, the community has been faced with a loss of memory, relegating its past sufferings and conditions. To some extent, the community preserves only the legendary hardworking capacities of the Chinese people. History itself has played a role in this parody of a depiction of this community which has often been limited to hard labour or to distinctive figure of the Chinese and their astonishing economic development over the last two centuries. These people fled their countries to form new communities all over the world. Most of them would not return to China after the Communist takeover and found no other solution, but to stay, and secure their future, in their adopted countries.

Nowadays, after an incredible economic success, the Chinese seem to witness a decline in their community due to various factors. Many young Sino-Mauritians are looking for better prospects elsewhere in the world; turning a blind eye to what their parents and grandparents had built through will-power and hard work. There is an outcry in the community that they should be given due recognition for their contribution to the overall development of the country; a recognition by all Mauritians for their history and past sufferings in the hope that they may revive the community, by convincing younger generations to stay and build a bright future for this country, to which they now belong.

#### Reference 91 - 0.01% Coverage

According to the 1952 census, 9,000 persons were registered as belonging to the group of IndoChristians, forming around 3½% of the population; Whether this figure has remained constant is difficult to say; since 1982, no mention is made of ethnic denominations in the Census.<sup>482</sup>The bare fact is that out of 413,000 persons, registered as Christians in the Housing and Population Census of 2000,<sup>483</sup> it is clear that a good many among them are of strong Indian descent, when they do not claim ancestry as Chinese or Europeans, the remaining Christians being more akin to people of African and Malagasy descent in varying degrees. According to the Indo-Mauritian Catholic Association (IMCA), an association founded in 1952 which claims to represent persons of the Catholic faith, but who have in no way given up the cultural appartenance proper to the land of their ancestors, these should be around 50,000. This short stay aims to trace the epic story of persons of Indian origin who have, throughout Mauritian history, been converted to Christianity

#### Reference 92 - 0.01% Coverage

Indian slaves won fame for their ability to prepare food and were preferred to their African counterparts as domestic servants and often spared from hard labour. Free slaves, recruited since Mahé de Labourdonnais as skilled workers and artisans, proved to be essential in the building and construction sector. Throughout the whole French occupation, slaves of Indian origin were not differently treated to other slaves, and some joined the ranks of the maroons. The history of marooned slaves bears witness to an extract of *Le Nouvelliste*, dated 1st May 1802.

#### Reference 93 - 0.01% Coverage

The history of the métayers (share croppers) was brought to the Commission's attention as a result of representations made by métayers in the South of Mauritius. The Commission decided to investigate further for several reasons. First, although they have grown sugar since the days of indenture (1840s), they have never owned the land and can be evicted at any time. They have, like many other groups in Mauritius, been the victims of restructuring of the Sugar Industry. A history of metayage appears in Volume 2 and in Volume 4. In the past, eviction could occur at any time, when their leases ended, when sugar was no longer required, or when the land was required for other more profitable purposes. What is the future of métayers in the new economic configuration? What future do they have? Today, the lands which they occupy and have been associated with for generations, considered 'marginal' at the time, have been 're-labelled' 'strategic' zones today, and are worth millions. The sugar estates have played their historic role,

as they always have; they have disposed of labour when no longer required, and shifted labour where work was required, intimidated and used all the legal arsenal at their disposal to maintain their property. What is

#### Reference 94 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission believes a fairer form of compensation would have been to take into account the historic rights of the métayers and the years of labour spent working the cane fields, clearing, weeding and maintaining it for the owners. The métayers deserve an apology from the State, for not having defended them appropriately and for the callous manner in which they were convened. The TJC's recommendations, therefore, go in this direction. Little can be done for those who were forced to leave before the new laws were introduced, and who left without any form of compensation. This history must, however, be documented and enter the History books.

#### Reference 95 - 0.01% Coverage

them. Greater care must be taken in the use of particular category names. Race is not fixed among Mauritians although there is agreement that certain phenotype or physical markers clearly indicate an individual's racial identity. The history of slavery, indenture and Colonialism has been significant in the classification of individuals in Mauritius, creating enduring categories of 'oppressors' and 'victims', whose connotations have endured in contemporary society, due to enduring social stratification

#### Reference 96 - 0.01% Coverage

For Mauritius, there are clear dangers: what is not acceptable today is the dissimulation of one's real identity and history and the invention of tradition and castes to obtain promotion, political power and public funds.

#### Reference 97 - 0.01% Coverage

In Mauritius, conversion has continued throughout History, right up to today. Pentecostalism is proving attractive to many Hindus, and it is not known how many are low caste among converts.

#### Reference 98 - 0.01% Coverage

All, low or high castes, were embarrassed about evoking low castes. Concerning family histories, neighbours were sometimes brought in to 'recall' the history of a family member who had married into a lower-caste family. It is also true, in a general manner, when it comes to recognizing the very existence of castes known as 'low'. The term 'Chamar' or 'Dusadh' or the associated occupational or devotional habits such as rearing or sacrificing pork (which is associated with Dusadh in India) is expressed in a derogatory manner.

#### Reference 99 - 0.01% Coverage

As far as Indentured immigrants are concerned, although there were concerns about the type of education to be dispensed in the early years, by the 20th century, many Indian children were going to school. Parents had overcome their original hostility to Western-type schools and were sending boys to schools. Education was highly sought after and many sacrifices were made by parents to secure a place in school. Oral histories abound with such stories. Education was also seen by many as a way out of the sugar sector and into white collar jobs. Discrimination, however, against Indian children existed in schools as few schools were willing to offer a place to Indian children in the early 20th century. However, many schools, private and public, were later opened and these were made full use of by the descendants.

#### Reference 100 - 0.01% Coverage

managed carefully and if its education system is organised and delivered in a manner that permits and ensures genuine equal and equitable opportunities for the children of the descendants of slaves and indenture. This would go a long way towards the creation of durable peace in the country. Peace, as Martin Luther King notes, is not about the absence of conflicts, but the presence of justice. Can Mauritian education ensure social cohesion and justice? Education in the postIndependence period has no doubt been informed by the history of the country, and this history has had ramifications for the different segments and communities of Mauritian society, including Rodrigues and the Outer Islands. The democratisation of education during the post-colonial period opened up several windows of opportunity, but discriminations and inequities persist. Several legislations marked educational developments both in the colonial and post-colonial period, but legislations are not enough to create equitable outcomes. The Commission proposed to examine the provision of education and how it can be used as a tool for reparation, thereby thus mitigating the tensions and injustices resulting from a history of injustice and oppression.

#### Reference 101 - 0.01% Coverage

curriculum content, the pedagogy and the culture of the school – often with all of those forming part of a dominant culture - there is an urgent need to rethink, revisit and repair all the wrong, much of which has been largely informed by the Colonial History of the island.

#### Reference 102 - 0.01% Coverage

In 1924, the 27 Leprosy patients from St. Lazare were transferred to the Powder Mills which became the Leper Hospital. In 1970, it was integrated into the Skin Disease Unit of the Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam National Hospital with 40 beds and an average of 34 occupied throughout the year. The responsibility for medical care was taken over by specialist dermatologists. Throughout history, lepers were ostracized by their communities and families. This age-old stigma associated with the disease, was an obstacle to self-reporting and early treatment. The final assault on *Mycobacterium Leprae* was made in 1980s and the multidrug therapy was the key element in the strategy to eliminate leprosy as a public health problem in the Republic of Mauritius. The leper hospital was closed in 2006.

#### Reference 103 - 0.01% Coverage

Mortality rates are no longer due to communicable diseases but to NCDs There is a five-fold increase in deaths caused by Diabetes mellitus. This is caused by an increase in rise in standard of living, consumption of high glycaemic index food, leading a more stressful life and less daily physical activities. There is no relation with the history of slavery, indenture or colonialism. The prevalence of hypertension has also increased from 30.2 % in 1987 to 37.9 % in 2009. This is due partly to modern lifestyle with stress at work and on the road or because financial and social tensions, again little to do with the history of slavery or indenture.

#### Reference 104 - 0.01% Coverage

Retracing one's family history in Mauritius required, in addition to papers, research using Oral History as knowledge about families has been transmitted orally. The University of Mauritius' oral History Project shows clearly that many more families than those who submitted land claims at the Commission have knowledge of their family's past ownership of land. Today, it is virtually impossible to obtain lost land without a genealogical tree. This section, therefore, provides a survey of how genealogical research has been conducted in Mauritius through the experiences and difficulties encountered by deponents coming to the TJC. For most retracing their family is nothing less than an immense hurdle compounded by inadequate and antiquated laws and bored and petty minded Officers.

#### Reference 105 - 0.01% Coverage

The TJC was immensely fortunate to obtain the advice and voluntary services of Mr. Patrick Drack, a French National of Mauritian ancestry who, through his personal search for his own family history, has digitized, in France and in Mauritius, many Civil Status documents and assisted Mauritian families abroad in their searches. Mr. Drack has prepared the project for such a Centre which the Commission was happy to endorse whilst respecting his wish that there be no compartmentalisation of the Mauritian population.

#### Reference 106 - 0.01% Coverage

A. To assist Mauritian families, many of whom are descendants of slaves and indentured labourers, to reconstruct their family trees in a more credible manner than hitherto possible. This is in recognition of the numerous difficulties faced by ordinary Mauritians to collect relevant and accurate data concerning their family history due to :

#### Reference 107 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission, therefore, supports the recommendation of creating a Conservation Institute or a 'Cultural heritage Institute', to be placed under the aegis of the University of Mauritius where young persons of all disciplines can be trained in the interdisciplinary framework which is so essential in cultural heritage preservation (Engineering, Computer Science, History, Chemistry and Natural Sciences) rather than at the Ministry of Arts and Culture, heavily staffed by administrators and only a few specialists in cultural fields. Scientific disciplines are represented in even less numbers.

#### Reference 108 - 0.01% Coverage

2. The situation concerning the British and post-Independence periods is extremely disturbing (1810-1980) and has repercussions for the History of Mauritius, as well as for the principle of freedom of information that all Mauritians have a right to.

#### Reference 109 - 0.01% Coverage

□ More recently, independent Governments have not kept up the practice of maintaining archives. There is no concern over how succeeding generations will write the History of the 21st century.

#### Reference 110 - 0.01% Coverage

The creation of a Cultural Heritage Institute or a Conservation Institute at the University of Mauritius (UoM), which will include the preparation of a Master's Degree in Conservation of Mauritian Heritage; this could be part of both History programmes as well as Librarians' courses and even Sciences programme, as a multidisciplinary staff (Sciences Chemistry Entomology Mycology) is also required etc.

#### Reference 111 - 0.01% Coverage

For more than five hundred years, various powers have fought for control over the Indian Ocean. During much of this time, the islands have played little part, if any. Formerly, all the territories, including Rodrigues, Saint-Brandon, the Chagos Archipelago, as well as Tromelin, formed part of Mauritius before Independence. Although Mauritius has retained Rodrigues, Agaléga and Saint Brandon in 1968, Tromelin and the Chagos Archipelago still constitute a bone of contention between Mauritius and two of the former colonial powers, namely France and Great Britain which excised these territories. Today, the Republic of Mauritius has an Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) of 1.9 million km<sup>2</sup>. The particular histories of Rodrigues and Agaléga have been discussed in Volume IV (Part IX) of this Report. The Chagos Archipelago, however, is more than a local issue; it is an international issue and is the object of an important power game in this part of the world.

#### Reference 112 - 0.01% Coverage

This mandate has also been read in conjunction with other clauses in the Act relating to the history of slavery and indenture and its consequences. Hence, it could not adopt a purely technical or legal approach and has considered the land dispossession issue in a more holistic manner than has been attempted so far in Mauritius. However, the time-frame proposed (two years) is much too short to be able to produce a comprehensive report as many documents are not available easily and extensive and in-depth searches were required. Recommendations for additional work on the cases are made towards the setting up of institutions to democratise access to technical persons and professionals, so that the members of the public not in possession

of vast reserves of cash can fight, on a more equal basis, the holders of economic power who take them to Court.

#### Reference 113 - 0.01% Coverage

In its short 400-year-old history, Mauritius has known one of the worst forms of injustice, marked by the establishment of slavery and a not-so-perfect post-emancipation period where indentured labour was brought in. Today, Mauritius is now considered as one of the most avant-gardiste in the field of Social Justice. Yet a Truth and Justice Commission was set up, indicating that all was not well.

#### Reference 114 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission's mandate was to look at the consequences, if any, of this history of slavery and indenture and make recommendations to this effect to increase social justice. While the history of slavery and indenture, the post-emancipation period has been examined and continuities and consequences outlined, the question remains: how does one increase social justice? It is important to first examine briefly the philosophical precepts underlying the task before the Commission in order to provide a basis for understanding what needs to be done and, above all, enable the Mauritian public to understand what, and why, particular recommendations are being made.

#### Reference 115 - 0.01% Coverage

Following the cyclone of 1892, the Sugar Industry was seriously hit and in need of capital for reconsolidation and expansion. Requests for assistance from the United Kingdom met with reticence. In 1909, however, the Colonial Office appointed a three-man Commission, headed by Sir Frank Swettenham, to enquire into the financial situation of the country and all problems connected with labour and immigration. The Commission submitted various recommendations and showed its apprehension concerning the idea that, in spite of the overwhelming majority of people of Indian origin in the colony, these were not represented in the legislature. Although the Royal Commission of 1909 recommended the cessation of labour recruitment from India, this did not take place until Maharaj Singh also recommended it years later. This marked a new era in Mauritian History. The First World War (1914-1918) did not slow down the fighting spirit of the emerging class of politicians which, hitherto, comprised part of the Indian elite.

#### Reference 116 - 0.01% Coverage

This period in the History of Mauritius witnessed a drastic change in the way the British Government viewed its colonies and their inhabitants. Following the publication of the Hooper Report in 1938 and the passing of the Colonial and Development Welfare Act 1940, major changes took place in the fields of education, housing, and healthcare. These decisions also laid down the foundations of the Mauritian Welfare State.

#### Reference 117 - 0.01% Coverage

For the first time in the history of the island, elections were held in 1959 on the basis of universal suffrage. This marked an era of emancipation of the whole population in its fight for social justice.

Reference 118 - 0.01% Coverage

Measures taken by the State in the area of health, housing, education, social security and employment, have been great landmarks in Mauritian History. What is remarkable is that all successive Governments, which have been in office since Independence, while striving hard towards economic consolidation and expansion, have at the same time never relegated the poor and the vulnerable to the periphery of society. This philosophy has contributed to Social Justice and improved the overall quality of life of the people.

Reference 119 - 0.01% Coverage

In the wake of an independent Mauritius, the British, contrary to U.N resolution regarding the dismantling of territories of any future State, decided to separate the Chagos Archipelago as part and parcel of the Colony of Mauritius. The Chagos Archipelago, very much like Rodrigues and Agalega, was inhabited by people of slave descent who laboured in the Coconut and Fishing industry in extremious conditions. The decision of the then Colonial Office to sever connections with the Mauritius mainland is a dark spot in Colonial History of the British Empire. As a consequence of the British decision, in 1970, thousands of Chagossians were deported to Seychelles and to Mauritius. They were uprooted from their motherland, Peros Bahnos and Salomon Islands, in the Chagos Archipelago, Diego Garcia. Following an agreement between USA and UK, shortly afterwards, Diego Garcia was ceded to USA for the establishment of a military base with sophisticated armaments. In 1972, the British Government paid a sum of £ 650,000 to the Mauritian Government destined for the displaced Chagossians. In 1982, the UK Government paid a further sum of Rs. 100 million to the Chagossians.

Reference 120 - 0.01% Coverage

The Malaise Créole had also to do with the history of the Creoles: the dispossession and suffering associated with slavery and its aftermath, the consequences of which can be seen in the persistence of poverty, social problems and political marginalization.

Reference 121 - 0.01% Coverage

1. Better safeguard of archival records and documents pertaining to the history of slavery so that a holistic version of the history of people of creole origin can be undertaken,

Reference 122 - 0.01% Coverage

1. The history of Mauritius should be taught from primary to tertiary level in order to foster better inter- ethnic relations.

Reference 123 - 0.01% Coverage

8. Jimmy Harmon Jimmy Harmon is an academic and claims to be a militant engaged in the promotion of the Creole community. He has indeed devoted his life to the study of the behavioral attitude of Creoles towards education and their relations with the Catholic Church and Government. His interest in the history of Mauritius has enlightened him on the circumstances which have led to the 'marginalization' of the Creole community to which he claims to belong. His struggle in favour of the rehabilitation of the Creoles during his 22year career as an educationist has led him to conclude that racism and the worst method of discrimination are the root causes for the situation in which the descendents of slaves find themselves today. He is fully conscious that the struggle for restorative justice is not an easy one, but he believes that the Truth and Justice Commission has a sacrosanct task to make major recommendations to bring about a drastic change of policy by government to better the fate of the Creole community in Mauritius. He also stated:

Reference 124 - 0.01% Coverage

10. Jose Rose of the Rastafari movement The Rastafari movement, constitutes a small group of Afro-Malagasy Mauritians established in Chamarel. They have been victims of racial prejudice in their history, because of their lifestyle. They feel they are not lesser citizens of the country. They have been dispossessed of their ancestral land and claim to be the poorest among the poorest class of descendants of former slaves.

Reference 125 - 0.01% Coverage

4. Preservation of historical sites and archival records and need of a holistic version of the history of people of slave descent

Reference 126 - 0.01% Coverage

1. Memorialising Slavery 2. A better understanding of, and a more inclusive, Mauritian history and culture 3. A better and increased protection of Mauritian heritage 4. A less racist and elitist society 5. A more democratic public life 6. Empower Mauritians of African and Malagasy origin

Reference 127 - 0.01% Coverage

11. For a more just educational system 12. For our 'cités' 13. Concerning the caste system 14. Le Morne village history and heritage and Southern Mauritius 15. Metayers and Riche Terre Planters 16. Archives

Reference 128 - 0.01% Coverage

7. Actions towards national unity and reconciliation to include joint collaborative events where descendants of slave owners and of slaves can interact and share histories, such as that carried

Reference 129 - 0.01% Coverage

12. To assess the quantitative value of the labour by future researchers trained in Economic History and historical statistics.

Reference 130 - 0.01% Coverage

18. Online historical data to be freely available on slavery and the slave trade to enable all Mauritians to access their History.

Reference 131 - 0.01% Coverage

20. Recognition of the following sites and histories as National heritage:

Reference 132 - 0.01% Coverage

☐ Trou Chenille - home of ex-slave population forcibly removed. The Le Morne Trust Fund must document and publish this history.

Reference 133 - 0.01% Coverage

☐ Committee to study the history of Indians in French period and how to better memorialize their history and heritage in contemporary Mauritius.

Reference 134 - 0.01% Coverage

☐ There is a low level of understanding of Mauritian History exhibited by Mauritians from all walks of life and irrespective of educational background. There is thus a need for research and the promotion of History

Reference 135 - 0.01% Coverage

23. Introduction of Mauritian history at all levels in the School Curriculum and for all categories of Mauritians.

Reference 136 - 0.01% Coverage

27. State funding for further scientific research into slavery and indenture and Mauritian history in general.

Reference 137 - 0.01% Coverage

38. Promote history and other disciplines involved in heritage documentation and research to provide the nation with scientific vision of the past thus allowing the dissemination of knowledge.

Reference 138 - 0.01% Coverage

□ To introduce “socio-biography” of groups and life histories of individuals, with particular emphasis on History and the forging of patterns in values, attitudes and behaviours. This is also a form of narrative therapy.

Reference 139 - 0.01% Coverage

□ That many Mauritians feel an emotional need to search for their origins and in multicultural Mauritius, this should be possible for all groups in Mauritius. When persons of Afro-Malagasy descent see others being able to trace their family origins going far back several generations and even to the original family in Asia or Europe, and try to reconstruct their own history, this is far less easier.

Reference 140 - 0.01% Coverage

□ Children, victims of abuse (sexual/physical/gross neglect/ill-treatment) and who are placed at shelters (NGOs) are at times placed at the RYC at a very young age, given their behavioural problems – there is a need for proper assessment and psychological intervention and close follow-up at such cases so that they get the necessary caring and supportive environment to help them grow and deal with their past history.

Reference 141 - 0.01% Coverage

164. Education for a shared history, identity and culture in the school system and media □ That long-term education programs be introduced to promote the shared dimension of all Mauritians’ history and identity.

□ That the school system (via text books and national programs) should be revised to incorporate more recent approaches of the Mauritian History.

Reference 142 - 0.01% Coverage

176. The Commission further recommends that their history be written before it is forgotten and the oral testimonies of those who lived there be recorded and made available in a public Oral Archive without any time restrictions.

Reference 143 - 0.01% Coverage

Similarly, at the Ministry of Arts and Culture under which, specialists in slavery, indenture and in heritage management, Archaeology, History and Anthropology must be appointed to better monitor these institutions.

Reference 144 - 0.01% Coverage

□ The creation of a Cultural Heritage Institute or a Conservation Institute at the University of Mauritius (UoM) which will include the preparation of a Master’s in Conservation of Mauritian Heritage. This could be part of both History programmes, as well as Librarians’ courses and even

Sciences programme as a multidisciplinary staff (Sciences, Chemistry, Entomology, Mycology) are also required etc.

#### Reference 145 - 0.01% Coverage

- ii. History of Agalega should be taught from Primary level onwards. The book of Father Dussercle Agaléga Petite Île is an excellent manual for secondary students.
- iii. A museum, with what is left of the ancient establishment and families, will be a living memory of traditions and culture, and an open book of history.

#### Reference 146 - 0.01% Coverage

There are different coconut fields with different names. Their delimitation, with their proper names, will be a practical exercise in pedagogy to teach the History of Agalega to all the population, particularly young students. Names of streets and avenues should also be marked. This measure will reinstate the dignity of the people: from Camp Noir to Avenue, from hut to bungalow.

#### Reference 147 - 0.01% Coverage

There are many groups, linguistic and cultural who are neglected in official national events and who also deserve to have their history and contribution to Mauritius recognized. These include, for example, the Gens de Couleur, tribal groups from India, Indo-Christians, Agaleans, Rodriguans, and so on.

#### Reference 148 - 0.01% Coverage

□ ‘Casteism still exists (marriage, politics, temple entry and rituals) and must be researched and brought out in history books. Cases of discrimination must be brought out’

#### Reference 149 - 0.01% Coverage

279. That the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund currently the only institution to be legally entrusted with the preservation of the history and heritage of indentured immigrants be consulted concerning the management of the Immigration Archives and access to them.

#### Reference 150 - 0.01% Coverage

357 Despite spending several pages describing the history of the use of manure as a fertilizing agent on Mauritian sugar estates over the past one hundred years, North-Coombes (1993:76-82) only writes one line on the Engrais system and the use of human manure to cultivate cane plants. “[H]uman excreta”, he says, “has ceased to be employed owing to the dissemination of Hook Worm”. Andrew Balfour’s (1921:87-88) report indicates the practice was very widespread at the time he visited Mauritius, which is why he singled out its discontinuation as one of the most important ways to combat the spread of hookworm disease, also pointing out that these conditions “probably have not their parallel in any other part of the world. The main industry in

Mauritius is sugar cane cultivation. The cane requires fertiliser and as Victor Hugo said, possibly with some truth, “the most fertilising and effective of manures is human manure.” Unfortunately in the tropics it is also the most dangerous. This fact was not recognised.”

#### Reference 151 - 0.01% Coverage

In this respect, the University of Mauritius has been identified as repository the databank mentioned in Chapter 2.01 The Centre for Research on slavery and indenture should be the repository of the oral history databank for the following reasons:

#### Reference 152 - 0.01% Coverage

□ Oral history is a new field of research in Mauritius and oral history archives should be set to promote oral history research

#### Reference 153 - 0.01% Coverage

Identity needed to be studied as an original construction and seen as a heritage but also as an original construction by Mauritians. Discussion needed to take place on what made up the Mauritian nation. History education was important but in a more dynamic way/

#### Reference 154 - 0.01% Coverage

The short history of Mauritius and the development of a Creole Culture

#### Reference 155 - 0.01% Coverage

A very large number of views were expressed on education and the need for reform. These are summarized here: educational programmes to fight racism must be put in place and for schools to be aware of the various conventions; the need for stereotypes of occupations for descendants to be countered; the destigmatisation of those who did not vote for independence; the study of the history of education; choice of English by the descendants of indenture while those of slaves had no choice: French was the language of Catechism and was chosen. New language developed by the new Creole elite emerging: Creole. Creole needed to be introduced for descendants of slaves as a cultural, part of linguistic /cultural rights. High failure rate needed to be examined.

#### Reference 156 - 0.01% Coverage

5. History On this topic, much was said and is summarized here.

Approaches and methodologies: oral histories needed to be incorporated with archival studies  
Gaps in the study of history: post 1830s 1840s 1850s - experience of slaves and descendants

#### Reference 157 - 0.01% Coverage

□ The simple database started by the TKC should be continued by the University of Mauritius in partnership with other institutions which have an interest in the slave trade and slavery. The

University possesses both history and computer science departments who can collaborate with minimal cost with each other to maintain the database. It also has a pool of students every year who can be initiated and trained in historical research and data entry.

#### Reference 158 - 0.01% Coverage

Furthermore, Mauritius is the first country in Africa and the world to have a Truth and Justice Commission investigating the history of slavery and its consequences and to accept the principle that reparations are required.

#### Reference 159 - 0.01% Coverage

Considering the role of future generations in social and cultural development of the continent, the main goal of this Project, is to rescue the history of slavery and the slave traffic in southeastern Africa. In this context, the gathering, collection and preservation of oral traditions; as well as the promotion of cultural diversity and cultural tourism, and of a whole range of activities interconnected to this phenomenon, are crucial to this Project.

#### Reference 160 - 0.01% Coverage

The conceptors of this Project recommend that the Museum be located in the capital city Port Louis. Apart from giving the history of slavery its due importance it is also appropriate that it should be placed in a location that is reminiscent of slavery and related to slavery. Furthermore as the historic parts of the city are frequently visited by tourists and Mauritians alike, this will ensure financial sustainability for the Museum once it is opened.

#### Reference 161 - 0.01% Coverage

1. provide for the recording and keeping of oral history archives in relation to genealogy and family history;

#### Reference 162 - 0.01% Coverage

The work undertaken by the Commission has been laborious, given the short span of time available to probe into more than 300 years of History since the first land grant (concession) was given officially in 1726 to Pierre Christophe Lenoir, a French colon, Director of Pondichéry. Moreover, the task was delicate as it concerned people who have a profound emotional attachment to land they believe they have lost. Working sessions with hundreds of persons from all walks of life, have aroused mixed feelings. People were led to believe that the Commission was a centre where they could be registered on a list to obtain compensation, either as descendants of slaves or indentured labourers; others firmly believed that the Commission was set up to help them recover plots of land which,

#### Reference 163 - 0.01% Coverage

information or a total lack of financial means on the part of complainants to attain their ultimate objective of proving their ownership of land. People relied mostly on their memory, focusing on the oral history transmitted by past generations, but many were unable to explain the mechanism that led to the dispossession of their lands.

#### Reference 164 - 0.01% Coverage

As the garrison was moved from Mahébourg to the areas around Port Louis, the settlers were left without any protection, and Anse Jonchée, Plaine Saint-Martin and La Table à Pérot were left deserted. These areas of Grand Port retained only the names of the early settlers: Jonchée de la Golletterie, Didier de Saint-Martin and François Pérot. History recalls that Jacques Thomas de Jonchée de la Golletterie, “Capitaine des vaisseaux de la Compagnie des Indes” became, on 15th December 1726, “le premier concessionnaire de l’Isle de France”. Didier de Saint-Martin formed a partnership with Mahé de Labourdonnais and Pierre Moulinot de la Plaine to create, on 25th January 1743, a sugar factory at Ferney, after having obtained a “concession” of some 1,766 Arpents – which consisted of Rivière Saint Martin, Montagne des Hollandais and Montagne du Grand Port – out of which some 210 Arpents were covered with sugar cane.

#### Reference 165 - 0.01% Coverage

Historians, researchers, Land surveyors, Attorneys, Notaries, Barristers cannot research properly land transactions which may have occurred at different periods of history because of the absence or bad state of these documents. It is also common knowledge that most people are unable to easily access all the Archives relating principally to land transactions. This situation must change. Furthermore, the practice of acquiring, exchanging or selling plots of land through private signature (“sous seing privé”) has, in many cases, deprived researchers of opportunities to explain the state of affairs prevailing at that time. The layman, being ignorant of the Law, might have seen in this practice an easy way to undertake land transactions without having recourse to the service of a Notary Public.

#### Reference 166 - 0.01% Coverage

Land tenure system and landownership have been the most important components that have shaped the political, social and economic history of Mauritius since the Portuguese first put the Island on the world map in 1505.

#### Reference 167 - 0.01% Coverage

The history of land grants in Mauritius stretched over a period of 285 years, started with the first Act of concession witnessing land conceded to Pierre Christophe Lenoir in 1726 by the Compagnie des Indes Orientales, governed by the Feudal Laws. It encompasses the struggle of the colonists for a better system of land tenure, the struggle of the slaves for freedom and justice and for their recognition as citizens capable of holding lands. And the fight of the ‘gens de couleur’ for a better comprehension of their aspirations to acquire land and take part in the set up and consolidation of a ‘pieds-à-terre’ common to all. Where everyone can celebrate and chant

the Code Civil: “La propriété est le droit de jouir et disposer des choses de la manière la plus absolue, pourvu qu’on n’en fasse pas un usage prohibé par les lois ou par les règlements.”

#### Reference 168 - 0.01% Coverage

Access to and control of land was a major factor that shaped the social and economic history of colonial Mauritius during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and much of the twentieth century. Soon after it colonized the island in 1721, the French Compagnie des Indes inaugurated a policy of making substantial grants of

#### Reference 169 - 0.01% Coverage

production of the foodstuffs, naval stores, and other commodities needed to support the French political and naval presence in the Indian Ocean. Following the advent of royal rule in 1767, the Colonial Government continued this policy until the late 1780s when it began to sell public land, usually at a very reasonable price, to the colony’s inhabitants. The properties, granted or sold to French and other European colonists during the eighteenth century, provided the nucleus around which many of the colony’s sugar estates were subsequently built during the early nineteenth century. However, Europeans were not the only Mauritian residents to acquire landed property. Significant numbers of the colony’s residents of African and Asian origin or descent also purchased, or otherwise acquired access to or use of land during the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. Their ability to do so similarly played an important role in shaping the course of the country’s social and economic history.

#### Reference 170 - 0.01% Coverage

The Mauritian population comprised three principal components during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: persons of European origin or ancestry, free persons of African, Malagasy, and Asian origin or ancestry, and slaves of African, Malagasy, Indian, and Southeast Asian origin or ancestry. Slaves, who regularly accounted for the overwhelming majority of the colony’s population during this period, were legally prohibited from owning property by Section twenty-one of the Code Noir, promulgated in December 1723. No such restrictions applied, however, to the island’s free coloured residents. These individuals, commonly referred to as Gens de couleur libres in the archival record and studies of the country’s history, included both freeborn persons of African or Asian origin or ancestry and manumitted slaves.

#### Reference 171 - 0.01% Coverage

Between 1748 and 1810, however, the Colonial Land Office recorded approximately 410 grants and sales of public land to free persons of colour that provide a vantage point from which to begin reconstructing the history of landownership by free(d) persons of African and Asian origin or ancestry. These documents reveal that only a handful of free persons of colour received grants of public land before Compagnie rule ended in 1767. Most of these grantees were individuals of some consequence to the colony’s social, economic, or political life. Elizabeth Sobobie Béty (or Bétia), who received the first land grant made to a non-European in 1758, was the daughter of the King, and later herself briefly the Queen, of Foulpointe, an important slave trading centre on

the East coast of Madagascar.<sup>6</sup> Other early free coloured recipients of these grants, such as Louis LaViolette, an interpreter for the Compagnie in Madagascar, and Manuel Manique, a former Maître d'hôtel du gouvernement, were also persons of economic or administrative importance to the colony's wellbeing.<sup>7</sup>

#### Reference 172 - 0.01% Coverage

This propensity of Mauritian ex-apprentices to reside in the general vicinity of the small properties they purchased is not unexpected. Post-emancipation Caribbean history is replete with examples of former apprentices who, despite an intense desire to dissociate themselves from all vestiges of their former condition, nevertheless continued to live in relatively close proximity to the estates on which they had once labored. Their reasons for doing so are not difficult to discern. Complex webs of social, economic, and psychological ties that had been created over the years were not easily or readily dismantled. Moreover, many estates included large areas of uncleared or unused arpentage, precisely the kind of land that estate-owners were inclined to sell and former apprentices were inclined to acquire, especially if they had lived on or near the land in question.

#### Reference 173 - 0.01% Coverage

Department, and the Registration and Mortgage Department; and reports produced by institutions such as the Mauritius Chamber of Agriculture. Although these rich and diverse sources shed considerable light on the ways in which the colony's residents acquired, and made use of, land, it is important to remember that the sometimes problematic nature of these documents means that reconstructing the history of land ownership in Mauritius as fully or as completely as we would like is a difficult and time-consuming undertaking. That nineteenth-century censuses did not report the criteria used to distinguish "independent" proprietors from other landowners is one example of these problems, while the fact that annual reports on the colony stopped reporting on the extent of landholding by different segments of the island's population during the 1930s is another.

#### Reference 174 - 0.01% Coverage

The extent to which access to capital is central to understanding the history of landownership in colonial Mauritius is revealed in other ways. The increasing incidence of sharecropping during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries may be traced, in so small measure, to the financial problems facing the local sugar industry at this time. Economic considerations also compelled men and women to squat on publically, or privately-owned land. Many ex-apprentices did so because they lacked the money needed to secure legal title to land. The illegal occupation of public lands, especially mountain and river reserves and the *pas géométriques*, by impoverished men and women of all ethno-cultural backgrounds remained a problem for the Colonial Government throughout the nineteenth century. Information on the extent of this activity and those who engaged in it remains frustratingly scarce, but in 1906, the colony's Conservator of Forests noted some of factors that made dealing with the alienation of these lands so problematic: the absence of detailed and accurate maps of the lands in question; the passage of laws such as Ordinance No. 30 of 1895 which essentially destroyed the inalienability of the *pas*

géométriques; and the difficulties that arose from the fact that Indian and Creole small proprietors, many if not most of whom were illiterate, had often purchased land in Government reserves “in ignorance and good faith.”<sup>77</sup> In so doing, he underscores the need for scholars, Government officials, and the general public to appreciate the complexities – social, economic, and political – that coming to grips with the nature, dynamics, and problems of land ownership in Mauritius, both past and present, entails.

#### Reference 175 - 0.01% Coverage

The Short History of Mauritius by Toussaint has elaborated on the World War II period, when the colony was seriously affected by famine, especially in 1941. Then Mauritius could not import rice from Burma, due to the war in Japan. So, the Government had to be very strict and established special War Laws. Therefore, Sugar Estates Managers were obliged to cultivate foodcrops from an initial value of one-fortieth up to one-quarter of their fields. This law was also applied to small planters.

#### Reference 176 - 0.01% Coverage

Throughout Mauritian History, the sugar magnates, having acquired large “grants”, set up large conglomerates, obtained a cheap labour force to create their wealth. Solitude Sugar Estate was one of the three sugar factories which belonged to the Society Harel Frères Limited. Auguste Dioré was the first owner between 1838 and 1839. He sold 406 acres of land to Jean Baptiste d'Agnel in 1857. Since that time, the land changed hands and increased in acreage several times. The annexation of adjoining lands, resulting from the closing down of factories, increased considerably the factory area of the sugar mill as was the case in other parts of the island.

#### Reference 177 - 0.01% Coverage

Sugar is closely associated with Mauritius. It shaped the history and culture of the island. Covering more than 40% of the surface area of the island, this industry made the island State what it is today. But, the sweetener introduced by the Dutch

#### Reference 178 - 0.01% Coverage

This flexi-factory has been hailed as an important milestone in the history of the cane industry which has brought the Sugar Industry to live a new era. As a result of the reform of the European Union sugar regime, especially the 36% cut in the price of sugar and the end of the Sugar Protocol in early October 2009, a new Public Private Partnership has been forged to bring together all stakeholders in the cane industry. The transformation of the cane sector is seen more as the reincarnation of sugarcane, where sugar becomes a co-product of the industry,

#### Reference 179 - 0.01% Coverage

Conscious that they were being dispossessed of their ancestral lands, an association known as “The descendants of Gabriel Bégué Welfare and Heritage Association” was formed in January 2010. The aim of the association is to establish a genealogy of all heirs and successors of the

deceased Gabriel Bégué and to promote the history of the family since the arrival of Gabriel Bégué in Rodrigues. The family requests to the Commission to help them restore their “patrimoine” (heritage); to reset confidence in the heirs of their ancestors Gabriel Bégué and in the public in general; and to stop all the mal practices made by illegal occupiers especially with the help of the legal advisors. The petitioners have prayed the Truth and Justice Commission to intervene before the Chief Island Commissioners to stop the practice of allowing people who have no claim to the Bégué succession in making false declarations to the effect that they have elected domicile on part of the land and to carry an inquiry into the circumstances of a number of prescriptions that have been registered following false testimony of witnesses. Ronald Bégué mentioned a case where a person alien to the Bégué family has

#### Reference 180 - 0.01% Coverage

However, in Mauritius, the extent of ownership is highly skewed in favour of large plantations owners. There has never been large-scale redistribution of lands either after abolition of slavery or indenture or independence by governments, colonial or independent. Small farmers and proprietors have on their own saved enough money and bought many plots of land at various moments in history.

#### Reference 181 - 0.01% Coverage

Gleadow’s final statement reveals much about the state of affairs and explained why all the greatest laws would fail: - “The corruption of subordinates needs not to be insisted upon. It is the natural corollary of the want of supervision. But, it involves a general want of moral tone in considerable sections of the society... The spirit of camaraderie is the outcome of the history of the island. The majority of Whites and White Creoles are the descendants of comparatively few families who have married and intermarried for generations so that it would be dangerous to say who is not related to whom”.

#### Reference 182 - 0.01% Coverage

the Abolition of British Colonial Slavery", which was published in the "Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History, May 1976, Volume IV Number 3" Burroughs made reference to an exchange of letter "Buchanan to Lefevre, dated 7th June 1833"<sup>2</sup> underlining: “Shrewd scheming advocates with the eye to augmenting fees and influence found unlimited scope to ensnare opponents in the meshes of law, prolong cases brought before trial, and emasculate unpopular legislation. The local bar buttressed its enviable position by restricting the number of “Avoués” who could practice and making this privilege a monopoly of foremost French families. Because of its intimate association with planters and merchants through intermarriage, investment, and a common concern to defend the status quo, as well as its mastery of the obscurities of French commercial and land law, the legal fraternity dominated to an extraordinary degree the life of the whole community and exploited that predominance for selfish ends. Whenever the British Government devised incongenial policies or threatened to undermine the oligarchy’s ascendancy, judges and lawyers could and did unashamedly empty the Courts to protect their sectoral interests. British merchants and creditors, for example, who, by 1832, apparently held mortgages on all but one of the island’s sugar plantations, protested regularly about being defrauded by

Mauritian debtors because of partisan “Avoués” and antiquated French laws so ‘remarkably convenient for cheating the British out of their money’. They persistently urged the Colonial Office to introduce English laws and English Judges”.

#### Reference 183 - 0.01% Coverage

At the closing date of 30th June 2010, the Truth and Justice Commission received some 230 files from claimants in Mauritius and 30 others from Rodrigues, to be analysed and assessed in order to find out how dispossession occurred. The background highlighted above gives an idea of how things happened at different periods of our history.

#### Reference 184 - 0.01% Coverage

In addition, it is worthy to note that at the hearing session the CEO stated that in the past the Company had solved existing land issues by asking the two Land surveyors to study the case and come in with a full history of the land.

#### Reference 185 - 0.01% Coverage

The Labonté, is a Malagasy free family that came to Mauritius and was established in Le Morne as fishermen. Their history is documented in works of missionaries. The current descendants are Laviolette family. The family lost their land, then David Labonté died leaving only minors as heirs and under a tutor who proceeded to sell most of the land.

#### Reference 186 - 0.01% Coverage

It has been impossible for the heirs to get access to the plots of land, to the administrators of Constance-Fuel. The employees are unaware of the history of the lands and it is impossible to survey the plots of land.

#### Reference 187 - 0.01% Coverage

the circumstances from oral history why no one can take care of the land. Illiteracy as such is not a reason.

#### Reference 188 - 0.01% Coverage

The history of the case concerning this plot of land and the incident related in the said case before

#### Reference 189 - 0.01% Coverage

Edley John Mollières, the applicant, and his brother say that their grandparents owned a plot of land of 15 Acres at Mare D’Albert. The cousins of the applicant inherited and bought several plots of land. They were proprietors of several sugar plantations. The applicant says that he is unaware of the history of land.

#### Reference 190 - 0.01% Coverage

They request the Commission to rediscover the history of the land, recover the land and make justice prevail. They submitted a number of documents which have no bearing to the claim.

#### Reference 191 - 0.01% Coverage

Désiré Emmanuel Roussel, the applicant, says that his great-grandparents possessed a plot of land of 325 Acres at Plaine Magnien. He avers that the Mon Désert-Mon Trésor Sugar Estate cultivates sugarcane on the land. The applicant says that he is unaware of the history of land. He came to know about it by doing searches at the Archives.

#### Reference 192 - 0.01% Coverage

He requests the Commission to help him to recover the land and to know the family history.

#### Reference 193 - 0.01% Coverage

The main objective of the registration of title is to spare persons, dealing with registered land, from the trouble and expense of going behind the Register, in order to investigate the history of their author's title and satisfy themselves of the validity. That end is accomplished by ensuring that anyone who purchased 'bona fide' and for value, from a registered proprietor and then enters his deed of transfer or mortgage on the register, shall thereby acquire an indefensible right notwithstanding the infirmity of the author's title. Registration of title gives finality and does away with the repeated, imperfect and costly examination of past title.

#### Reference 194 - 0.01% Coverage

The setting up of the Truth and Justice Commission has created high expectations within the Mauritian population at large. Different people had different interpretations of the true mandate of the Commission, particularly as far as land is concerned. Most of those who presented themselves before the Commission were of the opinion that the TJC would do the utmost to retrieve the land that their ancestors might have possessed at different periods of our history. While others thought that they would be compensated for the land they probably owned and which they have lost. This perception has, moreover, been emphasized from certain quarters who have led people to believe that the Commission has been created, first and foremost, to take back large portions of lands, especially from sugar estates, and to undertake an equitable redistribution among the less privileged and those lower on the economic and social ladder.

#### Reference 195 - 0.01% Coverage

Following findings of the Commission, which has probed deeply into the history of slaves and indentured descendants, it has been found that people have lost their land due to their inability to establish their claim or prevent people from acquiring their land through prescription and illegal means.

#### Reference 196 - 0.01% Coverage

The Oral History Project research (See ORAL HISTORY OF DESCENDANTS OF SLAVES Part 1, Volume 3), commissioned by the Truth and Justice Commission to document and preserve the memories and views of people who consider themselves as slave descendants, surveyed the collective memory of the people who have a particular knowledge of the history, culture, lifestyle, heritage and traditions of slaves, ex-slaves and their descendants. The survey, which covered the islands of Mauritius and Rodrigues, Agaléga, Chagos aimed, amongst others, at uncovering the “Causes of landownership and causes for loss of land” by the descendants of ex-slaves.

#### Reference 197 - 0.01% Coverage

“Slavery had an impact on us. This is the history of my ancestors, they were living in their country, they worked, risked their lives, fought, lost their loved ones. To be healed from that, it needs time. They liberated themselves, created their language, and invented their music to fight the harshness of life. Sega is the intelligence and sweat of our ancestors to regroup and express the hardships of life. Their descendants still suffer

#### Reference 198 - 0.01% Coverage

Commission is to investigate the history of slavery and indenture, its consequences and suggest reparations. It was clear that two years would not allow for the task of reviewing 350 years of history and consequently, the Commission focused on a number of topics for in-depth study. Assessing the consequences or even identifying descendants was less easy as the reports show, since so few Mauritians are aware of their history and still less of their family history. Consultants, scholars and researchers have expressed their personal views on issues, and it is clear that not all views converge. The Commission has studied and considered all views expressed and given its own views in its report in Volume 1. It is understood that the views expressed here are those of the writers themselves, and not those of the Commission. There are many myths and perceptions about Mauritian history that Mauritians have. This has

#### Reference 199 - 0.01% Coverage

### VOL 3: PART I – SLAVERY - ORAL HISTORY OF DESCENDANTS OF SLAVES INTRODUCTION

This oral history project research has been commissioned by the Truth and Justice Commission to document and preserve the memories and views of people who consider themselves as slave descendants. It surveys the collective memory of the people who have a particular knowledge of the history, culture, lifestyle, heritage and traditions of slaves, ex-slaves and their descendants. The survey covers the islands of Mauritius and Rodrigues, Agaléga, Chagos and aims at uncovering the following topics identified by the Truth and Justice Commission:

#### Reference 200 - 0.01% Coverage

B. Contributions of slaves and their descendants to the economic, political, social and cultural life of Mauritius C. Perceptions of slavery and its consequences D. Perceptions of descendants of slaves and indentured labourers E. Life histories of the individuals, their parents and grandparents  
F. Particular constraining experiences of living in cités (coastal and non-coastal) and occupation etc. G. Causes of illiteracy H. Causes of landownership and causes for loss of land I. Perceptions of other ethnic and cultural groups and their history

#### Reference 201 - 0.01% Coverage

Since Rodriguan informants might have felt uncomfortable in front of a stranger who is not a native of Rodrigues, the local facilitator assisted the researcher during the interview. Two interview guides were designed, translating the aims of the study. Given that the slave history of Rodrigues Island differs from that of Mauritius Island and, consequently, that the experiences of Rodriguans and Mauritians, might diverge, a different interview guide was designed for Rodrigues to reflect Rodriguans' reality. Open-ended questions were used to encourage the informants to talk freely and the guides were translated into Creole.

In line with the aims of the project, the questions were regrouped under fourteen main topics: 1. Life History 2. Literacy 3. Family History 4. Property 5. Identity/Perception of descendants of slaves 6. Slavery and its consequences 7. Contribution of slaves and their descendants to the economic life of Mauritius 8. Contributions of slaves and their descendants to the political life of Mauritius 9. Contribution of slaves and their descendants to the social life of Mauritius 10. Contribution of slaves and their descendants to cultural life of Mauritius 11. Slavery and its consequences and perceptions of descendants of slaves 12. Life in cités 13. Perceptions of other ethnic and cultural groups 14. Racism 15. Expectations and hopes for the future

#### Reference 202 - 0.01% Coverage

(i) For the West and South-West (Black River and Savanne Districts) the investigator reported that the quality of the interviews was hampered because of constraints with respect to the quota of informants to be interviewed and the date of submission of the report. It was impossible for the researcher to conduct proper ethnographic fieldwork and oral history interviews because of time constraints.

#### Reference 203 - 0.01% Coverage

There is a generational transmission of menial jobs, because as it is reflected by the life histories of the informants, they stopped schooling at a young age to start working. For example, R6 and R13 stopped schooling after Standard 6 and Form 2 respectively because of financial problems. They were poor and education was not free at that time.

#### Reference 204 - 0.01% Coverage

Interviews revealed that there has been either no or limited transmission of family origins. For many people recollections of family history were limited to their grandparents and sometimes to their great grandparents. The knowledge of family and its origins very often don't go beyond

great grandfather (two generations). This is perhaps because, families have moved from one area to another resulting in a cut off from family ties and most probably because of absence or lack of oral transmission of family origins.

#### Reference 205 - 0.01% Coverage

Either no or limited transmission of knowledge of family origins. Generational transmission of family history was limited to one to two generations and hence for many people recollections of family history were limited to their grandparents and sometimes to their great grandparents. Although they did not know their origins they identified themselves as of slave descent because of their African phenotype. For example, Rosemay considers herself as being Mauritian of African descent because of her skin colour, she is Black and hair type is 'frizzy'. She does not know when her ancestors came to Mauritius but she thinks they came enchained as shown in films. Although the informants who did not know their origins mentioned that they would like to know about their family origins, some of them such as Joseph questioned what this knowledge will bring him?

#### Reference 206 - 0.01% Coverage

generations). This is perhaps because, families have moved from one area to another resulting in a cut off from family ties and most probably because of absence or lack of oral transmission of family origins. Interviews revealed that there has been either no or limited transmission of knowledge of family origins. Generational transmission of family history was limited to one to two generations and hence for many people recollections of family history were limited to their grandparents and sometimes to their great grandparents. Although they did not know their origins they identified themselves as of slave descent because of their African phenotype. For example, Rosemay considers herself as being Mauritian of African descent because of her skin colour, she is Black and hair type is 'frizzy'. For those who do not know their origins, most of them guessed about their family ancestry based on their physical appearance and what their parents told them. Their identification is not derived from knowledge of ancestral origins but rather on shared legacies of slavery such as social experiences and lack of education and opportunities. On the other hand, some informants' identification with the slaves descendant seems also to be founded on racial grounds. This biological identification associates the African phenotype, skin colour (being black) and hair style (frizzy hair) with slave ancestry.

#### Reference 207 - 0.01% Coverage

R6 Defined herself as Creole and slave descendant. What is a Creole? Answer: «Enn Nasion».Is conscious being a slave descendant because of the history of the family that he had learnt.

#### Reference 208 - 0.01% Coverage

R14 has a broad definition of Creole: "If someone declares he is Creole, we should accept the fact, and if a black person does not say he is a Creole, we should accept it also. A Creole is one who chooses to be Creole. The pride of a Creole is not only slavery history because it transcends history and in the modern world – this is a "parti-pris d'espérance" because the world is

becoming intercultural and Creole. Then racism and xenophobia and protectionism will disappear.”

#### Reference 209 - 0.01% Coverage

##### VOL 3: PART I – SLAVERY - ORAL HISTORY OF DESCENDANTS OF SLAVES

Mauritian, for some knowing their origins is not important because they identify themselves to the capitalist system and to contemporary times and they obliterate past history that is not significant to them. For example, R5 stated that she cannot say that she is either a slave or of slave descent. Her statement is rooted in a conceptualisation of slavery that if we do not experience modern forms of slavery we are not slaves or of slave descent.

Although they do not recognise their descent, they all mentioned that people need to be of their slave origins. Indeed, even if they do not assert a slave stock, yet they assert a slave history and identify themselves to this history. One explanation for this identification might be that it is rooted in a collective history of slavery, in other words, a sharing of this history.

#### Reference 210 - 0.01% Coverage

On one hand, based on interviewees’ testimonies, it appears that their identification as descendant of slaves is based on their shared feelings and experiences of sufferings and oppression rooted in the belief that ‘the others’ and society keep them in oppression by refusing or repressing their social mobility and undermining their history and consequently the memory of the slaves. A collective memory of suffering and oppression is perpetuated with the generational transmission of suffering, misery and poverty that keep the descendants of slaves in the continuous cycle of deprivation. Their identification is not derived from knowledge of ancestral origins but rather on shared legacies of slavery such as social experiences and lack of education and opportunities.

#### Reference 211 - 0.01% Coverage

For everyone, with the exception of festivities, the government has done nothing for the descendant of slaves and they are still waiting for recognition. Children do not know the history of slavery as it is not taught in schools. Hence, there is a need to correct this error and to include the history of slavery in the school curriculum.

#### Reference 212 - 0.01% Coverage

The way history has been presented does not help him. He is revolted and that does not help psychologically.

Creoles are born with many handicaps: they have no bank account, they are born in a small house, poor environment. They are ill at ease. Difficult to manage his life conditions as a Creole. Teaching of history must help him think of the future.

#### Reference 213 - 0.01% Coverage

R9 Slavery had an impact on us. This is the history of my ancestors, they were living in their country, they worked, risked their lives, fought, lost their loved ones. To be healed from that, it needs time. They liberated themselves, created their language, and invented their music to fight the harshness of life. Sega is the intelligence and sweat of our ancestors to regroup and express the hardships of life. Their descendants still suffer from these wounds. They had no one to advise them as indentured labourers had. The French colonists educated the children they had with slaves but there were barriers between those categories of descendants. They are not liberated at 100% today. There are not enough advisors today. I have three children. I want to advise them for a job. Who will I turn to to know about that? How to help orientate them professionally? Creoles that have succeeded don't help others. Other communities do that.

#### Reference 214 - 0.01% Coverage

All the people interviewed stressed that it is time for the future generations to get rid of this idiocy and arrogance that still hold them back. According to R6, the last five years has witnessed a change among the Creoles who have gained consciousness of the importance of education and of rectifying past mistakes. They also stressed the need to recognise the history of the slaves

#### Reference 215 - 0.01% Coverage

There is a generational transmission of menial jobs because as reflected by the life histories of the informants, they stopped schooling at a young age to start working. For example, R6 and R13 stopped schooling after Standard 6 and Form 2 respectively because of financial problems. They were poor and education was not free at that time.

#### Reference 216 - 0.01% Coverage

R7 I was a teacher and considered as an intellectual and I sang sega considered a low class cultural trait. Sega is our Mauritian folklore. People liked my songs. I composed Lil Moris mo zoli pays, Zarina and Mme Eugène. They became a disk. Mme Eugène became a big success. I had an ulcer. When I was well, I went to P. Laval. Cocono pa le mor. I was greeted everywhere. (...) I always wanted to know what had happened in the past and what will happen in the future. When I went to Paris, I went to cultural places: libraries, museums. Same in England and Italy. When I began with sega, I was encouraged by my parents and the public. I travelled a lot. I progressed. I researched on sega, the most Mauritian thing that exists. I think I have slave ancestors from what I have read. Sega helped me to know the history

#### Reference 217 - 0.01% Coverage

There is a commonly held belief that the ancestral culture of the slaves was eradicated by Christianisation but from the testimonies it transpires that traditional practices and values survived but under modified forms which constitute Creole culture. They all mentioned the need to recognise the history and cultural heritage of the slaves.

#### Reference 218 - 0.01% Coverage

The informants recognised the contribution of the slaves and their descendants to the development and to the future of the island. For example R1 mentioned that the slaves did not only contribute to the construction of churches but she also believes that they gave the land in Saint Croix for the grave of Father Laval. They were hard workers, carrying heavy loads in the sugar cane plantations. The informants pointed out that they were the ones who developed the sugar cane plantations in the country such as R3 stressed that the history of the sugar industry is closely related to the history of slavery:

#### Reference 219 - 0.01% Coverage

It would be tedious to make a list of the enormous contribution in terms of labour force of slaves and slaves' descendants/Creoles. In the plantation sector, in sugar cane estates and textile and other factories (sack). In Free Zone and tourism. Listening to their life history would be enough.

#### Reference 220 - 0.01% Coverage

In the same line of thought, Paul mentioned that he feels that 'the others' do not want the descendant of slaves to succeed and that is why they ('the others') are not willing to recognise the history of slaves. When talking of the history of slaves, we should distinguish between the history of slavery which is rather the history of the slave system whereas the history of the slaves refer to the history of the people who were slaves such as their life histories. Based on the information gathered, what people are claiming is the recognition of the history of the slaves which implies looking at their experiences of slavery and subsequently of the slave system from the perspective of the slaves.

#### Reference 221 - 0.01% Coverage

The Oral Research History project has unraveled the perceptions of respondents who consider themselves as slave descendants from various regions of Mauritius, Rodrigues and Chagos as to a series of fundamental issues identified by the Truth and Justice Commission.

#### Reference 222 - 0.01% Coverage

This research has also shown that within the community, knowledge of family history and of ancestors is rather blurred. However, there is a strong belief that many members of this group have been spoliated of the lands they once possessed and that reparation is necessary.

#### Reference 223 - 0.01% Coverage

Oral history revealed that until 1960 the local people were still living in the camps on the surrounding estates and after the construction of the Cité La Mivoie under the Cyclone Housing Schemes of the Central Housing Act of 1960, people moved from the neighbouring localities to settle in the housing estate.

#### Reference 224 - 0.01% Coverage

Another legend says that Paul and Virginie swam in the pond and the last one is about the slaves or maroons who came to this pond. These two legends take place with the history of slavery.

#### Reference 225 - 0.01% Coverage

(Eng. trans:...Why name it Aigrette Pond? But me I always knew it as Aigrette Pond, but as said by history, there is legend [associated to it]. Which legend? There are people who say that they saw...long ago a mermaid...because it forms stones, big stone...how to say that? You see this pond [is] deep, there is a cave underneath...in this cave there is a giant eel, there is an eel inside it. But, now, because of draught, because normally, there was...lots water in the pond they say it is deep...thus what is the mermaid story? It is, finally, I have heard, the elders said that, their family told them, they saw a baby mermaid. But how the mermaid looked?...half human, half fish...after that I do not know. I do not know whether it is true or if it is fake. Because they say that each time Paul and Virginie, used to swim there...I cannot tell you who heard that story, but I do not believe that Paul and Virginie came here. Me...each time I thought it were the slaves who came here. And why you thought there were slaves?...How to say that, they searched for hiding places...)

#### Reference 226 - 0.01% Coverage

Oral history confirms there are three Hindi-Speaking families living in the housing estate, namely, the Sukhoo or Sokoo Family, the Saradee Family and the Gobinsingh Family. In addition, there are

#### Reference 227 - 0.01% Coverage

The villages in Black River region should not be considered as isolated entities but as being interrelated. They are linked by history and kinship as mentioned earlier and as revealed by the family histories. The family histories uncovered that people living in the camps came from the villages such as Le Morne Village, Chamarel and Petite Rivière Noire<sup>61</sup>.

#### Reference 228 - 0.01% Coverage

Oral history revealed that before the 1960s, the bulk of the population was living in the various kan (Eng. trans. Camps) on the surrounding estate land namely the estates of the Maurel Family that was divided and sold in the 1960s to the Lagesse Family, De Senneville Family, De Maroussem Family and Ramdenee Family.

#### Reference 229 - 0.01% Coverage

Oral history discloses that, apparently, Petite Rivière Noire to Tamarin somewhat belong to the Maurel Family before 1960 since they were the main landowners in the region with the exception of the Koenig brothers salt-pan owners.

#### Reference 230 - 0.01% Coverage

Oral history uncovered that the settlement of the Cité can be divided into two waves. The first settlement dates back to around 1962-1963 when the victims of Cyclone Carol took possession of their houses.

#### Reference 231 - 0.01% Coverage

They were social and cultural spaces and are culturally and historically marked, as they are inherent to the local history. In addition, they were named after either an individual's name or a natural feature or a physical object.

#### Reference 232 - 0.01% Coverage

(Eng. trans:...but the land how will I explain to you it is a little about history. You hear land is for Maingard, you hear that land is for Colfir, you hear that land is for government. But to know who exactly is landowner. Ok. So no-one knows to whom exactly Cité Tamarinier is? No. To whom it was before? No. What I know, recently before the construction...Cité Tamarinier there was the Colfir Family, that undertook proceedings to get this land. But maybe the proceedings were too long, that they could not continue and abandoned, there were papers missing to continue...)

The history of these 'dispossessed families', and especially of the Albert/Colfir Family who reside in the Cité, forms part of the collective memory of Cité La Mivoie. These family histories are still alive in the memories of the residents – all respondents mentioned having heard that these families were landowners and that they were dispossessed of their property even though some were more knowledgeable than others who did not know the detailed story.

#### Reference 233 - 0.01% Coverage

We should not forget that although the Creoles and the Indo-Mauritians have a shared history, yet, there are cultural and historical differences that impact on their present life such as differential opportunities and the Indo-Mauritians were allowed to maintain and perpetuate their traditional beliefs, values and practices.

#### Reference 234 - 0.01% Coverage

For example, a local history museum with pedagogical activities should be constructed and the publication of the local history.

The history of the main estates should be retraced given that they determined local social and economic evolution.

#### Reference 235 - 0.01% Coverage

There are infrastructures that existed in the past but that have disappeared now because of spatial reconfigurations resulting from residential and other infrastructural developments. Some of these infrastructures are inherent to the local economic history and are still present in the collective and individual memories of the respondents as they have an historical significance for the latter. Therefore, the vestige of these infrastructures should be listed as local heritage sites:

#### Reference 236 - 0.01% Coverage

The naming system of these places constitutes symbolical association and assimilation of these spaces to the person or to the group. Through these spatial configurations, we can learn much on the local history and on past life such as on past social systems.

These sites and the stories of these places should be preserved and transmitted to the future generations for them to learn their history and that of their ancestors.

#### Reference 237 - 0.01% Coverage

Family histories revealed that there is a transmission of menial jobs and blue-collar jobs to succeeding generations. They adopt a subservient and servile attitude towards the wealthier residents and new owners of the luxury residences.

#### Reference 238 - 0.01% Coverage

Family histories revealed changes in occupational choices after slavery. For example, Albain Michel Jean Pierre, grandfather of Dorisse Jean Pierre was a carpenter. Joseph Albert, the great grandfather of Louis Horace Albert was a blacksmith and Téfine Hanine, his great grandmother was a seamstress. (See Appendices 8 and 9)

#### Reference 239 - 0.01% Coverage

Family histories have uncovered an intergenerational transmission of academic underachievement in Cité La Mivoie in that few people have continued schooling until tertiary education and the children living in the Cité were identified as pupils at risk within the education system.

#### Reference 240 - 0.01% Coverage

Accordingly, we should not undermine differential history and cultural background of these children and the fact that the children residing in the Cité, since their birth, are disadvantaged in that they were born in an econo-ethno-stratified and unequal society.

#### Reference 241 - 0.01% Coverage

The cultural clashes are negatively affecting the Cité whose organisation was, until now, based on ancient structures with their own relation to time, assets, goods and wealth. Cité La Mivoie is at a transition between a traditional fishing village, with its specific social and spatial organisation and value systems, to a working housing estate. Their value system and social and cultural systems continue to be threatened by Eurocentric systems. These contemporary problems do not stand in isolation, history impacts on their present reality.

Oral history uncovered a continuity between the local economic and occupational evolution and the colonial history (slave and indenture system) in that the availability of cheap and docile skilled and unskilled labour underpins contemporary regional economic and social development

and economic prosperity. There is precariousness in the Cité which stems from historic inter-dependence of the residents and their wealthy neighbours and especially economic dependence with the former being employees and needing to 'earn a living' and the latter, the employers, in need of cheap and docile labour. This inter-dependence is rooted in servitude and capitalist exploitation.

#### Reference 242 - 0.01% Coverage

Reparation starts with work on the memory of slavery and of the slaves' history of abuse for psychological healing purposes. This healing process starts with a de-construction of the deep internalised sense of limitations and powerlessness. Furthermore, other social, cultural and psychological dynamics should take into consideration such as differential socialisation and enculturation processes to understand the Cité inner-structure, subculture and value system. It is only with time and sincere and genuine political will that we shall be able to break this deeply seated perception that their marginalisation and underprivileged situation are inherent to their being. The recommendations are all made to help address the plight of the residents of Cité La Mivoie and improve their social and economic situation. We should learn from past errors made during post-slavery whereby now there is no living memory of the slaves among the residents. Recommendations are also proposed for the preservation of the local tangible and intangible heritage to ensure that the history of the residents' ancestors do not go in oblivion and ensure that the memories of their ancestors remain alive.

#### Reference 243 - 0.01% Coverage

proposed construction of a cable car project on Le Morne. A number of studies were undertaken on archaeology, ethnography and history by various scholars. An institution was created to manage the site over which there has been much contestation of an ethnic nature from socio-cultural groups and on the part of developers. Since then, the site has become a World Heritage site, yet remains inaccessible to the public.

#### Reference 244 - 0.01% Coverage

TJC commissioned a professional archaeological survey of the abandoned cemetery, DNA testing of local inhabitants and a family history from one descendant of a slave family having lived in Le Morne since the early 19th century. Circumstantial evidence points to a link between the cemetery and the former slave inhabitants of Le Morne although further studies are recommended to confirm this. Preliminary DNA testing did not prove conclusive as the bones were 'water logged' but further tests are required as well as C4 dating. DNA tests of inhabitants will also indicate their ethnic origin and whether they conform to the ethnic origin mentioned in slave registration returns. What we do know from the osteological analysis is that although they were not malnourished, the adults buried there lived 'short, hard and brutish' lives. Many children among the few adults indicate high infant mortality rate which is consistent with the historical demographic data on slaves in Mauritius.

The two studies one by Yola Argot Nayekoo, herself a descendant of a family of slaves having lived in Le Morne since early 19th century, if not before, and the archaeological study of Krish Seetah and his team in the abandoned cemetery point to a new facet of the history of Le Morne:

aside from being associated with maroonage, Le Morne is also associated with a permanent slave community living and working in the area which need to be further researched. More studies such as that of Yola Nayekoo and Krish Seetah need to be undertaken, in collaboration with institutions and individuals interested in this region.

#### Reference 245 - 0.01% Coverage

6. That the area known as Trou Chenille be officially recognised as site of former settlement by inhabitants many of whom are descendants of slaves having lived there for generations (and not as squatters) and that their removal be recognised as 'forced removal'. Commission recommends they be compensated accordingly for loss of home, revenue and inability to continue their occupations and traditions. The Commission further recommends that their history be written before it is forgotten and the oral testimonies of those who lived there be recorded and made available in a public oral archive.

#### Reference 246 - 0.01% Coverage

9. Ministry of Arts and Culture: Similarly at the Ministry of Arts and Culture under whom, specialists in slavery, indenture and in heritage management archaeology history and anthropology must be appointed to better monitor these institutions. Currently to our knowledge, there are none.

#### Reference 247 - 0.01% Coverage

The site of Le Morne Brabant represents perhaps one of the most significant global commemorations to the memory of slave resistance. Not only does this site evidence a rich associated cultural and oral history within a local context, but it has recently been inscribed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2008 precisely for its remarkable role within the maroon movement.

#### Reference 248 - 0.01% Coverage

slavery comes from the perspective of a historian. I approach the subject of reparations from a multidisciplinary perspective but do not regard myself as an expert in any discipline other than history. This is my contribution to the discourse.

#### Reference 249 - 0.01% Coverage

approach, which ought to (but not limited to) include philosophy, psychology, history, sociology and law. It makes sense to compare the study of reparations in Mauritius to reparations movement in the United States for the Mauritian case has no legal precedent moreover; the multi-cultural nature of the population in the U.S is also very similar to Mauritius. However the reparations movement in the United States is privately initiated and brought about by individuals or groups of people who filed legal suits for compensatory reparations for the harms of slavery. Conversely the Mauritian study for the reparation of the harms caused by slavery is a governmental endeavour enacted by the parliament. It is part of a Truth and Justice Commission

and among its many objectives is the study of the effects of slavery on the descendants of slaves in a historical, sociological and economic context. The Mauritian reparations study is in fact very similar to the United States Congressman Conyers H.R. 40 bill, which is still infamously lingering in congressional sub-committee since its introduction in 1989. Congressman Conyers perennially re-introduces the bill and each time it garners yawns of boredom from the floor followed by a predictable defeat.

#### Reference 250 - 0.01% Coverage

some deeper issues within Mauritian society as a whole. Creoles however do not need a government sponsored study to tell them that they suffer from racial discrimination and before that study was ever undertaken; the first person to publicly declare that there is a problem with Mauritian society concerning the treatment of descendants of slaves is Father Roger Cerveaux, a Catholic priest who coined the term “Malaise Creole”. The ensuing public outcry felt more like a denial than applause or outrage at the situation. Cerveaux expounded his theory on Malaise Creole in the course of a Mass sermon; he declared that Creoles did not enjoy equal economic opportunities as the rest of the population based on their ancestry. In the sermon Cerveaux did not blame Creoles for their own problems per se; he saw them as victims of history who have trouble adjusting to the twenty first century due to ongoing racial discrimination. Ideas such as Cerveaux’s “Malaise Creole” belongs to the school of thought called Mechanism as opposed to Humanism proposed by Prof. Adelbert Jenkins.<sup>7</sup> Jenkins following the humanistic perspective focuses on people as being agents of their own destiny, capable to shape their lives through choices of their own. In so doing, Jenkins makes a clear distinction between the terms humanistic and humanitarian; the former refers to a philosophical stance that puts individuals and their choices as central, determining factors in their fate. While the latter refers to an attitude of compassion or benevolence towards humankind or a philosophical position which strives to attain the highest level of personal (sometimes spiritual) development for all humans. These factors are determinants in the individual’s freedom and responsibility; humanists may or may not be concerned with the welfare of the humankind in general as opposed to humanitarians. Jenkins’ humanistic position is drawn into sharp contrast to the Mechanists’ philosophical approach which sees human beings as constantly shaped by external circumstances with little input of their own.<sup>8</sup>

#### Reference 251 - 0.01% Coverage

Seeing that our past is still with us, which is true in the United States and Mauritius; a Commission for Truth is an opportunity to heal the damages done to Mauritians through slavery and the indenture system as Randall Robinson says in his book, *The debt that America owes to Blacks* that “no nation can enslave a race of people for hundreds of years, set them free bedraggled and penniless, pit them, without assistance in a hostile environment, against privileged victimizers, and then reasonably expect the gap between the heirs of the two groups to narrow. Lines, begun parallel and left alone, can never touch.”<sup>12</sup> Reparations through the Truth and Justice Commission are a means of democratizing history, it gives a voice to those who are seldom heard; silenced by a society founded on slavery.

#### Reference 252 - 0.01% Coverage

Section three gives the political background and legal histories of compensatory reparations in Mauritius Island after the abolition of slavery. It examines the case of a Mauritian consortium, which was created after the abolition of slavery with compensatory monies from the British government compared to a lawsuit for compensatory damages for the loss of slaves' labour and property as a result of abolition in the State of Louisiana. This section also investigates the reparations suit for the refugees of the Chagos Islands in Mauritius and why the compensatory actions did not heal these people's wounds. It also explores the theory of race through history comparatively in the U.S and Mauritius using Adelbert Jenkins humanistic approach to psychology and cross-cultural psychology proposed by Ute Schönplflug.

#### Reference 253 - 0.01% Coverage

or any court of law because he was black and all blacks (not just slaves) could not be citizens of the country because their ancestry could be traced back to Africa. He pronounced the most memorable lines in the history of the Court that is the Black man: "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect; and that the Negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for his benefit".<sup>17</sup>

#### Reference 254 - 0.01% Coverage

Furthermore, Mauritius is the first country in Africa and the world to have a Truth and Justice Commission investigating the history of slavery and its consequences and to accept the principle that reparations are required.

#### Reference 255 - 0.01% Coverage

Considering the role of future generations in social and cultural development of the continent, the main goal of this Project, is to rescue the history of slavery and the slave traffic in southeastern Africa. In this context, the gathering, collection and preservation of oral traditions; as well as the promotion of cultural diversity and cultural tourism, and of a whole range of activities interconnected to this phenomenon, are crucial to this Project.

#### Reference 256 - 0.01% Coverage

The proposers of this Project recommend that the Museum be located in the capital city Port Louis. Apart from giving the history of slavery its due importance it is also appropriate that it should be placed in a location that is reminiscent of slavery and related to slavery. Furthermore as the historic parts of the city are frequently visited by tourists and Mauritians alike, this will ensure financial sustainability for the Museum once it is opened.

#### Reference 257 - 0.02% Coverage

The aim of this section devoted to descendants of Indian immigrants aims to highlight, as for slave populations the necessity of every family knowing and understanding his or her family origins. In the very delicate fabric that Mauritian society is made up of and being a newly

emerging society, it has become abundantly clear that this type of knowledge makes Mauritians feel more 'Mauritian' and at the same time distinguished Mauritians from other nationalities. There are inherent difficulties however in tracing one's history: documents since the French and British period have not been well kept and even today numerous problems face the family historian.

These family histories and life histories are compiled by a group of young Mauritians trained in history who were given the task of finding and confronting their own family's past. It has not only proved to be a rich personal experience for them but has also provided the Commission with the justification for proposing a more vigorous campaign to collect all available documentary sources about Mauritians and make it accessible to the public. In the course of the research, the conservative approach adopted by some institutions towards releasing immigrant data must be unequivocally condemned. Judging by the numerous correspondence and discussions after the controversy concerning access of public Immigration archives currently housed at the Mahatma Gandhi Institute, it is clear that not all Mauritians feel the need to hide their truth about their family or caste origins and indeed they welcome openness and progressive attitudes. It is recommended that the MGI and all those other institutions and individuals rethink this policy of blocking public access to this section of the National Archives. A public campaign to explain the nature of the sources and why discrepancies and errors exist in the sources needs to accompany this open policy, as is the practice in other National Archives found overseas.

The metissage in terms of not only ethnic groups and but among Indian immigrants of various linguistic, regional and caste backgrounds leads one also to recommend that all copies of genealogical and family data be regrouped in one institution to make the task of reconstructing genealogies and family histories easier for the Mauritian population. Many Mauritians are descended from Indian. African and European origins and this currently means that a 'multi-racial' Mauritian has to visit no less than 5 different institutions over many years to compile his/her family history. In the digital age this is an unnecessary burden to place on Mauritians.

#### Reference 258 - 0.01% Coverage

**VOL 3: PART I - INDENTURE - SEARCHING FOR OUR ORIGINS - A HISTORY OF MUNISAMI FAMILY "THEY ARE NEVER REALLY GONE IF THEY ARE REMEMBERED."** Russian Proverb

The very purpose of this research was to allow this researcher to take a personal look into her family history. She traced her family history because for her, this process brings her ancestors back to life. They were once real people, alive with all the joys and pains of daily life. What she gained from researching her family history is a greater knowledge of the lives of the ones who came before her. Indeed, this research process was a challenge that made her dig through birth, death and marriage certificates, photographs and oral histories. She found that a whole nuclear family had come to Mauritius: The PANDIAN Family.

#### Reference 259 - 0.01% Coverage

This family history was only a small trip back into time. PANDIAN came as an indentured labourer with his family and what he has left as legacy is: 2 children, 3 grandchildren, 9 great grandchildren, 24 great great-grandchildren, 34 great great-great-grandchildren and 1 great great-great-great grandchild. There is still more research waiting to be carried out in Mauritius and in

India. Until that time comes, the Researcher feels enriched with the stories of the past and having started on this journey and met some wonderful people that she would have never known other than through this research, precious stories and shared memories, passed from generation to generation.

Reference 260 - 0.01% Coverage

VOL 3: PART I - INDENTURE - SEARCHING FOR OUR ORIGINS - A HISTORY OF THE PEERTHUM FAMILY

[...] all human ancestry goes back to some place, and some time, where there was no writing. Then, the memories and the mouths of ancient elders was the only way that early histories of mankind got passed along [...] for all of us today know who we are.” Extract from the Acknowledgement Section of Alex Haley’s ‘Roots’ (1976)

Research into one’s family history is a difficult and complicated task, but a rewarding experience, since it allows a person to discover his/her roots or where we come from and who we are. The story of my family starts during the mid-19th century, with the arrival of Peerthum, my great greatgrandfather, an Indian non-indentured immigrant and day labourer, bearing the passenger list number 5750 (bis). He arrived in Mauritius from Calcutta, India, some time between the late 1860s and early 1870s.

Reference 261 - 0.01% Coverage

Oral history provided me with the first inroad into my family history. It was my grandfather; Chandraduth Peerthum, who told my father, Satteanund Peerthum, many years ago, that his mother, Sookbasseea Peerthum, recounted to him the story of Peerthum, her father-in-law, who had come to Mauritius at the age of 14. This claim has not been supported so far by any type of archival document.

Reference 262 - 0.01% Coverage

underestimated in the history of my family because Seesurrun and Sookbasseea Peerthum became staunch Arya Samajis all their lives. Their children, grandchildren and great grandchildren also became followers of the Arya Samaj movement. They helped in the establishment and consolidation of the Arya Sabha in the island.

Reference 263 - 0.01% Coverage

VOL 3: PART I - INDENTURE - SEARCHING FOR OUR ORIGINS – A HISTORY OF THE RAMCHURN FAMILY

“History turning a blind eye bore him not witness History standing mute told not his full story

Reference 264 - 0.01% Coverage

VOL 3: PART I - INDENTURE - SEARCHING FOR OUR ORIGINS – A HISTORY OF THE RAMCHURN FAMILY

I have chosen to write my Family History because while working in the MGI Archives, I observed every day people coming to conduct research on their origins with great enthusiasm. This inspired me and I decided to do the same. I also wanted to know why, although we live on the same island, our way of living is so different from others? After questioning my relatives, I obtained my answer.

#### Reference 265 - 0.01% Coverage

According to oral history interviews, Baichoo Ramchurn was a “Saudi” also known as “Halway”. During his free time, he used to sell “bhaja”, “Kajha” and “gulab Jamun” [1 Indian savouries]. Baichoo Ramchurn used to wear “Dhoti” and a “Paltot” (Eng trans. Coat). He also tied a handkerchief on his head. He always carried a clock with him (fig. 1).

#### Reference 266 - 0.01% Coverage

### VOL 3: PART I - INDENTURE - SEARCHING FOR OUR ORIGINS – A HISTORY OF THE CAHOOLESSUR FAMILY

Although the family of Coowaloosur is today considered a ‘Bihari’ family, during the course of its family history search, it found it had origins in Orissa. Orissa is located West of the State of Bengal. The family history was reconstructed with the help of the family, especially Mr. Tarkaswar Coowaloosur. Today the family lives in Mare D’Albert. Mr. Tarkaswar Coowalusur is fifty five years old and was born at Mare D’Albert.

#### Reference 267 - 0.01% Coverage

The term ‘presumed descendants’ has to be used because many Mauritians have no idea of their own family history and indeed of Mauritian history. One can fairly assume that being of Indian origin their roots are in the indenture system, it has also been established that many Indians came before and after indenture period.

#### Reference 268 - 0.01% Coverage

These analyses of interviews with persons who had previously lived and worked on sugar estates was conducted in the 2007-2009 period, when the Voluntary Retirement Scheme was in progress. They were conducted by research staff of the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund and donated to the TJC who wished to know how Mauritians lived on those estates and what people felt about their lives there and what memories they had. Three themes suggested themselves: first, the life experiences of the people, and if and how have their lives changed over the years; secondly, for those with ‘memories’ of their parents’ and grandparents’ lives, to follow their evolution up to today and third, whether there were any variations regionally; fourth, how were Inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic interactions on estates, and lastly, what do they think of their history? The interviewees were between 65 and 70 years of age and their work-related memories were good: they provided factual information about their working lives. They talked little, however, about emotions, thoughts and more subjective issues. About 70% of interviewees were males and the ethnic /religious proportions reflected very roughly the religious/ethnic population of Mauritius still living on sugar estates in the regions studied today. The semi-structured interviews have

been conducted by research assistants with interview sheets. All interviews were recorded on either audio or videotapes and an archival form created containing basic information about the informants. These 400 interviews were copied on CDs and donated to the Truth and Justice Commission. The Commission undertook to transcribe these interviews as a gesture of its appreciation for the donation. The methodology used in analyzing oral interviews continues to be discussed and debated in academic circles and interpretations of the same interview often vary among scholars. For this reason, the Commission requested scholars from varying disciplinary traditions and training to assess the consequences on indenture on descendants. This as the reports show, proved a very fruitful exercise. As much as there is variation in the views of informants, so is the situation in the interpretations of this experience by scholars possible. The objectives of the Commission are also to ensure the memory of Mauritians particularly of indentured and slave descent are not forgotten and thus the creation of Oral History database is considered absolutely essential for the preservation of the nation's memory.

#### Reference 269 - 0.01% Coverage

Despite the harmony that appeared to reign, the extent to which this interaction and harmonious cohabitations led to more inter-ethnic and inter-religious relationships (i.e. through marriage) is not very clear, and we only have a few indications of this. If we look at the history of indentured period, we have many instances of inter-ethnic and inter-caste marriage taking place. These appear to be reduced as a result of consolidation of identities along caste, ethnicity and religious lines. But the sample under analysis in this report does not give explicit information on this. We have only two explicit cases of inter-communal marriages<sup>37</sup>, though some informants have mentioned that their grandmother spoke a foreign language and some informants mentioned the fact that a caste system existed and was practised in marriages.<sup>38</sup>

#### Reference 270 - 0.01% Coverage

It is ironic that we seem to know so much about the fate of indentured labourers in Mauritius and know so little about the experiences of workers in the sugar industry after the end of indenture. A cursory review of the literature on the history of employer and employee relations in the Mauritian sugar industry reveals that a majority of studies have focused overwhelmingly on the indentured labour period (e.g. Bissoondoyal 1984, 1986; Carter 1995; Allen 1999). That is not to say that no studies have focused on the working and living conditions of sugar estate workers after the end of indenture. For instance, the historian Daniel North-Coombes (1987) has provided us with a compelling account of the 1937 and 1943 strikes in the Mauritian sugar industry and what working conditions were generally like in the first half of the twentieth century. And the anthropologist Burton Benedict (1961), who conducted fieldwork in Mauritius in the 1950s, has provided us with a detailed study of the living conditions of Indo-Mauritians in villages and to a lesser extent in estate camps, a majority of whom were still reliant upon work in the sugar industry during this period. Nevertheless, one struggles to find any studies that address both the working and living conditions of sugar estate workers in Mauritius since the end of the indentured labour period. The following study represents a modest attempt at redressing this gap in the literature.

#### Reference 271 - 0.01% Coverage

The main benefit that stems from using oral interviews as a source of information to reconstruct the past is that it allows informants to express in their own words what life was like in Mauritius in the earlier part of the twentieth century. That the views of ordinary Mauritians was not adequately reflected in the decisions that were made by the social, political and economic elites that ran the colony prior to it becoming an independent nation should not surprise us. However, an inevitable ramification of this power imbalance is that we know very little about how ordinary Mauritians felt about the various kind of issues that were the order of the day in the fledgling colony's history at

#### Reference 272 - 0.01% Coverage

the onset of the twentieth century. As a method of research, then, oral history can help us to redress some of these imbalances in the historical record and it can shed new light on old debates as I hope shall become evident in the course of this study. The type of people interviewed by the AGTF's research assistants and their community facilitators includes the views of field labourers, skilled artisans, sirdars, job-contractors, markers and other estate personnel. This study does not pretend to be able to encompass the views of all of these informants. Given that field labourers are the most numerous employees in the Mauritian sugar industry, it is inevitable that their views will receive more consideration than others. But this should not be taken to mean that the views presented in this report have been accepted uncritically, or without being exposed to some form of critical scrutiny.

#### Reference 273 - 0.01% Coverage

implication of' the following. But can one go so far as to argue that sugar estates in Mauritius are culpable for the consequences of their actions if we are taking into account a time frame extending well beyond the twentieth century? "Truth Commissions", as they have come to be collectively referred to internationally, are relatively recent innovations intended for the most part to address crimes or wrongs committed against humanity in the twentieth century. Yet in spite of the wide yawn separating the indenture and post-indenture periods in Mauritian history, I intend to argue that the Mauritian sugar industry does appear to be culpable for the reckless and at times callous manner in which it has treated its workforce. And, in particular, of flouting its legal responsibilities under existing Labour Laws. However, I should also add that this judgement is not necessarily applicable to all sugar estates in Mauritius, some of which have a record of treating their workers well beyond what was required of them by law.

#### Reference 274 - 0.01% Coverage

The passing of the 1922 Labour Ordinance marks an important turning point in the history of Mauritius as it finally did away with the use of penal sanctions in civil contracts between planters and labourers and coincided with the end of the indenture labour system. However, it only covered immigrants and did not theoretically apply to Mauritian-born labourers and the forfeit of wages for breaches of contract was still allowed under this ordinance. It was only with the passing of the 1938 Labour Ordinance, which sought to implement the recommendations of the Hooper Commission of enquiry into the 1937 strikes, that fining labourers for bad or negligent

work was finally disallowed. This ordinance was applicable not only to monthly but also casual workers and was responsible for introducing a raft of changes such as a six day working week and eight hour day, legislating for over-time work, the registration of trade unions, maternity allowances for women, the regulation of sanitary conditions on estate camps, and paved the way for a transferral of power from the Protector of Immigrants to the newly created Labour Department. Yet in spite of these legislative changes, there is evidence that job-contractors, sirdars and estate managerial staff were still marking labourers as absent when they failed to complete a set task or forced them to redo tasks they designated as unfinished. The use of the double-cut, or fining labourers two days wages for everyday they were absent, seems to have been discontinued with the end of the indenture labour system, although Daniel North-Coombes (1987:30) claims it was still being enforced in 1938. But that does not mean that the practice of marking labourers as absent when they had done a day's work, or "maron", in the words of the elderly sugar estate workers themselves,<sup>63</sup> and making illegal deductions from the wages of labourers was itself discontinued.

#### Reference 275 - 0.01% Coverage

One of the main purposes of the AGTF's oral history project was to find out more about estate camp life as it is recognized that this way of life is fast disappearing.<sup>77</sup> But underlying this recognition was the problematic assumption that residents of estate camps are purported to be the direct descendents of the first waves of indentured labourers from India who were housed on the estates. This uncritical assumption is reflected for instance in the Hooper Commission's report which in comparing the complaints of casual and monthly workers during the 1937 strikes, states that monthly workers "are the descendants for the most part of the original indentured immigrants (Hooper 1937:161; cf. Hooper 1937:176). This assumption appears to be informed by the belief that estate camp populations are stable communities that have been insulated from demographic fluctuations and change. Thus, according to this line of reasoning, estate camp residents should be viewed as being the most direct descendents of the "original indentured immigrants", as the Hooper Commission report describes them, because their living conditions most

#### Reference 276 - 0.01% Coverage

There is another reason why this assumption is problematic. As I pointed out in a subsequent review of the various memoranda that were written detailing how to initiate the AGTF's oral history project, it is problematic to refer to estate camp residents as the "descendents of indentured labourers" without mentioning the thousands of time-expired and non-expired

#### Reference 277 - 0.01% Coverage

As stated from the outset of this study, the most comprehensive accounts that we have of the lives of Mauritian sugar estate workers in the post-indenture period comes to us from Daniel NorthCoombes and Burton Benedict. It is instructive to compare their respective accounts of the lives of sugar estate workers after the termination of the indenture labour system in Mauritius, as each of them had different objectives and foci due in part to their methodological biases. For instance, where North-Coombes was more concerned with class-conflict and the various forms

of exploitation that existed in the Mauritian sugar industry, Benedict evinced an approach that sought to pay greater attention to the living conditions of ordinary Mauritians, even if this meant that he tended to overlook signs of class-conflict and tension in Mauritian society. In the final analysis, both approaches are of equal value in any attempt to reconstruct the history of Mauritian society, but what this study has shown is that it is just as important to consult the opinions of those affected by these events. The voices of elderly sugar estate workers has shown to us there were important matters that have been overlooked by both North-Coombes and Benedict, and which places the recent past into sharper relief. I am thinking in particular of the fact that estate managerial staff and sirdars and job-contractors conspired to abuse the rights of labourers by continuing to mark them as absent, or “marron”, and deducting their wages for failing to complete unreasonable estimations of set tasks. One would have thought that these abuses would have discontinued after the end of indenture, but quite clearly, that was not the case.

#### Reference 278 - 0.01% Coverage

This report describes the living and working conditions of the sugar estate labourers in 21st century Mauritius. It is part of a research project entitled ‘Oral History of Descendants of Indentured Labourers’, whose objective is: to uncover the life experiences of the descendants of indentured labourers that were, or are still, living and working on sugar estates.

#### Reference 279 - 0.01% Coverage

As stated earlier, the above-mentioned oral history project aims at investigating the consequences of indentureship on the descendants of the Indian indentured labourers. It should be highlighted that this analysis is not representative of the life-experiences of the descendants of the Indian immigrants that migrated to Mauritius under the indenture system, in that the sample of respondents was limited to former sugar estate workers who are assumed to be of Indian indentured descent. The white-collar and other blue-collar employees were not interviewed.

#### Reference 280 - 0.01% Coverage

Their knowledge of family history remained restricted to one or two generations because of limited genealogical memory. In addition, some did not know their grandparents who died before their birth or when they were underage. They did not know if their ancestors came as indentured labourers or free passengers, and when and why they migrated to Mauritius.

#### Reference 281 - 0.01% Coverage

Family histories revealed a generational transmission of occupations with the respondents and their elders (parents and grandparents) performing almost similar jobs. For generations, they were estate agricultural workers employed as labourer and/or Sirdar (Eng. trans. Overseer).

#### Reference 282 - 0.01% Coverage

construction that was introduced by the feminists who were exposed to European values (many went to study in Europe and came back to Mauritians). Even if gender struggle is inherent in the history of society, in Mauritius gender issues, and especially women/girls issues took on a greater visibility in the 21st century.

#### Reference 283 - 0.01% Coverage

Despite spending several pages describing the history of the use of manure as a fertilizing agent on Mauritian sugar estates over the past one hundred years, North-Coombes (1993:76-82) only writes one line on the Engrais system and the use of human manure to cultivate cane plants. “[H]uman excreta”, he says, “has ceased to be employed owing to the dissemination of Hook Worm”. Andrew Balfour’s (1921:87-88) report indicates that the practice was very widespread at the time he visited Mauritius, which is why he singled out its discontinuation as one of the most important ways to combat the spread of hookworm disease, also pointing out that these conditions “probably have not their parallel in any other part of the world. The main industry in Mauritius is sugar cane cultivation. The cane requires fertiliser and, as Victor Hugo said, possibly with some truth, “the most fertilising and effective of manures is human manure.” Unfortunately, in the Tropics it is also the most dangerous. This fact was not recognised.” 101

#### Reference 284 - 0.01% Coverage

### VOL 3: PART I - INDENTURE - LIFE HISTORIES OF DESCENDANTS - SELECTED HISTORIES INTRODUCTION

The aim of this report is to document the lives of people in 20th century Mauritius through the use of oral history. It does so through the following 10 life histories which provide an overview of the lives of several informants who were interviewed for the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund’s Oral History Project. These subjects, seven men and three women, were chosen because they have either led extraordinary or unusual lives that set their experiences apart from most other Mauritians who come from a similar socio-cultural background. Or, alternatively, because their experiences shed light on the kind of experiences other Mauritians are just as likely to have experienced and which provides further insights into what life must have been like for a majority of Mauritians in the not so distant past.

Each of the life-histories are structured similarly and cover, firstly, the childhood memories and experiences of the informant, followed by their working life, then marriage and home life, and, where possible, some information about the present condition of the informants. Each life-history also has an introductory paragraph briefly summarising some of the most salient features that came out of the interviews with the informants.

#### 1. THE LIFE HISTORY OF BHEEM MOONEEAN 1.1 Introduction

#### Reference 285 - 0.01% Coverage

Creole was the medium of communication at Mr. Pandoo Sayajee Row’s school. Given that it was a Protestant school, he was required to perform catechesis. He also learned the history of France and England, arithmetic and geography. Hindi was the only oriental language that was taught at Mr. Pandoo Sayajee Row’s school. He did not mention whether he attended these Hindi classes. But he did state that he learnt some Marathi from his paternal grandparents who came

from Kolhapur Maharashtra. He also had to sing “God Save the King” at school because Mauritius had not yet become independent.

#### Reference 286 - 0.01% Coverage

Even if these ten life histories portray the lives of Mauritians in the 20th century yet, they do not provide a full picture of Mauritian lives during the latter period. There are many other interesting aspects of Mauritian life in 20th century Mauritius which could not be explored due to time constraint and thus, which need to be explored by future researcher who should continue to work out the life history of the other informants who were interviewed for the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund’s Oral History Project. For example, one can learn some new aspects of Mauritian life in 20th century Mauritius through the interviews of the following informants. M. Bisnauthsing Kewalparsad was 100 years old in 2009. He said that he used to go at his relatives’ place by ox cart. Another informant, Mrs. Khaitoo Taramonee, aged 67 in 2009, worked on a Tobacco field for 1 year during her childhood. Mrs. Harradan Premnath who was 57 years old in 2009 worked as Pond-keeper and gardener for Fuel Sugar Estate before starting to work as a labourer on the latter Sugar Estate and being promoted to the position of sirdar. The last but not the least, Mr. Eustasie Joseph Ben who was 80 years old in 2009, studied up to standard VI and after five to six years of training, he worked as a tailor for several years at Grand-Gaube. At the age of 29 he went to live on the camp of Fuel

#### Reference 287 - 0.01% Coverage

The history of the inhabitants has been reconstructed mainly through oral interviews of former estate camp residents, supplemented by some archival research in immigration archives. All photos shown here were lent by the families mentioned in this chapter.

#### Reference 288 - 0.01% Coverage

L’Homme, Sir Virgil Naz, Sir William Newton and Dr. O. Beaugeard, among others, a relative victory was achieved, when Coloured boys were admitted to the Royal College and returned to Mauritius as lawyers, doctors, notaries, and eventually, politicians, elected in the Port Louis Municipal Elections (1850), and the first Legislative Elections of 1886 under Sir John Pope-Hennessy. This being the turning-point in the history of the ‘Coloured Population’, political, social and cultural progress was rapid in the first half of the 20th century, through the labours of Eugène and Edgar Laurent, Raoul Rivet, and Dr. Maurice Curé, culminating in the arrival on the political scene of Gaëtan Duval (the Creole King) in the 1960s. Yet, when all is said and done, the Gens de couleur were granted political rights much more rapidly than descendants of Indian settlers and indentured labourers, at the end of the nineteenth century.

#### Reference 289 - 0.01% Coverage

recommendations emerge that would impinge directly on the ‘Coloured Population’ in the future. Notably, they need to be reassured that they will never have to fight once more for their political, educational, employment and cultural rights. The study opens out on the concept that métissage is, not only inevitable in the global village, but something to be aimed at, since it is the true mark

of an intercultural nation. Overcoming the social and cultural barriers between communities will result in an increasing brassage through intermarrying and socializing between communities. But for this to happen, the leaders of our 'Rainbow Nation' must give an example and stop fostering communalism for the sake of personal and party advancement. Numbers of votes matter less, in the end, than people, and duty to oneself even less than the national good. The history and development of the 'Coloured population' may be a microcosm of the Mauritian people, and many lessons may be drawn from it. Indeed, as Lord Bolingbroke once stated, "History is philosophy teaching by examples."

#### Reference 290 - 0.01% Coverage

Hennessy, were a turning-point in the history of hard-fought political representation for the Gens de couleur. The new wave of 'Coloured' politicians could look forward, as well as back to the steep ascent achieved by their forbears. They subsequently fought to preserve their hard-earned social, political and economic, as well as educational and cultural, rights. The Laurent brothers, Raoul Rivet, Dr. Maurice Curé, the founder of the Labour Party, and other successors of Rémy Ollier, never forgot the high price which their community had paid, in terms of indignities and sufferings, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In effect, the 'Coloured Population' appears to have maintained its close affinities throughout with French culture, as they sought to forge an identity through being Francophone and Francophile, this despite the failure of the Retrocessionist Movement in the 1921 elections.

#### Reference 291 - 0.01% Coverage

'Whites' to property owned by the Gens de couleur in the late nineteenth century, and throughout the first half of the twentieth century, are at the core of Chapter 5. The Coloureds' erroneously paranoid fear of Indo-Mauritians to their social and economic position, as well as to their newlyacquired political influence from the 1920s onwards, were to unify the 'Coloured' community under the leadership of Gaëtan Duval 'The Creole King', at the height of his campaigns against Independence in the 1960s. Clearly, the 'Coloured Population' has always been, and continues to be, divided in its allegiances; some were pro-British, others pro-French; some pro-d'Epinay and others anti-'esclavagistes'; some sided with the Whites, others were anti-White. Herein lies their main weakness in social, cultural and political terms; not without justification, the community was said to bear the mark of Cain and Abel. Some of the Gens de couleur, especially in the first half of the twentieth century, despised the Ti-Créoles and would not stoop to certain types of work. Moreover, they would not contemplate marriage outside their community – hence, some sort of 'caste system' prevailed. But all this has changed recently; interviews with young 'Creoles' reveal that history matters less to them than to their elders, and that intermarrying is no longer a taboo for the 'Coloured Population'. Being Mauritian matters more than 'group belonging'.

#### Reference 292 - 0.01% Coverage

Rodrigues is disadvantaged because its people are largely 'Creole' – hence descendants of slaves. Would a predominantly Indo-Mauritian island be allowed to lack such basic educational resources and infrastructures? Some kind of reverse discrimination, or affirmative action, is

therefore called for, if we are to give Rodriguan youths the same opportunities – educational, cultural, social and political – as Mauritian youths. Perhaps, therein lies a microcosmic image of a ‘Coloured’ and ‘Creole’ community through the ages; in Rodrigues, one finds the tangible impact of a society that can become neglected, because of its isolation, because of its origins and because it does not clamour loudly enough. Hence, one of our recommendations, which should also be one of the most urgent pleas of the Truth and Justice Commission, is that Rodrigues should be made a special case for positive discrimination, in terms of funding for education (at primary, secondary and tertiary levels). In connection with Rodrigues, too, interviewees suggested that the island’s history be reevaluated and re-written so that young people might be given a more authentic picture of their past, and that this be put in a truly culturally Creole context.

#### Reference 293 - 0.01% Coverage

as a nation; smaller communities, such as the ‘General Population’, and the ‘Coloured people’ within it, and Sino-Mauritians, may not have the numbers. However, the Mauritian people must recognise the fact that all communities have made a vital contribution to our history, irrespective of their origins.

“History is philosophy teaching by examples,” declared Lord Bolingbroke.

Perhaps, educating the young through the teaching of a balanced history of Mauritius, rather than a revisionist history, is the way forward. Only then, can cultural memory take on its true significance for young Mauritians – seeing the present through the past and envisioning the future through the present. Otherwise, old clichés will persist, and the dawning of the Justice and Truth era will be a forlorn hope.

#### Reference 294 - 0.01% Coverage

who worked as a clerk at the ‘Greffé au Tribunal de première instance’, worked on the case of several ‘Coloured people’ who had been refused entry to the Theatre’s Café, owned by M. Coignet. Resigning his job at the Greffe, Bruils took up the challenge in court, but it is unlikely that he won at this stage of the history of ‘Coloured people’. Only with the arrival on the scene of Rémy Ollier, and other Coloured champions in the 1840s, were the rights of ‘Coloured people’ more fully vindicated, as explained in the section ‘Political Representations’ below.

#### Reference 295 - 0.01% Coverage

excessively passionate and polemical history of this community, Evenor Hitié is quick to point the finger at the Colonial Authorities – perhaps too quick; after the British take-over, Hitié noted: “The ‘Coloured Population’, alone, remained downcast, sad, as if this population were treated as idiots, crushed under the yoke of prejudices that did not allow it to move upwards.” 64 And between 1790 and 1803, although officially they had rights, they received little respect, 65

#### Reference 296 - 0.01% Coverage

CHAPTER 3 - The Struggle for Education for the Coloured 3.1. The 'Coloured people' with few educational opportunities The team drafting the 'Education Project' has dealt at length with the history of Education

Reference 297 - 0.01% Coverage

Coriolis on the Council, and was later a member of the Executive Council from 1906 to 1911. A statue at the Place d'Armes, inaugurated in 1992, commemorates this Coloured man's contribution to the political history of Mauritius, at a time when only 12,000 men voted out of 220,000 adults. Only ten members were elected, while 8 were to be ex-officio members, and 9 nominated. The truth is that mainly the Whites and a few Coloured individuals were eligible to vote because of the high franchise, high literacy criteria and property qualifications. 150 The Coloured élite also clearly feared the rise of the Indo-Mauritian community. 151 In the first Legislative Elections in Mauritius (1886), the Democrats, de Coriolis, Cécicourt Antelme and Dr. O. Beugeard, another Coloured man, 152 a laureate of the Royal College in 1850, were carried in triumph through the streets. They had advocated a high franchise and had criticized openly the Governor, which led to his recall. After Pope-Hennessy's return in 1889, Beugeard resigned from the Council, although he became a nominated member in 1893. The Democrats won an emphatic victory over Newton's party which lost every seat.

Reference 298 - 0.01% Coverage

and 1830, those only rarely surpassed 350 acres, or 135 hectares. Subsequently, they were limited to about 108 acres. Because Rodrigues did not share in the sugar cane boom of Mauritius, it ceased to be of interest to the British Authorities very early in the history of colonization.

Reference 299 - 0.01% Coverage

coloured immigrants to the island. Moreover, this group is characterised by the fact that its members came to the island of their own accord or were brought to the colony under contract so as to practise a trade or craft for a specified period of time. However, it is also true that the 'Coloured Population' includes descendants of 'Freed Slaves' who married individuals from other groups. To this extent, they have a very complex history and identity as a community. Do presentday Gens de Couleur live with this complex identity and are they aware of it? Such are the questions we attempted to partly answer.

Reference 300 - 0.01% Coverage

to the family, since whether they worked or not, they have contributed to the well-being of the members of their families. Their ability to cope with work as well as with domestic tasks is clearly revealed by the interviews together with their determination to head the family in case of the death of their husband, leaving a household with small children to look after and a living to gain through hard work. Far from being a story, the role of women in the families' history, as well as at present, leads us to conclude that the stability of the family depends on the way they handle current and daily situations as well as taking important decisions, such as the type of education to be given to children and grandchildren, one of our interviewees points out.

#### Reference 301 - 0.01% Coverage

So that they can bring up well their children, Mauritian history and citizenship should be taught at school.

#### Reference 302 - 0.01% Coverage

Translation: « Concerning the question of history I think it is a good occasion to valorise the specific history of Rodrigues and then I think that this has been partly corrected because of sensitisation but often in school books for example Rodriguans were represented as carrying a hen cage on their head and rarely are the Rodriguans represented as a dentist, doctor or teacher (...) these are stereotypes Rodriguans need to cultivate their land and they cannot wait for rain to fall there needs to be irrigation and a market for example at Gravier there were hundreds of lemons which fell and there was no market even if there are efforts being made there are stereotypes the history of Rodrigues should be valorised and encourage Rodriguans in this great adventure”.

#### Reference 303 - 0.01% Coverage

Translation : «it is a cultural and religious question for example the public holidays here in Rodrigues there is a public holiday for Maha Shivaratree but here we do not understand anything there is a minority which lives this whereas for the Assumption Day it is a Catholic celebration it is once every two years and another Christian celebration would be Fête Dieu all this should be reviewed and the public holidays should in relation with the Rodriguan life for example the 12th October which is the day of the Autonomy of Rodrigues people work on this day and it should be a public holiday on this day. I have taken the example of Maha Sivaratree it could be another religious day where a minority of persons in the professional area some Hindu friend are concerned. However, the public holidays should be recalculated following the history of culture and religion”.

#### Reference 304 - 0.01% Coverage

4. That a new history of Mauritius be written by a research team, emerging from the Truth and Justice Commission, and using some of the ideas mooted by many communities. This history should emphasise the contribution of all A simplified version of the history of slavery and indentured labour, could communities/groups to the development of the Mauritian nation. A good example of this approach is Jean-Claude de l'Estrac's *L'île Maurice racontée à mes petits enfants*. On the other hand, histories based on one community – e.g. Sino-Mauritians, the ‘Coloured Population’ – should be actively discouraged.

#### Reference 305 - 0.01% Coverage

Who were these slaves? Although this report does not offer a substantive account of that history, it is important to note that there were also slaves of Indian origins in Mauritius. From what we

gather from secondary sources on the treatment of slaves in general, these individuals must have also experienced the same hardships as those coming from Africa. Furthermore, the abolition of slavery in 1835 and the arrival of indentured labourers from the subcontinent of India in Mauritius continued the legacy of slave practices. As historians on Mauritius, such as Megan Vaughan, Vijaya Teelock and Marina Carter, remind us - the system of apprenticeship ensured the oppression of slave descendants and then indentured labourers after abolition.

#### Reference 306 - 0.01% Coverage

In summary, the literature strongly suggests that race is diversely defined and is diversely experienced and perpetrated. Scholars of Psychology, Anthropology, History and Sociology report that there are different words used to describe race, that there are different levels of racism; that racism can be explicit and implicit; that racism can be compounded by gender discrimination; that racism can and does influence long term health and opportunity and that it is context specific. What this means is that race is not a concept that is defined by those deemed to be in power. It is also a term whose meaning changes over time and individual and community experiences of race and racism will also therefore change. Race, according to the literature as well as the findings of the researchers on this project, can also be identified in phenotype and in behaviour. Thus an individual may outwardly appear to be 'white', but his behaviour and social associations will lead him to be classified as Creole or Black. Furthermore, even supposed absolute racial categories (i.e. white or black) are not necessarily so.

#### Reference 307 - 0.01% Coverage

Karl Marx argued that slavery involved the 'primitive accumulation of capital' (Marx 1906:738)<sup>4</sup> and that 'the veiled slavery of the wage earners in Europe needed for its pedestal, slavery pure and simple in the New World' (Marx 1906:833).<sup>5</sup> Thus and as argued previously, slavery was necessary to the establishment of the industrial revolution in Europe and for the enrichment of those countries and of Europeans in the colonies. The investments made at the time continue to benefit those countries. It is our hope that the project on the Economics of Slavery initiated in the TJC, will reveal the exact or approximate fiscal benefits gained from the slave system. It is also our hope that in considering the process of reparations, that the government will turn to this time in history to enter into a dialogue with 'developed' nations such as Britain, France and the Netherland in order

#### Reference 308 - 0.01% Coverage

that the answer as to why the Dominicans she encountered did not identify themselves as black resided in the particular history of the Dominican Republic.

Simmons argues that we come to understand who we are in racial terms by a process of racial enculturation. Without that, we may not develop a racial identity. She also argues that racial categorization and processes of racial enculturation are contextually specific. The Dominican Republic, as she found out, has a long history of indigenous and immigrant population. This is in contrast to the United States where racial enculturation is informed by the historical experience of slavery as well as past law. The Jim Crow laws and the 'One Drop' rule in the US for instance, forced the categorization of all those with African ancestry as black, regardless of

variation in skin colour in this population. In the Dominican Republic on the other hand, those who would otherwise be considered as black in the US, perceived themselves as 'mixed' in the Dominican Republic. This is because racial enculturation in the Dominican Republic includes references to indigenous or Carib identity (Indio). Those in the Dominican Republic however, Haitians (their poorer neighbours across the island of Hispaniola) are perceived (by the Dominicans) as black. What also interesting in the latter is the conflation of blackness, geography and poverty.

#### Reference 309 - 0.01% Coverage

One of the reports, which involved two intensive months of anthropological fieldwork in the region of Black River on the West Coast of the island, documents the experiences of Mauritians in general. The region of Black River was initially chosen for the fieldwork because of its association with the history of slavery and the development of ethnic relations with indentured labourers from about 1835.

#### Reference 310 - 0.01% Coverage

The first interviews were conducted in the rural community of Rivière Noire at St. Esprit College, a confessional school where the researcher spent his/her first two weeks interviewing 18 students, conducting four life histories there. St Esprit College has a majority Creole student population due to the fact that it is a Catholic school and that the community in the area is largely Creole. At the school, access to the classrooms was provided and one was able to interact meaningfully with students inside and outside of interviews.

#### Reference 311 - 0.01% Coverage

The researcher also conducted fieldwork at Régis Chaperon School, in Rose Hill, where she interviewed the Headmaster and seven students. The all-boys school has gained a notorious reputation in the past decade and when the school was visited, it was in a terrible condition, with broken windows and a faulty sewerage system that left a pungent smell in the air. At the school, issues of discipline, parent-teacher cooperation, equality of Education in Mauritius, as well as the challenges of schooling in Mauritius's competitive school-ranking system, were discussed. Two days were spent at Port-Louis SSS, an all-girl College, which was newly-built. There, the researcher was able to conduct three life history interviews with girls from different socio-economic and racial backgrounds.

#### Reference 312 - 0.01% Coverage

In the 1980s, there was a concerted effort in Mauritius to promote a national identity, one based on 'Mauricianisme'. This ideal was not readily embraced by everyone, partly (we argue), because the movement and ideal were associated with the working class and the politics of Creoles via the MMM political party. The following extract from one of the individual reports generated by a researcher, part of this project, offers more detail on this particular period in history and the identity issues at stake:

#### Reference 313 - 0.01% Coverage

In the following extracts we note the reconstruction of Creole identity via the discourse of victimhood in the story of slavery. It is our view that this is happening because there is a 'need' to reassert boundaries around the Creole community and to give it value (by establishing a definitive source of identity and history of Creoles) in the culture-conscious space of Mauritius. It is possible, however, to also cynically argue that some Creoles have appropriated and transformed the discourse of victimisation and suffering apparent in the story of slavery and that they are now reinterpreting the story to argue that their ancestors were resilient and that this resilience is now helping them to confront the legacy of slavery. The discourse of resilience and freedom have now replaced the historical discourse on slavery as an experienced marked by humiliation and suffering. Those intent on using the transformed discourse for political purposes are now doing so, as a way of gaining leverage and support from the slave descendant population. It is also our view that the transformation of the discourse of slavery is not the sole project of selected Creole politicians but rather the work of politicians and scholars who actively search for, and promote, narratives of resilience in the history of slavery.

#### Reference 314 - 0.01% Coverage

The above extracts suggest that socioeconomic mobility can encourage dissociation from one's economic and cultural roots. Among Creoles, this dissociation is perceived as a betrayal of the group in favour of a lifestyle and the social world in which the 'real' Creoles are excluded. Dissociation is also contrived as a form of aversive racism because dissociation implies disdain for, and a rejection of, a former lifestyle and of former associates. However, those leaving their 'old' world behind do not consciously leave but are doing so unconsciously and under pressure from the demands of the new social and economic situation. It is also noted by one of our researchers however that '...people's knowledge of their origins is limited to their grandparents and most of those interviewed did not have exact information about their origins but guessed their family ancestry based on their phenotype and on what they have learned or read on Mauritian history.' This means that informants may argue that their ancestors came from Africa or Madagascar because of their perceived physical traits but also because the story of slavery has become an integral part of the nationalist discourse:

#### Reference 315 - 0.01% Coverage

(Eng. Trans.:...They are Baho, no Mascacreignes, on my mother's side they are Baho. Then when you look on the side of the Cangy family, they say we come from Pondicherry others say that we come from whatever part region of India. But when we look at all this...You know when we felt we are of slave descent? When you try to do something with love but you do not succeed...my history I think my elders were among the slaves. And the blood, this vein, the slave blood in the veins is present...)

#### Reference 316 - 0.01% Coverage

The category Franco Mauritian was coined in written texts in 1908 (Boudet, 2005:36). A central motif to their name as Franco-Mauritian is their French ancestry and their use of the French

language. Franco-Mauritians are described as “educated and elegant” (Personal communication, Anon., Flic-en-Flac, 5 June, 2010). Many characterisations of Franco-Mauritians have caught my attention in history books and through discussions with the islanders. Franco-Mauritians are generally perceived as aristocratic, upper-class, high society, highly cultured, privileged, the white plantocracy, the sugar oligarchy, as top of social hierarchy, as the historic bourgeoisie, and by and by, the economic elite.

#### Reference 317 - 0.01% Coverage

Reading through the current Form 4 History book, it was astounding to note the invisibility of Creole history in the text books and the negative presentation of African slaves. In the history book one of the first passages recounting African presence on the island is rather telling of the racial discourse around slavery in secondary education. The passage is of an account of a slave rebellion where slaves burnt down a field. Using the passage as a reference, two questions are posed to the students asking “what were the problems created by slaves” and “what were the activities carried out by the Dutch”.

#### Reference 318 - 0.01% Coverage

Further questions were asked about whether students learned about Creole leaders at school, and apart from Martin Luther King and Nelson Mandela, the students couldn’t name any influential black or African icons either from Mauritius or abroad. Even contemporary Creole movements such as the Organisation of Creoles, Africans and Malagasy (OCAM), the Association Socio-cultural African and Malagasy (ASM) and the Fédération Créole Mauricien (FCM) were not known by the students nor were they mentioned in history or sociology text books.

Comparatively European history is valorised and all example images in the text book were only of Indian people. In the entire history book, the only images of Creoles/Black people were in the instance of slavery and there was only one picture of a Creole represented as a professional. The invisibility of Creole representation in school

#### Reference 319 - 0.01% Coverage

Even if the informants denied being racist or communal, they all showed to some degree preconceived racial/communal prejudices and perceptions when talking of people from other ethnic groups. These racial/communal tensions especially between the Indo-Mauritians and Creoles might stem from, firstly, the fact that they are the two main ethnic groups in the country with the former and especially the Hindu Mauritians openly claiming their majority and superiority; and secondly from Mauritius’ historical path with the Indo-Mauritians and Creoles having different past history and life experiences. This racial/communal antagonism seems to date back to colonial times and is rooted in the country’s past development strategies, policies and political history.

#### Reference 320 - 0.01% Coverage

At the beginning stage of my field work, the response that there is no racism in Mauritius made me feel that by talking about racism (not so much slavery and indenture ), I am bring forth

divisions within a community living in harmony. By virtue of coming from a country with a history of institutionalized racism, I felt burden to explain how South Africa dealt with it or continuously deals with these issues. I psychologically had to remind myself and monitor my own responses. I therefore found myself using words such as discrimination, unfairness, emotional response to discriminations interchangeably, in an effort to conceal the nature of my enquiry.

#### Reference 321 - 0.01% Coverage

Professionals highlighted that when “you look at the history of slavery you understand impact of racism, you understand why they're that way, they got nothing to hang on to . . . The Hindus . . . could hold on to their tradition and their religion, that's why it's easier for them to go up the ladder, the cultural and social ladder and it's easy for them to have a culture of education that the Creole don't have. They don't have a base and you can't even blame them. That doesn't mean it's an excuse for what's not happening to them . . . But as a group, it's understandable that they're the ones who are poorer and ...it's been built-up from what had happened to the culture itself, their absence of culture”

#### Reference 322 - 0.01% Coverage

“...Maybe for our children, it is different- as they are going to mixed schools and interact with others, playing football. They have not known the compartmentalization. But one day they came home so irritated and angry that they were called “blanc...white rat”- they were furious. I sat down with them, we normally talk about these things, and explain that there is a history behind that...when I was young, white people could say anything; at least now the balance is coming up though I am not saying discrimination is just... is like Creoles can revenge by calling names.”

#### Reference 323 - 0.01% Coverage

Nothing indicates that the importance of the caste system is declining in the history of modern India. Rather, with Indian modernity appeared a certain number of pressure groups that focused on

#### Reference 324 - 0.01% Coverage

Indentured history, and the way it is perceived in Mauritius today, are central in historical and the Mauritian contemporary construction of identity.

#### Reference 325 - 0.01% Coverage

In all cases, indenture stands as a pivotal period in Mauritian history. Academic research in history and anthropology for the period 1835-1907 can begin to give us fair bases for an objective and more nuanced vision of indenture. However, research (Allen, Benoist, Hazareesingh, Tinker) often lacks the perspective of the host country, India, and the economic and social conditions there and their overall representations of candidates for indenture.

#### Reference 326 - 0.01% Coverage

As Marina Carter (1995) explains, sordid realism (describing indenture as just another Slave Trade) or, on the contrary, revisionist temptations (as colonists), have blurred historical visions. The first important point lies in the evolution of indenture during the whole period. Indenture in the 1830s was radically different from indenture twenty years later, not to mention the last decades, of the beginning of the 20th century. One must also remember that, as is the case for slavery, there is no such thing as a unique history and experience of indenture.

#### Reference 327 - 0.01% Coverage

One can infer that the numerous 'Vaish', identified in Mauritius today, probably belonged to other castes before indenture. This is to be regarded as another example of upward caste mobility. But such upward mobility often goes hand in hand with temptations to deny the popular origins they shared with other indentured peoples. This reluctance to acknowledge their real history may explain the MGI's insistence that caste information of indentured not be revealed to public. This attitude is reminiscent of descendants of slaves in Mauritius as well as descendants of convicts in Australia. In Mauritius, however, this is tied up with claims of political representation and caste quotas.

Upward mobility was also possible through inter-caste marriage. Numerous examples exist in family histories.

#### Reference 328 - 0.01% Coverage

The theoretical perspective of associating the departure from India with a disintegration of caste system does not hold, therefore, as detailed indentured studies and family histories have shown.

#### Reference 329 - 0.01% Coverage

All, low or high caste, were embarrassed about evoking low castes. It is true concerning family histories (it takes a neighbour's intervention to 'recall' to the interviewee and force her to admit, that one of her daughters did marry into a lower-caste family). It is also true in a general manner, when it comes to recognizing the very existence of castes known as 'low'. The term 'Chamar' or 'Dusadh' or the associated occupational or devotional habits such as rearing or sacrificing pork (what is associated with Dusadh in India) is expressed in a derogatory manner.

#### Reference 330 - 0.01% Coverage

Second, the general taboo and ignorance that was shared in Mauritius as regards castes was mistakenly perceived as a symptom of its disintegration. We were prone to believe that a population confusing Varna, jati and ethnicity, for instance, was hardly able to live and think according to the regulations of the Indian caste system. At first, it seemed that the holistic Indian caste system needed a context where an overall balance of castes of distinct status would be reproduced, what has been constantly under-evaluated as a reality in Mauritius indenture history. Most of all, the caste system in India rules the whole Indian society, regardless of religious affiliations, and we initially doubted that the Mauritian communities of Indian origin could

manage to preserve a caste system in a society with important populations radically unfamiliar with such a logic.

#### Reference 331 - 0.01% Coverage

True enough, all the implications of the Mauritian caste system must definitely be understood and considered a product of the specific Mauritian history, and of what is at stake locally when it comes to identity and political claims. In the same way, any discriminative process observed must be understood in the very Mauritian context. From this perspective, castes as they have been experienced by Mauritian Hindus during indenture and afterwards, are at least partially the product of the very process of indenture.

#### Reference 332 - 0.01% Coverage

- Contrary to the Indian caste system that can still be described as mainly religious, the caste system in Mauritius appears essentially political. It is one in many identity criteria that can be mobilized to claim recognition, national resources or separation from a “national” history.

#### Reference 333 - 0.01% Coverage

Mauritius is a pluri-confessional nation, mainly populated by Hindus. And so is India. India has a longer history of dealing with such identity stakes, first as a colony to be managed, then as a nation to be built. Surely some lessons can be drawn from the comparison.

#### Reference 334 - 0.01% Coverage

In this recent article, Abhimanyu Unnuth points out the real issues. One cannot help remembering that the same author has himself been active in promoting the fantasy Indo-Mauritian identity founding narrative. The first pages of his major literary production, *Sueurs de Sang* (Lal Pasina, 1977), may be read as a picture of Indians as eternally linked to Mauritius: they are described as discovering it, fighting for it and they are its legitimate owners (Claveyrolas 2012). Time has passed since the 1970's in Mauritius, and probably the legitimate goodwill to rehabilitate Indo-Mauritians' history was not possible without paving the way for the current “collective and historical fantasies” Mauritius now faces. Communalism and fantasies go hand in hand. Fantasies, particularly those founding so-called Indian rooted communities or identities, do need to be corrected in Mauritius. And this is deeply linked with caste consciousness.

#### Reference 335 - 0.01% Coverage

- Educating towards a shared history and identity (school system and media awareness campaigns)

The most important recommendation proposed would be to implement serious and long-term educating programs valorizing the shared dimensions of all Mauritians' history and identity. Fighting communalism in Mauritius has a direct and long-term impact on casteism. If the quest for roots is respectable, it should be contextualized in a definitely Mauritian identity.

The school system (via text books and national programs) should be revised to incorporate more recent approaches of the Mauritian history. The need is 1/ to break the global division line between indenture and slavery in such a way that descendants of both slaves and indentured labourers realize their common historical fate in Mauritius, and their effectively shared living and working conditions in the estate system that resulted in common representations and practices that ought to be valorized whereas they are denied and forgotten. 2/ to promote the shared popular culture of indentured and slaves descendants. This popular culture needs to be valorized against current temptations to promote an invented root in Sanskrit elitist and orthodox Indian culture. The more people will be conscious and proud of their truly popular roots, the more they will realize their shared past and roots with all Mauritians.

#### Reference 336 - 0.01% Coverage

Generally speaking, it appears that Mauritians are remarkably unfamiliar with their history. They are all the more sensitive to mythologies and invented “roots” that unscrupulous or ignorant elites tend to promote. Scientific research in history and anthropology is now available for training school-teachers and increasing their awareness of a Mauritian identity in the making. Mass-media awareness campaigns can also be used in the same perspective, stressing the “allMauritian” history and identity.

#### Reference 337 - 0.01% Coverage

Promoting museums, sites and institutions that would deal jointly with the whole history of Mauritius would help make every citizen aware of what he shares with others. In this respect, the “Aventure du Sucre” museum can be used as a successful attempt to present proudly, but without dwelling on the dark side nor transforming indenture in a glorified conquest, what every community has brought to the building of a unique and potentially unitary nation.

#### Reference 338 - 0.01% Coverage

The false discourse denying the existence of castes in Mauritius is damage able to low castes, in the first place, who feel ashamed of their identity, while it allows high castes to feel proud of their so-called superiority. A better knowledge of Mauritian history, a deeper investment in it, may be used as a way of equalizing the status of different castes. Mauritian citizens having traced their roots were disappointed to learn that the caste of their ancestors was actually lower than what they, nowadays, pretend to be. This might well be the truth for many Mauritians. As a matter of fact, Vaishya, for example, have never represented such a huge part of the Indian Bhojpuri population, which means that Mauritian Vaish were probably lower castes in India who “became” Vaish somewhere in the process of indenture. A sincere tracing of roots might help realize the relatively coherent popular culture of most indentured ancestors, far from any Sanskritic or Brahmanic pretensions. Once again, this should be stressed as a reason for pride: ancestors and descendants of migrant populations did manage their way up, and did build today’s nation.

#### Reference 339 - 0.01% Coverage

India (its history of castes and attempts to eradicate them) warns us about such a temptation; Mauritius sometimes seems to take the same dangerous path. We think that a greater dose of secularism-laïcité, separating more sincerely the State from religious affairs, is necessary for an allMauritian identity to prevail and flourish. The Mauritian state is sometimes too lenient about religious affairs, too prone to participate and validate them. The result is dependence on religion

#### Reference 340 - 0.01% Coverage

Suppression of slavery history in the Republic of Mauritius has helped to keep their descendants in a state of instability, confusion, and self-loathing. This has produced and maintained low self-esteem, feelings of inadequacy and low self-image, generating a low regard for those who are of the same community, creating an environment of envy, distrust, disloyalty, and hatred within the community. These are complex processes at the heart of the dynamics involved in the relationships between the individual, groups of affiliation and society, at large.

#### Reference 341 - 0.01% Coverage

We must also bear in mind that lack of means (financial and social in terms of family or neighbourhood networks to look after ill persons) contributes for the most part to the referral of them to the public psychiatric hospital. A more precise study of the institutional processes from first visit to internment (episodic to permanent) as well as history of mental ill, treatment and support needs to be done.

#### Reference 342 - 0.01% Coverage

5) Ownership of land / house is usually associated with independence from landlords' wish or strategy. It is a sign of long term investment, sense of capitalization and transmission to next generations. It supposes an idea, an ideal of lineage, a valued position of self in a succession of generations, a representation of ancestry, therefore an apprehension of self / sacrifices / choices / sublimation process based on a sense of history. Denied of existence and of any form of future, slave descendants are in an impossible situation to look beyond the immediate and cater for a more stable future, a permanent home being one of its concretizations.

#### Reference 343 - 0.01% Coverage

Absence of sense of belonging, sense of personal history as mentioned before, incapacity to think the future, induce life-styles, as for example, ways of spending and saving which penalise whole families. The possible shift from poverty to ordinariness, linked with change in lifestyle and mentalities, leading to empowerment in different sectors of life demands a reconstruction of self in a perspective of history.

#### Reference 344 - 0.01% Coverage

The relationship to space and time has to be structured since early childhood and is done through many socializations processes, which are transmitted from generations to generations. When the past does not form part of history, when "lineage" cannot exist, projection in the future is

blocked and the present overwhelms all our perceptions. Strategies cannot be set up, especially when in the absence of assets, financial and cultural, hope does not exist. Material conditions together with symbolic resources such self esteem and sense of belonging to a group socially valued help individuals to position themselves in a favourable social comparison ( Tajfel, \*)

#### Reference 345 - 0.01% Coverage

Mauritius follows the trends observed in other countries with a history of slavery i.e. the conflicting tendencies between inherited traditional patterns of religious beliefs, based on popular culture and Christian faith linked with the elite culture of the slave owners.

#### Reference 346 - 0.01% Coverage

We are at a period of history where, everywhere, people renegotiate their multiple identities, at loss for new references. This process is transnational. What is specific in our case is that in addition to structural factors that compel to reassess ourselves, Creole communities feel somehow abandoned by the very institutions which represented and still represent their way out of despair. Institutional mediations are thought to be too complex. In a world of disruptions at all levels, a more simple approach to religion and taking on board traditional beliefs captures the minds, affects and souls of new converts, disillusioned by traditional faith. The often utilitarian role of religion as provider of identity, social promotion and protection from the “mal”, in spite of shifts in the religious institutions, remains unchanged. We assist at the same overpowering influence of fear in the psyche of slave descendants.

#### Reference 347 - 0.01% Coverage

Chagossians, Agaleans as well as Rodriguans identify themselves above all to specific cultural capitals linked to the characteristics of their islands. A distinct homeland district history and tradition as cultural capital is produced, reinforced by perceptions of ostracism by Mauritians i.e. people born on Mauritius island, feelings of resentment at being left out of mainstream development “ Parent Pauvre de la République”. As in any identity choice and alignment, partners and stakes determine the positioning of all parties.

In the case of Chagossians, Agaleans and Rodriguans, the common denominator is the struggle against what is perceived as structural domination to obtain access for better economic, social and political recognition. This is especially true in the case of the forced exile of Chagossians. In fighting exists but the sense of belonging, especially among uprooted or migrant communities on the island of Mauritius, helps to reduce cognitive dissonance and enables inner energies to focus on structural issues. Ilois and Rodriguan cultures present a positive rural identity as response to negative stereotyping (rural upbringing, social conservatism, traditional behaviours and attitudes, authentic values, alternative way of living and healing). Even if poverty exists and may be more vicious than on Mauritius, descendants refer less to the traumatic past of slavery. Theirs are histories with less social rivalry, negative discrimination, social comparisons pertaining to leadership, collective resources and upward social mobility

#### Reference 348 - 0.01% Coverage

In order to achieve control or maintain hegemony, dominant groups construct fictions and homogeneity relating to various intra-community groups. Myth, legend and history as fictions against others enable the crafting and reinforcement of power. Struggle between the desire to obtain an “essential” identity that makes for political currency among the dominant groups and the experience of new cultural values, transiting in all ethnic communities has been and is still a main issue for power relationships.

More openness is needed in reflections on history to loosen existing controls over meaning and identity, political will

#### Reference 349 - 0.01% Coverage

The second one, more specific to slave descendants, lies in the interplay of six factors: 1) A history of enslavement, servitude and oppression; 2) Demographic composition; 3) Economic positioning and intensifying competition with other communities; 4) Racial prejudice and discrimination; 5) Resources, internal structure, dynamics and leadership of the community itself, and 6) Capacity for self-determination and self-empowerment.

#### Reference 350 - 0.01% Coverage

mobility, a tool for peace and reconciliation, but when education fails to do the above, social cohesion is threatened and instabilities of diverse kinds are bound to arise. Multicultural Mauritius, whilst peaceful on the surface, has all the ingredients necessary for a social explosion, but only if managed carefully and if its education system is organised and delivered in a manner that permits and ensures genuine equal and equitable chances/opportunities for the children of the descendants of slaves and indenture, it would go a long way towards the creation of durable peace in the country. Peace, as Martin Luther King notes, is not about the absence of conflicts but the presence of justice. Can Mauritian education ensure social cohesion and justice? Education in the postIndependence period has no doubt been informed by the history of the country, and this history has had ramifications for the different segments and communities of Mauritian society.

#### Reference 351 - 0.01% Coverage

questions, seeks to address the following : ‘Conditions of education of slaves, ex-slaves, indentured labourers and descendants, the state of ‘enforced illiteracy’ and its consequences on the slave population, the consequences of denial of education; consequences of non-inclusion of an oral culture. This Education Report also examines the articulations between the past and the present and how education can therefore be used as a tool for reparation and thus mitigating the tensions and injustices resulting from a history of injustice and oppression.

#### Reference 352 - 0.01% Coverage

from a history which has been marked by deep divisions characterized by conflict, racism, untold suffering and injustice. But today, the Republic of Mauritius is relatively stable and peaceful although cohesion and reconciliation are not complete and can perhaps be never complete, since reconciliation can be both a goal and a process. However, whether it is a goal or process or both,

it should be worked at, so that a more just society, for each and everyone, irrespective of creed, colour, ethnicity, race and gender be obtained.

Cohesion and reconciliation depend heavily on our ability to see and understand what is happening today, right now - more than 40 years after Independence with all the learning and consequences (some visible and others not so visible) that our slave and indentured history has left us with. The legacy of the unequal power relations and deep divisions that existed between the haves and the have-nots, the White and the Non-White, the coloniser and the colonized, has taken many forms, and has had many consequences. Digging into the implications of this legacy, particularly as pertains to the educational arena, is a complex task since education in multiethnic Mauritius is often shaped and influenced by a number of forces with different vested interests. Several institutions have left their mark on education, some more positive than others. Education in Mauritius was, during the colonial period, a very rare commodity. When it did come on offer, it was for the privileged few. Enforced illiteracy had several consequences for the descendants of slaves and indentured labour, many of whom became assetless, powerless and voiceless as a result.

#### Reference 353 - 0.01% Coverage

injustices, experienced by the descendants of slaves and indentured labour, cannot be repaired through monetary means. It is essential not to attempt to commodify such a complex history which continues to inform the present. This chapter borrows heavily from hearings at the TJC to highlight the various discriminatory practices and prejudices which prevail in contemporary Mauritian society and argues for the urgent need for some form of reparations. Education which caters for mixed abilities and heterogeneous cultures and backgrounds, coupled with some kind of affirmative action, seems to provide part of the answer. The chapter examines the potential that education therefore holds as a tool for reparation.

#### Reference 354 - 0.01% Coverage

In Mauritius, education has played different roles at different times in the country's history

#### Reference 355 - 0.01% Coverage

committees. Given that it was important to understand how History informs the present, the education team deemed it important to use the Hansards as an additional tool of research. The Hansards helped to uncover some of the debates on education at different points of the country's history.

#### Reference 356 - 0.01% Coverage

consequences. There have been long debates among History, Human Sciences and Law scholars to define the two systems, some wanting to assimilate indentured labour to slavery (Tinker, 1974) or subsuming slavery and indentured labour under other concepts such as "servitude" (Mishra, 2009), others considering slavery in the 18th and 19th

#### Reference 357 - 0.01% Coverage

persecution and massacres in history. Regarding slavery as the starting traumatic experience, the “Post-Traumatic Slave Syndrome” captures its devastating effects that have been internalized from generation to generation and continuously reinforced by systemic racism and discrimination on the social level. It means that slavery has consequences for all parties and for the whole of society sharing that history.

#### Reference 358 - 0.01% Coverage

economic construct in the power sharing and making in Mauritian history. Between 1980 and 1990, there were rapid changes in Mauritian economy and society which have led to substantial improvement in the life conditions and education from which Creoles have been excluded. R. Cerveaux, a Catholic priest, denounced the fact that Creoles were poor and marginalized in society and in the Church. According to Cerveaux, Creoles have been victims of slavery, of their own intelligentsia, of the alienating culture of the Church and of politicians pursuing their own interests. The ‘malaise créole’ was the result of a concentration of problems and an accumulation of hurdles to be overcome: a mix of cultural oppression and identity problems, prejudice and stigmatization which are sequels of slavery and its subsequent history, as well as socioeconomic difficulties, precarious employment, low wages, housing problems: “Education in the broad sense was considered a key issue in reducing inequalities and repairing injustices towards Creoles’ situation” (Romaine, 2010).

#### Reference 359 - 0.01% Coverage

seventies, eighties and nineties. Their invaluable contribution to the economic and cultural development of the country was silenced, their history ignored and prejudices and unjust treatments inflicted to them. There was the Creole taboo before the ‘malaise créole’. The 1999 February riots came as a climax to a long history of oppression and injustice.

#### Reference 360 - 0.01% Coverage

Today, there could be new opportunities for the people of Mauritius and for the Creoles, especially those of the working-class or lumpen proletariat. Education must be approached in a humanistic perspective in which the history and culture of all groups are taken into consideration. Education policy should be placed within its broader social, cultural, political and economic context, as an integral part of a human development strategy that places the people at the heart of the whole process. Education must help to engender a new Humanism, one that contains an

#### Reference 361 - 0.01% Coverage

essential component and sets considerable knowledge of, and respect for, the cultures and spiritual values of different civilizations as a much-needed counterweight to a globalization of the world. If this is not urgently done, globalisation will reveal even more dramatically the inequalities of Mauritian society and paralyse it, as worldwide changes require new competencies and polyvalence on the labour market. This can polarize Mauritian society further

and ethnic turmoil cannot be excluded. It is only through education, encompassed within a large vision of Mauritianness, that slave and indentured labour, descendants can finally unite within one Mauritian nation and make history.

#### Reference 362 - 0.01% Coverage

contemporary research methodology in the History of Education considers as the important distinction to be made between the ‘archives of memory’ and the ‘memories of archives’ (Fitzgerald, 2005). Such a perspective coheres with the quest for Truth, Justice and Reconciliation as the challenge, therefore, is to interrogate the contents of the archives as well as the archives themselves to reveal their privileges, silences and absences.

#### Reference 363 - 0.01% Coverage

the Colonial Government and the Church as institutions did not cater for slave education. A few individuals mostly French missionaries (Lazarists), provided basic religious education and opened a few schools to cater for basic academic education of coloured and slaves. The history of French colonial period is therefore largely one of exclusion. The non accessibility to education meant that slave descendants continued to remain in an unequal power relationship for a very long time.

#### Reference 364 - 0.01% Coverage

presence in the evolution of education has been marked by forces and actions of inclusion and exclusion. Both Bishop Collier and Father Laval were imbued with the idea of St. De La Salle who, back in the 17th-century France, advanced the social heresy that the children of the poor should be educated. But the social forces at play during the colonial period very often put the Church off track its original mission. Critical literature in Catholic education, and especially about the role of Catholic schools, is inexistent in Mauritius. Also, common criticisms against the Church do not go beyond the limited role of Father Laval in the emancipation process of the affranchis which has since then been established by Colson (1980). In fact, the controversial position of the Church can only be understood in the perspective that it is an institution which has always been shaped in its own history by various socio-historical forces at play, and its actions have been underpinned by forces of progress and Conservatism. For instance, it was not until post-February riots of 1999 that the Catholic Church would show real signs of concern for the education of the Creoles. This could be explained by the fact that education, in its global sense, could not be envisaged before from an ethnic perspective. In the same vein, it was only in 2007 that the Church, through Bishop Mgr Piat, presented its Pardon to the slave descendants and himself as a descent of slave owner.

#### Reference 365 - 0.01% Coverage

their failures and to believe that something is wrong with them, when actually it is the nature of the curriculum content, the pedagogy and the culture of the school – often with all of those forming part of a dominant culture - there is an urgent need to rethink, revisit and repair all the

wrong, much of which has been largely informed by the colonial history of the island. The next chapter in fact addresses the question of reparations.

#### Reference 366 - 0.01% Coverage

Some people believe that reparations can be done through monetary means but the complexity of Mauritian history and the facts of the contemporary situation weaken the case for financial compensation. This same idea has been very aptly put forward by the Parliamentarian Alan Ganoo in the Parliamentary debate no. 40, of 7 November 2003, when he notes:

#### Reference 367 - 0.01% Coverage

promote transparency and accountability, have the potential to heal past wounds, to provide a platform for citizens to engage with their fears and expectations, social justice. For this to happen, there needs to be reparations. Some of the hearings that have been done in Truth and Justice Commissions, inclusive that of Mauritius, have actually spoken of reparations and others have pointed towards the need for it. While historical periods and contexts are very different, many of the hearings across the board point to the need for healing, the need for forgiveness, the need for greater accountability and the urgent need of redress. The Mauritian Truth and Justice Commission which is digging in the consequences of a relatively distant history cannot, unlike many other Truth and Justice Commissions, bring the actual perpetrators of the violence to the platform but several voices emerging from the hearings speak of the violence perpetrated in the world of Education as well as the present-day prejudices and discriminatory practices that children of slave and indenture descent are having to experience. The former are much more pronounced amongst children of slave descent.

#### Reference 368 - 0.01% Coverage

Forgiveness and Reconciliation Deconstructing the history and memory of certain people and places can assist in

#### Reference 369 - 0.01% Coverage

should be introduced and assessed. Citizenship Education should consist of 3 core parts - one on Political Literacy and History, one on Intercultural Education and one on Family Life and Sex Education, incorporating the specific implications of associated problems such as HIV AIDS and teenage pregnancies. Assessment modes should therefore change to something more rigorous and regular but in the overall context of the abolition of the C.P.E.

#### Reference 370 - 0.01% Coverage

History of Mauritius shows the great struggle that went on starting well before the setting up of the Labour Party in 1936. Political pressure began to build up and the silent murmur became louder and louder. The press, such as L'oeuvre, Arya Patrika, Arya Vir and Advance helped to arouse the consciousness of the people until Government had to give in by setting up the Public Service Commission in the late forties of the last Century.

#### Reference 371 - 0.01% Coverage

late 1990s. All components of the Mauritian society were affected. Throughout history, lepers were ostracized by their communities and families.

#### Reference 372 - 0.01% Coverage

College Oxford writing on Social History of Medicine has made the following observations on the attitude adopted by the colonists “Eighteenth-century colonial medicine was largely geared to keeping the bodies of slaves and workers productive and useful, but formal medicine never had a monopoly. Slaves on Isle de France brought with them a rich array of medical beliefs and practices from Africa, India, and Madagascar. We have little direct historical evidence for these, but we do know that many slaves came from areas in which forms of smallpox inoculation were known and practised.”

#### Reference 373 - 0.01% Coverage

outbreaks of Malaria occurred in 1856 - 1859, 1862 and 1865. But the first serious epidemic struck the Island in 1867. It was a major calamity causing 40, 000 deaths in a population of 333, 000. Ronald Ross qualified the epidemic as the greatest disaster in Mauritian history.

#### Reference 374 - 0.01% Coverage

Diphtheria was present in Mauritius since the earliest period of its history, with sporadic

#### Reference 375 - 0.01% Coverage

And yet, the history of human civilization on health and living conditions as far as slavery and indentured labour are concerned is a dark spot carved on stone. Historians, writing about the health of slaves and indentured labour in the 18-19th century Mauritius, have portrayed a picture that has left an impression of ‘quasi torture’ and an extremely harsh life with death as liberation from persecution (Teelock 1998, Barker 1996, Nwulia 1981). The general consensus is that these labour constituted an asset for the planter owners and a necessity for the colonial powers for the exploitation of land in pre-industrial times. Slave labour was so essential to the economy that the French colonists defied all attempts of the authorities to enforce abolition of slavery. If the human labour force was a critical factor for the colonial administrations, inevitably the health of the slaves and the indentured labour should have been paramount to promote their interests. Was it so?

#### Reference 376 - 0.01% Coverage

The history of slavery and indentured labour in Mauritius takes its roots in the presence of visitors and settlers of colonial empires stretching over a period of two and a half centuries starting in the eighteenth century. Stuck in the trademark trappings of possession of the island, de-possession of its resources, trade rivalries, strategic presence for control of trade routes

lapping the Indian Ocean and economic exploitation for the production of sugar were the dominant reasons explaining the Dutch (1698-1710), French (1710-1810) and British (1810-1968) occupation of the Island.

Reference 377 - 0.01% Coverage

1665 is the earliest record in the history of Mauritius of the presence of a 'chirurgien' and a chest of medicines.

Reference 378 - 0.01% Coverage

The history of slavery is the history of inhuman treatment, misery, exploitation and violation of human rights scarring the dignity and self-esteem of individuals in the innermost sanctum of their body. Historians concur on this thread of slaves' life-course journey.

Reference 379 - 0.01% Coverage

Vijaya Teelock in Mauritian History quotes: 'And Mauritius was the first of the colonies in which this great Experiment was attempted... although at first there was much concern over the protection of immigrants' rights, and a desire to strike a balance between planters' wishes and immigrants' rights, these rights were later abandoned.'

Reference 380 - 0.01% Coverage

Several distinct phases in the history of health development are discernable in Mauritius. The period up to the 1850s was characterized by a minimalist health care system during slavery and indenture. Between 1850s and the end of the century the colonial government started, a gradual introduction of a system of health services modelled on the pattern in Britain. Dreadful damages caused by episodes of epidemics in the first half of the 20th century saw an acceleration of public health measures and the creation of health infrastructures in terms of hospitals and dispensaries until the time of Independence in 1968. The new post-independence government, in parallel with the private sector, invested heavily in infrastructure, personnel, medical and paramedical training institutions and a regionalized outreach system (Map 1 at annex). To-day, it is viewed as a 'medical hub' and an envy of countries in the region. In a welfare state where health services are free for primary, secondary and tertiary care, high expectations for a modern health service with state-of-the-art cutting edge technologies are creating qualitative and quantitative 'medical system stress' for the future.

Reference 381 - 0.01% Coverage

divergent beliefs, culture and practices contributed to folk medicine. New settlers re-invented or improvised new medication using their own knowledge and skills of plants and materials available and their understanding of the diseases, often attributed to the invisible in the first place. Recourse to the natural and supernatural elements for explanations and means of dealing with health problems was the only choice as shown by oral history and tradition. Scientific explanations and remedies gradually unveiled new methods of healing and medications for

diseases. However, folk medicine continued and continues to be used either as complementary or alternative means of treatment.

#### Reference 382 - 0.01% Coverage

Work on Electroencephalography started that year and some interesting results had were obtained. The introduction of this new important diagnostic method marked a great step forward in the medical history of the colony.

#### Reference 383 - 0.01% Coverage

Drug use has been closely associated with our immigration history. Illicit rum production by slaves under the French colonization (1715-1810). After the abolition of slavery in 1834, the then British Administration brought Indian indentured labourers who came with their culture and traditions. They introduced cannabis, known as gandia, while the Chinese immigrants, who came during the same period, introduced opium to the colony. However, these drugs, gandia and opium and illicit rum, were traditionally used in a controlled socio-cultural context in certain localized areas. They were mostly consumed by adults without much serious public concern.

#### Reference 384 - 0.01% Coverage

Commission is to investigate the history of slavery and indenture, its consequences and suggest reparations. It was clear that two years would not allow for the task of reviewing 350 years of history and consequently, the Commission focused on a number of topics for in-depth study. Assessing the consequences or even identifying descendants was less easy as the reports show, since so few Mauritians are aware of their history and still less of their family history. Consultants, scholars and researchers have expressed their personal views on issues, and it is clear that not all views converge. The Commission has studied and considered all views expressed and given its own views in its report in Volume 1. It is understood that the views expressed here are those of the writers themselves, and not those of the Commission. There are many myths and perceptions about Mauritian history that Mauritians have. This has

#### Reference 385 - 0.01% Coverage

One of the objectives of the Commission is to enquire into the history of slavery and indenture and to uncover truths hitherto hidden, ignored, falsified or simply forgotten. Focus has been on those parts of history that might have an impact on society and economy today. Recommendations for the direction of further study are given as well as institutional support for these studies recommended to achieve a more complete picture of the history of slavery and indenture.

The Commission, having noted that so few Mauritians know their history, have adopted the approach of providing as large a spectrum of Mauritians with the information and tools to study Mauritian history and especially the history of slavery and indenture. The Commission believes that 'knowledge is power' and empowering Mauritians to guard against the forces of reaction is the safest way to ensure that systems such as indenture and slavery do not repeat themselves on Mauritian soil. Mauritians must have the tools as well as the information to research their own

history in a scientific manner. Although much research has been undertaken in Mauritius and overseas on slavery and the slave trade, it is nevertheless true that many of these searches reflect personal academic interests and opinions, often based outside Mauritius and do not address the concerns of Mauritians. The Commission has been privileged to have the support of many historians in Mauritians and overseas who have understood the need of Mauritians and responded to its work positively.

There has also been a historic reluctance to address or confront problematic issues of Mauritian society. Perhaps the belief was that these concerns would go away with time. But the enduring legacies of slavery, emancipation and indenture have ensured that the debate never really goes away and, in fact, resurfaces from time to time. It has become all too common, in order to present to foreigners the image of an idyllic Mauritius, to hide our history of inequality, injustice, racism, casteism, communalism and prejudice. Despite the fact that Mauritians continue to endure these experiences daily, few institutions, public and private, admit this publicly or even attempt to deal with it. Those who perpetrate injustice are guilty, but those who stay silent in the face of injustice, are equally guilty.

#### Reference 386 - 0.01% Coverage

For Mauritius, Auguste Toussaint was undoubtedly the greatest compiler of data for Mauritian history before the 1980s. On the subject of trade and commerce, he compiled an impressive list of ships with details of tonnage, destinations for the period 1773 to 1810. In this, Toussaint listed 515 slaving voyages between 1773 and 1810. This data includes tonnage, size of cargoes and slave mortality. However, the slave trade per se was not his focus of interest, and he does not include much more information in the published versions. His private papers are not to be found in Mauritius.

#### Reference 387 - 0.01% Coverage

accounting historians of the slave trade believe that the study of slavery and the slave trade, from an economist's or financial analyst's perspective, allows them to study history more 'objectively' than traditional historians because they are studying history 'without passing judgement'.

#### Reference 388 - 0.01% Coverage

self-laudatory approach ignores, however, the fact that economic historians can only study what is quantifiable, such as trade statistics, prices, tonnage, numbers, heights and weights of slaves, rather than deal with 'intangible' issues of history such as identity or culture loss, mental and physical stress, mobility, laws, consequences on family life or the sense of loss felt as a result of being removed from one's homeland.

#### Reference 389 - 0.01% Coverage

Thus preferences for certain types of slaves for labour began to be expressed as early as then. It was not only the price, but their propensity for hard work, to maroon, that were taken into consideration. Linking ethnicity to occupation started at a very early stage and can be said to have continued throughout Mauritian history.

Reference 390 - 0.01% Coverage

history focus on the 'Founding Fathers' of Mauritius, the economic contribution of the underclass from all countries to the foundations of the French colony remains as yet unrecognised.

Reference 391 - 0.01% Coverage

Much therefore remains to be included in the lists compiled by Toussaint and others as far as the early history of the slave is concerned.

Slavery in French economic history

Reference 392 - 0.01% Coverage

More evidence of the distinctiveness of the Mascarenes and Indian Ocean trade comes from the research of Max Guerout who has also been examining the history and shipwreck of the *Utile* which

Reference 393 - 0.01% Coverage

des noirs et achats en retour et enfin le grand livre” [Eng trans: The slave trading journal, the receipt book, the sales of slaves book, and purchases book and finally the big book]. Although written for Atlantic voyages, it seems unlikely that it would have been any different in the Indian Ocean, since many of the ships and Captains were the same. A greater search of the accounts of slave traders might reveal as yet unknown facets of the history of slavery and slave trade.

Reference 394 - 0.01% Coverage

There were also those who were simply captured and kidnapped from their villages and where no trading took place. This is currently impossible to quantify. But oral tradition in Mozambique exist and deserve further study. Benigna Zimba has recommended that memorialisation of this part of the history of slave trade should be included in future representations of slavery in Mauritius.

Reference 395 - 0.01% Coverage

However, this history is also linked to the flight of Protestants from France and Switzerland, when they also took with them the knowledge and textile trading which was linked to the slave trade. While people are familiar with abolition of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, another event also occurred, namely the ban on importing painted cloths. The flight of Protestants is linked to the opening up of new factories along the Rhine to produce these *indiennes*.

Reference 396 - 0.01% Coverage

Although in the early years of the slave trade to the Mascarenes, the armateurs and traders came from France, by the last quarter of the 18th century, some of the trading was carried on from Mauritius. A total of 72 merchants and traders are listed in Port Louis and a good number were involved in the slave trade. Allen has quoted, for example, Messrs. Closnard, Cloupet, Collique, Drieux, Geoffriou, De La Rochelle, Le Blanc, Rolland, Le Bouchet, Le Bourdé, Dahuy Solminiac, La Corte, Laurent Raphaël, d'Hotman and Vally. Louis Monneron also had family links with merchants in India, while Morice focused on slave trading with Zanzibar. Sharonne Philips has reconstructed part of the family's history in Mauritius.

#### Reference 397 - 0.01% Coverage

probably be said of many families in Mauritius where some parts of family histories are thought best left hidden or conveniently forgotten.

#### Reference 398 - 0.01% Coverage

of the French : the Mascarene slave trade and the worlds of the Indian Ocean and Atlantic during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries », *Journal of African History*, 49(1), 2008, pp. 43-72). Pourtant, là encore, bien que très précieuse, son étude ne peut pas être considérée comme définitive car son auteur n'a pas consulté les archives françaises. D'autre part, les chiffres donnés concernent la traite globale vers les Mascareignes, sans distinguer Bourbon et l'Île de France.

#### Reference 399 - 0.01% Coverage

While tracing the history of slavery and the slave trade, it is difficult to know the slaves' original African names or surnames. This situation applies particularly to the case of slaves exported from Inhambane and Ilha de Moçambique under the Portuguese administration. Because they travelled abroad already baptized, from the 1760s onwards, Inhambane slaves became known as the best of the Colony, and were sold in large numbers.<sup>11</sup> Through baptism, slaves received European names, which are those in the Registers of Export and Immigration. In a number of cases, baptized slaves did not know their birth names. Despite this situation, we should mention that according to Mozambican tradition, the names of the regions were also very often the same as those of people. In other words, it helps to emphasize that the names in Tables 3, 4, and 5, for example, were certainly the original names of a number of slaves exported specifically from the ports of Inhambane, Delagoa Bay and also Ilha de Moçambique.

#### Reference 400 - 0.01% Coverage

Tribal Indians constitute one of the most ignored groups in Mauritian historiography and was thus the first focus of our enquiries on Origins. Reconstruction of this history has been accomplished by a study of archival documents and documents consulted at Civil Status Office and the Mahatma Gandhi Institute consisting of lists of arrival of immigrants, Emigration Agency Certificates and Immigrant Photographs. The difficulty was that as no Indo-Mauritian claim tribal ancestry, detailed family histories could not be undertaken. Few of the people approached wanted to acknowledge their tribal identity, and the reasons for this need to be explored further in future.

#### Reference 401 - 0.01% Coverage

number of oral history interviews were also conducted to assess the level of knowledge of Mauritians, memory as to the existence of tribals in Mauritius.

#### Reference 402 - 0.01% Coverage

characterized slave behaviour. This short study of apprentice and indentured behaviour in a crucial moment in Mauritian history, the 1830s, helps to show that oppressed people in Mauritius have never bowed their heads and accepted their fate silently. They showed many innovative ways to overcome their servitude and fight the system. We are only at the beginning for our search to understand the consciousness of the oppressed in Mauritius.

#### Reference 403 - 0.01% Coverage

However, individual experiences of marriage are highly revealing and allow us to reconstruct in greater detail the social life of indentured immigrants. Marriage patterns among Indentured Immigrants in the early years of immigration are particularly interesting, since they allow us to see the impact of migration on the social life of immigrants. We can understand how far they were able to maintain the social organisation which they had brought with them. It was only possible to undertake a limited study for the purposes of the work of the Commission, but this shows that the process of uncovering the full extent of our history must continue.

#### Reference 404 - 0.01% Coverage

things more complicated and a dehumanising experience for a considerable time in the history of indenture. Many of their children were denied inheritances and admissions to schools because they could not prove their legitimate parentage, merely because their parents' marriages have not been registered.

#### Reference 405 - 0.01% Coverage

China is better seen today through her Diaspora all across the world. The Chinese men and women, distinctive figures in the regions where they settled, played an important role in the development of commerce and participated in the creation of entire Chinese communities outside China, thereby transforming a part of their host country into a "little China". The history of the Chinese in Mauritius remains widely unknown to a Mauritian audience, and even the Sino-Mauritians (descendants of Chinese immigrants), are not aware of their ancestors' contributions, except only their contributions to the commerce guild. In order to understand the reasons behind the successive flow of Chinese immigrants and how they settled and adapted themselves in Mauritius, it is important to look back at the migration history of China and the history of the Chinese in Mauritius, addressing mainly the 19th and 20th centuries' historiography of the Chinese in Mauritius. This would portray the community which played (still maps) an important role in the development of the country. We will also look at the present situation of the Chinese in Mauritius, taking a glance at the observations of the Sino-Mauritians on their own community.

Interviews and meetings with Sino-Mauritians help us to understand the feelings and perception of these people and their past and contemporary history. The experience of this community began in China itself and impacted on the development of Mauritius.

#### Reference 406 - 0.01% Coverage

The migration process from China can be understood by 6 inter-relating factors which gave an opportunity to the Chinese to look for new horizons: the development of China's maritime trade and commerce, the interactions with South east Asia, the Growth of the Chinese population, the expansion of military power in Western countries, the impact of Europe on China and Southeast Asia and finally the disruption of China's domestic order.<sup>139</sup> These elements promoted and triggered the desire to migrate among those who wanted to seek a better and more secure future. However, for migration to be possible in the 19th and 20th centuries, the Chinese had gone through a long perilous journey before being able to found Diasporas across the world. The first coming of the Chinese to Mauritius remains unknown to Mauritians; so we shall begin by addressing the different reasons that triggered Chinese immigration to Mauritius and why their history has been overlooked.

#### Reference 407 - 0.01% Coverage

unable to circumscribe an opium chaos. The second half of the 19th century was a period of utter chaos for China. The country had to face the two shameful Anglo Chinese wars against the opium trade and at the same time, deal with the worst Civil War ever in its history; the Taiping Rebellion.

#### Reference 408 - 0.01% Coverage

From 1839 to 1842 occurred the first Anglo-Chinese War for opium. The British introduced opium massively as a drug<sup>145</sup> whereas, before, in China, opium was being used as a medicinal ingredient; its recreational use was limited, and strict laws regulated its use.<sup>146</sup> The drug was widespread in Chinese society and the Qing Government attempted to end the opium trade, but its hard work was hampered by corrupted local officials. The Chinese Government made illegal the consumption of this drug, and British traffickers continued illegally to introduce the addictive drug within China's borders. The situation worsened and reached its peak with the outbreak of the First Opium War between the British and the Chinese which eventually ended with the defeat of the Chinese. From 1856 to 1860, the Second War for Opium took place, which again resulted in a Chinese defeat. This Second War coincided with the Treaty of Nanking, which is known to mark the end of the first Opium War. At the same time, in 1850 and 1864, the Qing Government had to face the Taiping<sup>147</sup> Rebellion, where soldiers seized of Nanjing.<sup>148</sup> These were the worst civil wars ever in the history of China where approximately 20 million people died. The dynasty, failing to confront internal and external challenges, abdicated in February 1912. Henceforth, China was heading towards becoming a Republic.

#### Reference 409 - 0.01% Coverage

The presence of Chinese as slaves in the history of the country is specific to a short period of time and a small group of individuals. During their research, various scholars such as Huguette Ly-TioFane-Pineo (1985) and James Ng and Marina Carter (2009), came across documents attesting the presence of Chinese slaves at Isle de France. And for some of these, they have been able to trace their history after emancipation. Indeed, James Ng, during his research, found “in 1761 two natives of Macao listed among the register of the government slaves; while; in 1792 a 60 year old male Chinese slave was recorded as having died in Flacq. Another, Jean Benoit, born on the Isle de France of Chinese parents, is reported as having died in the same region, in 1791.”<sup>161</sup>

#### Reference 410 - 0.01% Coverage

However, while looking forward to the younger generations moving up the social ladder, the community has been faced with relegating their past sufferings and conditions to a loss of memory. To some extent the community preserves only the legendary hardworking capacities of the Chinese people. History itself has played a role in this parody depiction of this community which has often been limited to hard labour or to distinctive figure of the Chinese and their astonishing economic development through over the last two centuries. These people fled their countries to form new communities all across the world. Most of them would not return to China after the Communist take-over and found no other solution but to stay and secure their future in their adopted countries.

Today, after an incredible economic success, the Chinese seem to face their decline due to various factors. Many young Sino-Mauritians are looking for better prospects elsewhere in the world; turning a blind eye to what their parents and grandparents had built through will power and hard work. There is an outcry of the community that they should be given due recognition of their contribution to the overall development of the country; a recognition for their history and past sufferings by all Mauritians in the hopes that they may revive the community, by attracting younger generations to stay and build their future in this country to which they now belong.

#### Reference 411 - 0.01% Coverage

‘FREE’ AFRICANS IN MAURITIUS AFTER SLAVERY One of the most common stereotype in Mauritian history is of the African slave and Indian indentured labourer. It is important however that Mauritians know that Africans and Malagasies were also brought as labour after abolition of slavery. Their archives are found in the ‘Indian Immigration Archives’ found at the MGI. This history deserves to be better known by Mauritians, as many members of the Creole community originated from them, as the case studies show.

#### Reference 412 - 0.01% Coverage

In 1883, a committee was set up under the Protector of Immigrants which recommended the creation of new primary schools under Government control, converting the Anglo-Vernacular schools into Second Grade schools and English as medium of instruction. Being the Protector of Immigrants, Trotter had first-hand experience of the appalling economic conditions of Indian immigrants and therefore, he made the most crucial recommendation of this committee – free education for the children of immigrants – for the first time in the history of education which had

far-reaching consequences in the development of Education. Another set of important proposals were put forward by the Committee on Education in 1887. Taking a radical departure from the existing

#### Reference 413 - 0.01% Coverage

The question has often been asked: When did indentured immigration officially come to an end? This question can be answered in two ways: When did indenture come to an end legally? When did Indian labour immigration into Mauritius really end? The reason is that many labourers continued to arrive, even though the system of indenture had officially ended and these new non-indentured endured the same hardships as the indentured. Just as employers in the 1830s found it hard to adjust to 'free' indentured labourers as opposed to having slaves, they found it equally hard to distinguish between what was a 'free Indian' and an Indian who had come under the 'indentured' system. A life history of one family is also provided here as an example, but there are many others who also deserve to be known.

#### Reference 414 - 0.01% Coverage

Thus, the Dutch would start a set of historical processes which would dominate the history of Mauritius: the introduction of the sugar cane, the production of a liquor, arrack, from sugar cane, using slaves from Madagascar as labour, developing trade between Madagascar and Mauritius, using Mauritius as a 'key' of the Indian Ocean, in Holland's rivalry with Portugal for trade with Asia, and using Mauritius as a port of call for its ships.

#### Reference 415 - 0.01% Coverage

From the above, a low probability of abolition and emancipation would not affect the value of labour significantly. However, it may have been the case that, prior to the middle 1830s, it was widely believed that slavery would eventually not come to an end. After the mid-1830s, if our interpretation of the history is correct, there was little doubt that the slave regime would persist indefinitely. In terms of the model, Pem would be greater in the late 1820s. This, in turn, would imply that, *ceteris paribus*, the expected present value would increase. On the other hand, if abolition seemed unlikely, then Pem would have remained essentially constant over time with, *ceteris paribus*, no change in the expected present value.

#### Reference 416 - 0.01% Coverage

The exclusion of the ex-apprentices from the mainstream economy and the fragmentation of labour would have an impact even on modern Mauritius. Admittedly, in the history of Mauritius, political leadership has now and then used that historical state of affairs in defence of their interests.

#### Reference 417 - 0.01% Coverage

The period 1810-1839 in the history of Mauritius saw the creation of a monocrop economy, with the destruction of the cultivation of other crops. The driving force for fat profits and capital

accumulation created conditions for a perpetual quest for coerced unwaged labour and later coerced waged labour.

#### Reference 418 - 0.01% Coverage

According to Allen, the 1860s were a turning point in the history of the Mauritius Sugar Industry which saw an extensive restructuration of the Industry with the parcelling out of large tracts of land on some estates and the merging of other estates into larger financially more viable units.

#### Reference 419 - 0.01% Coverage

The Franco-Mauritians remained a strong interest group throughout the island's history. The Sugar Industry was their power base. The decline of the Sugar Industry in the 1960s weakened their ascendancy over the island's affairs. When their political power, dwindled their economic power declined considerably. In the new Constitution of Mauritius, which was promulgated in 1948 and with the extension of the franchise culminating, ten years later, in universal suffrage, we can trace the early ominous signs of the irreversible decline of the Sugar Industry and the Franco-Mauritian community in local affairs.<sup>192</sup>

#### Reference 420 - 0.01% Coverage

There was some concern that, with the social stratification among the Indian immigrant population, a conflict of interest of the wealthy against the poor small planters might jeopardise the emerging cooperative movement. Unfortunately, history would prove this concern to be a very valid one indeed.

#### Reference 421 - 0.01% Coverage

For the labouring classes, history tends to repeat itself. In the crisis at the turn of the twentieth century, the labouring classes were made to contribute very unfairly, when compared to the capitalist class and middle class, to Government revenue. In the lean years of the economic depression of the 1930s, yet again they would be made to contribute heavily to Government revenue as well as to the Sugar Industry.

#### Reference 422 - 0.01% Coverage

The Colonial State obviously reacted by sending in the Police; more importantly, a Commission of Enquiry into the unrest on sugar estates was set up on the 18th August 1937 under the chairmanship of C.A. Hooper. The events of 1937 are landmarks in the History of Mauritius, and in particular, in the History of the Labour Movement. The report of the Commission of Enquiry, referred to as Hooper's Report, would equally bring an entirely new dimension in the way that industrial relations would be dealt with by the Colonial State, and invariably, by the employers, including the sugar oligarchy.

#### Reference 423 - 0.01% Coverage

History has repeated itself. About one hundred and thirty years ago, the plantocracy recruited indentured labourers from a vast reservoir of cheap labour found in British India. As a result, the plantocracy accumulated capital which was partly siphoned off to financiers/ investors abroad (Britain and France mainly) and partly reinvested in modernising the sugar factories. The new dimension, this time, lies in the fact that the reservoir of cheap labour came from within Mauritius: women and the unemployed. As argued in chapter 5, unemployment and poverty were the direct consequences of policies of free trade by British Imperial Government and of cheap labour policy of the Colonial Government and the plantocracy.

#### Reference 424 - 0.01% Coverage

In the case of the Fair Price Cooperative stores, it is frankly written that “The history of nepotism and patronage in former cooperative stores is a lesson well learned by the federation.”<sup>275</sup> There is a concern that the next generation of cooperation is not being produced; hence there is an urgent need in education at grass roots level as well as in the formal education system.

#### Reference 425 - 0.01% Coverage

The Medine Camp de Masque Cooperative Credit Society had a long history in the traditional sugar sector. It was formed in February 15, 1914. Its members are mainly small-scale, part-time planters with less than one hectare (i.e. about 2.3 arpents) of land and its main activities are loans, procurement and marketing. The society gets involved in the community and further helps its own members by contributing to the setting up of an Information and Technology Centre as well as a cooperative store. Moreover, strong family ties tend to influence the choice of people to occupy certain key positions like the post of Secretary. Thus, it is written that “for example, the secretary of the cooperative is the third generation cooperative member (his grandfather was one of the founding members and his father was a secretary for years as well) and remembers growing up in the cooperative.” Whilst “growing up in the cooperative” certainly helps, on the other hand, family ties have been found to be a threat to proper functioning of cooperative societies in the past.

#### Reference 426 - 0.01% Coverage

class, the new elite and the new business community. Today, this bourgeoisie controls State power. Further, the country is ‘imprisoned’ to a certain extent by its history. The sugar oligarchy still controls the Sugar Industry and has extended its control to some extent to the tourist sector, export-oriented industries and financial services.

#### Reference 427 - 0.01% Coverage

In 1840, Mauritius, formerly Isle de France, already had a complex history which was to become more complex with the Indians - Hindus and Muslims – and the Chinese being added to the ex-slaves mainly of Malagasy or African origin, to the Coloured people, the Whites. Among these last ones, were some of French origin and colonists in the country, the others being British and new administrators of the island; they were to form a population in search of its identity and to

see imposing one which would be imposed upon them by the dominant racial oligarchy. It is within this complex socio-political system that the Church would have to integrate itself.

#### Reference 428 - 0.01% Coverage

The mid-nineteenth century represented a turning point in the History of the Church in Mauritius. Apart from the various social changes taking place in the country (abolition of slavery and apprenticeship), there was also a need for a Catholic revival. If the Roman Catholic Church could embark on such a revival, it was largely owing to the zeal and personality of Mgr. Collier who happened to be the right man at the right time.

#### Reference 429 - 0.01% Coverage

Any study of missionary history must consider the fact that many Christian missionaries overseas were surprisingly ill-prepared for their work. This is not to say that these evangelists were lacking in zeal or determination or to ignore that some of them contributed, in some ways, toward the development of the country. But in general those who accepted the call to the colonies knew little about the societies they hoped to redeem from "barbarism."

#### Reference 430 - 0.01% Coverage

In any consideration of the progress of popular education, not only in Mauritius but throughout the whole of the British Empire in the nineteenth century, the work of the Church and Missions holds the highest place. The phenomenon of priests and monks engaged in educational work is familiar in both European and British educational history, but in Mauritius, as well as in the whole of the British Empire, where secular benefaction was comparatively small and ineffective, the contribution of religious bodies can hardly be overstated.

#### Reference 431 - 0.01% Coverage

Throughout the colonial period, the British Government granted freedom of religion to the population. Thus, in the 19th century, besides the Catholic Church, with its long-standing history that dated back as 1721 and its status of official religion under French rule, Anglicanism gained ground from the British occupation in 1810 onwards. Given the British Government's policy of freedom of religion, a wide spectrum of Christian denominations operated in the Colony. However, that freedom entailed respect of the rights of individuals to practise their own faith. A corollary resulting from the above related to the circumspection in the methods of carrying out evangelization, without proselytization by the other groups.

#### Reference 432 - 0.01% Coverage

the emergence of an international consensus on the importance of confronting traumatic histories, as well as the creation of a variety of modalities and mechanisms for doing so. These approaches include, not only the payment of monetary reparations (the focus of the current slavery reparations debate in Mauritius), but also international tribunals, formal apologies, truth commissions, the creation of public memorials and days of remembrance, educational initiatives,

and a wide variety of other non-monetary reparations programs. Although these different approaches, as well as some of the specific circumstances in which they have been or might be used are debatable, what is important to bear in mind is that there is no magical formula for righting historical wrongs.

#### Reference 433 - 0.01% Coverage

business, and societies and institutions that undertake it should do so with humility and a clear-eyed recognition of the inadequacy of any reparative program to restore what was taken away. Yet, looking at the experience of other societies that have confronted (or failed to confront) legacies of historical injustice – at the contrasting experiences of West Germany, East Germany, and Japan following World War II; at the operation of Truth Commissions in South Africa and elsewhere; at the bitter controversies generated by the Turkish Government's denial of the Armenian genocide or by the Australian Government's refusal to apologize to Aboriginal children for being abducted from their families as part of a State-sponsored forced assimilation policy – there seems good reason to believe that communities that face their histories tend to emerge stronger than those that choose the path of denial and evasion.

#### Reference 434 - 0.01% Coverage

institutional apology, we believe that it is incumbent on the Church, as a minimum, to acknowledge formally and publicly the benefits that the Church derived from the institution of slavery. This was done in 2006, during the mass of 1st February 2006 commemorating the Abolition of Slavery at the Church of Notre-Dame du Grand Pouvoir at Vieux Grand-Port. Mgr Maurice E. Piat, c.s.s.p, Bishop of the Diocese of Port Louis, has expressed an apology of the Catholic Church for having been linked to slavery in History. He has also recognized the contribution of Creoles to the Church of Mauritius. The Church has also accepted that it is the missionary work of Father Laval and his collaborators<sup>82</sup> that has consolidated the Church through the centuries. Yet with institutions as with individuals, taking responsibility for an offence entails more than expressing remorse for past conduct; it also requires a commitment to doing better in the future.

#### Reference 435 - 0.01% Coverage

We cannot change the past but we can reconcile ourselves with our past so as to have a better future. Every confrontation with historical injustice begins with establishing and upholding the Truth, against the inevitable tendencies to deny, extenuate, and forget. The appointment of the TJC and the various public programs it have organised has certainly done a great deal to create awareness of a history that had been largely erased from the collective memory of our country. Yet, there is more to be done.

#### Reference 436 - 0.01% Coverage

□ encourage the Church in being more open about its history and allowing access to its archives to researchers before these disappear forever. This can only be achieved by providing assistance in the conservation of church repositories<sup>83</sup>;

□ commission a new history of the Mauritius that is not compartmentalized by ethnic considerations to replace the currently available text, which makes virtually no reference to role (both positive and negative) played by the Church in the forging of Mauritian society;

#### Reference 437 - 0.01% Coverage

Mauritius is a country which has known the worse forms of injustice during its 400 years of history, marked by slavery and its aftermath and the indentured labour system. That this country is now considered as one of the most avant-gardiste in the field of Social Justice is in itself a great feat.

#### Reference 438 - 0.01% Coverage

The advent of indentured labourers, who came from India and who were themselves subject to some of the worst forms of ill-treatment, is another landmark. The history of Indian immigrants is a tale of injustice and misery. Leaving his wife and children behind, the Indian labourer was made to work odd hours in

#### Reference 439 - 0.01% Coverage

Fortunately, the Indian immigrant found in Alphonse Von De Plevitz a friend who showed marked sympathy to their cause. He was appalled by the treatment meted out to Indian labourers. Although married to a Franco-Mauritian girl, whose parents own an estate at Nouvelle Découverte, he encouraged them to put up a petition to Queen Victoria to redress the wrong done to them. The petition received 9401 signatures. The British Government reacted positively and appointed a Royal Commission to inquire into their complaints and to make appropriate recommendations. This was the first quest for Justice in Mauritian history. The findings and recommendations which ensued went a long way to put a stop to the inhuman treatment meted out to a community of individuals.

#### Reference 440 - 0.01% Coverage

Social justice is a concept which is quite new in the history of mankind. Before the beginning of the 19th century, much of Mankind lived in what Charles Darwin termed as the rule of the survival of the fittest. The poor and the weak had to fend for themselves in a hostile world, just as in the animal kingdom. It was the world of kings and princes and chieftains who had the Divine Rights to treat their subjects according to their whims. People were deemed to have no rights but obligations. Obligations to produce once own food, and other necessities to wage war, and to pay taxes.

#### Reference 441 - 0.01% Coverage

Ironically it was not necessary in the wake of this new mindset that Europe embarked on the conquest of new lands and clashed with the indigenous people in the Americas, Africa and the Far East. These people according to Aimé Césaire who had the misfortune to be on their way, were considered as inferior beings. The history of emerging Colonial Powers is littered with

genocides, atrocities and humiliation and remained unwritten for long. Voltaire in his *Essais sur les races* in 1756 describes the people of Black Africa as half savages and mentally deficient, in short of inferior beings. The Code Noir of 1685 under Colbert, Minister of Louis XIV, to manage slaves in the newlyacquired colonies is a typical case of the bias ideas of the black people generally. Slaves captured

#### Reference 442 - 0.01% Coverage

Mauritius, an island ideally situated in the sea routes leading to India and the Far East, has inherited a long colonial history starting with the Dutch occupation in 1638 which ended only in 1968, in the wake of the decolonization of the British Empire. The Dutch outpost was set up, not for strategic reasons necessarily, but for exploitation of the untouched rich ebony forests. With the Dutch colonists, administrators and a small standing army, the first Malagasy slaves. The population rarely exceeded 300 individuals. Many of the slaves chose to elope in the thick forests as they disliked the idea of being exposed to ill-treatment by their masters. In the absence of any law governing slavery, the Dutch administrators showed extreme cruelty and on two occasions, in 1695 and 1706, the slaves revolted. Their moves were cruelly repressed, but the surge for justice had its first imprints during the Dutch occupation. Harassment by maroon slaves was the main reason for the abandonment of the island by the Dutch in 1710.<sup>7</sup>

#### Reference 443 - 0.01% Coverage

The French colonial period is undoubtedly the darkest period in Mauritian history, when it comes to the ill-treatment inflicted on human beings, to keep the slave population at bay. All rights conferred on slave-masters under the Code as enacted by the Letters Patents in 1723 were fully implemented; corporal punishment, mutilations for the slightest offences and the death penalty were the rule. Over the years, several clauses of the Code Noir were amended to reinforce control on slave labour and to act as deterrent against marooning which has always been a scourge for the authorities.<sup>10</sup>

#### Reference 444 - 0.01% Coverage

This period in the history of Mauritius witnessed a drastic change in the way the British Government viewed its colonies and their inhabitants. Following the publication of the Hooper Report in 1938 and the passing of the Colonial and Development Welfare Act 1940, major changes took place in the field of education, housing, and healthcare. These decisions also laid down the foundations of the Mauritian Welfare State.

Following the cyclone of 1892, the Sugar Industry was seriously hit and in need of capital for reconsolidation and expansion. Request for assistance from the United Kingdom met with reticence. In 1909, however, the Colonial Office appointed a three man Commission headed by Sir Frank Swettenham to enquire into the financial situation of the country and all problems connected with labour and immigration. The Commission submitted various recommendations and showed its apprehension concerning the idea that in spite of the overwhelming majority of people of Indian origin in the colony. These were not represented in the legislature. It is the Royal Commission of 1909 which recommended the cessation of labour recruitment from India. This marked a new era in Mauritian history. The First World War (1914-1918) did not slow

down the fighting spirit of the emerging class of politicians which, hitherto, comprised the Indian elite.

#### Reference 445 - 0.01% Coverage

Indeed, this period in the history of Mauritius saw the beginning of a more humane society through constitutional reforms and the involvement of several intellectual elite dedicated for the cause of workers, artisans and small planters in Mauritius.

#### Reference 446 - 0.01% Coverage

For the first time in the history of the island, elections were held in 1959 on the basis of universal suffrage. This marked an era of emancipation of the whole population in the fight for social justice.

#### Reference 447 - 0.01% Coverage

Measures taken by the State in the area of health, housing, education, social security and employment have been great landmarks in Mauritian History. What is remarkable is that all successive Governments which have been in office since Independence, while striving hard towards economic consolidation and expansion, have at the same time never relegated the poor and the vulnerable to the periphery of society. This philosophy has contributed tremendously to Social Justice and improved the overall quality of life of the people.

#### Reference 448 - 0.01% Coverage

The two most recent pieces of legislation in the field of Employment in Mauritius are the Employment Rights Act 2008 and the Employment Relations Act, 2008, which came to replace the former Labour Act, 1975 and the Industrial Relations Act of 1973 respectively. These Acts came in at a crucial moment in the history of the island in order to respond to the new work environment, as a result of forces of globalization.

#### Reference 449 - 0.01% Coverage

The Conservatoire defeat in the 1948 elections was a clear signal of popular support for the Labour Party. The Parti Mauricien, later on Parti Mauricien Social Democrate, used a political strategy by branding the whole Hindu population as communalists and, at the same time, asking all non-Hindus to unite. The political awakening of the Indo-Mauritians was interpreted as the rise of Indian Nationalism. The opposition expected the Indo-Mauritians to join them in a common front against what was termed as a Hindu-dominated Labour Party, the aim being to create a rift between Guy Rozemont and Dr. Ramgoolam. The PMSD thus weakened the Labour Party, by using the communal argument, and it championed the cause of all minorities, including the Muslims. This part of the history of Mauritius is perhaps the darkest in terms of national unity and nation-building.

#### Reference 450 - 0.01% Coverage

The Chagos Archipelago was part of the outer islands of the Colony of Mauritius. However, in the wake of an independent Mauritius, the British, contrary to U.N resolution regarding the dismantling of territories of any future State, decided to separate the Chagos Archipelago as part and parcel of the Colony of Mauritius. The Chagos Archipelago, very much like Rodrigues, Agalega, was inhabited by people of slave descent who laboured in the Coconut and Fishing industry in extremious conditions. The decision of the then Colonial Office to sever connections with the Mauritius mainland is a dark spot in Colonial History of the British Empire. As a consequence of the British decision, in 1970, thousands of them were deported to Seychelles and to Mauritius. They were uprooted from their motherland Peros Bahnos and Salomon Islands in the Chagos Archipelago, Diego Garcia. Following an agreement between USA and UK, shortly afterwards, Diego Garcia was ceded to USA for the establishment of a military base with sophisticated armaments. In 1972, the British Government paid a sum of 650,000 pounds sterling to the Mauritian Government destined for the displaced Chagossians. In 1982, the UK Government paid a further sum of Rs. 100 million to the Chagossians.

Reference 451 - 0.01% Coverage

The Malaise Creole had also to do with the history of the Creoles: the dispossession and suffering associated with slavery and the aftermath of it, the consequences of which can be seen in the persistence of poverty, social problems and political marginalization.

Reference 452 - 0.01% Coverage

The Colony of Mauritius made history when it extended voting rights to women in 1948, at that time when such rights were not even in force in many Western democracies. Over the years, women were empowered; as legal persons, they can act independently of their spouses in matter concerning business, property acquisition, child custody, following Ordinance 50 of 1949 which provides for separate regime of goods and property. Men and women enjoy the same rights under the Constitution and the Law; and the Ministry of Gender Equality, Child Development and Family Welfare promote the rights of women. We can also appreciate the efforts made to change patriarchal attitudes and stereotypes regarding the roles and responsibilities of women and men both in the family unit and in society; and to empower women and promote gender equality and equity.

Reference 453 - 0.01% Coverage

The present report, done by a group of Rodriguans, aims at presenting, in an objective way, how the population of Rodrigues sees their past traumatic history, how they are coping with the present and how they envisage the future of the next generations. It is, indeed, an attempt to revisit the history of the island from the days of slavery to present time from a Rodriguan perspective. It is hoped that the recommendations of this report will be integrated in the National Policy and implemented as soon as possible so that in 2030, every single person born in Rodrigues in 2011(18 – 19 yrs old by then) is able to benefit from the plethora of opportunities offered by his/her fatherland to develop to his/her full potential in a totally liberalised world.

#### Reference 454 - 0.01% Coverage

Situated nearly in the middle of the Indian Ocean, East-North-East of Mauritius, Rodrigues is the last firm, hospitable land towards the Eastern coast of Australia. Due to its geographical position, at the turn of the 19th century, during the time when the European Colonial power games for control of the Indian Ocean, particularly by the French and the British, Rodrigues played an important role in the political and economic destiny of the Mascarenes, namely Mauritius and Reunion. In fact, Rodrigues became, for a very short time, the theatre of the power game between the British and the French Colonial powers at the turn of the 19th century, but unfortunately History seems to have forgotten the role played by Rodrigues and, consequently, succeeding Colonial Powers and national political powers up to the second half of the 20th century neglected Rodrigues and its inhabitants.

#### Reference 455 - 0.01% Coverage

Slavery has been recognised and condemned as a crime to Humanity. This inhumane practice has left lasting stigmas on the lives of its promoters and particularly on the lives of the victims. It is needless to go into great details about the general and lasting collateral damages that Slavery had caused in the History of Humanity; the following will suffice:

#### Reference 456 - 0.01% Coverage

1. Encourage Research Fellows from Rodrigues and Mauritius to relook at the way Mauritius and Rodrigues history was written.

#### Reference 457 - 0.01% Coverage

Rodrigues suffered an abject neglect for most of its known history. It came under consideration only at the whim and will of the masters of the time. Having suffered terrible losses by the French stationed at Isle de France, the British decided to use Rodrigues as an assembly point for its Navy in 1809 to conquer Isle de France and Isle Bourbon. Even though Rodrigues played such a critical role in the Anglo-French struggles for supremacy in the Indian Ocean during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, between 1793 and 1811, Rodrigues was forgotten shortly afterwards and never got any recognition. The slaves, brought in by the French and the British, were left stranded on the island, with no basic support whatsoever for their livelihood. Naturally located right in the track of tropical cyclones and also prone to long periods of drought, the population of Rodrigues have experienced serious times of famine in its very short human history.

#### Reference 458 - 0.01% Coverage

Furthermore, the administration of the island, when it came, was chaotic. For instance, declarations of births and deaths, and publications and celebrations of marriages in Rodrigues, were first made compulsory from the 1st January 1857. However, it was only in 1890 that a Civil Status Office was created in Rodrigues. This infers that from 1857 to 1883, year when the Police Magistrate was given the powers to validate any will or contract of marriage certified as genuine,

all acts so authenticated prior to that year were in fact illegal. Legally, the people of Rodrigues did not officially exist until 1883. There is thus a case to be made to research the History of Rodrigues from the official abolition of slavery in 1835 to 1883, to find out what really happened to the people of Rodrigues during that particular period.

#### Reference 459 - 0.01% Coverage

In its human history, the first popular consultation was in 1967 compared to Mauritius where a Legislative Council, with an elected minority, was set up in 1885. As early as 1915, a serious representation was made by Rodriguans by sending a memorial to H. M. the King of England. The memorial pointed out that Rodrigues had not been included as an Electoral District in the 1885 Constitution, although it had a population larger than that of the Black River District in Mauritius, which had one. It was unfortunate that no decision was ever taken on this issue due to the lack of consideration or, more to the point, the lie of Sir John Chancellor to the Secretary of State. In fact, the King was never

#### Reference 460 - 0.01% Coverage

A number of Historical Buildings have been destroyed by cyclones, but no efforts of reconstructions and restorations were undertaken to protect the heritage of the island. Some of the buildings fell into ruins, due to a lack of fund to repair and restore them, and also due to lack of the official policies. Recently, an old building which used to house the Maternity Ward at Port Mathurin was entirely pulled down without any reaction either from the authorities or the civil society. The old Health Centre at Mont Lubin was left to rot and, with it, the whole history of health care in Rodrigues. The public garden in Port Mathurin, with its tennis court and other leisure facilities, was scrapped to make way for the New Administration Building. Yet again, a whole piece of Rodriguan social and cultural history was swept away for good. It must be pointed out that since the demise of the public garden, Port Mathurin has no proper green space left. The lack of systematic town and country planning is the main cause of this situation and even today, decisions regarding buildings and development projects are left solely to the whims of the authorities that be, and are still being one on a piecemeal basis.

#### Reference 461 - 0.01% Coverage

Pointe Venus (first appeared on the Rodrigues map in 1876) is an important location in the scientific history of Rodrigues as the place where the scientific expedition observed the second transit of Venus in 1874. There are today no indication of this historical event, but quite wrongly the commemorative plaque that stands there, concerns the observation of the first transit of Venus by Alexandre Gui Pingré in 1761. The locals used to call the place “Battery” because of the presence of surveillance canons set-up there during the colonial days. The location of the surveillance canons have not been traced so far.

#### Reference 462 - 0.01% Coverage

embedded secrets in ways of critical scientific information on the Natural History of Rodrigues and thus very important for the laudable efforts of reconstruction of the island natural

biodiversity. The scientific expeditions to Rodrigues first by Alexandre Gui Pingré in 1761 (250 years in 2011) to observe the 1st Transit of Venus, and more importantly, the 1874 one which also coincided with the 2nd Transit of Venus provide enough evidences on the karst area of Rodrigues. Unfortunately, nothing substantial in matters of legislation has been done to protect the area.

Reference 463 - 0.01% Coverage

From the available historical literature on the History of Rodrigues, it is thus crystal clear that the education of the inhabitants of remote Rodrigues seemed not to have been a major concern to the rulers of Mauritius in the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century.

Reference 464 - 0.01% Coverage

harshly right through its history. There are too many people, I believe, who still think that the Rodriguan cannot be taken much above the level of a primitive society.”

Reference 465 - 0.01% Coverage

The fact that the curriculum was supposed to be the same as in Mauritius, pupils who had passed the 6th Standard had to be sent to Mauritius to take examinations in History and Geography, if they wanted to sit for the Junior Scholarship Examination. At least one student, Paul Cyril Stephen, had to go to Mauritius to sit for the examination in December 1928.

Reference 466 - 0.01% Coverage

For the Rodriguans, the major concern is still whether the present Educational System, the curricula and the type of education dispensed to our children meet the latter's needs. There is a general consensus that the present Education System is not appropriate to equip the younger generation for future responsibilities in the Rodriguans society because it totally makes abstract of the core history and culture of the island. There is, therefore, an urgent need to revisit the whole Educational System in Rodrigues, by aligning it more with the Rodriguan realities.

Reference 467 - 0.01% Coverage

Thus, nearly everyone thought that the History of Rodrigues should form part of the PVE curriculum for many good reasons, and although everyone said they knew the difference between a curriculum and a syllabus, when pressed to explain what they understood by a curriculum, there was little correlation in their answers.

Reference 468 - 0.01% Coverage

The final question dealt with the sense of History and identity of these students and with how easily they could relate to them. Significantly, most teachers thought this was not possible, mainly because of the entire absence of these topics on the curriculum.

This last issue raised - that of a Rodriguan sense of history and identity - would appear crucial to the work of the Commission: for we may well ask ourselves what is the main purpose of Education, if it is not to give the young a strong sense of identity and purpose in life, and liberate them from the hereditary constraints of History? And how can this be done, by these teachers, and in these classrooms, bound, as they are, by the often illogical directives coming from Mauritius?

#### Reference 469 - 0.01% Coverage

3. There is need of a revised syllabus for Pre-Vocational Departments in all schools (including those in Mauritius), but with a section on the History and Culture of Rodrigues. Text-books and student workbooks should accord more with the cultural and ethnic background of Rodrigues. A new Teachers' guide is necessary, one which will include new and creative teaching methods, while cutting down on the amount of paperwork that moves between the two territories. Many teachers complained about the amount of useless information that they were regularly required to produce and reproduce on demand, and the sheer volume of testing that went on. We need to find ways of reducing emphasis on assessments and tests, except informally, as a means of encouraging pupils and documenting their progress, instead of eliminating them. New subjects should take into account the sea, Rodriguan History, the Geography of the island and fishing, as well as the practice of animal husbandry which has always existed on the island.

#### Reference 470 - 0.01% Coverage

After the advent of the Independence of Mauritius and the de-facto integration of Rodrigues, the island did not know the same developmental strength as its sister but experienced some timid progress, namely in the commercial sector, where history details inhuman exploitations through trade, especially the barter system and the education sector undertaken mainly by the Catholic Church. The infrastructural development remained merely non-existent.

#### Reference 471 - 0.01% Coverage

It inevitable and intellectually dishonest to make abstraction of the question: Is Rodrigues part of Mauritius? Comparing the level of development in all economic and social spheres on mainland Mauritius with that in Rodrigues, one is bound to conclude there is a great disparity. Being citizens of the same Republic, Mauritians born in Rodrigues do not enjoy equal opportunities as their fellow countrymen born in Mauritius. This is not just a matter of perception, but a stark reality. All through this document, it has been made clear that Rodrigues, throughout its human history, has been either neglected or totally forgotten by the powers that be in Mauritius.

#### Reference 472 - 0.01% Coverage

3. The way forward is encourage research fellows from Rodrigues & Mauritius to relook into the way Mauritian and Rodriguans History have been written so far.

#### Reference 473 - 0.01% Coverage

Neglected, alienated, undesirable and forgotten throughout most of its History, Rodriguans categorically refused to give up. Rodriguans are now more than ever convinced that they have a brilliant future.

Reference 474 - 0.01% Coverage

and 1830, those only rarely surpassed 350 acres, or 135 hectares. Subsequently, they were limited to about 108 acres. Because Rodrigues did not share in the sugar cane boom of Mauritius, it ceased to be of interest to the British Authorities very early in the history of colonization.

Reference 475 - 0.01% Coverage

This report is based essentially on the analysis of fieldnotes and oral interviews which were conducted during field research in Rodrigues in 2010. Fieldwork was carried out in the context of the Oral History of Descendants of Slaves Project commissioned by the TJC. This report should therefore be read in conjunction with the Oral History Project. This report is based on a judgement sample of eight respondents that is equivalent to half of the testimonies collected.

Reference 476 - 0.01% Coverage

The history of island remains unknown to many people (including Mauritians and Rodriguans), with Mauritian History taking precedence over that of Rodrigues. This report aims at adding to our knowledge of slavery, its sequels and legacies in contemporary Rodrigues.

Reference 477 - 0.01% Coverage

(Eng. trans: yes because in the past according to History, all people belonging to the Black race were slaves because there was a Black Code that, according to history, tells us...all people that are not of the White race Blacks are slaves)”.

Reference 478 - 0.01% Coverage

slaves were not tortured and did not want to be emancipated. Another reason might be that there is no history of maroonage on the island, as in metropolitan Mauritius, and there are no ‘slave hero’ stories. Consequently, there are no myths, legends and local history of resistance with which the Rodriguans can identify.

Reference 479 - 0.01% Coverage

The historical events associated with Independence are still alive in the Rodriguan collective memory. The local population irrespective of the religio-ethnic affiliation identify with their local History. This shared History is the founding-stone of this strong and deeply rooted Rodriguan consciousness. The testimonies uncovered a common perception and feeling that Rodriguans have historically been ostracised and that their island has been neglected, marginalised and kept in an underdeveloped State by the British Colonial Government and, subsequently by the various Mauritian Governments.

#### Reference 480 - 0.01% Coverage

The ethnic stratification of Rodriguan society differs from that of Mauritian society because of differing migratory histories. The present local cosmopolitan composition is the product, and the window, of the island's peculiar settlement History.

#### Reference 481 - 0.01% Coverage

Rodriguans still bear the weight of their Colonial History and of their past historical development, and especially their Political History. The present socio-economic situation is the result of years of repression and ostracism from the preceding Governments that maintained the island in a State of underdevelopment. The local population is currently experiencing the triple burden of their past (slave ancestry, Colonial and Post-colonial political orientation and socio-economic poverty) and the current social and economic crisis exacerbates their already vulnerable state.

#### Reference 482 - 0.01% Coverage

In times of scarcity, the Rodriguans eat anything available that can be consumed, wild fruit, and even snails. In the old days, when latanier palms were still plentiful, the cabbage was eaten. Lataniers became scarce after the prolonged drought of 1928. In the pre-ETC1 days, it could be weeks before a ship would bring an emergency supply of rice, and the inhabitants often had nothing at all to eat; fortunately, the resources of the sea helped out. In the course of their history, Rodriguans have often endured famine conditions, under which any other people would have rebelled (North-Coombes 1971).

#### Reference 483 - 0.01% Coverage

Although Roussety writes mainly about the past and his account may be tinged with subjectivity. As a Rodriguan, he writes on the basis of lived experiences and close interactions with fellow countrymen. His 'temoignages' contain the social history of Rodrigues. However, the use of traditional medicine should also be seen from the cultural point of view. North-Coombes<sup>5</sup> writing on Citrons, says: "Furthermore, the native Rodriguans developed a natural urge to consume the fruit, whose dietetic properties he had discovered in the course of time." (p. 208) He quotes Balfour<sup>6</sup> who calls the fruit *Citrus medica*, "the leaves and the rind of the fruit are used in preparing tisanes for various maladies".

#### Reference 484 - 0.01% Coverage

Gradually, the Chagossian people evolved their own culture in terms of food, music and religion and their own distinctive Creole language, based on a French-based Creole dialect. The social system was matriarchal. The majority of the islanders were Christian. With the inevitable growth of the population, some of the other islands like Peros Banhos and the Salomon islands were also settled. Throughout their recorded history, the plantations in the Archipelago had a population of approximately 1,000 individuals, two-thirds of whom lived in Diego Garcia. A peak of 1,142

persons was recorded in 1953. Those workers, born in the Archipelago, were referred as ‘Ilois’, a French word meaning ‘Islanders’ but, in the 1990s, they adopted the name ‘Chagossians’. Visits from Diego Garcia to the islands were not easy as Diego Garcia was some 100 miles away. But it was thousands of miles away, in the metropolitan capital, that an unexpected and tragic decision was taken. The unique and peaceful way of life of the Chagossian community came to a dramatic end, following a decision taken in London in 8th November 1965 for the excision of Chagos Archipelago from Mauritius. That decision has had tremendous and serious consequences for the Chagossian community and these far-reaching consequences are still being felt today.

#### Reference 485 - 0.01% Coverage

The history of the Chagos Islanders, also named Chagossians and commonly known as Ilois (Eng. trans. Islanders) in Mauritius, has been under-researched. While colonialism and post-colonialism in Mauritius Island has been systematically researched, there is limited documentation on the history of the Chagossians that, until the beginning of the 21st century, has been overlooked.

#### Reference 486 - 0.01% Coverage

While many people, including Mauritians, ignored the detailed history of the Chagos Archipelago, contemporary researchers are now attempting to remedy this historical oversight by unravelling the intricacies of the excision of the Chagos and to place the Chagossian history within Colonial historiographies.

#### Reference 487 - 0.01% Coverage

the interviews of the Chagossians, conducted in the context of the Oral History of the Descendants of Slaves, were not available at the time of data compilation. Consequently, the voices of the Chagos islanders are, unfortunately, not included in this document.

#### Reference 488 - 0.01% Coverage

information on their life-experiences, viewed from their own perspective and expressed in their own words. Moreover, their interviews would have provided insight into their feelings and perceptions of their life history and their experience of exile and resettlement.

#### Reference 489 - 0.01% Coverage

comprehensive picture of the impact of forced displacement and resettlement on the latter. Hence, it should be read in conjunction with the Oral History project and other TJC reports on the Chagos Archipelago, since topics covered in these documents are not included in the present document.

**2. BRIEF HISTORY OF THE CHAGOS ARCHIPELAGO** The history of the Chagos Archipelago and the Mascarenes islands are interrelated.

In fact, their history forms an integral part of the history of colonialism. The geo-political history of the United States of America and of the United Kingdom greatly impacted on, and played a

decisive role in, shaping the historical path of the Chagos and Mauritius as well. (For a historical account of French colonisation of the Chagos Archipelago, see other reports).

#### Reference 490 - 0.01% Coverage

medium of transmission of knowledge and as ‘a means of making history’<sup>13</sup>. It seems that the Chagossian society did not develop a structured written system, and thus oral narratives were a means of communication and transmission of their life-experiences and individual life histories.

#### Reference 491 - 0.01% Coverage

documentation including correspondence between the Governor of Mauritius and the Secretary of State for the Colonies pertaining to the period immediately preceding Independence.<sup>20</sup> It seems that this deliberate or unconscious act was part of the strategy of concealment to the detriment of the reconstruction of our history, leaving sections of past undocumented.

#### Reference 492 - 0.01% Coverage

This is why the village where the public punishment was inflicted is still called ‘Vingt-Cinq’ (twenty-five). Some people want to change this name in order to blot out the unhappy memories of slavery. Others insist that it is important to keep history alive. Most inhabitants have no opinion. A consensus thereon is needed (Doc III TJC 99- 102 Créole Version).

#### Reference 493 - 0.01% Coverage

Excluded from the Elite’s consideration, representations of slavery and indenture did not form part of the memorial process before the years 2000. These years mark a shift in the memorial process: memory expanded to include the experiences of the formerly dominated population. Our research in museums specifically showed the development of representations during this period. As part of its reorganisation in 2000, the National History Museum in Mahébourg presents indenture as an experience leading to a positive evolution in the society. However, representations of slavery imply that ex-slaves were victims of an inhuman system and consequently, were not given the opportunity to become actors in the society. At l’Aventure du Sucre created in 2003 by a consortium of sugar companies, the museum discourse provides positive accounts of local history in the perspective of international context. This provides an account of the “negative” events beyond the local context and helps to conciliate a national vision of the past. In addition, it also states that the descendants of the former Elite generate a vision of the past that accepts the colonial undertakings which affected the population. In this sense, the acceptance of the past acts towards the evolution of the memorial process in museums and serves the contemporary dynamics of nation building. Ultimately, this process of conciliation leads to remember why the Mauritian society took shape and evolved to form a nation. It was interesting to compare L’Aventure du Sucre, a private museum, with the Musée du Peuplement created by the State in 2010. The Musée du Peuplement interprets the past to remember the positive accounts: its dynamics are very similar to those of Aventure du Sucre activating the positive memory to establish a new approach to the past. This approach results in the recognition of a common heritage: it is the first instance in which the heritage deriving from the population’s

interactions is represented. Although we may question the quality of the display, the Musée du peuplement is marking a major shift in the memory process: it formulates the existence of a common heritage shaped by the various groups in action.

#### Reference 494 - 0.01% Coverage

Our research showed that the memorial process is now taking place through new actors who are descendants of the former colonial society. The memorial framework undertakes a complete redefinition. The portrayal of National History now intends to include the memory of the majority of the population and not just a small segment of the Mauritian population. In this undertaking, the representations of slavery and indenture hold a major place as the experiences of more than 90% of the current day population.

#### Reference 495 - 0.01% Coverage

The projection of the nation in the future raises a number of questions relevant to our knowledge of what really defines the nation and what constitutes its identity so that it may evolve in a sustainable manner. In this instance, the statement of Melville Herskovits that “a people without past is a people that nothing anchors in the present”<sup>1</sup> can probably explain why for the last thirty years, research in Mauritian history has developed and also led to a focus on heritage to establish national symbols representing the roots of the nation.

The focus on heritage is particularly significant since the inscription of two Mauritian sites on UNESCO World Heritage List. This can only bring to our attention the shift in the way heritage was considered prior to the 2000s. Heritage was mostly the legacy of the Colonial Administration and heritage was mostly focusing on the history of the former colons. However, the heritage process turned to an under-researched part of Mauritian history, with the project of recognition of Le Morne and Aapravasi Ghat both referring to two traditionally silent episodes of Mauritian history: slavery and indenture.

These two episodes of Mauritian history are not only a subject of concern established by the Truth and Justice Commission Act of 2008, but they are also two historical facts that led to the migration of the ancestors of more than 90% of the present-day Mauritian population on the island. Through coerced migrations, these immigrants suffered inhuman treatments, annihilation of their identity and also, all were unrooted to settle in a new land where their cultural referential were not present. Encouraged by the colonial policy aiming at securing available workforce Mauritian society slowly took shape to become one of the most dynamic nation of the African continent. At the turn of the 21st century, it is thus not surprising to see Mauritian society engaging to question its past when most of the past evocative of the population has almost never been the subject of recognition and is now facing disappearance, for the benefit of modernity.

#### Reference 496 - 0.01% Coverage

I arrived in Mauritius in 2003. A year later, I had the chance to join the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund entrusted to preserve, manage and promote the Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage Site. The institution also conducts research projects to document the history of indenture. Our daily undertakings at AGTF lead us to discuss problematic related to heritage and public perception of the past. The institution is one of its kind. Created in 2001, it is led by AGTF Board who has,

throughout the years, invested in building capacity in the heritage field among the technical staff of the institution. From its early days to now, the staff has continuously gained significant experience by being involved in the various stages leading to the inscription of the Site on the World Heritage List and also, in the challenges aiming at retaining this status.

#### Reference 497 - 0.01% Coverage

It was also for me, the chance to focus on a topic directly related to the problematic encountered in the course of my professional life. The study of the representations of slavery and indenture are currently a main subject of concern. The AGTF has engaged in the setting up of an Interpretation Centre aiming at presenting the history of the World Heritage Site and also, the experience of indenture. This subject thus directly addresses the problematic encountered at AGTF so as to fairly transcribe the historical experience to reconstruct the past and produce a vision with which the Mauritian population identifies.

#### Reference 498 - 0.01% Coverage

This also included heritage sites where much development is noted these last few years and, in particular, at Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage Site inscribed in 2006 and also directly referring to the history of indenture. The analysis of its recognition process showed an evolution in the representation of indenture that deserved specific focus and that also speak to the change in the way the past is perceived after the inscription of the Site on the World Heritage List. studying the expressions in the public space Museums and historic sites were the two main areas of focus, since it seemed essential to address the question of representations in the public space. This would allow for possible actions proposed through the recommendations after the completion of the Commission. In this respect, museums were particularly important as a place contributing to the national memory process, by establishing official and non-official representations of national history and take part, as public institutions, in the national construction of the past. To orientate our research towards the study of museums, our focus was on internationally recognized notion of museum as defined by the International Council of Museums (ICOM):

#### Reference 499 - 0.01% Coverage

Our research could not include all representations of slavery and indenture in museums. Fieldwork focused on a selection comprising of the Mauritius Institute in Port Louis, the National History Museum and the “musée du peuplement” located in Mahébourg, and l'Aventure du sucre in Beau Plan. The selection of museums relied on the fact that they do portray slavery and indenture as a constitutional element of Mauritian society. If the Mauritius Institute does not directly address memories of slavery and indenture, it seemed to be of interest as it is the oldest museum on the island and helped us understanding how museums first took shape and how the concept of museum was elaborated to better appreciate its evolution within the Mauritian context.

#### Reference 500 - 0.01% Coverage

As such, the Museum of National History was particularly interesting since it was the first attempt to depict the National History of Mauritius, seen by a governmental agency, while the musée du peuplement is the most recent expression of the vision of Mauritian history by the same authorities. Similarly, the other museums seemed an essential area of study as they are the result of private initiatives. This allowed the confrontation with the museums of the public sector and led to an interesting conclusion on the perception of the past by a segment of the local community and by the governmental agencies. In our analysis, the Code of Ethics of ICOM was the reference document to assess the performance of museums and also to evaluate how they responded to the international standards.

#### Reference 501 - 0.01% Coverage

Precisely, the study of the evolution of the notion of heritage is essential if we are to understand through which process common values were elaborated and also bring to light the overall framework that activated expressions of memory representations. We therefore assumed that representations of slavery and indenture could not be isolated from an overall process that led to the construction of a national perception of the past. Especially in the case of museum, representations as museums “must allow to give to the communities concerned the keys to understand the local history and environment (and not only focus on national history). The museum must enable us to define the image of oneself that one wishes to communicate to others”<sup>5</sup>. In this respect, museums seemed the right place to appreciate a common vision of the past and the expressions of shared values.

#### Reference 502 - 0.01% Coverage

This discrepancy between visions generated in the past and current appreciations shows that the memorial process is evolving. In this section, the objective is to appreciate how the memorial process took shape to identify heritage. It seemed important to include such considerations as it allows us to understand how the memorial process evolved until today and also, consider why parts of the national history remained silent until recently.

#### Reference 503 - 0.01% Coverage

process that led to the emergence of a local heritage. This undertaking was initiated by the intention of the Société to promote local history. Although the promotion of human sciences is not the primary mission of the Société, its participation in the cultural life of the colony was very active. As early as 1858, the members of the Société Royale expressed their intention to encourage historical research financially and intellectually. They argued that the richness of events that took place in Mauritius deserved to be researched for transmission to future generations (RSAS, 1860:217). This ambition led to the creation of a section on History and Literature within the Société on 22 June 1859 (SRAS, 1870:8). This committee proposed to recompense the members that would produce a contribution on the history of Mauritius, or scientific or literary publications (RSAS, 1860:334).

The Historical Committee of the Société met to talk about the significant events that marked the history of Mauritius and, in particular, those contributing to the development of Science. During the monthly sessions, members recalled the contributions of Scientists to local knowledge and

proposed to undertake actions to recognize the importance of their work and pay homage to their memory. In the course of 1859, the Société financed the erection of two commemorative monuments and indicated its intention to pay homage to the local Scientists.

#### Reference 504 - 0.01% Coverage

The concern for legitimacy seemed omnipresent, when we note that the Société erected symbols through the construction of monuments that represented outstanding characters, historic figures or representatives of authority<sup>19</sup>. These three categories showed the need to anchor the position of the nineteenth-century elite and convey a concern for the past that focused on local realisations with reference to European markers. The memory process of the elite operated on the strength of Western references to identify local symbols. The elite developed a memory that negotiated its contribution to local history and affirmed its cultural belonging. Through this process, the elite created and instituted a local anchorage on the colonial territory.

#### Reference 505 - 0.01% Coverage

During the same session, the HRC indicated that the listing did not imply specific measures nor impacted on the owners as the listing consisted in posting a plaque on the building “recalling the history of the building, of the Church or the place” and that the Government “would not take at its charge the maintenance of all the buildings or monuments that could be listed as historical”. The objective was thus to indicate the historical importance to the public for the purpose of remembrance and raise consciousness. It was, therefore, an act of memory and did not aim at integrating a wider heritage framework that would serve the aim to restore or preserve the heritage for the nation, as per today's conception. The HRC undertakings focused on the commemoration of people and events.

#### Reference 506 - 0.01% Coverage

The creation of the Mauritius Institute is the result of the heritage process led by the Elite. The museum came into existence through the initiative of the Royal Society of Arts and Sciences. It shows how the Société has implanted a Natural History Museum in the colony according to the same heritage dynamics attested in Europe in the same period. The account on the Mauritius Institute help us appreciating how heritage was inherited from the colonial Elite and later in the report, we

#### Reference 507 - 0.01% Coverage

At the end of the 1870s, the Royal Society proposed to gather the library and the Natural History collections in one place. This project of an Institute was finally supported by the Colonial Authorities whose representative, Governor Sir George Bowen, laid the first stone on 23 November 1880. The Mauritius Institute came into existence through the Proclamation of the Ordinance No. 19 of 1880 to promote the Arts, Sciences, Literature and Philosophy, in order to educate and entertain the public. The Mauritius Institute opened its doors during the Colonial Exhibition in 1884 (Cheke, 2003: 199). Its objective was to regroup the Collection of the Desjardins Museum established in 1842 in the Royal College in Port Louis and other National

History Collections and the library in one location. As the minutes of proceedings of the Royal Society of Arts and Science state:

Reference 508 - 0.01% Coverage

The Mauritius Institute regrouped the collections of Julien Desjardins, a Botanist who collected a number of National History specimens from Mauritius, two paintings representing “Raphael and the Fornarina” by Van Der Burhne and “Passage of Que” by Washington, given by Edgar de Rochecouste. The objective, with the acquisition of this paintings, was to develop a compete gallery of portraits similar to European Museums, to “développer le goût des arts dans notre petit pays” (SRAS, 1885: Vol.17:73).

Reference 509 - 0.01% Coverage

The institution is the archetype of Natural History Museums developed outside Europe in the nineteenth century (Gob et Drouguet, 2004). The dissemination of the European concept of Culture and its application in various colonies can refer to what Richard Grove calls ‘green imperialism’.<sup>37</sup>

Reference 510 - 0.01% Coverage

The Mauritius Institute was established according to the European model of Natural History Museum: the Institute adopted the same functioning system by assembling the local scientific competences, the same categories of classifications and the European conservation norms and presents Natural History Collections from the local fauna and flora, from Madagascar, from the South of Africa and the neighbouring islands (Cheke, 2003). This Corpus of collections indicated the intention to document the local and regional environment and to make of the Museum, a place of exception. This national project absorbed the resources of the Royal Society of Arts and Sciences

Reference 511 - 0.01% Coverage

Elite’s omnipresence in the constitution of the island: the Elite naturally inscribe its contribution in a depiction of the National History.

This is also perceptible through the commemorative dynamics aimed at recognizing the local contribution of the elite. This is instrumental in the legitimating – and affirming - their position in the society. If there was a concern to consolidate a link with their homeland or country of origin, the memorial process seemed primarily intended to serve the implantation of the elite in the colony. In early years, the memory process operated to acknowledge the actions of the elite in favour of the progress of the colony and created a sense of belonging to the island. This process was soon consolidated by the expansion of the memory scope to signify the omnipresence of the elite in the constitution of the island: the elite wanted to inscribe its contribution through a depiction of the National History.

Reference 512 - 0.01% Coverage

## 5. REPRESENTING NATIONAL HISTORY IN THE PUBLIC SPACE: THE NATIONAL HISTORY MUSEUM – MAHÉBOURG

By the second half of the twentieth century, the setting up of the naval museum and later, the National History museum shows a specific object of concern: there is a need to portray the national history at national and international level. The establishment of the Mahébourg museum appears as an outcome of the memorial process taking shape with the SRAS and HRC. The memorial process is evolving to organise isolated events into a national representation of the past. As such, it confirms primarily the omnipresence of the Elite in the colony. Ultimately, it shows how the colonial State visualizes its past.

The museum takes shape as the combination of a major place of heritage where a depiction of the life of the colons is presented. The Elite create a link with the past by the evocation of its own experience. The museum institutes a national vision of history seen by western eyes. Only recently, the museography evolved to integrate more information on slavery and indenture and enabled an analysis of how the Museums Council perceives the experience of the former “dominated” population.

The study of Mahébourg museum offers an interesting insight as the first museum depicting the National History. Considering this, our purpose was to explore how the representations of slavery and indenture were integrated and how they were portrayed. In this undertaking, it seemed important to initiate our research by a short evolution of the museum to better appreciate the current vision of the National History elaborated upon the legacy of the colonial perception of the past.

### Reference 513 - 0.01% Coverage

The representation of National History is based on the evocation of the colonial experience through the collections. The social time – that we define as the recognition in the public sphere of the articulation of the national history – focuses on the life of the colons in the colony and related events. Other segments of the population are hardly represented. A rough estimation shows that 75% of the displays – excluding the temporary exhibition space- deal with the white elite's experience in Mauritius, while 25% present information concerns the former dominated population's past.

The main reason for this unbalanced representation probably lies in the fact that the Museum evolved as a result of the desire to present events that marked the lives of the colons on the island. The Museum was instigated by the white elite wishing to present, in a symbolic location, most objects saved from destruction by Mr. Austen. The Museum thus became a place devoted to the actions of the white elite which led the colony: their position of power enabled them to set up a public institution that transcribed their vision of the history of the island. The Museum is therefore a continuation of the concept of museum initiated with the Mauritius Institute, where the European vision supersedes.

The Museum of National History responds to the objective of a traditional museum of history highlighting the main battles and events induced by the ruling segment of the population. It is thus a good example of how the people in power engaged in the creation of museums and indirectly, legitimated their position at the head of the State. It is only after the year 2000 that the display was reviewed to integrate representations of slavery and indenture to allow a better appreciation of the Mauritian history.

#### Reference 514 - 0.01% Coverage

The presentation of slavery is based on information from a scientific point of view, providing key dates and within the framework of the overall context of slavery in French colonies. This point of view offers a good historical understanding of how slavery evolved through time in Mauritius. It also allows visitors to grasp slavery chronologically within the history of Mauritius. The display presents:

#### Reference 515 - 0.01% Coverage

Emancipation is also presented as a negative event in history and as only benefitting the rich and powerful: “the abolition, proclaimed in 1835 in all the British colonies, eventually proved to be more beneficial to the masters than to the slaves, since the period of apprenticeship that followed was strangely identical to slavery, as the fundamental human rights were still being flouted.”

#### Reference 516 - 0.01% Coverage

Personalisation of history: history through the prism of the individual accomplishment  
Such focus on the achievements of individuals (also portrayed through the presentation of busts of former Governors) or of a community, reduces the scope for understanding by visitors who cannot contextualise the representations within a broader context. For foreigners, this may lead to the visualisation of a small window on Mauritian History, as they do not have the knowledge of a local context to interpret what they see. From this point of view, the Museum does not actually transcribe an overall vision of Mauritian History. On the contrary, a Mauritian visitor may have the opportunity to relate to the objects in a broader perspective, but representations only lead to a focus on individuals or items serving the purpose of community’s representation, when the presentation of their experiences in Mauritius could have provided a better appreciation of Mauritian specificity.

We may thus question the opportunities provided to visitors to help their interpretation of museum objects. In this instance, the general perception is that only “patches” of history are presented through personal accomplishments of figures complemented by views of Mauritius in the nineteenth century and by photographs of heritage buildings and few illustrations of the sugar industry. The general perception is that the display does not provide a coherent approach linking museum objects together. This results in creating a distance between the objects and visitors. The distance between the museum object and the visitors is a core element since in museums; the display ultimately addresses ways to reduce this distance by proposing elements allowing the visitors to understand by himself what he is given to see. On the second floor, we may want to question the core theme around which the display was organised and for which purpose. This question is fundamental since the original organisation of the display was maintained conveying specific messages while new elements were added to provide an additional layer of information that does not relate to the original display orientation. This may have deserved an overall reorganisation to better convey messages to visitors. A reorganisation would question what would be the best tools to allow a clear interpretation of history by visitors and avoid a scattered view.

#### Reference 517 - 0.01% Coverage

The configuration of the building does not allow the presentation of a linear history of Mauritius. However, when visitors enter this section, there is a clear understanding of the period referred to, thanks to the organisation of the display that presents the context leading to the establishment of a British colony in Mauritius.

At the end of the visit, visitors leave the Museum with a vision of colonial Mauritius. In this respect, this also leads to the question of what is the notion of National History in the Museum of Mahébourg?

The display is devoted to the presentation of the colonial history of Mauritius seen through the eyes of the white elite. The Museum of National History represents how the colonial elite evolved and lived in colonial Mauritius before the emergence of a ruling elite among the formerly dominated population. The notion of National History at Mahébourg refers to the genesis of the Mauritian nation from its beginnings to the early nineteenth century.

The Museum of National History thus addresses a fundamental part of Mauritian history that certainly deserves preservation and recognition. Nowadays, the notion of National History would deserve further attention, and should include the history of Mauritius from the early nineteenth century to the present day. However, we may want to discard the idea of including this recent part of Mauritian history in the present National History Museum which has its own overall theme.

#### Reference 518 - 0.02% Coverage

The Mahébourg Museum was reorganised in the early 2000s and was certainly the Museum where the first representations of slavery and indenture were portrayed. Our research showed that it is precisely at this period that a concern for the representation of slavery and indenture started to emerge. The initiative of the National History Museum is commendable, in that it tries to recognize two silent episodes of Mauritian history but it was mostly directed in museums by the vision of the White elite. However, it is interesting to note that the need to raise consciousness of slavery and indenture was not only a Governmental concern. It was also supported by private initiatives during the same period. The chief example was the creation of “L'Aventure du sucre” which today is the most frequently visited Museum in Mauritius.

From the National History Museum to Aventure du sucre: the formulation of the untold background of aventure du sucre

Inaugurated on 28 October 2002, l'Aventure du Sucre is the second private initiative that aimed at setting up a museum<sup>48</sup> and is considered as the first project of its kind in Mauritius by its instigators (Gufflet, 2003:4). The Museum is the result of the collaboration of Constance and La Gaité Sugar Estate Company Ltd., Deep River Beau Champ Ltd. and the Beau Plan Sugar Estate Company Ltd. The three sugar industry Companies joined forces to create L'Aventure du Sucre, presenting the history of the sugar industry in Mauritius and the evolution of its technologies. The idea emerged from the intention to convert Beau Plan Sugar Factory, closed on 22 July 1999 as a result of the centralisation of sugar production, into a museum, an initiative of Mr. Aldo Vallet, Chairman of the Company Sugar World Ltd.

The main purpose of the Museum is to evoke the history of Mauritius through the evolution of the sugar industry. For the instigators of the project, the history of Mauritius developed around the sugar industry (Fauque, 2002:6). This central theme is, thus, the opportunity to present an overview of how the country evolved. This shift marks a significant evolution in the way the history of Mauritius is approached. In museums created at an earlier date, the vision was focused

on the lives of the former colons and not on a common binding dynamism leading to the creation of today's Mauritian society. The creation of L'Aventure du Sucre thus marks the emergence of a different vision of the past, especially when this vision was initiated by the descendants of the first inhabitants of the island and also, its former rulers.

According to literature, the concept was to create mainly a cultural and leisure place where the visitor can learn and entertained. The objective was also to preserve the memory of the sugar industry that largely contributed to the shaping of Mauritian identity. For Sugarworld Ltd., this states the need to promote History among Mauritians and tourists (Gufflet, 2003:5). The main motivation is also to develop Cultural Tourism and Eco-Tourism and provide new offerings to tourists, as the Tourism Industry is mainly centered on Mauritius as a place for beach and sea. Their aim is thus to convey that the country has a rich culture and to promote a “new image of Mauritius” as a cultural destination (Gufflet, 2003:8). Not only would L'Aventure du Sucre be a place of history, but it is also ideally located to attract a large number of visitors, since the converted factory is near the Pamplemousses Gardens that receive more than 220 000 visitors in 2002 (WeekEnd, 2002).

The project thus supports a new conception of the Museum in Mauritius by associating economic concerns with the need to promote Mauritian history in a wider perspective. The overall approach is presented as a philanthropic undertaking by the former sugar barons who wish to share a common heritage:

#### Reference 519 - 0.01% Coverage

However, Sugarworld Ltd. does not deny that there are economic challenges, considering that the project involved an investment of 75 millions (l'express, 2002). L'Aventure du Sucre marks a major development for the notion of Museum in Mauritius. It is the result of concerted efforts from investors from the sugar industry who involved various competences, including Researchers, Historians, Architects, Interior Designers etc., to create a major cultural space devoted to the history of Mauritius. To achieve this goal, the creators remind us that they wished to achieve high standards in order to “fill in a gap”<sup>49</sup> in Mauritius, where no structure was devoted to the history of the sugar industry.

#### Reference 520 - 0.01% Coverage

L'Aventure du Sucre also creates a rupture with the past of the White Elite visible at Mahébourg or at the Mauritius Institute for example. The Aventure du Sucre detaches itself from any association with the former white Elite who established the first cultural institutions in Mauritius. The creators of l'Aventure du Sucre are the direct descendants of the white Elite and represent the former oligarchy of planters. However, they mark a rupture with their past: it is the first time that the descendants of Planters take the initiative to talk about slavery and indenture. The establishment of a rupture conveys the intention to reconstruct an objective vision of the past and ultimately, contribute to the national interest. The opening of the museum created a rupture in many ways: it offered a new vision of history based on academic justifications, involved substantive investments in culture and set out a new concept of cultural place devoted to local history.

#### Reference 521 - 0.01% Coverage

Part 3. “A l'ombre de la cheminée: le pavillon de l'histoire” [Eng: In the shade of the chimney: the History Pavillon];

Part 4. From cane to juice (“De la canne au jus”); Part 5. “Le pavillon des technologies” [Eng: The History Pavillon]; Part 6. From juice to sugar; Part 7. Different types of soils; Part 8. Sugar routes.

The Museum’s storyline covers the entire scope of Mauritian History. It starts with the presentation of the geological formation of the island of Mauritius followed by first settlements. The first section ends with a chronology of events that marked the last four centuries on the island. The section on ‘origins’ is followed by an account of the importance of the sugar market considering that sugar was a refined good in Europe since 15th century, when Mauritius was not yet a sugar producer. This section stresses the shift from a scarce and refined good, reserved for the elite, to its consumption spreading among the population at large. This section only presents an overview of the use of sugar in Europe and describes as such, the main market destination of the sugar produced in Mauritius. It also presents sugar as a product from a European perspective. This section tends to valorise the contribution of Mauritius in the production of sugar, by stressing that sugar was a prestigious product that Mauritius was trusted to produce for the high European aristocracy.

The history section is presented after these two introductory parts and is followed by sections referring to the various technologies illustrated by machines preserved from Beau Plan factory. The final display focuses on the specificities of sugar cane. The Museum collections end with an account of the sugar routes throughout the world and its exportation from Mauritius until a recent date.

#### Reference 522 - 0.01% Coverage

The ambition to cover such a wide scope may not be the best strategy to enhance the visitors’ experience. Indeed, the information deals with such a wide perspective that the core focus of conveying the essence of the Sugar Industry History may be lost. The random survey effected at l’Aventure du Sucre reveals that most visitors enjoyed the setting, but found that too much information was available and that it was difficult to take in a clear understanding of Mauritian History. This impression is also expressed on online forums:

#### Reference 523 - 0.01% Coverage

L’Aventure du Sucre display may have been better if it had chosen to focus on its central theme so as not to lose visitors through excessive information. This trend is also noticed in the History Section of the Museum. It has an impact on representations of slavery and indenture, since information displayed reveals the same ambition to cover the full range of information dealing with slavery and indenture. Thus, it sometimes fails to directly address the Mauritian experience and the close relation between slavery and indenture and the local context.

#### Reference 524 - 0.01% Coverage

The History Section called “A l'ombre de la cheminée” is introduced by a statement indicating that sugar, as a product and exported good, is a fundamental theme to explain the History of

Mauritius. According to L’Aventure du Sucre, the exploitation of sugar is central to the formation of the Mauritian society:

#### Reference 525 - 0.01% Coverage

In this section, the role of the sugar aristocracy is also implicitly referred to as a binding element for the society. The plantocracy is referred to as a group wishing to offer protection. This vision discards the main objectives of the planters to recruit cheap labour to respond to industrial requirements. The discourse here focuses on an ideal interpretation of history where the sugar industry is central to the constitution of the nation. According to this vision, it has thus contributed to federate the different components of the society to constitute a nation. This introduction thus highlights the intention of the museum to retain positive accounts of the past: the main one being that the sugar industry was a federative element in the constitution of Mauritian society.

Slavery and indenture are referred to in the last part of the introduction entitled “À l'ombre de la cheminée” or “In the shade of the chimney”. The shade may indirectly refer to the difficulties encountered by the dominated population throughout the History of the Sugar Industry.

#### Reference 526 - 0.01% Coverage

The representations of slavery and indenture are presented in the History section – Part 3 – entitled “À l'ombre de la cheminée: le pavillon de l'histoire”. Slavery and indenture are presented within the large scope of Mauritian History, stretching from the Dutch settlement to nowadays. Representations of slavery and indenture account for 1.6% of the Museum and 10.5% of the section on the History of Mauritius.

The discourse is chronological: slavery is first referred to in the section presenting the first development of the island. The status of slaves is explained through the presentation of the Code Noir and ‘Patent Letters’. This is the introduction to a small section devoted to the History of Slavery in Mauritius, illustrated by texts and two screens showing a film on slavery in Mauritius elaborated by Claude Fauque, Museologist, in collaboration with the Nelson Mandela Centre for African Culture, the University of Mauritius and UNESCO Slavery Route Project.

#### Reference 527 - 0.01% Coverage

In the film, the History of Slavery is presented from Antiquity to the 19th century. This chronological approach supports a clear understanding of the nature of slavery and also of its presence in Mauritius, as this section is well documented and illustrated in respect of academic expectations. Slavery is presented as a global phenomenon and the Mauritian experience is considered from an international perspective. This discourse helps to understand the global phenomenon of slavery and ensures the quality of discourse; justifications are given for presenting in such details, the experience of slavery.

#### Reference 528 - 0.01% Coverage

formulation of a traumatic experience. This is particularly important as the discourse on slavery refers to the inhuman conditions of the slaves and may give rise to emotional considerations,

leading to contemporary demands. The scientific discourse is thus instrumental in formulating slavery as a historical fact. This stand discards personal misleading appreciations of slavery. In this respect, the scientific discourse recreates a clear link with the past. It helps to consider slavery with objectivity and sets a basis for the process of acceptance of slavery as a historical fact and as forming part of the nation's past. The trauma would need to be formulated to offer the opportunity to contemporary generations to accept and appropriate in a positive manner this part of their History.

#### Reference 529 - 0.01% Coverage

The discourse on indenture is inspired by the same vein: the display provides us with a scientific account leading from the abolition of slavery to the establishment of a new system of recruitment called indenture. Mahébourg National History Museum's representations failed to portray a clear evolutive process. At L'Aventure du Sucre, the process of evolution is clearly transcribed to help an overall understanding of the Mauritian experience. What we identified as Section 12, clearly states the mutation experienced by the society after the abolition of slavery. The discourse is organised as follows:

#### Reference 530 - 0.01% Coverage

This is further supported by the intention to situate the Mauritian experience within international historical context. It certainly helps a better appreciation of the local history within the broader 18th and 19th century context and ultimately places the Mauritian experience as a consequence of worldwide phenomenon. This helps to minimize the focus on the “negative” past that could lead to social divisions and offers a perspective to better appreciate the local past. This process is particularly important since the recognition of a “negative” past is instrumental in allowing the evolution of mentalities and serves the development of a national history that can ultimately receive general acceptance.

There is in the undertaking of L'Aventure du Sucre a process of recognition that never took place before. The Aventure du Sucre is the first museum to devote a full space to the experience of slavery and indenture in the perspective of the evolution of Mauritian society. This helps to provide references for the memoration process by expressing the untold and accepting the “dark side” of the sugar industry. In this respect, the museum is a place of reference serving a vision of unity. This is attested by the conclusion part of the section on history entitled “Et tous forment un peuple”.

#### Reference 531 - 0.01% Coverage

The example of L'Aventure du Sucre shows how the descendants of the former oligarchy choose to formulate the past. Their stand is to provide positive accounts of local history in the perspective of international context. This provides an account of the “negative” events outside the local context that helps to conciliate a national vision of the past. Ultimately, this process of conciliation leads to remember why the Mauritian society took shape and evolved to form a nation.

#### Reference 532 - 0.02% Coverage

Similarly, it was interesting to consider how the descendants of the former dominated population appropriated the past to shape a memorial framework. Our research showed the emergence of a new conception of the past in the 2000s with the creation or reorganisation of museums. It is precisely in these years that the Mahébourg Museum was renamed National History Museum and that L'Aventure du Sucre was created.

To this analysis, it seemed important to add the contribution of the Musée du Peuplement. The museum is located in Mahébourg, at Pointe Canon. It is the most recent expression of a vision of National History. It was set up as part of the celebration of the bicentenary of the battle of Grand Port in 2010. The museum was open as part of the celebration activities and generated a significant number of visitors making this undertaking a real success.

The museum is composed of two parts: a building houses a permanent exhibition presenting the history of Mauritius from the Dutch period to nowadays. This section is complemented by an outdoor section called “village historique” composed of reconstitutions featuring human figures providing several tableaux of past Mauritian life.

The organisation of the display in the permanent exhibition is problematic on various accounts. The presentation of Mauritian history is elaborated upon the combination of several panels prepared for former temporary exhibitions. It also includes exhibits acquired from Mauritian Heritage, a private exhibition space formerly located in La Gaulette that no longer exists. In addition to this, large paintings depicting sceneries are displayed to create cohesion between the exhibition panels and exhibits. The panels, exhibits and large paintings are combined and displayed in the various sections composing the museum. The main impression when entering the exhibition is an overwhelming availability of information not necessarily related to one another.

The relation between the exhibits is problematic: they were all initially conceived to address the core line of specific temporary exhibitions. All the display elements were assembled to form the Musée du peuplement. The current presentation relies on elements not originally elaborated to address the purpose of the museum and consequently, fails to respect an overall coherence. The reorganisation of exhibits from three different exhibitions assembled together impacts on the quality. It results in the perception of a scattered presentation of national history where a core line of discourse would have ensured coherence and conveyed clear messages.

Slavery and indenture are illustrated through the evocation of Le Morne Cultural Landscape and Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage Sites. The presentation highlights positive contributions: it shows how the slaves resisted their condition and how indentured labourers engaged in plantation work to later evolve in society. These representations are associated to general information on slavery and indenture formerly presented in Mauritian Heritage. It provides a general account on slavery and indenture systems. However, each event is presented in dedicated sections which are not related to one another by a transition. Each section thus provides an insight on a specific aspect of Mauritian history. The flow of information is therefore not elaborated according to a core line of evolution but rather offers insights on the experiences of the various cultural groups. The lack of transitions between each part is detrimental to an overall understanding of how the various groups interacted to shape the Mauritian nation.

The “ethnic” segmentation in the display questions the notion of national history. Traditionally, the Mauritian society is divided in segments. This was the policy of the colonial authorities who

differentiated the various cultural segments in distinct categories. This supported the policy of representativeness which is still in force today. However, we may wonder if this approach serves favourably a national vision of Mauritius; especially in this instance where the display focuses specifically on national history seen through the representations of each segment of the population.

National history is represented through panels and contemporary paintings that do not present an authentic account of Mauritian history. The various large size paintings depict various sceneries portraying a contemporary vision of the past but are not actually productions of the past: they are as such an interpretation and not an objective account of the past. This questions the notion of authenticity as the permanent exhibition area is a contemporary creation. The information provided on panels is counterbalanced by the various interpretations of the past. In this respect, it is subject to subjective appreciations of what the past may have been. It is further complemented by the village historique sceneries which are an interpretation of how the slaves or indentured labourers may have lived. In this sense, it may be misleading as it does not rely on authentic evidence of the past but rather on a subjective interpretation. This is the reason why we may want to call the Musée du peuplement, a cultural park, as it is not in line with the traditional definition of museum:

#### Reference 534 - 0.01% Coverage

The need for a national history: the emergence of a new memorial framework representative of the majority

Through tangible representations of the past, the Musée du peuplement establishes roots for Mauritian culture: in the Village historique, representations identify a clear legacy, from the origins of heritage to its contemporary expressions. This link allows the population to relate to the past and activate a process leading to the legitimization of their past experiences. This process probably explains the significant success of the Musée du peuplement as part of the celebration of the battle of Grand Port: the audience was provided with tools empowering the appropriation of the past. This marks a shift in the memorial process and shows that the appropriation of national history is in process.

The memorial framework in museums was inherited from the colonial Elite thus discarded the former dominated population and did not speak to the majority's aspirations. The memorial process is now taking place through new actors who are descendants of the lower classes of the society. The memorial framework undertakes a complete redefinition. The portrayal of National History now intends to include the memory of the majority of the population and not just a small segment of the Mauritian population. In this undertaking, the representations of slavery and indenture hold a major place as the experiences of more than 90% of the current day population.

#### Reference 535 - 0.01% Coverage

The promotion of culture is presented as a main priority and the Government takes initiatives aiming at fostering the image of a national unity. This objective materialises through the renaming of Mahébourg Museum as the National History Museum. This marks the appropriation and the recognition of colonial history together with the intention to establish cultural references for all. The shift in the memorial process is in action. It is marked by significant initiatives such

as declaring 1st February as a public holiday “to commemorate the abolition of slavery” and 2nd November as “the termination of indentured labour”<sup>55</sup>. The President further mentions that “a programme of activities will be elaborated to highlight the maximised through the promotion of local folklore, traditions and theatrical performances”.

#### Reference 536 - 0.01% Coverage

The Government has taken action to recognize the silent past of the nation. Heritage projects initiated in recent years are an interesting indicator to appreciate how the shift in the memorial process has operated. This shift may be explained by the need to preserve the past disappearing with the fast growing development but also, raises the concern to situate Mauritian culture facing globalization. Mauritius as many other countries expresses its concern to retain its cultural roots and specificity. In part, it results in turning to the documentation of under researched aspects of Mauritian history to better appreciate Mauritian culture.

#### Reference 537 - 0.01% Coverage

With the inscription of the two sites on the World Heritage List, Mauritius changed the vision of the past inherited from the colonial Elite. The past is no more the prerogative of a small portion of the population. The memorial process now works towards the appropriation of the history of the majority of the population and institutes fundamental references relating to their identity and origins. This process shows the importance of establishing roots in a land of migrations where most of the ancestors of the population came through coerced migrations. As immigrants – slaves or indentured labourers – references to their homeland or cultural background were absent in the colony. Both slaves and indentured labourers had to recreate a cultural environment serving their well-being through the affirmation of their position in society.

#### Reference 538 - 0.01% Coverage

We may also argue that both sites can be perceived as an “ethnic” heritage: slavery is associated with the Creole segment of the population while indenture refers to the Mauritians of Indian origin. Opting for World Heritage Status allows recognition by an external apparatus and supports the legitimization of this national heritage outside the national boundaries. The recognition generated by an international body thus reinforces the importance of this heritage and ultimately encourages the adhesion of the entire population. The presence of two World Heritage Sites on the national territory establishes an emblem of what constitutes the Mauritian history and identity. Their authenticity or meaning may be contested but still their status as emblem of Mauritian society is not challenged.<sup>56</sup>

#### Reference 539 - 0.01% Coverage

In the course of our research, we attempted to find answers in a document stating a general policy for culture and heritage. The outcome was not successful. Intentions and objectives are formulated but are not inscribed in an overall policy ensuring an integrated approach to heritage. Considering that the memorial process was always established by the colonial Elite until recently, we believe that the Mauritians themselves hold the answers to what they believe are the

common values of the Mauritian society. Our survey revealed that the perception of heritage does not necessarily meet the nature of heritage in place. Indeed, the highest rates defined Mauritian heritage as séga music (20%) and Mauritian cuisine (16%). Archaeological and World Heritage Sites come in third position and museums, next to last. Considering this, we may want to think that the Mauritian population still feels that their heritage – mainly intangible- is not represented in museums or in cultural spaces. For 42% of the people polled, Mauritian history was not well represented in museums. This tells us that the past reconstructed in museums may not meet the expectations of Mauritians and thus discards appropriation.

#### Reference 540 - 0.01% Coverage

Considerations on national history in museums Our research revealed that the appropriation of the past by the population is in process. However, this process takes place if the population is provided with tools allowing their appropriation of the past. The appropriation of the population cannot be considered as an isolated process but as a mechanism forming part of a memory process activated by actions of the State or private entities.

#### Reference 541 - 0.01% Coverage

We also noticed that there is a national history of Mauritius but it is immersed in other display objectives. This is detrimental to the quality of the past reconstructed. Messages are superimposed and do not focus on a deep reflection on how to best reconstruct a national history. The National History museum in Mahébourg is the remnant part of the colonial past and as such, presents the contribution of the colonial Elite to the national history. Le Musée du peuplement is an interesting initiative as it produces contemporary depictions of the past that leads to the recognition of intangible heritage. However, it fails to represent the interactions that led to the formation of a unified society. L'Aventure du Sucre was also presented an interesting account of national history but it was merged with the history of sugar as a central theme and largely expanded the scope of national history to details creating a confusing environment for non-experimented visitors.

These initiatives clearly showed that there was a need for National History in which the representations of slavery and indenture play a central role as the evocation of the majority of the population's past. Throughout our research, we noted that representations of slavery and indenture only represent a small portion of the total of public space available in Mauritian Museums. The list of museums visited and considered within this report is as follows:

□ The 'Postal Museum'; □ The 'Blue Penny Museum'; □ L'Aventure du Sucre; □ The 'Mauritius Institute'; □ The 'National History Museum';

#### Reference 542 - 0.01% Coverage

□ L'Aventure du Sucre is devoted to the History of the Sugar Industry in Mauritius; □ The 'National History Museum' refers to the experience of the colons on the island; □ The 'Blue Penny Museum' focused on philately and on the Mauritius Commercial Bank collection masterpieces;

□ The 'Mauritius Institute' is the oldest museum on the island and refers to Natural History in Mauritius and in the Indian Ocean Region;

#### Reference 543 - 0.01% Coverage

Our research shows that slavery does not have a dedicated space for expression, when indenture is largely considered. We may want to consider that 70% of the Mauritian population are descendants of indentured labourers, while above 30% are related to the experience of slavery. In this perspective, the voice of the majority can explain the presence of a museum namely the Folk Museum, devoted to the history of the Indian origin segment of the population. The Folk Museum was set up to depict the immigration of the ancestors of people of - Indian origin to Mauritius. The Folk Museum is part of the Mahatma Gandhi Institute founded in 1970, two years after Independence, by the Government of Mauritius in collaboration the Indian Government. The aims of the Institute is to “provide the academic and cultural basis for the promotion, consolidation and dissemination of the Indian traditions” and “contribute to a developing Mauritian culture by creating an awareness of the richness of the Mauritian heritage”<sup>58</sup>. The general concept behind the creation of the MGI is to promote the Indian culture. However, it is not the only area of focus. Mauritian Studies are also part of its programme and promote the need for interaction between various cultural heritages.

However, we may question the place of the other cultural groups: the experience of slavery or even commercial merchants who migrated to Mauritius are hardly referred to. In fact, we come to a statement that only the former elite or the current group leading the country have managed to set up spaces representing their history and their experience on the island. Considering the multicultural background of Mauritius, it is interesting to envisage a museum that would restore, on factual ground, the experiences of all the components of society. The Government proposed, on several instances, the creation of a Museum of Immigration. This concept would deserve further attention so as to define how the experiences of all could be depicted?

#### Reference 544 - 0.01% Coverage

What is more, we firmly believe that such undertaking also requires effective management and maintenance resulting from the establishment of a cultural and heritage policy. Indeed the restitution of the past to society also supposes optimal managerial framework to ensure sustainability. This is also instrumental in the preservation of collections constituting a major part of Mauritian heritage. This is the reason why this report also includes MUSEUM MANAGEMENT considerations. The improvement of MUSEUM MANAGEMENT would certainly be an answer to the appropriate formulation of National History.

#### Reference 545 - 0.01% Coverage

At the Mauritius Institute, the museum galleries are equipped with thermo-hygrometers. However, the RH and T are not measured in the storage area. This is problematic since it does not allow the monitoring of the collections' environment although natural history collections are fragile and require specific care. Indeed, the natural history collections are particularly vulnerable when they are exposed to UV, high temperature and high relative humidity. The general guidelines for their conservation recommend that:

- filters or curtains be installed to block natural light;
- natural history collections should not be exposed to lights producing more than 50 lux;
- soft ventilation be available in showcase;

Reference 546 - 0.01% Coverage

☐ national history collections should be kept in environment with low temperature and controlled Relative Humidity.

Reference 547 - 0.01% Coverage

museums demonstrated that there is an ambition to depict national history but core questions are not necessarily addressed. One main question would be how to represent national history? And for whom?

Reference 548 - 0.01% Coverage

☐ Promote history and other disciplines involved in heritage documentation and research to provide the nation with scientific vision of the past thus allowing the dissemination of knowledge.

Reference 549 - 0.01% Coverage

☐ Engage a reflection on the notion of national history. This could lead to consider the establishment of the following exhibition spaces to support the restitution of the national past to the population:

## History Child Node References

The following section contains history references from the Mauritius report organized by the child nodes outlined in History Coding for the Mauritius Report. Some references appear under several subheadings since they contained discussions of multiple themes.

### *Class*

References or discussions of class

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC\_.Report-FULL> - § 22 references coded [0.14% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

For long, there has been a dearth of literature on the real history of slavery in Mauritius. The history of the colony of Mauritius was first viewed as the history of the ruling class consisting of French colons and their descendants. Most of the descendants of ex-slaves live in such total ignorance of the history of their ancestors, that an attempt to unveil their history is very recent. Further, it is not easy to assess the exact number of citizens who claim ancestry of slaves of African

#### Reference 2 - 0.02% Coverage

1. Establishing the 'Truth' about History is not an easy task. Firstly, there is the professional historians' point of view that there is no such thing as 'permanent truth', since new research will change what has been accepted. There is also 'public history' which often contains 'perceptions of truth'. This is the truth that the TJC has attempted to deal with. In addition to this mandate, the TJC also had an underlying mandate which was to promote reconciliation. In Mauritius, reconciliation was seen by many as being possible, only if one did not talk about one's history. This was no longer possible in contemporary Mauritius. Although some institutions and individual Mauritians have understood this, the TJC did clash with several institutions that possessed important repositories of documents but did not wish to open them to the TJC or to the public. Summons were issued and, in some cases, the access issues were resolved. Whether the access to the public will continue, is a matter which the TJC has, no control over. The TJC is, at least, sure that the public is fully aware that these archives exist, the Mauritian public has every right to access them, and that the State has the responsibility of preserving these documents and not allowing private appropriation of these documents. Opening access and a more forceful policy of encouraging historical research and an open debate, rather than engaging in parallel debates, will lead further to national reconciliation in the future.

2. The TJC has held 212 hearings at its offices and outside Port Louis. These also constitute the TJC archives as they show clearly public perceptions about Mauritian History and lives of Mauritians. They are, however, representative of the most vocal sections of Mauritians, rather than the voiceless. The TJC endeavoured to collect the views of Mauritians whose voices had no chance of being heard in Port Louis, and it embarked on a massive oral history collection exercise. The TJC feels that we have reached a wide cross-section of the Mauritian community and covered a variety of historical experiences of Mauritians living in the 20th century. These are

personal experiences of contemporary Mauritians and reveal their personal interpretations of their history. The statements, when taken together, are amazingly similar, and a full study was undertaken by a multidisciplinary team of Historians, Anthropologists, Sociologists and Ethnographers. The results are presented in the technical papers in Volumes 3 and 4 of the Report. The evidence shows even more clearly how many Mauritians know so little about Mauritian history and their family history. What Mauritians have preserved about their own history is limited, although this is to some extent understandable, because most Mauritians have led difficult lives. However, it is clear that their approach to life differs considerably, depending on their culture, religion (or absence of it), class and economic status in life.

The TJC cannot claim to have rewritten the whole history of slavery and indenture, but it has, at least, given a conceptual and structural version of Mauritian history free from political and racial agendas. It is now incumbent on future scholars and community groups to reflect and build on this and continue the work accomplished. The TJC has provided the tools and the sources where the historical material may be found, and civil society must now take this further. TJC's version of history cannot be considered as the 'official' history, but the beginning of a new 'national' history, in the sense that TJC recognises the fact that there are different perspectives and approaches.

#### Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

There was some concern that, with the social stratification among the Indian immigrant population, a conflict of interest of the wealthy against the poor small planters might jeopardise the emerging cooperative movement. Unfortunately, history would prove this concern to be a very valid one indeed.

#### Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

Although the 1970s are considered as glorious years of Trade Union activity, there is another history yet to be written concerning the emergence of communalism and division among the working classes, which emerges ironically at the same time. According to Fortune, a full historical investigation is required into the political movement of the 1970s and 1980s and whether it was responsible, among other things, for the propaganda concerning race and the supposed 'labour aristocracy' status of port workers. Was it done as a deliberate move to curtail the port workers' political strength in Mauritian society? Fortune questions how a political movement as such which gathered itself under the slogan 'One People, One Nation' and was sustained entirely upon working class efforts would create racially charged dissension as a means of political strategy.

In this propaganda, race and the supposed wealth of Creole port workers, mostly urban dwellers, was pitched against the much documented stark poverty of rural field labourers, rekindling old tension between these two communities. The propaganda worked well, according to Fortune, in the already racially charged atmosphere of Mauritius of late 1970s and early 1980s, with the riots of 1965 and 1968 only a decade or so ago. The racial discourse concerning the riots of 1965 between Hindus and Creoles, and 1968 between Creoles and Muslims, the strikes of 1971 and the elections of 1982 and how the subject of race was addressed or excluded in the political discourse are part of the history of neglect of port workers. This deserves further study. Furthermore, the ethnic composition of the population working in the port was used to justify the

supposed racial homogeneity that the Trade Unions of the 1970s and the elections of the 1980s had brought back to the surface. The historical literature available, however, paints a picture of the port as a racially diverse sector since the early days of the Colony. To think therefore, that in the 1970s and 1980s, the port suddenly became racially homogenous is rather hard to believe. The Trade Union leader of the port workers in 1938 was no less than Sandivi, of Indian origin as were many port workers and in his grandson's words, a 'Creole Malbar'.<sup>444</sup>

#### Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

As stated from the outset of this study, the most comprehensive accounts that we have of the lives of Mauritian sugar estate workers in the post-indenture period comes to us from Daniel NorthCoombes and Burton Benedict. It is instructive to compare their respective accounts of the lives of sugar estate workers after the termination of the indenture labour system in Mauritius, as each of them had different objectives and foci due in part to their methodological biases. For instance, where North-Coombes was more concerned with class-conflict and the various forms of exploitation that existed in the Mauritian sugar industry, Benedict evinced an approach that sought to pay greater attention to the living conditions of ordinary Mauritians, even if this meant that he tended to overlook signs of class-conflict and tension in Mauritian society. In the final analysis, both approaches are of equal value in any attempt to reconstruct the history of Mauritian society, but what this study has shown is that it is just as important to consult the opinions of those affected by these events. The voices of elderly sugar estate workers has shown to us there were important matters that have been overlooked by both North-Coombes and Benedict, and which places the recent past into sharper relief. I am thinking in particular of the fact that estate managerial staff and sirdars and job-contractors conspired to abuse the rights of labourers by continuing to mark them as absent, or "marron", and deducting their wages for failing to complete unreasonable estimations of set tasks. One would have thought that these abuses would have discontinued after the end of indenture, but quite clearly, that was not the case.

#### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

In the 1980s, there was a concerted effort in Mauritius to promote a national identity, one based on 'Mauricianisme'. This ideal was not readily embraced by everyone, partly (we argue), because the movement and ideal were associated with the working class and the politics of Creoles via the MMM political party. The following extract from one of the individual reports generated by a researcher, part of this project, offers more detail on this particular period in history and the identity issues at stake:

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

The category Franco Mauritian was coined in written texts in 1908 (Boudet, 2005:36). A central motif to their name as Franco-Mauritian is their French ancestry and their use of the French language. Franco-Mauritians are described as "educated and elegant" (Personal communication, Anon., Flic-en-Flac, 5 June, 2010). Many characterisations of Franco-Mauritians have caught my attention in history books and through discussions with the islanders. Franco-Mauritians are generally perceived as aristocratic, upper-class, high society, highly cultured, privileged, the

white plantocracy, the sugar oligarchy, as top of social hierarchy, as the historic bourgeoisie, and by and by, the economic elite.

#### Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

Professionals highlighted that when “you look at the history of slavery you understand impact of racism, you understand why they're that way, they got nothing to hang on to . . . The Hindus . . . could hold on to their tradition and their religion, that's why it's easier for them to go up the ladder, the cultural and social ladder and it's easy for them to have a culture of education that the Creole don't have. They don't have a base and you can't even blame them. That doesn't mean it's an excuse for what's not happening to them . . . But as a group, it's understandable that they're the ones who are poorer and . . .it's been built-up from what had happened to the culture itself, their absence of culture”

#### Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

Today, there could be new opportunities for the people of Mauritius and for the Creoles, especially those of the working-class or lumpen proletariat. Education must be approached in a humanistic perspective in which the history and culture of all groups are taken into consideration. Education policy should be placed within its broader social, cultural, political and economic context, as an integral part of a human development strategy that places the people at the heart of the whole process. Education must help to engender a new Humanism, one that contains an

#### Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

history focus on the ‘Founding Fathers’ of Mauritius, the economic contribution of the underclass from all countries to the foundations of the French colony remains as yet unrecognised.

#### Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

For the labouring classes, history tends to repeat itself. In the crisis at the turn of the twentieth century, the labouring classes were made to contribute very unfairly, when compared to the capitalist class and middle class, to Government revenue. In the lean years of the economic depression of the 1930s, yet again they would be made to contribute heavily to Government revenue as well as to the Sugar Industry.

#### Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

class, the new elite and the new business community. Today, this bourgeoisie controls State power. Further, the country is ‘imprisoned’ to a certain extent by its history. The sugar oligarchy still controls the Sugar Industry and has extended its control to some extent to the tourist sector, export-oriented industries and financial services.

#### Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

Excluded from the Elite's consideration, representations of slavery and indenture did not form part of the memorial process before the years 2000. These years mark a shift in the memorial process: memory expanded to include the experiences of the formerly dominated population. Our research in museums specifically showed the development of representations during this period. As part of its reorganisation in 2000, the National History Museum in Mahébourg presents indenture as an experience leading to a positive evolution in the society. However, representations of slavery imply that ex-slaves were victims of an inhuman system and consequently, were not given the opportunity to become actors in the society. At l'Aventure du Sucre created in 2003 by a consortium of sugar companies, the museum discourse provides positive accounts of local history in the perspective of international context. This provides an account of the "negative" events beyond the local context and helps to conciliate a national vision of the past. In addition, it also states that the descendants of the former Elite generate a vision of the past that accepts the colonial undertakings which affected the population. In this sense, the acceptance of the past acts towards the evolution of the memorial process in museums and serves the contemporary dynamics of nation building. Ultimately, this process of conciliation leads to remember why the Mauritian society took shape and evolved to form a nation. It was interesting to compare L'Aventure du Sucre, a private museum, with the Musée du Peuplement created by the State in 2010. The Musée du Peuplement interprets the past to remember the positive accounts: its dynamics are very similar to those of Aventure du Sucre activating the positive memory to establish a new approach to the past. This approach results in the recognition of a common heritage: it is the first instance in which the heritage deriving from the population's interactions is represented. Although we may question the quality of the display, the Musée du peuplement is marking a major shift in the memory process: it formulates the existence of a common heritage shaped by the various groups in action.

#### Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

The concern for legitimacy seemed omnipresent, when we note that the Société erected symbols through the construction of monuments that represented outstanding characters, historic figures or representatives of authority<sup>19</sup>. These three categories showed the need to anchor the position of the nineteenth-century elite and convey a concern for the past that focused on local realisations with reference to European markers. The memory process of the elite operated on the strength of Western references to identify local symbols. The elite developed a memory that negotiated its contribution to local history and affirmed its cultural belonging. Through this process, the elite created and instituted a local anchorage on the colonial territory.

#### Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

The creation of the Mauritius Institute is the result of the heritage process led by the Elite. The museum came into existence through the initiative of the Royal Society of Arts and Sciences. It shows how the Société has implanted a Natural History Museum in the colony according to the same heritage dynamics attested in Europe in the same period. The account on the Mauritius Institute help us appreciating how heritage was inherited from the colonial Elite and later in the report, we

#### Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

Elite's omnipresence in the constitution of the island: the Elite naturally inscribe its contribution in a depiction of the National History.

This is also perceptible through the commemorative dynamics aimed at recognizing the local contribution of the elite. This is instrumental in the legitimating – and affirming - their position in the society. If there was a concern to consolidate a link with their homeland or country of origin, the memorial process seemed primarily intended to serve the implantation of the elite in the colony. In early years, the memory process operated to acknowledge the actions of the elite in favour of the progress of the colony and created a sense of belonging to the island. This process was soon consolidated by the expansion of the memory scope to signify the omnipresence of the elite in the constitution of the island: the elite wanted to inscribe its contribution through a depiction of the National History.

#### Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

### 5. REPRESENTING NATIONAL HISTORY IN THE PUBLIC SPACE: THE NATIONAL HISTORY MUSEUM – MAHÉBOURG

By the second half of the twentieth century, the setting up of the naval museum and later, the National History museum shows a specific object of concern: there is a need to portray the national history at national and international level. The establishment of the Mahébourg museum appears as an outcome of the memorial process taking shape with the SRAS and HRC. The memorial process is evolving to organise isolated events into a national representation of the past. As such, it confirms primarily the omnipresence of the Elite in the colony. Ultimately, it shows how the colonial State visualizes its past.

The museum takes shape as the combination of a major place of heritage where a depiction of the life of the colons is presented. The Elite create a link with the past by the evocation of its own experience. The museum institutes a national vision of history seen by western eyes. Only recently, the museography evolved to integrate more information on slavery and indenture and enabled an analysis of how the Museums Council perceives the experience of the former “dominated” population.

The study of Mahébourg museum offers an interesting insight as the first museum depicting the National History. Considering this, our purpose was to explore how the representations of slavery and indenture were integrated and how they were portrayed. In this undertaking, it seemed important to initiate our research by a short evolution of the museum to better appreciate the current vision of the National History elaborated upon the legacy of the colonial perception of the past.

#### Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

The configuration of the building does not allow the presentation of a linear history of Mauritius. However, when visitors enter this section, there is a clear understanding of the period referred to, thanks to the organisation of the display that presents the context leading to the establishment of a British colony in Mauritius.

At the end of the visit, visitors leave the Museum with a vision of colonial Mauritius. In this respect, this also leads to the question of what is the notion of National History in the Museum of Mahébourg?

The display is devoted to the presentation of the colonial history of Mauritius seen through the eyes of the white elite. The Museum of National History represents how the colonial elite evolved and lived in colonial Mauritius before the emergence of a ruling elite among the formerly dominated population. The notion of National History at Mahébourg refers to the genesis of the Mauritian nation from its beginnings to the early nineteenth century.

The Museum of National History thus addresses a fundamental part of Mauritian history that certainly deserves preservation and recognition. Nowadays, the notion of National History would deserve further attention, and should include the history of Mauritius from the early nineteenth century to the present day. However, we may want to discard the idea of including this recent part of Mauritian history in the present National History Museum which has its own overall theme.

#### Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

Part 3. “A l'ombre de la cheminée: le pavillon de l'histoire” [Eng: In the shade of the chimney: the History Pavillon];

Part 4. From cane to juice (“De la canne au jus”); Part 5. “Le pavillon des technologies” [Eng: The History Pavillon]; Part 6. From juice to sugar; Part 7. Different types of soils; Part 8. Sugar routes.

The Museum’s storyline covers the entire scope of Mauritian History. It starts with the presentation of the geological formation of the island of Mauritius followed by first settlements. The first section ends with a chronology of events that marked the last four centuries on the island. The section on ‘origins’ is followed by an account of the importance of the sugar market considering that sugar was a refined good in Europe since 15th century, when Mauritius was not yet a sugar producer. This section stresses the shift from a scarce and refined good, reserved for the elite, to its consumption spreading among the population at large. This section only presents an overview of the use of sugar in Europe and describes as such, the main market destination of the sugar produced in Mauritius. It also presents sugar as a product from a European perspective. This section tends to valorise the contribution of Mauritius in the production of sugar, by stressing that sugar was a prestigious product that Mauritius was trusted to produce for the high European aristocracy.

The history section is presented after these two introductory parts and is followed by sections referring to the various technologies illustrated by machines preserved from Beau Plan factory. The final display focuses on the specificities of sugar cane. The Museum collections end with an account of the sugar routes throughout the world and its exportation from Mauritius until a recent date.

#### Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

In this section, the role of the sugar aristocracy is also implicitly referred to as a binding element for the society. The plantocracy is referred to as a group wishing to offer protection. This vision discards the main objectives of the planters to recruit cheap labour to respond to industrial requirements. The discourse here focuses on an ideal interpretation of history where the sugar

industry is central to the constitution of the nation. According to this vision, it has thus contributed to federate the different components of the society to constitute a nation. This introduction thus highlights the intention of the museum to retain positive accounts of the past: the main one being that the sugar industry was a federative element in the constitution of Mauritian society.

Slavery and indenture are referred to in the last part of the introduction entitled “À l'ombre de la cheminée” or “In the shade of the chimney”. The shade may indirectly refer to the difficulties encountered by the dominated population throughout the History of the Sugar Industry.

#### Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

The need for a national history: the emergence of a new memorial framework representative of the majority

Through tangible representations of the past, the Musée du peuplement establishes roots for Mauritian culture: in the Village historique, representations identify a clear legacy, from the origins of heritage to its contemporary expressions. This link allows the population to relate to the past and activate a process leading to the legitimization of their past experiences. This process probably explains the significant success of the Musée du peuplement as part of the celebration of the battle of Grand Port: the audience was provided with tools empowering the appropriation of the past. This marks a shift in the memorial process and shows that the appropriation of national history is in process.

The memorial framework in museums was inherited from the colonial Elite thus discarded the former dominated population and did not speak to the majority's aspirations. The memorial process is now taking place through new actors who are descendants of the lower classes of the society. The memorial framework undertakes a complete redefinition. The portrayal of National History now intends to include the memory of the majority of the population and not just a small segment of the Mauritian population. In this undertaking, the representations of slavery and indenture hold a major place as the experiences of more than 90% of the current day population.

#### Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

In the course of our research, we attempted to find answers in a document stating a general policy for culture and heritage. The outcome was not successful. Intentions and objectives are formulated but are not inscribed in an overall policy ensuring an integrated approach to heritage. Considering that the memorial process was always established by the colonial Elite until recently, we believe that the Mauritians themselves hold the answers to what they believe are the common values of the Mauritian society. Our survey revealed that the perception of heritage does not necessarily meet the nature of heritage in place. Indeed, the highest rates defined Mauritian heritage as séga music (20%) and Mauritian cuisine (16%). Archaeological and World Heritage Sites come in third position and museums, next to last. Considering this, we may want to think that the Mauritian population still feels that their heritage – mainly intangible- is not represented in museums or in cultural spaces. For 42% of the people polled, Mauritian history was not well represented in museums. This tells us that the past reconstructed in museums may not meet the expectations of Mauritians and thus discards appropriation.



## *Colonialism*

References or discussions to colonialism

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC\_.Report-FULL> - § 288 references coded [1.30% Coverage]

### Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission has, therefore, focused, in the first instance, on the continuities in history up to the present, especially, from an economic and social perspective, and then, on specific themes relating to colonialism, slave trade, slavery and indenture. We shall, therefore, elaborate on the resulting observations and findings before elaborating on the recommendations.

### Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

For long, there has been a dearth of literature on the real history of slavery in Mauritius. The history of the colony of Mauritius was first viewed as the history of the ruling class consisting of French colons and their descendants. Most of the descendants of ex-slaves live in such total ignorance of the history of their ancestors, that an attempt to unveil their history is very recent. Further, it is not easy to assess the exact number of citizens who claim ancestry of slaves of African

### Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

Even today, no monument has been erected to remind us of their contribution to history and to the development of the country.

### Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

“The history of our country is based on a continuous quest for freedom and social justice. Our past has been marked by the forcible removal of thousands of people from the mainland of Africa, Madagascar and Asia. These are the darkest and most shameful pages of our history. The introduction of indentured labour under slavish conditions was no less shameful and evil.”

### Reference 5 - 0.02% Coverage

“This Commission will pave the way to reconciliation, social justice and national unity through the process of re-establishing the historical truth. It is the legitimate expectation of everyone to know our true history. It is only after we have been faced with this reality that we can consolidate unity in our country. It is important therefore that we recognise our past history and lay that past to rest so that we can move on to reconciliation, justice and national unity.” In passing the Truth and Justice Commission into law, the Assembly has followed in the footsteps of a number of diverse countries around the world which have conducted Truth Commissions over the past 25 years. In total, there have been 40 such Commissions, with several more in the offing. Without fail, all stressed the importance of dealing with the past and the moral duty to assist those who had suffered through policies and actions in the past. There is no

one size that fits all. Each country is unique in its history, its political systems and its culture. Nevertheless, there are striking similarities in each country's search for Truth and Justice. There is always violence present in the histories of all of these countries, and there are always victims who have suffered from this violence. There is also always denial. There are many in each of these countries who have sought to deal with the past, as well as people who opposed it and who favoured amnesia rather than remembering. They argued that it was better to turn the page, not to disturb the past, but to move forward. Fortunately, there have also always been those who believe that it is impossible to build a democracy and a human rights culture in any country without taking seriously the past of that country. As George Santana put it, "Those who forget the past are condemned to repeat it". Thus, it is possible to learn from the experiences of widely differing Commissions without duplicating their journey.

The Mauritian Commission is unique in its focus. Mauritius is the only country in the world to have succeeded in establishing a Truth Commission relating to Slavery and Indenture. It is the only Commission which has investigated the history and consequences of Slavery and Indenture. There are many countries in Africa, such as Liberia, Senegal, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sierra Leone, who have never addressed the grotesque acts of forcing people into slavery. Certainly, those Arab countries which, hundreds of years ago, traded in slavery have never come to terms with that evil either. It is well known that the United States of America has never ever attempted to deal concretely with the consequences of slavery in that country. This is true also of the Caribbean. Hopefully, these countries, and many others, more especially Madagascar and Mozambique, will learn from the Mauritian experience. Mauritius has indeed set an example to the world.

#### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

As soon as the Truth and Justice Commission Act was promulgated, Professor Robert Shell was appointed as Chairman of the Commission and four additional Commissioners were appointed: Dr. Vijayalakshmi Teelock (Vice-Chairperson), Mr. Benjamin Moutou, Dr. Paramaseeven Veerapen, Mr. Lindsay Morvan. On 8th April 2010, Mr. Morvan resigned from the Commission and the President of the Republic appointed Mr. Jacques David on 1st July 2010 to fill the vacancy. Premises were obtained in the capital, Port Louis, and a plan of action was drawn up. This included a communications policy, a website, and a brochure in four languages, English, French, Creole and Bhojpuri (the text was drafted by Mr. Morvan and translated by Mr. Robert Furlong, Dr. PoliceMichel and Ms. Suchita Ramdin). There was also a logo competition and a workshop which focused on major themes such as Gaps and Silences in the History of Slavery and Indentured Labour, Methodology and Approaches, Achieving Justice and Equality. A notice was published, inviting the public to participate in the work of the Commission and to send in documents. Contact was made with the media, which resulted in extensive coverage on television, radio and in the print media.

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

It was further decided that there would be three broad areas of research; firstly, the revision of History from 1723 to 2009 (slavery, indentured labourers and identification of elements of History which have not been studied yet or hidden or not known, i.e., the caste system, post-1835 situation of ex-slaves, etc); secondly, the consequences of slavery and indentured labour on

society. Thirdly, measures to achieve Social Justice. In addition, a number of critical specialist studies were undertaken on land, reparations, the role of religion and the collecting of views of people who are not so visible or vocal through Oral History.

There were a number of project teams established. These included Slave Trade and Slavery; the Indentured Experience; Mauritian Economic History; Culture, Ethnicity, Memory and Identity; Health; Education; Towards a Just Society; Rodrigues, Agalega, Chagos and St. Brandon Islands; Recommendations.

#### Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

“The issue is this. The under-development and poverty which affect the majority of countries in Africa and in the Caribbean, as well as the ghetto conditions in which many black people live in the United States and elsewhere, are not, speaking in general terms, the result of laziness, incompetence or corruption of African people or their governments. They are in a very large measure the consequences the legacy – of one of the most massive and terrible criminal enterprises – in recorded human history; that is, the transatlantic slave trade and the institution of slavery”.

#### Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

Part of the Mandate of the Truth and Justice Commission requires the assessment of the consequences of slavery and indenture. The task of assessing these consequences entails, inter alia, a review of 350 years of Mauritian History. As pointed out by the Chairman in his introduction, the Commission has, therefore, focussed on three aspects: History; consequences, and how to achieve a more just society.

#### Reference 10 - 0.02% Coverage

1. Establishing the ‘Truth’ about History is not an easy task. Firstly, there is the professional historians’ point of view that there is no such thing as ‘permanent truth’, since new research will change what has been accepted. There is also ‘public history’ which often contains ‘perceptions of truth’. This is the truth that the TJC has attempted to deal with. In addition to this mandate, the TJC also had an underlying mandate which was to promote reconciliation. In Mauritius, reconciliation was seen by many as being possible, only if one did not talk about one’s history. This was no longer possible in contemporary Mauritius. Although some institutions and individual Mauritians have understood this, the TJC did clash with several institutions that possessed important repositories of documents but did not wish to open them to the TJC or to the public. Summons were issued and, in some cases, the access issues were resolved. Whether the access to the public will continue, is a matter which the TJC has, no control over. The TJC is, at least, sure that the public is fully aware that these archives exist, the Mauritian public has every right to access them, and that the State has the responsibility of preserving these documents and not allowing private appropriation of these documents. Opening access and a more forceful policy of encouraging historical research and an open debate, rather than engaging in parallel debates, will lead further to national reconciliation in the future.

2. The TJC has held 212 hearings at its offices and outside Port Louis. These also constitute the TJC archives as they show clearly public perceptions about Mauritian History and lives of

Mauritians. They are, however, representative of the most vocal sections of Mauritians, rather than the voiceless. The TJC endeavoured to collect the views of Mauritians whose voices had no chance of being heard in Port Louis, and it embarked on a massive oral history collection exercise. The TJC feels that we have reached a wide cross-section of the Mauritian community and covered a variety of historical experiences of Mauritians living in the 20th century. These are personal experiences of contemporary Mauritians and reveal their personal interpretations of their history. The statements, when taken together, are amazingly similar, and a full study was undertaken by a multidisciplinary team of Historians, Anthropologists, Sociologists and Ethnographers. The results are presented in the technical papers in Volumes 3 and 4 of the Report. The evidence shows even more clearly how many Mauritians know so little about Mauritian history and their family history. What Mauritians have preserved about their own history is limited, although this is to some extent understandable, because most Mauritians have led difficult lives. However, it is clear that their approach to life differs considerably, depending on their culture, religion (or absence of it), class and economic status in life.

The TJC cannot claim to have rewritten the whole history of slavery and indenture, but it has, at least, given a conceptual and structural version of Mauritian history free from political and racial agendas. It is now incumbent on future scholars and community groups to reflect and build on this and continue the work accomplished. The TJC has provided the tools and the sources where the historical material may be found, and civil society must now take this further. TJC's version of history cannot be considered as the 'official' history, but the beginning of a new 'national' history, in the sense that TJC recognises the fact that there are different perspectives and approaches.

#### Reference 11 - 0.02% Coverage

3. A third issue that the TJC has dealt with, has been the suspicion and concern expressed in many quarters about academic history not reaching the local population. The TJC attempted, therefore, to bring together, through its historical projects, scholars, community groups and the local population. There was, we believe, frank discussions where community views were able to feed on the work of scholars, (local and foreign) who were able to voice their views, share their knowledge and arrive at a consensus. The TJC feels it was the start of a new historical 'adventure' and hopes that this approach will be continued in the future. It is hoped that the historians involved, have recognized the value of this work. TJC thus avoided what has become common elsewhere, where Western academic scholarship has clashed with community-based' histories. TJC has also ensured that other forms of historical research have been used, in particular oral history and that archaeological and ethnographic research has been used and promoted in the various studies. Such studies finally aroused a great deal of public attention, and this is indeed very encouraging for the future. It is clear, however, that the gap between academic history and communities being researched needs to be narrowed even further. TJC has devised a policy that will guarantee access to most of the data collected (archival, oral, ethnographic, and archaeological) to the public as well as the academic community.

Knowledge production is still an issue as people from particular ethnic groups tend to read what historians from their own ethnic groups write, even though it may not be completely objective and scientific in its approach. The class, caste and gender approaches need also to be incorporated into Mauritian History. These historians and communities would benefit from sharing their perspectives, and this would go a long way towards a shared history and a shared

heritage in the future. Academic historians need, therefore, to popularize their writings. They also need to relate their findings to the contemporary situation.

4. How one faces the past was another area of concern. Will apologies and forgiveness heal the wounds of the past? Some believe so. TJC believes it is not enough and that public institutions must ensure that the debate about our history never ends, because history is always being written and rewritten. Although many wish to close the book, this will not be possible. Rather, TJC invites Mauritians to continue uncovering the Truth, and not to forget that Injustice can always recur and that Mauritians must be vigilant.

#### Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

As the Act mandates the Commission to enquire into the History of slavery and indenture and study its consequences, a number of enquiries were proposed:

#### Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

1. Revision of History from 1723 to 2009 (slavery, indentured labourers, and identification of elements of History which have not yet been studied, is hidden or not known, i.e. the caste system, post-1835 situation of ex-slaves, etc.);

#### Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

Volume I contains the Commission's report and covers all topics falling under the mandate of the Commission, namely the history of the slave trade, slavery and indenture; the economics of slavery and indenture; legacies, consequences and continuities; racism and casteism; education and health, land reform, social justice, ending with main findings and recommendations. The last part of the recommendations is a consolidated version with those considered high priority on top of the list. A time-frame for implementation is also included.

Volume Two consists of papers prepared by the Land Team on Land issues in Mauritius, as well as the results of the analysis by the same Team on the 340 claims concerning land dispossession. It is divided into a History of Land Tenure section, detailed studies on selected topics such as Lack of capital, prescription and a summary of each case and the main findings of the Land Team. As Commissioners were not Land experts, the Commission has borrowed heavily (but not exclusively) from the Report of the Land Team to make its general findings on cases being heard before the Commission.

Volumes Three and Four consist of technical papers, research reports and surveys conducted by a team of consultants, researchers and research assistants. It is divided thematically. Volume Three consists mainly of studies of contemporary Mauritius and surveys which Mauritians had expressed themselves or participated in. Volume Four consists mainly of studies by specialists in the field of History, Economics, Anthropology, Psychology, using an immense amount of archival material. Both volumes also contain the recommendations of the persons or teams undertaking the study and a substantial set of references.

Volume Five in digital format, is the collection of all audio and film material collected by the Commission and is divided into: a Hearings Section, where the audio and the transcriptions are included; the oral history interviews that were not confidential and their transcripts; a press

cuttings database and photos and film strips covering the work of the Commission during field-trips, surveys and site visits.

#### Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

The Dutch had, in effect, started a set of historical processes which would dominate the history of Mauritius: the introduction of sugarcane (though to produce arrack and rum only), using enslaved people from Madagascar, India and South-East Asia as labour, developing slave trade in the region, developing trade between Madagascar and Mauritius, using Mauritius as a strategic position in the

#### Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

The period 1810-1839 in the history of Mauritius saw the creation of a mono crop economy, with the destruction of the cultivation of other crops. The economy became equally resolutely exportoriented, with little consideration being given to the development of productive forces for a balanced perspective.

#### Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

Those events of 1937 are landmarks in the History of Mauritius. Further, in 1938, there were strikes in Port Louis by the dockers and in 1943, Sugar Industry labourers in the North, with three of them shot dead by the police. This unprecedented wave of protests and resistance by the laboring classes forced the Colonial Government to shake off its lethargy and indifference with regard to the laboring classes.

#### Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

This has been answered in Chapter Two, where the economic history of the island has been reviewed from the Dutch period to the present, and where the conclusions are manifest. Continuities in economic systems are clear, as are the economic legacies that slavery and indenture have left us. It is of much concern that an island which has known such repressive labour systems and exploited populations from Madagascar, Mozambique India and China should continue to import cheap labour from the very same countries, in conditions which, in many cases, are deplorable.

#### Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

This has been one of the most intractable questions, given the lack of information. Here too, one must refrain from treating all ex-slaves as one uniform mass of persons. However, it is not so much how they travelled but where they ended up at different times in history, up to today. What was their trajectory? The TJC used the migration pattern of inhabitants of one village to attempt to reconstruct this history. More family histories need to be undertaken nationwide to assess the full extent of the mobility of ex-slaves and their families across Mauritius from 1835 to the 1940s. One must not forget, however, those who were free before that date and their trajectories in life.

#### Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

As stated, the aim is not to review the entire history of slavery, rather to look at lesser-known aspects which deserve to be better known.

#### Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

Recommendations relating to the history of slavery and slave trade are contained at the end of this volume in a consolidated chapter of recommendations.

#### Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

The cultural relationships including lineages, languages, and traditions, which, from the mideighteenth to the early twentieth centuries, emerged in the slave trade and slavery and after, in the region, need to be better known by Mauritians. The Commission has initiated this by undertaking a preliminary study of Mozambique-Mauritius slave trade to better understand the full extent of our cultural origins and our history. This must be continued.

#### Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

Economic and accounting historians of the slave trade study slavery and the slave trade from an economist's or financial analyst's perspective. However, historians cannot focus only on what is quantifiable, but have to look at the unquantifiable: the 'intangible' issues of history, such as identity or culture loss, mental and physical stress, mobility, laws, consequences on family life or the sense of loss felt as a result of being removed from one's homeland.

#### Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

Accounting historians have been investigating how the accounts of the slave trade were kept. A unique journal, the *Guide du commerce*, written by Gaignat de l'Aulnais in 1771, has led to a detailed and equally unique historical study by Cheryl McWatters.<sup>95</sup> In this journal, McWatters highlights the basic documents required for a slave trading expedition, according to Gaignat. These were: "Le journal de traite, le livre de factures, le journal de vente des noirs et achats en retour et enfin le grand livre" (Eng trans: The slave trading journal, the receipt book, the sales of slaves book, and purchases book and finally the big book). Although written for Atlantic voyages, it seems unlikely that it would have been any different in the Indian Ocean, since many of the ships and Captains were the same. A greater search of the accounts of slave traders might reveal as yet unknown facets of the history of slavery and the slave trade. For example, it is currently impossible to quantify the volume of trade carried on in the interior: those who were simply captured and kidnapped from their villages and where no trading took place. Oral traditions in Mozambique exist and deserve further study. Benignaimba, Mozambican historian, has recommended that memorialisation of this part of the history of the slave trade should also be included in future representations of slavery in Mauritius.

#### Reference 25 - 0.01% Coverage

merchants and traders are listed in Port Louis and a good number were involved in the slave trade. Allen has quoted, for example, Messrs. Closnard, Cloupet, Collique, Drieux, Geoffriou, De La Rochelle, Le Blanc, Rolland, Le Bouchet, Le Bourdé, Dahuy Solminiac, La Corte, Laurent Raphaël, d'Hotman and Vally. Louis Monneron also had family links with merchants in India, while Morice focused on slave trading with Zanzibar. Apart from the traders there are also the captains of ships, many of whom have descendants today in Mauritius. Many were also corsairs and this is publicly stated. However they are less public about the slave trading involvement of that ancestor. In France, "Si le titre de corsair est loin de déplaire dans nos annales de famille, ce n'est pas sans regret que nous trouvons celui de négrier."<sup>126</sup> The same could be said of many families in Mauritius where some parts of family histories are thought best left hidden or conveniently forgotten.

#### Reference 26 - 0.01% Coverage

The slaves: The challenge for descendants of slaves on what origin to look back to help to uncover lost or forgotten identities is of a different nature. The slave registration returns do not show the original names but adopted names in Mauritius. With the mixing of slave populations and absence of adequate civil status records, it is a difficult task to reconstruct one's family history and identity.

#### Reference 27 - 0.01% Coverage

In Mauritius, cases of smallpox were reported as far back as 1771. But the first major epidemic occurred in June 1792, when a slave ship from South India reached Port Louis with smallpox on board. The disease spread rapidly among the population, amidst heated debate over the practice of inoculation. Some slave owners asserted their right to inoculate their slaves, while others were vehemently against this practice because of the possibility of the inoculated person developing a severe infection and transmitting smallpox to others. Megan Vaughan of Nuffield College Oxford, writing on Social History of Medicine, has made the following observations on the attitude adopted by the colonists:

#### Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

Had the French National Archives documents been available to him (photo 2), these questions would have been answered. It is imperative that authorities pay attention to the urgent need to obtain copies of all documents found overseas pertaining to Mauritian slavery. These are important, not only for historical records, but also for memorialisation purposes and allow Mauritians to better research their history.<sup>226</sup>

#### Reference 29 - 0.01% Coverage

For the first time, the inequality of groups on the basis of colour was legally established under the Law, making it unique in French legal history, and institutionalizing what amounts to a 'racial

#### Reference 30 - 0.01% Coverage

The Muslim part among the French India population has been studied by Emrith and Jumeer. Most had come from from Bengal. Their history needs to be further researched using notarial records and Civil Status records. Although there was reluctance to use non-Christian labour, the shortage of labour had forced Governors to engage Indian Muslim sailors. They were all Urdu speaking, according to Jumeer. We know from research, conducted with one family who has traced their ancestry to the French period, although they have kept the memory of their family origins that they seem to reject their Indian ancestry. In 1805, they secured from Governor Decaen a plot of 250 toises to build a mosque, an unthinkable act in an island where Catholicism was the only authorized religion. However, it fitted in well with the principle of segregation of races, as envisaged by Decaen and so, may not seem so incongruous an action, in hindsight. The separate cemetery created at Rivière Lataniers was also symbolic of the separation of cultures at this time, demanded by part of the population itself and allowed by French Authorities. It is among this group that the first Yamse religious festival was held in 1765 (Emrith: 9).

#### Reference 31 - 0.01% Coverage

As with most neglected histories, they come to light only when the criminal records mention them. Thus Delport, probably the most famous of them all was accused of multiple crimes: receiving stolen goods, encouraging slaves to steal and giving them resources to steal, squatting on 'unconceded' land etc.<sup>232</sup> Despite all this, they did enjoy the benefits that having a whiter skin colour proffered on them. A black skilled worker would never be equal to a white skilled worker in French Mauritius.<sup>233</sup>

#### Reference 32 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission also recommends the continuation of an inventory of documents found in France and elsewhere and the continuation of input into the Slave Trade Database. The aim is to establish a list of all ships and their cargo in order to better document the slave trade and arrive at an improved assessment of the volume of the slave trade to Mauritius, and the actual number of slaves having been disembarked in Mauritius. It is also necessary to include in calculations, those ships/persons/slaves destined for Mauritius but who never arrived, due to revolts, shipwrecks, diseased etc. This information will be inserted in the database. Scholars from overseas working on the slave trade to Mauritius, in their respective countries, need to be included in this project, such as Thomas Vernet and Benigna Zimba. It is further recommended that this database work be continued by the University of Mauritius in partnership with other institutions with an interest in the slave trade and slavery. The University possesses both history and computer science departments who can collaborate with minimal cost with each other to maintain the database. It also has a pool of students every year who can be initiated and trained in historical research and data entry. However, appropriate funding must be provided and this work is to be shared with the public through an online database.

The Commission recommends the establishment of an Intercontinental Slavery Museum on the Port Louis Waterfront as a permanent reminder of the existence of slavery and the contribution of slaves to the history of Mauritius. We recommend that the Project be initiated and supervised by the Prime Minister's Office in collaboration with related institutions. Being located in the

capital city Port Louis will ensure the history of slavery is given its due importance and also to ensure financial sustainability for the Museum once it is opened.

Finally the Commission recommends a NATIONAL GENEALOGY CENTRE, which will help numerous Mauritians, many of whom of African and Malagasy descent, who faced enormous difficulties in tracing their family history and genealogy. This has also caused much distress in families, and some believed they had lost property as a result. These families were unable to furnish basic information on their ancestors to the TJC. Consequently, the TJC helped a large number of families in recreating their genealogical trees and, during this process, it was able to verify for itself the difficulties mentioned by these families.

#### Reference 33 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission has also addressed the continuing discussion (albeit sterile) about whether indenture was similar to slavery. This debate is summarized here and an explanation offered as to why these perceptions have held good, despite documentary evidence to the contrary. Ignorance of basic facts of one's history and concepts appear to be rampant in Mauritius, in spite of the high rate of literacy of its population.

What were the conditions of indentured labourers on estates? Did all indentured labourers work on sugar estates? Were all indentured labourers Indian or Hindu? Did all indentured labourers obtain land and become educated in baithkas? These are some questions we have answered through fundamental research on demography, landownership and education, as well as detailed histories of families and their lives in Mauritius. Just as it has been stated that one cannot generalize for the slave population, so one cannot do so for the indentured population: the family and life histories presented in Volumes 3 and 4 here show the immense variety of indentured experience, and it is clear that more such family histories, using interdisciplinary methodologies, need to be compiled.

It has been common in public and official discourse to demarcate, along clear lines, the slaves from indentured immigrants; yet, Mauritius at the time was not divided into these two groups: due to the extreme shortage of female immigrants, intermarriage and cohabitation occurred. Intercaste, interregional and interethnic marriages occurred, as evidenced by the family histories compiled. Many, if not most, Mauritian families have undergone a higher rate of métissage than they care to admit.

#### Reference 34 - 0.01% Coverage

Are these consequences of indentured labour or the actions of Mauritians in post Independence Mauritius? The choice to maintain a caste system and to maintain division of ethnic groups in census is clearly a choice of independent Governments since Independence, and it is difficult to see how the indentured system could be held responsible. The choice not to teach a common history rather than a compartmentalised history, and for political and religious leaders to make public speeches where the failure of one ethnic group to achieve in one particular field is underlined, is a dangerous policy to tolerate. Over the years, this has led to increased social and cultural fractures. To avoid further divisions, these need to be stopped and should no longer be sanctioned officially.

#### Reference 35 - 0.01% Coverage

In France, a complete inventory of all French engagés arriving to Mauritius has already been undertaken and published, and it is not necessary to list all of them. Their history, however, is little known in Mauritius, as many returned to France and have left no descendants. A reading of their conditions is strangely reminiscent of indenture of the 19th century in many respects. Their names were often misspelt and they did not speak French but Breton, and their names are spelt differently on several documents. Their conditions were not always good as one might think, despite the wages. For example, fines were imposed for absences: Antoine Aimé, soldier and locksmith, is described as 24 years, 5'1", with curly brownish hair, square face, small grey eyes. He arrived on the Badine on 8 June 1731, worked for a year and left for Bourbon. As his contract included fines, a fine was imposed on him for a day's absence for which he paid 3 livres.

#### Reference 36 - 0.01% Coverage

'African Recaptives' and 'Prize Slaves'. The trade thus continued and involved many of the islands further out in the Indian Ocean such as Rodrigues and Seychelles where slaves could be better hidden. This history has yet to be written using sources found in all these countries and would need a concerted regional effort, currently lacking.

#### Reference 37 - 0.01% Coverage

From the much quoted figure of 453,000 believed to have come to Mauritius, about one-third returned to India, while another 1/3 did not survive their indenture and did not leave any descendants. This makes the request by the Mahatma Gandhi Institute, which houses the Immigration Archives even more ridiculous, when they ask researchers to 'get the permission' of descendants, before embarking on tracing family histories. It appears they are not aware that the bulk of immigrants never left descendants and are now consigned to oblivion in Mauritian History books, because of uninformed and unscientific based policies. Mauritians, thus, still needs, to do justice to the history of these immigrants. Truth and Justice Commission 154

#### Reference 38 - 0.01% Coverage

5. Reasons in Mauritius: The economic history of sugar and impact of immigration is more fully discussed in chapters 1 and 4. However for the period of 1858 and 1859 which witnessed the highest rates of emigration was in part due to the huge rise in sugar prices and consequent increase in sugar cultivation.

#### Reference 39 - 0.01% Coverage

The lack of interest in tribal history on the part of Indo-Mauritians is disturbing. During the course of TJC work, many Mauritians did not want to even talk about this subject. It is perhaps the association in India and reinforced by the current elitist policies of assigning Tribals to the lower caste category, even they are outside the caste system which has created this.

#### Reference 40 - 0.01% Coverage

The history of Calcuttiya Muslims was no different to that of other labourers on plantations. Housing arrangements were made, when they did not want to live near pig-breeders among the labourers families. But, in general, they went through the same evolution. After indenture, many became small planters, share-croppers (known as *métayers* in Mauritius) and others migrated to the town of Port Louis and opened textile shops, some of which are still in existence today. It is not known yet how many returned, but one family story does not confirm that there were immigrants who returned after the indenture. Many left families in Mauritius since those born in Mauritius, were not eligible for return passages. One immigrant returned to India, kept up a correspondence with his family, but remarried and reindentured to Guyana and was lost from view from then on.<sup>270</sup>

#### Reference 41 - 0.01% Coverage

In terms of language those who came from the North of India and from Bhojpuri regions, spoke Bhojpuri and many, especially of those of a higher status, could also speak and write Urdu. With 'Islamisation', many have rejected this Bhojpuri/Indian culture and it is mainly the elderly alone in rural areas who continue to speak it. Many have opted for a more 'Arab-style' culture. The celebration of the Muharram festival, called in Mauritius the Ghoon or Yamse, which has existed in Mauritius since 1790s and where many Calcuttiya Muslims has joined in the 19th century, is also frowned upon today as being 'unIslamic'. However, among the younger generation of historians, there are interesting studies being carried out on family histories and their evolution as Mauritians. These studies deserve to be incorporated into a larger study and published.<sup>271</sup> The Bengali language also spoken among those originating from district located around Calcutta are unknown to descendants interviewed.

#### Reference 42 - 0.01% Coverage

If slavery and indenture as economic systems have received due attention on the part of scholars, the lesser-known aspects deserve also mention. Indentured labourers like slaves, brought with them their cultures, life-styles which they were in varying degrees able to keep. In the case of Indian labourers, how were their cultures and social life transformed by indenture? In other words, what was the impact on their non-working lives? Women have been recognised in Mauritian history as having kept the traditions brought from India. This was possibly because they stayed at home, unlike other labour immigrants and so were able to provide the nurturing roles. The absence of women, for example, in the early years deserve mention, as this was a matter of concern for authorities.

#### Reference 43 - 0.01% Coverage

During the period of indentured immigration, children were also brought either accompanying their parents or came alone. There are many ways in which a child could have ended up on a ship alone. A parent may have died in the Depot or abandoned children being an easy prey for unscrupulous recruiters would be enticed into the ship. Their stories will probably never get into the History books as so little written evidence has survived. What we do have today are the few

descendants who have kept alive their family history and recounted how their ancestors arrived as children.

#### Reference 44 - 0.01% Coverage

One can infer that the so-numerous 'Vaish', identified in Mauritius today, probably belonged to other castes before indenture. This is to be regarded as another example of upward caste mobility. Some 'jatis' belonging to lower castes in India have been 'upgraded' in the Mauritian caste system. But such upward mobility often goes hand in hand with temptations to deny the popular origins they shared with other indentured labourers. This reluctance to acknowledge their real history may explain the MGI's insistence that caste information of indentured should not be revealed to public. This attitude is reminiscent of descendants of slaves in Mauritius as well as descendants of convicts in Australia. In Mauritius, however, this is tied up with claims of political representation and caste quotas.

Upward mobility was also possible through intercaste marriages. Numerous examples exist in family histories. Loss of caste identity occurred at several stages apart from the Emigration and Immigration Depot in Calcutta and Mauritius.

#### Reference 45 - 0.01% Coverage

Among one of the conclusions of our review of the history of slavery and indenture is the fact that slavery and indenture, as they evolved in Mauritius, were in many ways continuations of an economic system based on the exploitation of unpaid or cheap, plentiful and docile or coercible labour. The Mauritian experience of slavery and indenture contrasts singularly with the Atlantic world in several respects.

#### Reference 46 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission thus recommends measures that encourages the holders of economic and political power to morally and materially repair the harms and injustices of the past in order that will benefit not only the presumed descendants of slavery and indenture but the Mauritian nation as a whole so that Mauritius can be finally at peace with its history.

#### Reference 47 - 0.01% Coverage

The history of Mauritius has been characterized and fundamentally determined by the evolution of the Sugar Industry during the era of British Colonialism and later of British Imperialism. Two key events were the turning points in the evolution from economic and financial perspectives: (a) as Crown Colony, Mauritius was given access to the British sugar market as from 1815; (b) in 1825, the tariffs imposed by Britain on sugar imports from Mauritius and from the Caribbean were equalised.

The understanding of the consequences for contemporary Mauritius of these key events would be largely insufficient unless a holistic view of history is adopted. The Commission finds that there is a continuous evolution of economic exploitation, social and cultural oppression. This has led to contradictions between British Imperialism, the plantocracy of both French and British origin on the one hand and, on the other hand, labour (the enslaved, the indentured and their

descendants). The wealth created throughout Mauritian history is the result of the impressive contribution of labour on the one hand and the capital and know-how of colonists and British Imperialism on the other hand. However most of this wealth has been appropriated by colonists and the British Imperial and Colonial States, whilst large proportion of the laboring classes faced unemployment and poverty during the Colonial era ending in 1968. The intermediate social and economic classes such as traders, merchants, middlemen and medium planters were able to retrieve some of the wealth. There have been thus two complementary historical processes: development and substantial material advancement for the few and underdevelopment for the many constituting the labouring classes.

#### Reference 48 - 0.01% Coverage

History has repeated itself. About one hundred and thirty years ago, the plantocracy recruited indentured labourers from a vast reservoir of cheap labour found in British India. As a result, the plantocracy accumulated capital which was partly siphoned off to financiers/ investors abroad (Britain and France mainly) and partly reinvested in modernising the sugar factories. The new dimension, this time, lies in the fact that the reservoir of cheap labour came from within Mauritius: women and the unemployed. Unemployment and poverty were the direct consequences of policies of free trade by British Imperial Government and of cheap labour policy of the Colonial Government and the plantocracy.

#### Reference 49 - 0.01% Coverage

There was some concern that, with the social stratification among the Indian immigrant population, a conflict of interest of the wealthy against the poor small planters might jeopardise the emerging cooperative movement. Unfortunately, history would prove this concern to be a very valid one indeed.

#### Reference 50 - 0.01% Coverage

The apprenticeship system has been researched in some depth in Mauritian Historiography, as well as the opposition to it coming from abolitionists who saw it as not being much different from slavery. The complicity of the local Government in creating a system that was no different from slavery and ensured that labour stayed on estates until contract labour system was established, while owners enjoyed the compensation money and invested in their sugar estates. Apprentices were quick to see they had been duped of their freedom. They expressed this disapproval of this 'new system of slavery' in several forms. Some marooned and were hunted in exactly the same manner as they had been under slavery. When caught they were flogged in the same manner. Others chose to withdraw from plantation labour (but not from agriculture), knowing full well that this is what would strike at the heart of plantation's operation. Others still bought their freedom from apprenticeship, just as, when slaves, they had bought their manumission. They were still advertised as slaves for hire, even though slavery had been abolished. While the stereotype of women is that they were downtrodden people, the number of applications for freedom from apprenticeship are very revealing. These women's history must not be forgotten and deserves further study.

#### Reference 51 - 0.01% Coverage

The number of apprentices who bought their freedom must also be acknowledged in Mauritian History. This phenomenon has yet to be analysed by historians. However, the interpretation of the motive of the apprentice is doing so is currently not conclusive. We know that 9,000 did not want to be 'given' freedom; they wanted to buy their freedom. For some observers, it was a matter of

#### Reference 52 - 0.01% Coverage

Reports in 1845 of the whereabouts of the slave population indicate a high rate of mobility between regions: in Black River, for example, 1/3 of the slave population left the district, only to be replaced by others entering it.<sup>335</sup> This too deserves further attention. TJC's research into family histories is a pioneering venture in that it helps to determine the exact location of families and how they moved from one region to another, after abolition of slavery. This has been the most challenging part of the TJC's work: to retrace family genealogies between 1840s and 1860s, which appear to be periods of high mobility among the ex-slave population. Yet, here unfortunately, the records are deficient. Large numbers of Civil Status registers for ex-slaves, in particular, are missing from the institution concerned, making the task of Family History reconstruction extremely difficult.

#### Reference 53 - 0.01% Coverage

Elsewhere in Mauritius, the ex-slave population, which did not own land, was shifted from camp to camp, depending on the whim of employers who tended to be those owning large estates and needed land for clearing the woods for sugar cultivation. Informal and verbal arrangements were made with owners concerning the length of stay in any particular area, and many considered the camp as 'home'. The detailed study of censuses, combined with Family History research, and Oral History work conducted in the past few years by various institutions and individuals are sufficient evidence of the numerous camps that existed in the 19th century and which have survived up to the 21st century; this indicates constant mobility and shifting of 'home'. Displacement of persons of African and Malagasy origin, whether as slaves, ex-slaves or descendants appears to be a continuing and apparently constant feature of Mauritian History and custom. The history of the former inhabitants of the original Le Morne Village/Trou Chenille, as well as the History of the Chagossians, are some of the most publicized of cases, but such displacement continues in 'modern' Mauritius.

#### Reference 54 - 0.01% Coverage

History has its part to play in this state of affairs. The History of slavery which has been repressed does not 'disappear'; it forms part of the subconscious. Absence of a sense of belonging and a sense of personal history induce life-styles and ways of spending which penalise whole families. Living on credit and overspending on occasions of celebrations (weddings and first communion) are ways of positioning self and the family, acquiring respect and dignity, whatever the price to pay.

#### Reference 55 - 0.01% Coverage

Slavery and indenture were primarily economic systems responsible for many ills. Both were also ideological cultural social institutions which created a particular society that many believe to be unique. There may be a case for 'Mauritian exceptionalism'. The particular situation Mauritius was in (geography proximity, existence of local capital, insularity, highly mixed populations, coupled with huge interest of the powers in Mauritius has led to the creation to new communities in the midst of the existing populations. Some of them marked Mauritian history as indelibly as the colonists, slaves and indentured labourers without being any one of these groups or perhaps being a bit of all of these groups. They have been labelled a 'transitional' group or a 'dying' group or even people who did not fit in any category.

In the Commission's attempt to be as inclusive as possible and to cover a wide range of experiences occurring under slavery and indenture, it has focussed some attention on those groups who are neither slaves nor indentured, nor pure ex-slaves nor pure ex-indentured. These are for example the Gens de Couleur because they emerged out of the interaction of slaves, indentured and colonists, the fishermen and pig-breeders who refused to bow to plantation labour and become the unidentified mass living and eking out miserable existences in Port Louis, but chose activities that made them autonomous, the métayers who did not fit into the category of labourers who rose from 'rags to riches' (the traditional stereotype of indentured labourer history). There are also the Indian Christians, who are still struggling to find a place for themselves and who appear to be both rejected or ignored by both mainstream Hindu and Catholic communities.

#### Reference 56 - 0.01% Coverage

The Gens de Couleur are part of the intermediate and unique categories that emerged from slavery and indenture but have been forgotten by History because they do not fit into the all-encompassing categories that officials and scholars alike, and Mauritians in general, have created throughout Mauritian History in order to classify Mauritians. As a 'minority within a minority', and because of their higher social position, they have been ignored, if not undermined at times, for their association with the elite. As stated above, however, as a group which emerged directly from slavery and indentured immigration, it was felt they deserved the attention of the Commission.

Several terms have been used throughout Mauritian History to describe this group: 'Coloured Population', 'Libres de Couleur', 'Gens de Couleur', 'Free Population', 'Creoles Ferblan', 'Mulatres' etc. We have chosen the term Gens de Couleur as it implies a certain social status whether neither of the other terms do. Their ethnic and social composition was varied: European, Indian, Malagasy, African, Chinese as well as having slave, free and indentured origins. However, not all these origins have been recognized equally by them and the tendency has been to be Westernised and reject the non-European ancestry. In the 18th, 19th and part of the 20th centuries, when relationships between different groups were forbidden or frowned upon, their relationships were not hidden from public view. However, painful this is for the population to admit, it must also be stated that some were the product of sexual exploitation and rape of slave and indentured women on plantations and in urban areas by owners and employers and heads of establishments. They occupied a unique social and economic status which, only in the past few years, is being uncovered, as more and more family histories are brought to light.

#### Reference 57 - 0.01% Coverage

The railways, still in 1962, employed mostly Creole workers. Railway employees were laid off without any compensation in the wake of the closure of the Railway Department in 1962. They all had to be satisfied with a small gratuity for the rest of their life.<sup>424</sup> No real study has yet been undertaken to highlight the immense contribution of Creole workers, mostly descendants of exslaves, the Sugar Industry and in the Aloe Fibre Industry, nor has any attempt been made to collect oral archives on their history.

#### Reference 58 - 0.01% Coverage

##### 3000 Short History

Artisanal fishing has existed since the days of slavery and was practised by all categories of persons. Estates located on the coast used slaves for fishing activities although it is not certain whether the slaves were free to fish for themselves. After slavery, ex-slaves, who wanted autonomy, found in fishing the perfect economic activity. Marooned slaves on the run waited for dusk to install batatran, a sort of creeper growing in the coastal region in passages to catch certain varieties of fish, entering the lagoon at night, thus ensuring a diet rich in protein content for those living by the sea.<sup>432</sup> Fishing is, thus, is closely associated with the history of slavery and freedom. Trou Chenille in the Le Morne region and many of the coastal fishing villages, Le Morne, Tamarin, La Gaulette on the Black River coast, was one of the reknowned places for fishing and also where ex-slave communities established themselves. This area has great symbolical value for descendants of exslaves today.<sup>433</sup> Other coastal settlements, inhabited by Creoles, are Mahebourg, Trou d'Eau Douce and Grand Gaube, Grand Baie, Poudre d'Or and Poste de Flacq.<sup>434</sup>

#### Reference 59 - 0.01% Coverage

Port activities today represent a vital economic sector because of the insularity of Mauritius and the fact that all imports and exports transit through Port Louis, making it into a strategic activity. Any disruption in its running undeniably affects the economy of the island. The port is a place of business and all its activities revolve around it; without the port, the city is in peril. In Mauritian History, the contribution of the port workers to the history, political life and economy of Mauritius has not been recognized. They are the builders of Modern Mauritius alongside slaves and indentured labourers. To date only a short history has been produced by the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund, extracts of which are reproduced here. The Commission is not aware of any other study on the history of port workers.

Work in the port was, and still is, male-centered. It was not until the 1990s that the port authorities hired women in administration. This section was written based on interviews of port workers and represents their thoughts about their lives.<sup>441</sup> This is as yet the unwritten history of the port.

#### Reference 60 - 0.01% Coverage

Although the 1970s are considered as glorious years of Trade Union activity, there is another history yet to be written concerning the emergence of communalism and division among the working classes, which emerges ironically at the same time. According to Fortune, a full historical investigation is required into the political movement of the 1970s and 1980s and whether it was responsible, among other things, for the propaganda concerning race and the supposed 'labour aristocracy' status of port workers. Was it done as a deliberate move to curtail the port workers' political strength in Mauritian society? Fortune questions how a political movement as such which gathered itself under the slogan 'One People, One Nation' and was sustained entirely upon working class efforts would create racially charged dissension as a means of political strategy.

In this propaganda, race and the supposed wealth of Creole port workers, mostly urban dwellers, was pitched against the much documented stark poverty of rural field labourers, rekindling old tension between these two communities. The propaganda worked well, according to Fortune, in the already racially charged atmosphere of Mauritius of late 1970s and early 1980s, with the riots of 1965 and 1968 only a decade or so ago. The racial discourse concerning the riots of 1965 between Hindus and Creoles, and 1968 between Creoles and Muslims, the strikes of 1971 and the elections of 1982 and how the subject of race was addressed or excluded in the political discourse are part of the history of neglect of port workers. This deserves further study.

Furthermore, the ethnic composition of the population working in the port was used to justify the supposed racial homogeneity that the Trade Unions of the 1970s and the elections of the 1980s had brought back to the surface. The historical literature available, however, paints a picture of the port as a racially diverse sector since the early days of the Colony. To think therefore, that in the 1970s and 1980s, the port suddenly became racially homogenous is rather hard to believe. The Trade Union leader of the port workers in 1938 was no less than Sandivi, of Indian origin as were many port workers and in his grandson's words, a 'Creole Malbar'.<sup>444</sup>

#### Reference 61 - 0.01% Coverage

When the Dutch arrived, labour was brought from Batavia, which at the time was mostly composed of Chinese immigrants, traders and victims of kidnapping. <sup>447</sup> However "there are no known descendants on the island from this period."<sup>448</sup> In the 18th and 19th centuries, colonized by the French and the British, Mauritius became a colony deeply dependent on slave labor for its plantation workforce. The presence of Chinese slaves in the history of the country is specific to a short period of time and a small group of individuals. Only two persons from Macao are listed on the Register of the Government slaves. In 1792, a 60-year old male Chinese slave is recorded as having died in Flacq. "Another, Jean Benoit, born on the Isle de France of Chinese parents, is reported as having died in the same region, in 1791." <sup>449</sup> Louis Vigoureux, a slave-owner manumitted two Chinese slaves, Gratia and Pauline from Canton, in 1745.<sup>450</sup> The manumission of Chinese slaves created a free Chinese community in the Isle de France.<sup>451</sup> "But they became gradually absorbed into the Creole population."<sup>452</sup> Some other 300 Chinese slaves were also captured and brought to Mauritius.<sup>453</sup>

#### Reference 62 - 0.01% Coverage

Indian slaves won fame for their ability to prepare food and were preferred to their African counterparts as domestic servants and often spared from hard labour. Free slaves, recruited since

Mahé de Labourdonnais as skilled workers and artisans, proved to be essential in the building and construction sector. Throughout the whole French occupation, slaves of Indian origin were not differently treated to other slaves, and some joined the ranks of the maroons. The history of marooned slaves bears witness to an extract of *Le Nouvelliste*, dated 1st May 1802.

#### Reference 63 - 0.01% Coverage

The history of the métayers (share croppers) was brought to the Commission's attention as a result of representations made by métayers in the South of Mauritius. The Commission decided to investigate further for several reasons. First, although they have grown sugar since the days of indenture (1840s), they have never owned the land and can be evicted at any time. They have, like many other groups in Mauritius, been the victims of restructuring of the Sugar Industry. A history of metayage appears in Volume 2 and in Volume 4. In the past, eviction could occur at any time, when their leases ended, when sugar was no longer required, or when the land was required for other more profitable purposes. What is the future of métayers in the new economic configuration? What future do they have? Today, the lands which they occupy and have been associated with for generations, considered 'marginal' at the time, have been 're-labelled' 'strategic' zones today, and are worth millions. The sugar estates have played their historic role, as they always have; they have disposed of labour when no longer required, and shifted labour where work was required, intimidated and used all the legal arsenal at their disposal to maintain their property. What is

#### Reference 64 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission believes a fairer form of compensation would have been to take into account the historic rights of the métayers and the years of labour spent working the cane fields, clearing, weeding and maintaining it for the owners. The métayers deserve an apology from the State, for not having defended them appropriately and for the callous manner in which they were convened. The TJC's recommendations, therefore, go in this direction. Little can be done for those who were forced to leave before the new laws were introduced, and who left without any form of compensation. This history must, however, be documented and enter the History books.

#### Reference 65 - 0.01% Coverage

them. Greater care must be taken in the use of particular category names. Race is not fixed among Mauritians although there is agreement that certain phenotype or physical markers clearly indicate an individual's racial identity. The history of slavery, indenture and Colonialism has been significant in the classification of individuals in Mauritius, creating enduring categories of 'oppressors' and 'victims', whose connotations have endured in contemporary society, due to enduring social stratification

#### Reference 66 - 0.01% Coverage

In Mauritius, conversion has continued throughout History, right up to today. Pentecostalism is proving attractive to many Hindus, and it is not known how many are low caste among converts.

#### Reference 67 - 0.01% Coverage

All, low or high castes, were embarrassed about evoking low castes. Concerning family histories, neighbours were sometimes brought in to 'recall' the history of a family member who had married into a lower-caste family. It is also true, in a general manner, when it comes to recognizing the very existence of castes known as 'low'. The term 'Chamar' or 'Dusadh' or the associated occupational or devotional habits such as rearing or sacrificing pork (which is associated with Dusadh in India) is expressed in a derogatory manner.

#### Reference 68 - 0.01% Coverage

As far as Indentured immigrants are concerned, although there were concerns about the type of education to be dispensed in the early years, by the 20th century, many Indian children were going to school. Parents had overcome their original hostility to Western-type schools and were sending boys to schools. Education was highly sought after and many sacrifices were made by parents to secure a place in school. Oral histories abound with such stories. Education was also seen by many as a way out of the sugar sector and into white collar jobs. Discrimination, however, against Indian children existed in schools as few schools were willing to offer a place to Indian children in the early 20th century. However, many schools, private and public, were later opened and these were made full use of by the descendants.

#### Reference 69 - 0.01% Coverage

managed carefully and if its education system is organised and delivered in a manner that permits and ensures genuine equal and equitable opportunities for the children of the descendants of slaves and indenture. This would go a long way towards the creation of durable peace in the country. Peace, as Martin Luther King notes, is not about the absence of conflicts, but the presence of justice. Can Mauritian education ensure social cohesion and justice? Education in the postIndependence period has no doubt been informed by the history of the country, and this history has had ramifications for the different segments and communities of Mauritian society, including Rodrigues and the Outer Islands. The democratisation of education during the post-colonial period opened up several windows of opportunity, but discriminations and inequities persist. Several legislations marked educational developments both in the colonial and post-colonial period, but legislations are not enough to create equitable outcomes. The Commission proposed to examine the provision of education and how it can be used as a tool for reparation, thereby thus mitigating the tensions and injustices resulting from a history of injustice and oppression.

#### Reference 70 - 0.01% Coverage

curriculum content, the pedagogy and the culture of the school – often with all of those forming part of a dominant culture - there is an urgent need to rethink, revisit and repair all the wrong, much of which has been largely informed by the Colonial History of the island.

#### Reference 71 - 0.01% Coverage

Mortality rates are no longer due to communicable diseases but to NCDs There is a five-fold increase in deaths caused by Diabetes mellitus. This is caused by an increase in rise in standard of living, consumption of high glycaemic index food, leading a more stressful life and less daily physical activities. There is no relation with the history of slavery, indenture or colonialism. The prevalence of hypertension has also increased from 30.2 % in 1987 to 37.9 % in 2009. This is due partly to modern lifestyle with stress at work and on the road or because financial and social tensions, again little to do with the history of slavery or indenture.

#### Reference 72 - 0.01% Coverage

A. To assist Mauritian families, many of whom are descendants of slaves and indentured labourers, to reconstruct their family trees in a more credible manner than hitherto possible. This is in recognition of the numerous difficulties faced by ordinary Mauritians to collect relevant and accurate data concerning their family history due to :

#### Reference 73 - 0.01% Coverage

2. The situation concerning the British and post-Independence periods is extremely disturbing (1810-1980) and has repercussions for the History of Mauritius, as well as for the principle of freedom of information that all Mauritians have a right to.

#### Reference 74 - 0.01% Coverage

For more than five hundred years, various powers have fought for control over the Indian Ocean. During much of this time, the islands have played little part, if any. Formerly, all the territories, including Rodrigues, Saint-Brandon, the Chagos Archipelago, as well as Tromelin, formed part of Mauritius before Independence. Although Mauritius has retained Rodrigues, Agaléga and Saint Brandon in 1968, Tromelin and the Chagos Archipelago still constitute a bone of contention between Mauritius and two of the former colonial powers, namely France and Great Britain which excised these territories. Today, the Republic of Mauritius has an Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) of 1.9 million km<sup>2</sup>. The particular histories of Rodrigues and Agaléga have been discussed in Volume IV (Part IX) of this Report. The Chagos Archipelago, however, is more than a local issue; it is an international issue and is the object of an important power game in this part of the world.

#### Reference 75 - 0.01% Coverage

This mandate has also been read in conjunction with other clauses in the Act relating to the history of slavery and indenture and its consequences. Hence, it could not adopt a purely technical or legal approach and has considered the land dispossession issue in a more holistic manner than has been attempted so far in Mauritius. However, the time-frame proposed (two years) is much too short to be able to produce a comprehensive report as many documents are not available easily and extensive and in-depth searches were required. Recommendations for additional work on the cases are made towards the setting up of institutions to democratise access to technical persons and professionals, so that the members of the public not in possession

of vast reserves of cash can fight, on a more equal basis, the holders of economic power who take them to Court.

#### Reference 76 - 0.01% Coverage

In its short 400-year-old history, Mauritius has known one of the worst forms of injustice, marked by the establishment of slavery and a not-so-perfect post-emancipation period where indentured labour was brought in. Today, Mauritius is now considered as one of the most avant-gardiste in the field of Social Justice. Yet a Truth and Justice Commission was set up, indicating that all was not well.

#### Reference 77 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission's mandate was to look at the consequences, if any, of this history of slavery and indenture and make recommendations to this effect to increase social justice. While the history of slavery and indenture, the post-emancipation period has been examined and continuities and consequences outlined, the question remains: how does one increase social justice? It is important to first examine briefly the philosophical precepts underlying the task before the Commission in order to provide a basis for understanding what needs to be done and, above all, enable the Mauritian public to understand what, and why, particular recommendations are being made.

#### Reference 78 - 0.01% Coverage

Following the cyclone of 1892, the Sugar Industry was seriously hit and in need of capital for reconsolidation and expansion. Requests for assistance from the United Kingdom met with reticence. In 1909, however, the Colonial Office appointed a three-man Commission, headed by Sir Frank Swettenham, to enquire into the financial situation of the country and all problems connected with labour and immigration. The Commission submitted various recommendations and showed its apprehension concerning the idea that, in spite of the overwhelming majority of people of Indian origin in the colony, these were not represented in the legislature. Although the Royal Commission of 1909 recommended the cessation of labour recruitment from India, this did not take place until Maharaj Singh also recommended it years later. This marked a new era in Mauritian History. The First World War (1914-1918) did not slow down the fighting spirit of the emerging class of politicians which, hitherto, comprised part of the Indian elite.

#### Reference 79 - 0.01% Coverage

This period in the History of Mauritius witnessed a drastic change in the way the British Government viewed its colonies and their inhabitants. Following the publication of the Hooper Report in 1938 and the passing of the Colonial and Development Welfare Act 1940, major changes took place in the fields of education, housing, and healthcare. These decisions also laid down the foundations of the Mauritian Welfare State.

#### Reference 80 - 0.01% Coverage

In the wake of an independent Mauritius, the British, contrary to U.N resolution regarding the dismantling of territories of any future State, decided to separate the Chagos Archipelago as part and parcel of the Colony of Mauritius. The Chagos Archipelago, very much like Rodrigues and Agalega, was inhabited by people of slave descent who laboured in the Coconut and Fishing industry in extremious conditions. The decision of the then Colonial Office to sever connections with the Mauritius mainland is a dark spot in Colonial History of the British Empire. As a consequence of the British decision, in 1970, thousands of Chagossians were deported to Seychelles and to Mauritius. They were uprooted from their motherland, Peros Bahnos and Salomon Islands, in the Chagos Archipelago, Diego Garcia. Following an agreement between USA and UK, shortly afterwards, Diego Garcia was ceded to USA for the establishment of a military base with sophisticated armaments. In 1972, the British Government paid a sum of £ 650,000 to the Mauritian Government destined for the displaced Chagossians. In 1982, the UK Government paid a further sum of Rs. 100 million to the Chagossians.

#### Reference 81 - 0.01% Coverage

The Malaise Créole had also to do with the history of the Creoles: the dispossession and suffering associated with slavery and its aftermath, the consequences of which can be seen in the persistence of poverty, social problems and political marginalization.

#### Reference 82 - 0.01% Coverage

1. Better safeguard of archival records and documents pertaining to the history of slavery so that a holistic version of the history of people of creole origin can be undertaken,

#### Reference 83 - 0.01% Coverage

8. Jimmy Harmon Jimmy Harmon is an academic and claims to be a militant engaged in the promotion of the Creole community. He has indeed devoted his life to the study of the behavioral attitude of Creoles towards education and their relations with the Catholic Church and Government. His interest in the history of Mauritius has enlightened him on the circumstances which have led to the 'marginalization' of the Creole community to which he claims to belong. His struggle in favour of the rehabilitation of the Creoles during his 22year career as an educationist has led him to conclude that racism and the worst method of discrimination are the root causes for the situation in which the descendents of slaves find themselves today. He is fully conscious that the struggle for restorative justice is not an easy one, but he believes that the Truth and Justice Commission has a sacrosanct task to make major recommendations to bring about a drastic change of policy by government to better the fate of the Creole community in Mauritius. He also stated:

#### Reference 84 - 0.01% Coverage

10. Jose Rose of the Rastafari movement The Rastafari movement, constitutes a small group of Afro-Malagasy Mauritians established in Chamarel. They have been victims of racial prejudice in their history, because of their lifestyle. They feel they are not lesser citizens of the country.

They have been dispossessed of their ancestral land and claim to be the poorest among the poorest class of descendants of former slaves.

Reference 85 - 0.01% Coverage

4. Preservation of historical sites and archival records and need of a holistic version of the history of people of slave descent

Reference 86 - 0.01% Coverage

7. Actions towards national unity and reconciliation to include joint collaborative events where descendants of slave owners and of slaves can interact and share histories, such as that carried

Reference 87 - 0.01% Coverage

18. Online historical data to be freely available on slavery and the slave trade to enable all Mauritians to access their History.

Reference 88 - 0.01% Coverage

□ Trou Chenille - home of ex-slave population forcibly removed. The Le Morne Trust Fund must document and publish this history.

Reference 89 - 0.01% Coverage

Similarly, at the Ministry of Arts and Culture under which, specialists in slavery, indenture and in heritage management, Archaeology, History and Anthropology must be appointed to better monitor these institutions.

Reference 90 - 0.01% Coverage

□ ‘Casteism still exists (marriage, politics, temple entry and rituals) and must be researched and brought out in history books. Cases of discrimination must be brought out’

Reference 91 - 0.01% Coverage

357 Despite spending several pages describing the history of the use of manure as a fertilizing agent on Mauritian sugar estates over the past one hundred years, North-Coombes (1993:76-82) only writes one line on the Engrais system and the use of human manure to cultivate cane plants. “[H]uman excreta”, he says, “has ceased to be employed owing to the dissemination of Hook Worm”. Andrew Balfour’s (1921:87-88) report indicates the practice was very widespread at the time he visited Mauritius, which is why he singled out its discontinuation as one of the most important ways to combat the spread of hookworm disease, also pointing out that these conditions “probably have not their parallel in any other part of the world. The main industry in Mauritius is sugar cane cultivation. The cane requires fertiliser and as Victor Hugo said, possibly

with some truth, “the most fertilising and effective of manures is human manure.” Unfortunately in the tropics it is also the most dangerous. This fact was not recognised.”

#### Reference 92 - 0.01% Coverage

A very large number of views were expressed on education and the need for reform. These are summarized here: educational programmes to fight racism must be put in place and for schools to be aware of the various conventions; the need for stereotypes of occupations for descendants to be countered; the destigmatisation of those who did not vote for independence; the study of the history of education; choice of English by the descendants of indenture while those of slaves had no choice: French was the language of Catechism and was chosen. New language developed by the new Creole elite emerging: Creole. Creole needed to be introduced for descendants of slaves as a cultural, part of linguistic /cultural rights. High failure rate needed to be examined.

#### Reference 93 - 0.01% Coverage

□ The simple database started by the TKC should be continued by the University of Mauritius in partnership with other institutions which have an interest in the slave trade and slavery. The University possesses both history and computer science departments who can collaborate with minimal cost with each other to maintain the database. It also has a pool of students every year who can be initiated and trained in historical research and data entry.

#### Reference 94 - 0.01% Coverage

Considering the role of future generations in social and cultural development of the continent, the main goal of this Project, is to rescue the history of slavery and the slave traffic in southeastern Africa. In this context, the gathering, collection and preservation of oral traditions; as well as the promotion of cultural diversity and cultural tourism, and of a whole range of activities interconnected to this phenomenon, are crucial to this Project.

#### Reference 95 - 0.01% Coverage

The conceptors of this Project recommend that the Museum be located in the capital city Port Louis. Apart from giving the history of slavery its due importance it is also appropriate that it should be placed in a location that is reminiscent of slavery and related to slavery. Furthermore as the historic parts of the city are frequently visited by tourists and Mauritians alike, this will ensure financial sustainability for the Museum once it is opened.

#### Reference 96 - 0.01% Coverage

The work undertaken by the Commission has been laborious, given the short span of time available to probe into more than 300 years of History since the first land grant (concession) was given officially in 1726 to Pierre Christophe Lenoir, a French colon, Director of Pondichéry. Moreover, the task was delicate as it concerned people who have a profound emotional attachment to land they believe they have lost. Working sessions with hundreds of persons from all walks of life, have aroused mixed feelings. People were led to believe that the Commission

was a centre where they could be registered on a list to obtain compensation, either as descendants of slaves or indentured labourers; others firmly believed that the Commission was set up to help them recover plots of land which,

#### Reference 97 - 0.01% Coverage

As the garrison was moved from Mahébourg to the areas around Port Louis, the settlers were left without any protection, and Anse Jonchée, Plaine Saint-Martin and La Table à Pérot were left deserted. These areas of Grand Port retained only the names of the early settlers: Jonchée de la Golleterie, Didier de Saint-Martin and François Pérot. History recalls that Jacques Thomas de Jonchée de la Golleterie, “Capitaine des vaisseaux de la Compagnie des Indes” became, on 15th December 1726, “le premier concessionnaire de l'Isle de France”. Didier de Saint-Martin formed a partnership with Mahé de Labourdonnais and Pierre Moulinot de la Plaine to create, on 25th January 1743, a sugar factory at Ferney, after having obtained a “concession” of some 1,766 Arpents – which consisted of Rivière Saint Martin, Montagne des Hollandais and Montagne du Grand Port – out of which some 210 Arpents were covered with sugar cane.

#### Reference 98 - 0.01% Coverage

Historians, researchers, Land surveyors, Attorneys, Notaries, Barristers cannot research properly land transactions which may have occurred at different periods of history because of the absence or bad state of these documents. It is also common knowledge that most people are unable to easily access all the Archives relating principally to land transactions. This situation must change. Furthermore, the practice of acquiring, exchanging or selling plots of land through private signature (“sous seing privé”) has, in many cases, deprived researchers of opportunities to explain the state of affairs prevailing at that time. The layman, being ignorant of the Law, might have seen in this practice an easy way to undertake land transactions without having recourse to the service of a Notary Public.

#### Reference 99 - 0.01% Coverage

The history of land grants in Mauritius stretched over a period of 285 years, started with the first Act of concession witnessing land conceded to Pierre Christophe Lenoir in 1726 by the Compagnie des Indes Orientales, governed by the Feudal Laws. It encompasses the struggle of the colonists for a better system of land tenure, the struggle of the slaves for freedom and justice and for their recognition as citizens capable of holding lands. And the fight of the ‘gens de couleur’ for a better comprehension of their aspirations to acquire land and take part in the set up and consolidation of a ‘pieds-à-terre’ common to all. Where everyone can celebrate and chant the Code Civil: “La propriété est le droit de jouir et disposer des choses de la manière la plus absolue, pourvu qu’on n’en fasse pas un usage prohibé par les lois ou par les règlements.”

#### Reference 100 - 0.01% Coverage

production of the foodstuffs, naval stores, and other commodities needed to support the French political and naval presence in the Indian Ocean. Following the advent of royal rule in 1767, the Colonial Government continued this policy until the late 1780s when it began to sell public land,

usually at a very reasonable price, to the colony's inhabitants. The properties, granted or sold to French and other European colonists during the eighteenth century, provided the nucleus around which many of the colony's sugar estates were subsequently built during the early nineteenth century. However, Europeans were not the only Mauritian residents to acquire landed property. Significant numbers of the colony's residents of African and Asian origin or descent also purchased, or otherwise acquired access to or use of land during the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. Their ability to do so similarly played an important role in shaping the course of the country's social and economic history.

#### Reference 101 - 0.01% Coverage

Between 1748 and 1810, however, the Colonial Land Office recorded approximately 410 grants and sales of public land to free persons of colour that provide a vantage point from which to begin reconstructing the history of landownership by free(d) persons of African and Asian origin or ancestry. These documents reveal that only a handful of free persons of colour received grants of public land before Compagnie rule ended in 1767. Most of these grantees were individuals of some consequence to the colony's social, economic, or political life. Elizabeth Sobobie Béty (or Bétia), who received the first land grant made to a non-European in 1758, was the daughter of the King, and later herself briefly the Queen, of Foulpointe, an important slave trading centre on the East coast of Madagascar.<sup>6</sup> Other early free coloured recipients of these grants, such as Louis LaViolette, an interpreter for the Compagnie in Madagascar, and Manuel Manique, a former Maître d'hôtel du gouvernement, were also persons of economic or administrative importance to the colony's wellbeing.<sup>7</sup>

#### Reference 102 - 0.01% Coverage

This propensity of Mauritian ex-apprentices to reside in the general vicinity of the small properties they purchased is not unexpected. Post-emancipation Caribbean history is replete with examples of former apprentices who, despite an intense desire to dissociate themselves from all vestiges of their former condition, nevertheless continued to live in relatively close proximity to the estates on which they had once labored. Their reasons for doing so are not difficult to discern. Complex webs of social, economic, and psychological ties that had been created over the years were not easily or readily dismantled. Moreover, many estates included large areas of uncleared or unused arpentage, precisely the kind of land that estate-owners were inclined to sell and former apprentices were inclined to acquire, especially if they had lived on or near the land in question.

#### Reference 103 - 0.01% Coverage

Department, and the Registration and Mortgage Department; and reports produced by institutions such as the Mauritius Chamber of Agriculture. Although these rich and diverse sources shed considerable light on the ways in which the colony's residents acquired, and made use of, land, it is important to remember that the sometimes problematic nature of these documents means that reconstructing the history of land ownership in Mauritius as fully or as completely as we would like is a difficult and time-consuming undertaking. That nineteenth-century censuses did not report the criteria used to distinguish "independent" proprietors from other landowners is one

example of these problems, while the fact that annual reports on the colony stopped reporting on the extent of landholding by different segments of the island's population during the 1930s is another.

#### Reference 104 - 0.01% Coverage

The Short History of Mauritius by Toussaint has elaborated on the World War II period, when the colony was seriously affected by famine, especially in 1941. Then Mauritius could not import rice from Burma, due to the war in Japan. So, the Government had to be very strict and established special War Laws. Therefore, Sugar Estates Managers were obliged to cultivate foodcrops from an initial value of one-fortieth up to one-quarter of their fields. This law was also applied to small planters.

#### Reference 105 - 0.01% Coverage

Throughout Mauritian History, the sugar magnates, having acquired large "grants", set up large conglomerates, obtained a cheap labour force to create their wealth. Solitude Sugar Estate was one of the three sugar factories which belonged to the Society Harel Frères Limited. Auguste Dioré was the first owner between 1838 and 1839. He sold 406 acres of land to Jean Baptiste d'Agnel in 1857. Since that time, the land changed hands and increased in acreage several times. The annexation of adjoining lands, resulting from the closing down of factories, increased considerably the factory area of the sugar mill as was the case in other parts of the island.

#### Reference 106 - 0.01% Coverage

Conscious that they were being dispossessed of their ancestral lands, an association known as "The descendants of Gabriel Bégué Welfare and Heritage Association" was formed in January 2010. The aim of the association is to establish a genealogy of all heirs and successors of the deceased Gabriel Bégué and to promote the history of the family since the arrival of Gabriel Bégué in Rodrigues. The family requests to the Commission to help them restore their "patrimoine" (heritage); to reset confidence in the heirs of their ancestors Gabriel Bégué and in the public in general; and to stop all the mal practices made by illegal occupiers especially with the help of the legal advisors. The petitioners have prayed the Truth and Justice Commission to intervene before the Chief Island Commissioners to stop the practice of allowing people who have no claim to the Bégué succession in making false declarations to the effect that they have elected domicile on part of the land and to carry an inquiry into the circumstances of a number of prescriptions that have been registered following false testimony of witnesses. Ronald Bégué mentioned a case where a person alien to the Bégué family has

#### Reference 107 - 0.01% Coverage

However, in Mauritius, the extent of ownership is highly skewed in favour of large plantations owners. There has never been large-scale redistribution of lands either after abolition of slavery or indenture or independence by governments, colonial or independent. Small farmers and proprietors have on their own saved enough money and bought many plots of land at various moments in history.

#### Reference 108 - 0.01% Coverage

the Abolition of British Colonial Slavery", which was published in the "Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History, May 1976, Volume IV Number 3" Burroughs made reference to an exchange of letter "Buchanan to Lefevre, dated 7th June 1833"<sup>2</sup> underlining: "Shrewd scheming advocates with the eye to augmenting fees and influence found unlimited scope to ensnare opponents in the meshes of law, prolong cases brought before trial, and emasculate unpopular legislation. The local bar buttressed its enviable position by restricting the number of "Avoués" who could practice and making this privilege a monopoly of foremost French families. Because of its intimate association with planters and merchants through intermarriage, investment, and a common concern to defend the status quo, as well as its mastery of the obscurities of French commercial and land law, the legal fraternity dominated to an extraordinary degree the life of the whole community and exploited that predominance for selfish ends. Whenever the British Government devised incongenial policies or threatened to undermine the oligarchy's ascendancy, judges and lawyers could and did unashamedly empty the Courts to protect their sectoral interests. British merchants and creditors, for example, who, by 1832, apparently held mortgages on all but one of the island's sugar plantations, protested regularly about being defrauded by Mauritian debtors because of partisan "Avoués" and antiquated French laws so 'remarkably convenient for cheating the British out of their money'. They persistently urged the Colonial Office to introduce English laws and English Judges".

#### Reference 109 - 0.01% Coverage

Edley John Mollières, the applicant, and his brother say that their grandparents owned a plot of land of 15 Acres at Mare D'Albert. The cousins of the applicant inherited and bought several plots of land. They were proprietors of several sugar plantations. The applicant says that he is unaware of the history of land.

#### Reference 110 - 0.01% Coverage

Désiré Emmanuel Roussel, the applicant, says that his great-grandparents possessed a plot of land of 325 Acres at Plaine Magnien. He avers that the Mon Désert-Mon Trésor Sugar Estate cultivates sugarcane on the land. The applicant says that he is unaware of the history of land. He came to know about it by doing searches at the Archives.

#### Reference 111 - 0.01% Coverage

Following findings of the Commission, which has probed deeply into the history of slaves and indentured descendants, it has been found that people have lost their land due to their inability to establish their claim or prevent people from acquiring their land through prescription and illegal means.

#### Reference 112 - 0.01% Coverage

The Oral History Project research (See ORAL HISTORY OF DESCENDANTS OF SLAVES Part 1, Volume 3), commissioned by the Truth and Justice Commission to document and preserve the memories and views of people who consider themselves as slave descendants, surveyed the collective memory of the people who have a particular knowledge of the history, culture, lifestyle, heritage and traditions of slaves, ex-slaves and their descendants. The survey, which covered the islands of Mauritius and Rodrigues, Agaléga, Chagos aimed, amongst others, at uncovering the “Causes of landownership and causes for loss of land” by the descendants of ex-slaves.

#### Reference 113 - 0.01% Coverage

“Slavery had an impact on us. This is the history of my ancestors, they were living in their country, they worked, risked their lives, fought, lost their loved ones. To be healed from that, it needs time. They liberated themselves, created their language, and invented their music to fight the harshness of life. Sega is the intelligence and sweat of our ancestors to regroup and express the hardships of life. Their descendants still suffer

#### Reference 114 - 0.01% Coverage

Commission is to investigate the history of slavery and indenture, its consequences and suggest reparations. It was clear that two years would not allow for the task of reviewing 350 years of history and consequently, the Commission focused on a number of topics for in-depth study. Assessing the consequences or even identifying descendants was less easy as the reports show, since so few Mauritians are aware of their history and still less of their family history. Consultants, scholars and researchers have expressed their personal views on issues, and it is clear that not all views converge. The Commission has studied and considered all views expressed and given its own views in its report in Volume 1. It is understood that the views expressed here are those of the writers themselves, and not those of the Commission. There are many myths and perceptions about Mauritian history that Mauritians have. This has

#### Reference 115 - 0.01% Coverage

### VOL 3: PART I – SLAVERY - ORAL HISTORY OF DESCENDANTS OF SLAVES INTRODUCTION

This oral history project research has been commissioned by the Truth and Justice Commission to document and preserve the memories and views of people who consider themselves as slave descendants. It surveys the collective memory of the people who have a particular knowledge of the history, culture, lifestyle, heritage and traditions of slaves, ex-slaves and their descendants. The survey covers the islands of Mauritius and Rodrigues, Agaléga, Chagos and aims at uncovering the following topics identified by the Truth and Justice Commission:

#### Reference 116 - 0.01% Coverage

B. Contributions of slaves and their descendants to the economic, political, social and cultural life of Mauritius  
C. Perceptions of slavery and its consequences  
D. Perceptions of descendants of

slaves and indentured labourers E. Life histories of the individuals, their parents and grandparents  
F. Particular constraining experiences of living in cités (coastal and non-coastal) and occupation etc. G. Causes of illiteracy H. Causes of landownership and causes for loss of land I. Perceptions of other ethnic and cultural groups and their history

#### Reference 117 - 0.01% Coverage

Since Rodriguan informants might have felt uncomfortable in front of a stranger who is not a native of Rodrigues, the local facilitator assisted the researcher during the interview. Two interview guides were designed, translating the aims of the study. Given that the slave history of Rodrigues Island differs from that of Mauritius Island and, consequently, that the experiences of Rodriguans and Mauritians, might diverge, a different interview guide was designed for Rodrigues to reflect Rodriguans' reality. Open-ended questions were used to encourage the informants to talk freely and the guides were translated into Creole.

In line with the aims of the project, the questions were regrouped under fourteen main topics: 1. Life History 2. Literacy 3. Family History 4. Property 5. Identity/Perception of descendants of slaves 6. Slavery and its consequences 7. Contribution of slaves and their descendants to the economic life of Mauritius 8. Contributions of slaves and their descendants to the political life of Mauritius 9. Contribution of slaves and their descendants to the social life of Mauritius 10. Contribution of slaves and their descendants to cultural life of Mauritius 11. Slavery and its consequences and perceptions of descendants of slaves 12. Life in cités 13. Perceptions of other ethnic and cultural groups 14. Racism 15. Expectations and hopes for the future

#### Reference 118 - 0.01% Coverage

generations). This is perhaps because, families have moved from one area to another resulting in a cut off from family ties and most probably because of absence or lack of oral transmission of family origins. Interviews revealed that there has been either no or limited transmission of knowledge of family origins. Generational transmission of family history was limited to one to two generations and hence for many people recollections of family history were limited to their grandparents and sometimes to their great grandparents. Although they did not know their origins they identified themselves as of slave descent because of their African phenotype. For example, Rosemay considers herself as being Mauritian of African descent because of her skin colour, she is Black and hair type is 'frizzy'. For those who do not know their origins, most of them guessed about their family ancestry based on their physical appearance and what their parents told them. Their identification is not derived from knowledge of ancestral origins but rather on shared legacies of slavery such as social experiences and lack of education and opportunities. On the other hand, some informants' identification with the slaves descendant seems also to be founded on racial grounds. This biological identification associates the African phenotype, skin colour (being black) and hair style (frizzy hair) with slave ancestry.

#### Reference 119 - 0.01% Coverage

R14 has a broad definition of Creole: "If someone declares he is Creole, we should accept the fact, and if a black person does not say he is a Creole, we should accept it also. A Creole is one

who chooses to be Creole. The pride of a Creole is not only slavery history because it transcends history and in the modern world – this is a “parti-pris d’espérance” because the world is becoming intercultural and Creole. Then racism and xenophobia and protectionism will disappear.”

#### Reference 120 - 0.01% Coverage

Mauritian, for some knowing their origins is not important because they identify themselves to the capitalist system and to contemporary times and they obliterate past history that is not significant to them. For example, R5 stated that she cannot say that she is either a slave or of slave descent. Her statement is rooted in a conceptualisation of slavery that if we do not experience modern forms of slavery we are not slaves or of slave descent.

Although they do not recognise their descent, they all mentioned that people need to be of their slave origins. Indeed, even if they do not assert a slave stock, yet they assert a slave history and identify themselves to this history. One explanation for this identification might be that it is rooted in a collective history of slavery, in other words, a sharing of this history.

#### Reference 121 - 0.01% Coverage

On one hand, based on interviewees’ testimonies, it appears that their identification as descendant of slaves is based on their shared feelings and experiences of sufferings and oppression rooted in the belief that ‘the others’ and society keep them in oppression by refusing or repressing their social mobility and undermining their history and consequently the memory of the slaves. A collective memory of suffering and oppression is perpetuated with the generational transmission of suffering, misery and poverty that keep the descendants of slaves in the continuous cycle of deprivation. Their identification is not derived from knowledge of ancestral origins but rather on shared legacies of slavery such as social experiences and lack of education and opportunities.

#### Reference 122 - 0.01% Coverage

R9 Slavery had an impact on us. This is the history of my ancestors, they were living in their country, they worked, risked their lives, fought, lost their loved ones. To be healed from that, it needs time. They liberated themselves, created their language, and invented their music to fight the harshness of life. Sega is the intelligence and sweat of our ancestors to regroup and express the hardships of life. Their descendants still suffer from these wounds. They had no one to advise them as indentured labourers had. The French colonists educated the children they had with slaves but there were barriers between those categories of descendants. They are not liberated at 100% today. There are not enough advisors today. I have three children. I want to advise them for a job. Who will I turn to to know about that? How to help orientate them professionally? Creoles that have succeeded don’t help others. Other communities do that.

#### Reference 123 - 0.01% Coverage

R7 I was a teacher and considered as an intellectual and I sang sega considered a low class cultural trait. Sega is our Mauritian folklore. People liked my songs. I composed Lil Moris mo

zoli pays, Zarina and Mme Eugène. They became a disk. Mme Eugène became a big success. I had an ulcer. When I was well, I went to P. Laval. Cocono pa le mor. I was greeted everywhere. (...) I always wanted to know what had happened in the past and what will happen in the future. When I went to Paris, I went to cultural places: libraries, museums. Same in England and Italy. When I began with sega, I was encouraged by my parents and the public. I travelled a lot. I progressed. I researched on sega, the most Mauritian thing that exists. I think I have slave ancestors from what I have read. Sega helped me to know the history

#### Reference 124 - 0.01% Coverage

There is a commonly held belief that the ancestral culture of the slaves was eradicated by Christianisation but from the testimonies it transpires that traditional practices and values survived but under modified forms which constitute Creole culture. They all mentioned the need to recognise the history and cultural heritage of the slaves.

#### Reference 125 - 0.01% Coverage

The informants recognised the contribution of the slaves and their descendants to the development and to the future of the island. For example R1 mentioned that the slaves did not only contribute to the construction of churches but she also believes that they gave the land in Saint Croix for the grave of Father Laval. They were hard workers, carrying heavy loads in the sugar cane plantations. The informants pointed out that they were the ones who developed the sugar cane plantations in the country such as R3 stressed that the history of the sugar industry is closely related to the history of slavery:

#### Reference 126 - 0.01% Coverage

It would be tedious to make a list of the enormous contribution in terms of labour force of slaves and slaves' descendants/Creoles. In the plantation sector, in sugar cane estates and textile and other factories (sack). In Free Zone and tourism. Listening to their life history would be enough.

#### Reference 127 - 0.01% Coverage

In the same line of thought, Paul mentioned that he feels that 'the others' do not want the descendant of slaves to succeed and that is why they ('the others') are not willing to recognise the history of slaves. When talking of the history of slaves, we should distinguish between the history of slavery which is rather the history of the slave system whereas the history of the slaves refer to the history of the people who were slaves such as their life histories. Based on the information gathered, what people are claiming is the recognition of the history of the slaves which implies looking at their experiences of slavery and subsequently of the slave system from the perspective of the slaves.

#### Reference 128 - 0.01% Coverage

The Oral Research History project has unraveled the perceptions of respondents who consider themselves as slave descendants from various regions of Mauritius, Rodrigues and Chagos as to a series of fundamental issues identified by the Truth and Justice Commission.

Reference 129 - 0.01% Coverage

Another legend says that Paul and Virginie swam in the pond and the last one is about the slaves or maroons who came to this pond. These two legends take place with the history of slavery.

Reference 130 - 0.01% Coverage

(Eng. trans:...Why name it Aigrette Pond? But me I always knew it as Aigrette Pond, but as said by history, there is legend [associated to it]. Which legend? There are people who say that they saw...long ago a mermaid...because it forms stones, big stone...how to say that? You see this pond [is] deep, there is a cave underneath...in this cave there is a giant eel, there is an eel inside it. But, now, because of draught, because normally, there was...lots water in the pond they say it is deep...thus what is the mermaid story? It is, finally, I have heard, the elders said that, their family told them, they saw a baby mermaid. But how the mermaid looked?...half human, half fish...after that I do not know. I do not know whether it is true or if it is fake. Because they say that each time Paul and Virginie, used to swim there...I cannot tell you who heard that story, but I do not believe that Paul and Virginie came here. Me...each time I thought it were the slaves who came here. And why you thought there were slaves?...How to say that, they searched for hiding places...)

Reference 131 - 0.01% Coverage

Family histories revealed changes in occupational choices after slavery. For example, Albain Michel Jean Pierre, grandfather of Dorisse Jean Pierre was a carpenter. Joseph Albert, the great grandfather of Louis Horace Albert was a blacksmith and Téfine Hanine, his great grandmother was a seamstress. (See Appendices 8 and 9)

Reference 132 - 0.01% Coverage

Reparation starts with work on the memory of slavery and of the slaves' history of abuse for psychological healing purposes. This healing process starts with a de-construction of the deep internalised sense of limitations and powerlessness. Furthermore, other social, cultural and psychological dynamics should take into consideration such as differential socialisation and enculturation processes to understand the Cité inner-structure, subculture and value system. It is only with time and sincere and genuine political will that we shall be able to break this deeply seated perception that their marginalisation and underprivileged situation are inherent to their being. The recommendations are all made to help address the plight of the residents of Cité La Mivoie and improve their social and economic situation. We should learn from past errors made during post-slavery whereby now there is no living memory of the slaves among the residents. Recommendations are also proposed for the preservation of the local tangible and intangible heritage to ensure that the history of the residents' ancestors do not go in oblivion and ensure that the memories of their ancestors remain alive.

#### Reference 133 - 0.01% Coverage

9. Ministry of Arts and Culture: Similarly at the Ministry of Arts and Culture under whom, specialists in slavery, indenture and in heritage management archaeology history and anthropology must be appointed to better monitor these institutions. Currently to our knowledge, there are none.

#### Reference 134 - 0.01% Coverage

slavery comes from the perspective of a historian. I approach the subject of reparations from a multidisciplinary perspective but do not regard myself as an expert in any discipline other than history. This is my contribution to the discourse.

#### Reference 135 - 0.01% Coverage

Seeing that our past is still with us, which is true in the United States and Mauritius; a Commission for Truth is an opportunity to heal the damages done to Mauritians through slavery and the indenture system as Randall Robinson says in his book, *The debt that America owes to Blacks* that “no nation can enslave a race of people for hundreds of years, set them free bedraggled and penniless, pit them, without assistance in a hostile environment, against privileged victimizers, and then reasonably expect the gap between the heirs of the two groups to narrow. Lines, begun parallel and left alone, can never touch.”<sup>12</sup> Reparations through the Truth and Justice Commission are a means of democratizing history, it gives a voice to those who are seldom heard; silenced by a society founded on slavery.

#### Reference 136 - 0.01% Coverage

Section three gives the political background and legal histories of compensatory reparations in Mauritius Island after the abolition of slavery. It examines the case of a Mauritian consortium, which was created after the abolition of slavery with compensatory monies from the British government compared to a lawsuit for compensatory damages for the loss of slaves’ labour and property as a result of abolition in the State of Louisiana. This section also investigates the reparations suit for the refugees of the Chagos Islands in Mauritius and why the compensatory actions did not heal these people’s wounds. It also explores the theory of race through history comparatively in the U.S and Mauritius using Adelbert Jenkins humanistic approach to psychology and cross-cultural psychology proposed by Ute Schönplflug.

#### Reference 137 - 0.01% Coverage

Furthermore, Mauritius is the first country in Africa and the world to have a Truth and Justice Commission investigating the history of slavery and its consequences and to accept the principle that reparations are required.

#### Reference 138 - 0.01% Coverage

Considering the role of future generations in social and cultural development of the continent, the main goal of this Project, is to rescue the history of slavery and the slave traffic in southeastern Africa. In this context, the gathering, collection and preservation of oral traditions; as well as the promotion of cultural diversity and cultural tourism, and of a whole range of activities interconnected to this phenomenon, are crucial to this Project.

#### Reference 139 - 0.02% Coverage

The aim of this section devoted to descendants of Indian immigrants aims to highlight, as for slave populations the necessity of every family knowing and understanding his or her family origins. In the very delicate fabric that Mauritian society is made up of and being a newly emerging society, it has become abundantly clear that this type of knowledge makes Mauritians feel more 'Mauritian' and at the same time distinguished Mauritians from other nationalities. There are inherent difficulties however in tracing one's history: documents since the French and British period have not been well kept and even today numerous problems face the family historian.

These family histories and life histories are compiled by a group of young Mauritians trained in history who were the given the task of finding and confronting their own family's past. It has not only proved to be a rich personal experience for them but has also provided the Commission with the justification for proposing a more vigorous campaign to collect all available documentary sources about Mauritians and make it accessible to the public. In the course of the research, the conservative approach adopted by some institutions towards releasing immigrant data must be unequivocally condemned. Judging by the numerous correspondence and discussions after the controversy concerning access of public Immigration archives currently housed at the Mahatma Gandhi Institute, it is clear that not all Mauritians feel the need to hide their truth about their family or caste origins and indeed they welcome openness and progressive attitudes. It is recommended that the MGI and all those other institutions and individuals rethink this policy of blocking public access to this section of the National Archives. A public campaign to explain the nature of the sources and why discrepancies and errors exist in the sources needs to accompany this open policy, as is the practice in other National Archives found overseas.

The metissage in terms of not only ethnic groups and but among Indian immigrants of various linguistic, regional and caste backgrounds leads one also to recommend that all copies of genealogical and family data be regrouped in one institution to make the task of reconstructing genealogies and family histories easier for the Mauritian population. Many Mauritians are descended from Indian. African and European origins and this currently means that a 'multi-racial' Mauritian has to visit no less than 5 different institutions over many years to compile his/her family history. In the digital age this is an unnecessary burden to place on Mauritians.

#### Reference 140 - 0.01% Coverage

family and what he has left as legacy is: 2 children, 3 grandchildren, 9 great grandchildren, 24 great great-grandchildren, 34 great great-great-grandchildren and 1 great great-great-great grandchild. There is still more research waiting to be carried out in Mauritius and in India. Until that time comes, the Researcher feels enriched with the stories of the past and having started on this journey and met some wonderful people that she would have never known other than

through this research, precious stories and shared memories, passed from generation to generation.

#### Reference 141 - 0.01% Coverage

The term ‘presumed descendants’ has to be used because many Mauritians have no idea of their own family history and indeed of Mauritian history. One can fairly assume that being of Indian origin their roots are in the indenture system, it has also been established that many Indians came before and after indenture period.

#### Reference 142 - 0.01% Coverage

These analyses of interviews with persons who had previously lived and worked on sugar estates was conducted in the 2007-2009 period, when the Voluntary Retirement Scheme was in progress. They were conducted by research staff of the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund and donated to the TJC who wished to know how Mauritians lived on those estates and what people felt about their lives there and what memories they had. Three themes suggested themselves: first, the life experiences of the people, and if and how have their lives changed over the years; secondly, for those with ‘memories’ of their parents’ and grandparents’ lives, to follow their evolution up to today and third, whether there were any variations regionally; fourth, how were Inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic interactions on estates, and lastly, what do they think of their history? The interviewees were between 65 and 70 years of age and their work-related memories were good: they provided factual information about their working lives. They talked little, however, about emotions, thoughts and more subjective issues. About 70% of interviewees were males and the ethnic /religious proportions reflected very roughly the religious/ethnic population of Mauritius still living on sugar estates in the regions studied today. The semi-structured interviews have been conducted by research assistants with interview sheets. All interviews were recorded on either audio or videotapes and an archival form created containing basic information about the informants. These 400 interviews were copied on CDs and donated to the Truth and Justice Commission. The Commission undertook to transcribe these interviews as a gesture of its appreciation for the donation. The methodology used in analyzing oral interviews continues to be discussed and debated in academic circles and interpretations of the same interview often vary among scholars. For this reason, the Commission requested scholars from varying disciplinary traditions and training to assess the consequences on indenture on descendants. This as the reports show, proved a very fruitful exercise. As much as there is variation in the views of informants, so is the situation in the interpretations of this experience by scholars possible. The objectives of the Commission are also to ensure the memory of Mauritians particularly of indentured and slave descent are not forgotten and thus the creation of Oral History database is considered absolutely essential for the preservation of the nation’s memory.

#### Reference 143 - 0.01% Coverage

Despite the harmony that appeared to reign, the extent to which this interaction and harmonious cohabitations led to more inter-ethnic and inter-religious relationships (i.e. through marriage) is not very clear, and we only have a few indications of this. If we look at the history of indentured period, we have many instances of inter-ethnic and inter-caste marriage taking place. These

appear to be reduced as a result of consolidation of identities along caste, ethnicity and religious lines. But the sample under analysis in this report does not give explicit information on this. We have only two explicit cases of inter-communal marriages<sup>37</sup>, though some informants have mentioned that their grandmother spoke a foreign language and some informants mentioned the fact that a caste system existed and was practised in marriages.<sup>38</sup>

#### Reference 144 - 0.01% Coverage

It is ironic that we seem to know so much about the fate of indentured labourers in Mauritius and know so little about the experiences of workers in the sugar industry after the end of indenture. A cursory review of the literature on the history of employer and employee relations in the Mauritian sugar industry reveals that a majority of studies have focused overwhelmingly on the indentured labour period (e.g. Bissoondoyal 1984, 1986; Carter 1995; Allen 1999). That is not to say that no studies have focused on the working and living conditions of sugar estate workers after the end of indenture. For instance, the historian Daniel North-Coombes (1987) has provided us with a compelling account of the 1937 and 1943 strikes in the Mauritian sugar industry and what working conditions were generally like in the first half of the twentieth century. And the anthropologist Burton Benedict (1961), who conducted fieldwork in Mauritius in the 1950s, has provided us with a detailed study of the living conditions of Indo-Mauritians in villages and to a lesser extent in estate camps, a majority of whom were still reliant upon work in the sugar industry during this period. Nevertheless, one struggles to find any studies that address both the working and living conditions of sugar estate workers in Mauritius since the end of the indentured labour period. The following study represents a modest attempt at redressing this gap in the literature.

#### Reference 145 - 0.01% Coverage

The main benefit that stems from using oral interviews as a source of information to reconstruct the past is that it allows informants to express in their own words what life was like in Mauritius in the earlier part of the twentieth century. That the views of ordinary Mauritians was not adequately reflected in the decisions that were made by the social, political and economic elites that ran the colony prior to it becoming an independent nation should not surprise us. However, an inevitable ramification of this power imbalance is that we know very little about how ordinary Mauritians felt about the various kind of issues that were the order of the day in the fledgling colony's history at

#### Reference 146 - 0.01% Coverage

implication of" the following. But can one go so far as to argue that sugar estates in Mauritius are culpable for the consequences of their actions if we are taking into account a time frame extending well beyond the twentieth century? "Truth Commissions", as they have come to be collectively referred to internationally, are relatively recent innovations intended for the most part to address crimes or wrongs committed against humanity in the twentieth century. Yet in spite of the wide yawn separating the indenture and post-indenture periods in Mauritian history, I intend to argue that the Mauritian sugar industry does appear to be culpable for the reckless and at times callous manner in which it has treated its workforce. And, in particular, of flouting its

legal responsibilities under existing Labour Laws. However, I should also add that this judgement is not necessarily applicable to all sugar estates in Mauritius, some of which have a record of treating their workers well beyond what was required of them by law.

#### Reference 147 - 0.01% Coverage

The passing of the 1922 Labour Ordinance marks an important turning point in the history of Mauritius as it finally did away with the use of penal sanctions in civil contracts between planters and labourers and coincided with the end of the indenture labour system. However, it only covered immigrants and did not theoretically apply to Mauritian-born labourers and the forfeit of wages for breaches of contract was still allowed under this ordinance. It was only with the passing of the 1938 Labour Ordinance, which sought to implement the recommendations of the Hooper Commission of enquiry into the 1937 strikes, that fining labourers for bad or negligent work was finally disallowed. This ordinance was applicable not only to monthly but also casual workers and was responsible for introducing a raft of changes such as a six day working week and eight hour day, legislating for over-time work, the registration of trade unions, maternity allowances for women, the regulation of sanitary conditions on estate camps, and paved the way for a transferral of power from the Protector of Immigrants to the newly created Labour Department. Yet in spite of these legislative changes, there is evidence that job-contractors, sirdars and estate managerial staff were still marking labourers as absent when they failed to complete a set task or forced them to redo tasks they designated as unfinished. The use of the double-cut, or fining labourers two days wages for everyday they were absent, seems to have been discontinued with the end of the indenture labour system, although Daniel North-Coombes (1987:30) claims it was still being enforced in 1938. But that does not mean that the practice of marking labourers as absent when they had done a day's work, or "maron", in the words of the elderly sugar estate workers themselves,<sup>63</sup> and making illegal deductions from the wages of labourers was itself discontinued.

#### Reference 148 - 0.01% Coverage

One of the main purposes of the AGTF's oral history project was to find out more about estate camp life as it is recognized that this way of life is fast disappearing.<sup>77</sup> But underlying this recognition was the problematic assumption that residents of estate camps are purported to be the direct descendents of the first waves of indentured labourers from India who were housed on the estates. This uncritical assumption is reflected for instance in the Hooper Commission's report which in comparing the complaints of casual and monthly workers during the 1937 strikes, states that monthly workers "are the descendants for the most part of the original indentured immigrants (Hooper 1937:161; cf. Hooper 1937:176). This assumption appears to be informed by the belief that estate camp populations are stable communities that have been insulated from demographic fluctuations and change. Thus, according to this line of reasoning, estate camp residents should be viewed as being the most direct descendents of the "original indentured immigrants", as the Hooper Commission report describes them, because their living conditions most

#### Reference 149 - 0.01% Coverage

There is another reason why this assumption is problematic. As I pointed out in a subsequent review of the various memoranda that were written detailing how to initiate the AGTF's oral history project, it is problematic to refer to estate camp residents as the "descendents of indentured labourers" without mentioning the thousands of time-expired and non-expired

#### Reference 150 - 0.01% Coverage

As stated from the outset of this study, the most comprehensive accounts that we have of the lives of Mauritian sugar estate workers in the post-indenture period comes to us from Daniel NorthCoombes and Burton Benedict. It is instructive to compare their respective accounts of the lives of sugar estate workers after the termination of the indenture labour system in Mauritius, as each of them had different objectives and foci due in part to their methodological biases. For instance, where North-Coombes was more concerned with class-conflict and the various forms of exploitation that existed in the Mauritian sugar industry, Benedict evinced an approach that sought to pay greater attention to the living conditions of ordinary Mauritians, even if this meant that he tended to overlook signs of class-conflict and tension in Mauritian society. In the final analysis, both approaches are of equal value in any attempt to reconstruct the history of Mauritian society, but what this study has shown is that it is just as important to consult the opinions of those affected by these events. The voices of elderly sugar estate workers has shown to us there were important matters that have been overlooked by both North-Coombes and Benedict, and which places the recent past into sharper relief. I am thinking in particular of the fact that estate managerial staff and sirdars and job-contractors conspired to abuse the rights of labourers by continuing to mark them as absent, or "marron", and deducting their wages for failing to complete unreasonable estimations of set tasks. One would have thought that these abuses would have discontinued after the end of indenture, but quite clearly, that was not the case.

#### Reference 151 - 0.01% Coverage

This report describes the living and working conditions of the sugar estate labourers in 21st century Mauritius. It is part of a research project entitled 'Oral History of Descendants of Indentured Labourers', whose objective is: to uncover the life experiences of the descendants of indentured labourers that were, or are still, living and working on sugar estates.

#### Reference 152 - 0.01% Coverage

As stated earlier, the above-mentioned oral history project aims at investigating the consequences of indentureship on the descendants of the Indian indentured labourers. It should be highlighted that this analysis is not representative of the life-experiences of the descendants of the Indian immigrants that migrated to Mauritius under the indenture system, in that the sample of respondents was limited to former sugar estate workers who are assumed to be of Indian indentured descent. The white-collar and other blue-collar employees were not interviewed.

#### Reference 153 - 0.01% Coverage

Their knowledge of family history remained restricted to one or two generations because of limited genealogical memory. In addition, some did not know their grandparents who died before their birth or when they were underage. They did not know if their ancestors came as indentured labourers or free passengers, and when and why they migrated to Mauritius.

#### Reference 154 - 0.01% Coverage

Despite spending several pages describing the history of the use of manure as a fertilizing agent on Mauritian sugar estates over the past one hundred years, North-Coombes (1993:76-82) only writes one line on the Engrais system and the use of human manure to cultivate cane plants. “[H]uman excreta”, he says, “has ceased to be employed owing to the dissemination of Hook Worm”. Andrew Balfour’s (1921:87-88) report indicates that the practice was very widespread at the time he visited Mauritius, which is why he singled out its discontinuation as one of the most important ways to combat the spread of hookworm disease, also pointing out that these conditions “probably have not their parallel in any other part of the world. The main industry in Mauritius is sugar cane cultivation. The cane requires fertiliser and, as Victor Hugo said, possibly with some truth, “the most fertilising and effective of manures is human manure.” Unfortunately, in the Tropics it is also the most dangerous. This fact was not recognised.” 101

#### Reference 155 - 0.01% Coverage

Creole was the medium of communication at Mr. Pandoo Sayajee Row’s school. Given that it was a Protestant school, he was required to perform catechesis. He also learned the history of France and England, arithmetic and geography. Hindi was the only oriental language that was taught at Mr. Pandoo Sayajee Row’s school. He did not mention whether he attended these Hindi classes. But he did state that he learnt some Marathi from his paternal grandparents who came from Kolhapur Maharashtra. He also had to sing “God Save the King” at school because Mauritius had not yet become independent.

#### Reference 156 - 0.01% Coverage

‘Whites’ to property owned by the Gens de couleur in the late nineteenth century, and throughout the first half of the twentieth century, are at the core of Chapter 5. The Coloureds’ erroneously paranoid fear of Indo-Mauritians to their social and economic position, as well as to their newlyacquired political influence from the 1920s onwards, were to unify the ‘Coloured’ community under the leadership of Gaëtan Duval ‘The Creole King’, at the height of his campaigns against Independence in the 1960s. Clearly, the ‘Coloured Population’ has always been, and continues to be, divided in its allegiances; some were pro-British, others pro-French; some pro-d’Epinay and others anti-‘esclavagistes’; some sided with the Whites, others were anti-White. Herein lies their main weakness in social, cultural and political terms; not without justification, the community was said to bear the mark of Cain and Abel. Some of the Gens de couleur, especially in the first half of the twentieth century, despised the Ti-Créoles and would not stoop to certain types of work. Moreover, they would not contemplate marriage outside their community – hence, some sort of ‘caste system’ prevailed. But all this has changed recently; interviews with young ‘Creoles’ reveal that history matters less to them than to their elders, and

that intermarrying is no longer a taboo for the ‘Coloured Population’. Being Mauritian matters more than ‘group belonging’.

#### Reference 157 - 0.01% Coverage

Rodrigues is disadvantaged because its people are largely ‘Creole’ – hence descendants of slaves. Would a predominantly Indo-Mauritian island be allowed to lack such basic educational resources and infrastructures? Some kind of reverse discrimination, or affirmative action, is therefore called for, if we are to give Rodriguan youths the same opportunities – educational, cultural, social and political – as Mauritian youths. Perhaps, therein lies a microcosmic image of a ‘Coloured’ and ‘Creole’ community through the ages; in Rodrigues, one finds the tangible impact of a society that can become neglected, because of its isolation, because of its origins and because it does not clamour loudly enough. Hence, one of our recommendations, which should also be one of the most urgent pleas of the Truth and Justice Commission, is that Rodrigues should be made a special case for positive discrimination, in terms of funding for education (at primary, secondary and tertiary levels). In connection with Rodrigues, too, interviewees suggested that the island’s history be reevaluated and re-written so that young people might be given a more authentic picture of their past, and that this be put in a truly culturally Creole context.

#### Reference 158 - 0.01% Coverage

excessively passionate and polemical history of this community, Evenor Hitié is quick to point the finger at the Colonial Authorities – perhaps too quick; after the British take-over, Hitié noted: “The ‘Coloured Population’, alone, remained downcast, sad, as if this population were treated as idiots, crushed under the yoke of prejudices that did not allow it to move upwards.” 64 And between 1790 and 1803, although officially they had rights, they received little respect, 65

#### Reference 159 - 0.01% Coverage

and 1830, those only rarely surpassed 350 acres, or 135 hectares. Subsequently, they were limited to about 108 acres. Because Rodrigues did not share in the sugar cane boom of Mauritius, it ceased to be of interest to the British Authorities very early in the history of colonization.

#### Reference 160 - 0.01% Coverage

coloured immigrants to the island. Moreover, this group is characterised by the fact that its members came to the island of their own accord or were brought to the colony under contract so as to practise a trade or craft for a specified period of time. However, it is also true that the ‘Coloured Population’ includes descendants of ‘Freed Slaves’ who married individuals from other groups. To this extent, they have a very complex history and identity as a community. Do presentday Gens de Couleur live with this complex identity and are they aware of it? Such are the questions we attempted to partly answer.

#### Reference 161 - 0.01% Coverage

4. That a new history of Mauritius be written by a research team, emerging from the Truth and Justice Commission, and using some of the ideas mooted by many communities. This history should emphasise the contribution of all A simplified version of the history of slavery and indentured labour, could communities/groups to the development of the Mauritian nation. A good example of this approach is Jean-Claude de l'Estrac's *L'île Maurice racontée à mes petits enfants*. On the other hand, histories based on one community – e.g. Sino-Mauritians, the 'Coloured Population' – should be actively discouraged.

#### Reference 162 - 0.01% Coverage

Who were these slaves? Although this report does not offer a substantive account of that history, it is important to note that there were also slaves of Indian origins in Mauritius. From what we gather from secondary sources on the treatment of slaves in general, these individuals must have also experienced the same hardships as those coming from Africa. Furthermore, the abolition of slavery in 1835 and the arrival of indentured labourers from the subcontinent of India in Mauritius continued the legacy of slave practices. As historians on Mauritius, such as Megan Vaughan, Vijaya Teelock and Marina Carter, remind us - the system of apprenticeship ensured the oppression of slave descendants and then indentured labourers after abolition.

#### Reference 163 - 0.01% Coverage

Karl Marx argued that slavery involved the 'primitive accumulation of capital' (Marx 1906:738)<sup>4</sup> and that 'the veiled slavery of the wage earners in Europe needed for its pedestal, slavery pure and simple in the New World' (Marx 1906:833).<sup>5</sup> Thus and as argued previously, slavery was necessary to the establishment of the industrial revolution in Europe and for the enrichment of those countries and of Europeans in the colonies. The investments made at the time continue to benefit those countries. It is our hope that the project on the Economics of Slavery initiated in the TJC, will reveal the exact or approximate fiscal benefits gained from the slave system. It is also our hope that in considering the process of reparations, that the government will turn to this time in history to enter into a dialogue with 'developed' nations such as Britain, France and the Netherland in order

#### Reference 164 - 0.01% Coverage

One of the reports, which involved two intensive months of anthropological fieldwork in the region of Black River on the West Coast of the island, documents the experiences of Mauritians in general. The region of Black River was initially chosen for the fieldwork because of its association with the history of slavery and the development of ethnic relations with indentured labourers from about 1835.

#### Reference 165 - 0.01% Coverage

In the following extracts we note the reconstruction of Creole identity via the discourse of victimhood in the story of slavery. It is our view that this is happening because there is a 'need'

to reassert boundaries around the Creole community and to give it value (by establishing a definitive source of identity and history of Creoles) in the culture-conscious space of Mauritius. It is possible, however, to also cynically argue that some Creoles have appropriated and transformed the discourse of victimisation and suffering apparent in the story of slavery and that they are now reinterpreting the story to argue that their ancestors were resilient and that this resilience is now helping them to confront the legacy of slavery. The discourse of resilience and freedom have now replaced the historical discourse on slavery as an experienced marked by humiliation and suffering. Those intent on using the transformed discourse for political purposes are now doing so, as a way of gaining leverage and support from the slave descendant population. It is also our view that the transformation of the discourse of slavery is not the sole project of selected Creole politicians but rather the work of politicians and scholars who actively search for, and promote, narratives of resilience in the history of slavery.

#### Reference 166 - 0.01% Coverage

(Eng. Trans.:...They are Baho, no Mascacreignes, on my mother's side they are Baho. Then when you look on the side of the Cangy family, they say we come from Pondicherry others say that we come from whatever part region of India. But when we look at all this...You know when we felt we are of slave descent? When you try to do something with love but you do not succeed...my history I think my elders were among the slaves. And the blood, this vein, the slave blood in the veins is present...)

#### Reference 167 - 0.01% Coverage

Reading through the current Form 4 History book, it was astounding to note the invisibility of Creole history in the text books and the negative presentation of African slaves. In the history book one of the first passages recounting African presence on the island is rather telling of the racial discourse around slavery in secondary education. The passage is of an account of a slave rebellion where slaves burnt down a field. Using the passage as a reference, two questions are posed to the students asking "what were the problems created by slaves" and "what were the activities carried out by the Dutch".

#### Reference 168 - 0.01% Coverage

Even if the informants denied being racist or communal, they all showed to some degree preconceived racial/communal prejudices and perceptions when talking of people from other ethnic groups. These racial/communal tensions especially between the Indo-Mauritians and Creoles might stem from, firstly, the fact that they are the two main ethnic groups in the country with the former and especially the Hindu Mauritians openly claiming their majority and superiority; and secondly from Mauritius' historical path with the Indo-Mauritians and Creoles having different past history and life experiences. This racial/communal antagonism seems to date back to colonial times and is rooted in the country's past development strategies, policies and political history.

#### Reference 169 - 0.01% Coverage

At the beginning stage of my field work, the response that there is no racism in Mauritius made me feel that by talking about racism (not so much slavery and indenture ), I am bring forth divisions within a community living in harmony. By virtue of coming from a country with a history of institutionalized racism, I felt burden to explain how South Africa dealt with it or continuously deals with these issues. I psychologically had to remind myself and monitor my own responses. I therefore found myself using words such as discrimination, unfairness, emotional response to discriminations interchangeably, in an effort to conceal the nature of my enquiry.

Reference 170 - 0.01% Coverage

Nothing indicates that the importance of the caste system is declining in the history of modern India. Rather, with Indian modernity appeared a certain number of pressure groups that focused on

Reference 171 - 0.01% Coverage

Indentured history, and the way it is perceived in Mauritius today, are central in historical and the Mauritian contemporary construction of identity.

Reference 172 - 0.01% Coverage

In all cases, indenture stands as a pivotal period in Mauritian history. Academic research in history and anthropology for the period 1835-1907 can begin to give us fair bases for an objective and more nuanced vision of indenture. However, research (Allen, Benoist, Hazareesingh, Tinker) often lacks the perspective of the host country, India, and the economic and social conditions there and their overall representations of candidates for indenture.

Reference 173 - 0.01% Coverage

As Marina Carter (1995) explains, sordid realism (describing indenture as just another Slave Trade) or, on the contrary, revisionist temptations (s as colonists), have blurred historical visions. The first important point lies in the evolution of indenture during the whole period. Indenture in the 1830s was radically different from indenture twenty years later, not to mention the last decades, of the beginning of the 20th century. One must also remember that, as is the case for slavery, there is no such thing as a unique history and experience of indenture.

Reference 174 - 0.01% Coverage

One can infer that the numerous 'Vaish', identified in Mauritius today, probably belonged to other castes before indenture. This is to be regarded as another example of upward caste mobility. But such upward mobility often goes hand in hand with temptations to deny the popular origins they shared with other indentured peoples. This reluctance to acknowledge their real history may explain the MGI's insistence that caste information of indentured not be revealed to public. This attitude is reminiscent of descendants of slaves in Mauritius as well as

descendants of convicts in Australia. In Mauritius, however, this is tied up with claims of political representation and caste quotas. Upward mobility was also possible through inter-caste marriage. Numerous examples exist in family histories.

#### Reference 175 - 0.01% Coverage

The theoretical perspective of associating the departure from India with a disintegration of caste system does not hold, therefore, as detailed indentured studies and family histories have shown.

#### Reference 176 - 0.01% Coverage

All, low or high caste, were embarrassed about evoking low castes. It is true concerning family histories (it takes a neighbour's intervention to 'recall' to the interviewee and force her to admit, that one of her daughters did marry into a lower-caste family). It is also true in a general manner, when it comes to recognizing the very existence of castes known as 'low'. The term 'Chamar' or 'Dusadh' or the associated occupational or devotional habits such as rearing or sacrificing pork (what is associated with Dusadh in India) is expressed in a derogatory manner.

#### Reference 177 - 0.01% Coverage

Second, the general taboo and ignorance that was shared in Mauritius as regards castes was mistakenly perceived as a symptom of its disintegration. We were prone to believe that a population confusing Varna, jati and ethnicity, for instance, was hardly able to live and think according to the regulations of the Indian caste system. At first, it seemed that the holistic Indian caste system needed a context where an overall balance of castes of distinct status would be reproduced, what has been constantly under-evaluated as a reality in Mauritius indenture history. Most of all, the caste system in India rules the whole Indian society, regardless of religious affiliations, and we initially doubted that the Mauritian communities of Indian origin could manage to preserve a caste system in a society with important populations radically unfamiliar with such a logic.

#### Reference 178 - 0.01% Coverage

True enough, all the implications of the Mauritian caste system must definitely be understood and considered a product of the specific Mauritian history, and of what is at stake locally when it comes to identity and political claims. In the same way, any discriminative process observed must be understood in the very Mauritian context. From this perspective, castes as they have been experienced by Mauritian Hindus during indenture and afterwards, are at least partially the product of the very process of indenture.

#### Reference 179 - 0.01% Coverage

- Contrary to the Indian caste system that can still be described as mainly religious, the caste system in Mauritius appears essentially political. It is one in many identity criteria that can be mobilized to claim recognition, national resources or separation from a "national" history.

#### Reference 180 - 0.01% Coverage

In this recent article, Abhimanyu Unnuth points out the real issues. One cannot help remembering that the same author has himself been active in promoting the fantasy Indo-Mauritian identity founding narrative. The first pages of his major literary production, *Sueurs de Sang* (Lal Pasina, 1977), may be read as a picture of Indians as eternally linked to Mauritius: they are described as discovering it, fighting for it and they are its legitimate owners (Claveyrolas 2012). Time has passed since the 1970's in Mauritius, and probably the legitimate goodwill to rehabilitate Indo-Mauritians' history was not possible without paving the way for the current "collective and historical fantasies" Mauritius now faces. Communalism and fantasies go hand in hand. Fantasies, particularly those founding so-called Indian rooted communities or identities, do need to be corrected in Mauritius. And this is deeply linked with caste consciousness.

#### Reference 181 - 0.01% Coverage

- Educating towards a shared history and identity (school system and media awareness campaigns)

The most important recommendation proposed would be to implement serious and long-term educating programs valorizing the shared dimensions of all Mauritians' history and identity.

Fighting communalism in Mauritius has a direct and long-term impact on casteism. If the quest for roots is respectable, it should be contextualized in a definitely Mauritian identity.

The school system (via text books and national programs) should be revised to incorporate more recent approaches of the Mauritian history. The need is 1/ to break the global division line between indenture and slavery in such a way that descendants of both slaves and indentured labourers realize their common historical fate in Mauritius, and their effectively shared living and working conditions in the estate system that resulted in common representations and practices that ought to be valorized whereas they are denied and forgotten. 2/ to promote the shared popular culture of indentured and slaves descendants. This popular culture needs to be valorized against current temptations to promote an invented root in Sanskrit elitist and orthodox Indian culture. The more people will be conscious and proud of their truly popular roots, the more they will realize their shared past and roots with all Mauritians.

#### Reference 182 - 0.01% Coverage

The false discourse denying the existence of castes in Mauritius is damage able to low castes, in the first place, who feel ashamed of their identity, while it allows high castes to feel proud of their so-called superiority. A better knowledge of Mauritian history, a deeper investment in it, may be used as a way of equalizing the status of different castes. Mauritian citizens having traced their roots were disappointed to learn that the caste of their ancestors was actually lower than what they, nowadays, pretend to be. This might well be the truth for many Mauritians. As a matter of fact, Vaishya, for example, have never represented such a huge part of the Indian Bhojpuri population, which means that Mauritian Vaish were probably lower castes in India who "became" Vaish somewhere in the process of indenture. A sincere tracing of roots might help realize the relatively coherent popular culture of most indentured ancestors, far from any

Sanskritic or Brahmanic pretensions. Once again, this should be stressed as a reason for pride: ancestors and descendants of migrant populations did manage their way up, and did build today's nation.

#### Reference 183 - 0.01% Coverage

India (its history of castes and attempts to eradicate them) warns us about such a temptation; Mauritius sometimes seems to take the same dangerous path. We think that a greater dose of secularism-laïcité, separating more sincerely the State from religious affairs, is necessary for an all-Mauritian identity to prevail and flourish. The Mauritian state is sometimes too lenient about religious affairs, too prone to participate and validate them. The result is dependence on religion

#### Reference 184 - 0.01% Coverage

Suppression of slavery history in the Republic of Mauritius has helped to keep their descendants in a state of instability, confusion, and self-loathing. This has produced and maintained low self-esteem, feelings of inadequacy and low self-image, generating a low regard for those who are of the same community, creating an environment of envy, distrust, disloyalty, and hatred within the community. These are complex processes at the heart of the dynamics involved in the relationships between the individual, groups of affiliation and society, at large.

#### Reference 185 - 0.01% Coverage

Mauritius follows the trends observed in other countries with a history of slavery i.e. the conflicting tendencies between inherited traditional patterns of religious beliefs, based on popular culture and Christian faith linked with the elite culture of the slave owners.

#### Reference 186 - 0.01% Coverage

Chagossians, Agaleans as well as Rodriguans identify themselves above all to specific cultural capitals linked to the characteristics of their islands. A distinct homeland district history and tradition as cultural capital is produced, reinforced by perceptions of ostracism by Mauritians i.e. people born on Mauritius island, feelings of resentment at being left out of mainstream development “Parent Pauvre de la République”. As in any identity choice and alignment, partners and stakes determine the positioning of all parties.

In the case of Chagossians, Agaleans and Rodriguans, the common denominator is the struggle against what is perceived as structural domination to obtain access for better economic, social and political recognition. This is especially true in the case of the forced exile of Chagossians. In fighting exists but the sense of belonging, especially among uprooted or migrant communities on the island of Mauritius, helps to reduce cognitive dissonance and enables inner energies to focus on structural issues. Ilois and Rodriguan cultures present a positive rural identity as response to negative stereotyping (rural upbringing, social conservatism, traditional behaviours and attitudes, authentic values, alternative way of living and healing). Even if poverty exists and may be more vicious than on Mauritius, descendants refer less to the traumatic past of slavery. Theirs are histories with less social rivalry, negative discrimination, social comparisons pertaining to leadership, collective resources and upward social mobility

#### Reference 187 - 0.01% Coverage

The second one, more specific to slave descendants, lies in the interplay of six factors: 1) A history of enslavement, servitude and oppression; 2) Demographic composition; 3) Economic positioning and intensifying competition with other communities; 4) Racial prejudice and discrimination; 5) Resources, internal structure, dynamics and leadership of the community itself, and 6) Capacity for self-determination and self-empowerment.

#### Reference 188 - 0.01% Coverage

questions, seeks to address the following : ‘Conditions of education of slaves, ex-slaves, indentured labourers and descendants, the state of ‘enforced illiteracy’ and its consequences on the slave population, the consequences of denial of education; consequences of non-inclusion of an oral culture. This Education Report also examines the articulations between the past and the present and how education can therefore be used as a tool for reparation and thus mitigating the tensions and injustices resulting from a history of injustice and oppression.

#### Reference 189 - 0.01% Coverage

injustices, experienced by the descendants of slaves and indentured labour, cannot be repaired through monetary means. It is essential not to attempt to commodify such a complex history which continues to inform the present. This chapter borrows heavily from hearings at the TJC to highlight the various discriminatory practices and prejudices which prevail in contemporary Mauritian society and argues for the urgent need for some form of reparations. Education which caters for mixed abilities and heterogeneous cultures and backgrounds, coupled with some kind of affirmative action, seems to provide part of the answer. The chapter examines the potential that education therefore holds as a tool for reparation.

#### Reference 190 - 0.01% Coverage

consequences. There have been long debates among History, Human Sciences and Law scholars to define the two systems, some wanting to assimilate indentured labour to slavery (Tinker, 1974) or subsuming slavery and indentured labour under other concepts such as “servitude” (Mishra, 2009), others considering slavery in the 18th and 19th

#### Reference 191 - 0.01% Coverage

persecution and massacres in history. Regarding slavery as the starting traumatic experience, the “Post-Traumatic Slave Syndrome” captures its devastating effects that have been internalized from generation to generation and continuously reinforced by systemic racism and discrimination on the social level. It means that slavery has consequences for all parties and for the whole of society sharing that history.

#### Reference 192 - 0.01% Coverage

essential component and sets considerable knowledge of, and respect for, the cultures and spiritual values of different civilizations as a much-needed counterweight to a globalization of the world. If this is not urgently done, globalisation will reveal even more dramatically the inequalities of Mauritian society and paralyse it, as worldwide changes require new competencies and polyvalence on the labour market. This can polarize Mauritian society further and ethnic turmoil cannot be excluded. It is only through education, encompassed within a large vision of Mauritianness, that slave and indentured labour, descendants can finally unite within one Mauritian nation and make history.

#### Reference 193 - 0.01% Coverage

the Colonial Government and the Church as institutions did not cater for slave education. A few individuals mostly French missionaries (Lazarists), provided basic religious education and opened a few schools to cater for basic academic education of coloured and slaves. The history of French colonial period is therefore largely one of exclusion. The non accessibility to education meant that slave descendants continued to remain in an unequal power relationship for a very long time.

#### Reference 194 - 0.01% Coverage

presence in the evolution of education has been marked by forces and actions of inclusion and exclusion. Both Bishop Collier and Father Laval were imbued with the idea of St. De La Salle who, back in the 17th-century France, advanced the social heresy that the children of the poor should be educated. But the social forces at play during the colonial period very often put the Church off track its original mission. Critical literature in Catholic education, and especially about the role of Catholic schools, is inexistent in Mauritius. Also, common criticisms against the Church do not go beyond the limited role of Father Laval in the emancipation process of the affranchis which has since then been established by Colson (1980). In fact, the controversial position of the Church can only be understood in the perspective that it is an institution which has always been shaped in its own history by various socio-historical forces at play, and its actions have been underpinned by forces of progress and Conservatism. For instance, it was not until post-February riots of 1999 that the Catholic Church would show real signs of concern for the education of the Creoles. This could be explained by the fact that education, in its global sense, could not be envisaged before from an ethnic perspective. In the same vein, it was only in 2007 that the Church, through Bishop Mgr Piat, presented its Pardon to the slave descendants and himself as a descent of slave owner.

#### Reference 195 - 0.01% Coverage

promote transparency and accountability, have the potential to heal past wounds, to provide a platform for citizens to engage with their fears and expectations, social justice. For this to happen, there needs to be reparations. Some of the hearings that have been done in Truth and Justice Commissions, inclusive that of Mauritius, have actually spoken of reparations and others have pointed towards the need for it. While historical periods and contexts are very different, many of the hearings across the board point to the need for healing, the need for forgiveness, the need for greater accountability and the urgent need of redress. The Mauritian Truth and Justice

Commission which is digging in the consequences of a relatively distant history cannot, unlike many other Truth and Justice Commissions, bring the actual perpetrators of the violence to the platform but several voices emerging from the hearings speak of the violence perpetrated in the world of Education as well as the present-day prejudices and discriminatory practices that children of slave and indenture descent are having to experience. The former are much more pronounced amongst children of slave descent.

#### Reference 196 - 0.01% Coverage

College Oxford writing on Social History of Medicine has made the following observations on the attitude adopted by the colonists “Eighteenth-century colonial medicine was largely geared to keeping the bodies of slaves and workers productive and useful, but formal medicine never had a monopoly. Slaves on Isle de France brought with them a rich array of medical beliefs and practices from Africa, India, and Madagascar. We have little direct historical evidence for these, but we do know that many slaves came from areas in which forms of smallpox inoculation were known and practised.”

#### Reference 197 - 0.01% Coverage

And yet, the history of human civilization on health and living conditions as far as slavery and indentured labour are concerned is a dark spot carved on stone. Historians, writing about the health of slaves and indentured labour in the 18-19th century Mauritius, have portrayed a picture that has left an impression of ‘quasi torture’ and an extremely harsh life with death as liberation from persecution (Teelock 1998, Barker 1996, Nwulia 1981). The general consensus is that these labour constituted an asset for the planter owners and a necessity for the colonial powers for the exploitation of land in pre-industrial times. Slave labour was so essential to the economy that the French colonists defied all attempts of the authorities to enforce abolition of slavery. If the human labour force was a critical factor for the colonial administrations, inevitably the health of the slaves and the indentured labour should have been paramount to promote their interests. Was it so?

#### Reference 198 - 0.01% Coverage

The history of slavery and indentured labour in Mauritius takes its roots in the presence of visitors and settlers of colonial empires stretching over a period of two and a half centuries starting in the eighteenth century. Stuck in the trademark trappings of possession of the island, de-possession of its resources, trade rivalries, strategic presence for control of trade routes lapping the Indian Ocean and economic exploitation for the production of sugar were the dominant reasons explaining the Dutch (1698-1710), French (1710-1810) and British (1810-1968) occupation of the Island.

#### Reference 199 - 0.01% Coverage

The history of slavery is the history of inhuman treatment, misery, exploitation and violation of human rights scarring the dignity and self-esteem of individuals in the innermost sanctum of their body. Historians concur on this thread of slaves’ life-course journey.

#### Reference 200 - 0.01% Coverage

Vijaya Teelock in Mauritian History quotes: ‘And Mauritius was the first of the colonies in which this great Experiment was attempted... although at first there was much concern over the protection of immigrants’ rights, and a desire to strike a balance between planters’ wishes and immigrants’ rights, these rights were later abandoned.’

#### Reference 201 - 0.01% Coverage

Several distinct phases in the history of health development are discernable in Mauritius. The period up to the 1850s was characterized by a minimalist health care system during slavery and indenture. Between 1850s and the end of the century the colonial government started, a gradual introduction of a system of health services modelled on the pattern in Britain. Dreadful damages caused by episodes of epidemics in the first half of the 20th century saw an acceleration of public health measures and the creation of health infrastructures in terms of hospitals and dispensaries until the time of Independence in 1968. The new post-independence government, in parallel with the private sector, invested heavily in infrastructure, personnel, medical and paramedical training institutions and a regionalized outreach system (Map 1 at annex). To-day, it is viewed as a ‘medical hub’ and an envy of countries in the region. In a welfare state where health services are free for primary, secondary and tertiary care, high expectations for a modern health service with state-of-the-art cutting edge technologies are creating qualitative and quantitative ‘medical system stress’ for the future.

#### Reference 202 - 0.01% Coverage

Drug use has been closely associated with our immigration history. Illicit rum production by slaves under the French colonization (1715-1810). After the abolition of slavery in 1834, the then British Administration brought Indian indentured labourers who came with their culture and traditions. They introduced cannabis, known as gandia, while the Chinese immigrants, who came during the same period, introduced opium to the colony. However, these drugs, gandia and opium and illicit rum, were traditionally used in a controlled socio-cultural context in certain localized areas. They were mostly consumed by adults without much serious public concern.

#### Reference 203 - 0.01% Coverage

Commission is to investigate the history of slavery and indenture, its consequences and suggest reparations. It was clear that two years would not allow for the task of reviewing 350 years of history and consequently, the Commission focused on a number of topics for in-depth study. Assessing the consequences or even identifying descendants was less easy as the reports show, since so few Mauritians are aware of their history and still less of their family history. Consultants, scholars and researchers have expressed their personal views on issues, and it is clear that not all views converge. The Commission has studied and considered all views expressed and given its own views in its report in Volume 1. It is understood that the views expressed here are those of the writers themselves, and not those of the Commission. There are many myths and perceptions about Mauritian history that Mauritians have. This has

#### Reference 204 - 0.01% Coverage

One of the objectives of the Commission is to enquire into the history of slavery and indenture and to uncover truths hitherto hidden, ignored, falsified or simply forgotten. Focus has been on those parts of history that might have an impact on society and economy today.

Recommendations for the direction of further study are given as well as institutional support for these studies recommended to achieve a more complete picture of the history of slavery and indenture.

The Commission, having noted that so few Mauritians know their history, have adopted the approach of providing as large a spectrum of Mauritians with the information and tools to study Mauritian history and especially the history of slavery and indenture. The Commission believes that 'knowledge is power' and empowering Mauritians to guard against the forces of reaction is the safest way to ensure that systems such as indenture and slavery do not repeat themselves on Mauritian soil. Mauritians must have the tools as well as the information to research their own history in a scientific manner. Although much research has been undertaken in Mauritius and overseas on slavery and the slave trade, it is nevertheless true that many of these searches reflect personal academic interests and opinions, often based outside Mauritius and do not address the concerns of Mauritians. The Commission has been privileged to have the support of many historians in Mauritians and overseas who have understood the need of Mauritians and responded to its work positively.

There has also been a historic reluctance to address or confront problematic issues of Mauritian society. Perhaps the belief was that these concerns would go away with time. But the enduring legacies of slavery, emancipation and indenture have ensured that the debate never really goes away and, in fact, resurfaces from time to time. It has become all too common, in order to present to foreigners the image of an idyllic Mauritius, to hide our history of inequality, injustice, racism, casteism, communalism and prejudice. Despite the fact that Mauritians continue to endure these experiences daily, few institutions, public and private, admit this publicly or even attempt to deal with it. Those who perpetrate injustice are guilty, but those who stay silent in the face of injustice, are equally guilty.

#### Reference 205 - 0.01% Coverage

For Mauritius, Auguste Toussaint was undoubtedly the greatest compiler of data for Mauritian history before the 1980s. On the subject of trade and commerce, he compiled an impressive list of ships with details of tonnage, destinations for the period 1773 to 1810. In this, Toussaint listed 515 slaving voyages between 1773 and 1810. This data includes tonnage, size of cargoes and slave mortality. However, the slave trade per se was not his focus of interest, and he does not include much more information in the published versions. His private papers are not to be found in Mauritius.

#### Reference 206 - 0.01% Coverage

accounting historians of the slave trade believe that the study of slavery and the slave trade, from an economist's or financial analyst's perspective, allows them to study history more 'objectively' than traditional historians because they are studying history 'without passing judgement'.

#### Reference 207 - 0.01% Coverage

self-laudatory approach ignores, however, the fact that economic historians can only study what is quantifiable, such as trade statistics, prices, tonnage, numbers, heights and weights of slaves, rather than deal with 'intangible' issues of history such as identity or culture loss, mental and physical stress, mobility, laws, consequences on family life or the sense of loss felt as a result of being removed from one's homeland.

#### Reference 208 - 0.01% Coverage

Thus preferences for certain types of slaves for labour began to be expressed as early as then. It was not only the price, but their propensity for hard work, to maroon, that were taken into consideration. Linking ethnicity to occupation started at a very early stage and can be said to have continued throughout Mauritian history.

#### Reference 209 - 0.01% Coverage

history focus on the 'Founding Fathers' of Mauritius, the economic contribution of the underclass from all countries to the foundations of the French colony remains as yet unrecognised.

#### Reference 210 - 0.01% Coverage

Much therefore remains to be included in the lists compiled by Toussaint and others as far as the early history of the slave is concerned.  
Slavery in French economic history

#### Reference 211 - 0.01% Coverage

des noirs et achats en retour et enfin le grand livre" [Eng trans: The slave trading journal, the receipt book, the sales of slaves book, and purchases book and finally the big book]. Although written for Atlantic voyages, it seems unlikely that it would have been any different in the Indian Ocean, since many of the ships and Captains were the same. A greater search of the accounts of slave traders might reveal as yet unknown facets of the history of slavery and slave trade.

#### Reference 212 - 0.01% Coverage

There were also those who were simply captured and kidnapped from their villages and where no trading took place. This is currently impossible to quantify. But oral tradition in Mozambique exist and deserve further study. Benigna Zimba has recommended that memorialistaion of this part of the history of slave trade should be included in future representations of slavery in Mauritius.

#### Reference 213 - 0.01% Coverage

Although in the early years of the slave trade to the Mascarenes, the armateurs and traders came from France, by the last quarter of the 18th century, some of the trading was carried on from Mauritius. A total of 72 merchants and traders are listed in Port Louis and a good number were involved in the slave trade. Allen has quoted, for example, Messrs. Closnard, Cloupet, Collique, Drieux, Geoffriou, De La Rochelle, Le Blanc, Rolland, Le Bouchet, Le Bourdé, Dahuy Solminiac, La Corte, Laurent Raphaël, d'Hotman and Vally. Louis Monneron also had family links with merchants in India, while Morice focused on slave trading with Zanzibar. Sharonne Philips has reconstructed part of the family's history in Mauritius.

#### Reference 214 - 0.01% Coverage

of the French : the Mascarene slave trade and the worlds of the Indian Ocean and Atlantic during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries », *Journal of African History*, 49(1), 2008, pp. 43-72). Pourtant, là encore, bien que très précieuse, son étude ne peut pas être considérée comme définitive car son auteur n'a pas consulté les archives françaises. D'autre part, les chiffres donnés concernent la traite globale vers les Mascareignes, sans distinguer Bourbon et l'Île de France.

#### Reference 215 - 0.01% Coverage

While tracing the history of slavery and the slave trade, it is difficult to know the slaves' original African names or surnames. This situation applies particularly to the case of slaves exported from Inhambane and Ilha de Moçambique under the Portuguese administration. Because they travelled abroad already baptized, from the 1760s onwards, Inhambane slaves became known as the best of the Colony, and were sold in large numbers.<sup>11</sup> Through baptism, slaves received European names, which are those in the Registers of Export and Immigration. In a number of cases, baptized slaves did not know their birth names. Despite this situation, we should mention that according to Mozambican tradition, the names of the regions were also very often the same as those of people. In other words, it helps to emphasize that the names in Tables 3, 4, and 5, for example, were certainly the original names of a number of slaves exported specifically from the ports of Inhambane, Delagoa Bay and also Ilha de Moçambique.

#### Reference 216 - 0.01% Coverage

characterized slave behaviour. This short study of apprentice and indentured behaviour in a crucial moment in Mauritian history, the 1830s, helps to show that oppressed people in Mauritius have never bowed their heads and accepted their fate silently. They showed many innovative ways to overcome their servitude and fight the system. We are only at the beginning for our search to understand the consciousness of the oppressed in Mauritius.

#### Reference 217 - 0.01% Coverage

However, individual experiences of marriage are highly revealing and allow us to reconstruct in greater detail the social life of indentured immigrants. Marriage patterns among Indentured Immigrants in the early years of immigration are particularly interesting, since they allow us to see the impact of migration on the social life of immigrants. We can understand how far they were able to maintain the social organisation which they had brought with them. It was only

possible to undertake a limited study for the purposes of the work of the Commission, but this shows that the process of uncovering the full extent of our history must continue.

#### Reference 218 - 0.01% Coverage

things more complicated and a dehumanising experience for a considerable time in the history of indenture. Many of their children were denied inheritances and admissions to schools because they could not prove their legitimate parentage, merely because their parents' marriages have not been registered.

#### Reference 219 - 0.01% Coverage

From 1839 to 1842 occurred the first Anglo-Chinese War for opium. The British introduced opium massively as a drug<sup>145</sup> whereas, before, in China, opium was being used as a medicinal ingredient; its recreational use was limited, and strict laws regulated its use.<sup>146</sup> The drug was widespread in Chinese society and the Qing Government attempted to end the opium trade, but its hard work was hampered by corrupted local officials. The Chinese Government made illegal the consumption of this drug, and British traffickers continued illegally to introduce the addictive drug within China's borders. The situation worsened and reached its peak with the outbreak of the First Opium War between the British and the Chinese which eventually ended with the defeat of the Chinese. From 1856 to 1860, the Second War for Opium took place, which again resulted in a Chinese defeat. This Second War coincided with the Treaty of Nanking, which is known to mark the end of the first Opium War. At the same time, in 1850 and 1864, the Qing Government had to face the Taiping<sup>147</sup> Rebellion, where soldiers seized Nanjing.<sup>148</sup> These were the worst civil wars ever in the history of China where approximately 20 million people died. The dynasty, failing to confront internal and external challenges, abdicated in February 1912. Henceforth, China was heading towards becoming a Republic.

#### Reference 220 - 0.01% Coverage

'FREE' AFRICANS IN MAURITIUS AFTER SLAVERY One of the most common stereotype in Mauritian history is of the African slave and Indian indentured labourer. It is important however that Mauritians know that Africans and Malagasies were also brought as labour after abolition of slavery. Their archives are found in the 'Indian Immigration Archives' found at the MGI. This history deserves to be better known by Mauritians, as many members of the Creole community originated from them, as the case studies show.

#### Reference 221 - 0.01% Coverage

The question has often been asked: When did indentured immigration officially come to an end? This question can be answered in two ways: When did indenture come to an end legally? When did Indian labour immigration into Mauritius really end? The reason is that many labourers continued to arrive, even though the system of indenture had officially ended and these new non-indentured endured the same hardships as the indentured. Just as employers in the 1830s found it hard to adjust to 'free' indentured labourers as opposed to having slaves, they found it equally hard to distinguish between what was a 'free Indian' and an Indian who had come under the

‘indentured’ system. A life history of one family is also provided here as an example, but there are many others who also deserve to be known.

#### Reference 222 - 0.01% Coverage

Thus, the Dutch would start a set of historical processes which would dominate the history of Mauritius: the introduction of the sugar cane, the production of a liquor, arrack, from sugar cane, using slaves from Madagascar as labour, developing trade between Madagascar and Mauritius, using Mauritius as a ‘key’ of the Indian Ocean, in Holland’s rivalry with Portugal for trade with Asia, and using Mauritius as a port of call for its ships.

#### Reference 223 - 0.01% Coverage

From the above, a low probability of abolition and emancipation would not affect the value of labour significantly. However, it may have been the case that, prior to the middle 1830s, it was widely believed that slavery would eventually not come to an end. After the mid-1830s, if our interpretation of the history is correct, there was little doubt that the slave regime would persist indefinitely. In terms of the model, Pem would be greater in the late 1820s. This, in turn, would imply that, *ceteris paribus*, the expected present value would increase. On the other hand, if abolition seemed unlikely, then Pem would have remained essentially constant over time with, *ceteris paribus*, no change in the expected present value.

#### Reference 224 - 0.01% Coverage

The period 1810-1839 in the history of Mauritius saw the creation of a monocrop economy, with the destruction of the cultivation of other crops. The driving force for fat profits and capital accumulation created conditions for a perpetual quest for coerced unwaged labour and later coerced waged labour.

#### Reference 225 - 0.01% Coverage

The Colonial State obviously reacted by sending in the Police; more importantly, a Commission of Enquiry into the unrest on sugar estates was set up on the 18th August 1937 under the chairmanship of C.A. Hooper. The events of 1937 are landmarks in the History of Mauritius, and in particular, in the History of the Labour Movement. The report of the Commission of Enquiry, referred to as Hooper’s Report, would equally bring an entirely new dimension in the way that industrial relations would be dealt with by the Colonial State, and invariably, by the employers, including the sugar oligarchy.

#### Reference 226 - 0.01% Coverage

History has repeated itself. About one hundred and thirty years ago, the plantocracy recruited indentured labourers from a vast reservoir of cheap labour found in British India. As a result, the plantocracy accumulated capital which was partly siphoned off to financiers/ investors abroad (Britain and France mainly) and partly reinvested in modernising the sugar factories. The new dimension, this time, lies in the fact that the reservoir of cheap labour came from within

Mauritius: women and the unemployed. As argued in chapter 5, unemployment and poverty were the direct consequences of policies of free trade by British Imperial Government and of cheap labour policy of the Colonial Government and the plantocracy.

#### Reference 227 - 0.01% Coverage

In 1840, Mauritius, formerly Isle de France, already had a complex history which was to become more complex with the Indians - Hindus and Muslims – and the Chinese being added to the ex-slaves mainly of Malagasy or African origin, to the Coloured people, the Whites. Among these last ones, were some of French origin and colonists in the country, the others being British and new administrators of the island; they were to form a population in search of its identity and to see imposing one which would be imposed upon them by the dominant racial oligarchy. It is within this complex socio-political system that the Church would have to integrate itself.

#### Reference 228 - 0.01% Coverage

The mid-nineteenth century represented a turning point in the History of the Church in Mauritius. Apart from the various social changes taking place in the country (abolition of slavery and apprenticeship), there was also a need for a Catholic revival. If the Roman Catholic Church could embark on such a revival, it was largely owing to the zeal and personality of Mgr. Collier who happened to be the right man at the right time.

#### Reference 229 - 0.01% Coverage

Any study of missionary history must consider the fact that many Christian missionaries overseas were surprisingly ill-prepared for their work. This is not to say that these evangelists were lacking in zeal or determination or to ignore that some of them contributed, in some ways, toward the development of the country. But in general those who accepted the call to the colonies knew little about the societies they hoped to redeem from "barbarism."

#### Reference 230 - 0.01% Coverage

In any consideration of the progress of popular education, not only in Mauritius but throughout the whole of the British Empire in the nineteenth century, the work of the Church and Missions holds the highest place. The phenomenon of priests and monks engaged in educational work is familiar in both European and British educational history, but in Mauritius, as well as in the whole of the British Empire, where secular benefaction was comparatively small and ineffective, the contribution of religious bodies can hardly be overstated.

#### Reference 231 - 0.01% Coverage

Throughout the colonial period, the British Government granted freedom of religion to the population. Thus, in the 19th century, besides the Catholic Church, with its long-standing history that dated back as 1721 and its status of official religion under French rule, Anglicanism gained ground from the British occupation in 1810 onwards. Given the British Government's policy of freedom of religion, a wide spectrum of Christian denominations operated in the Colony.

However, that freedom entailed respect of the rights of individuals to practise their own faith. A corollary resulting from the above related to the circumspection in the methods of carrying out evangelization, without proselytization by the other groups

#### Reference 232 - 0.01% Coverage

institutional apology, we believe that it is incumbent on the Church, as a minimum, to acknowledge formally and publicly the benefits that the Church derived from the institution of slavery. This was done in 2006, during the mass of 1st February 2006 commemorating the Abolition of Slavery at the Church of Notre-Dame du Grand Pouvoir at Vieux Grand-Port. Mgr Maurice E. Piat, c.ssp, Bishop of the Diocese of Port Louis, has expressed an apology of the Catholic Church for having been linked to slavery in History. He has also recognized the contribution of Creoles to the Church of Mauritius. The Church has also accepted that it is the missionary work of Father Laval and his collaborators<sup>82</sup> that has consolidated the Church through the centuries. Yet with institutions as with individuals, taking responsibility for an offence entails more than expressing remorse for past conduct; it also requires a commitment to doing better in the future.

#### Reference 233 - 0.01% Coverage

Mauritius is a country which has known the worse forms of injustice during its 400 years of history, marked by slavery and its aftermath and the indentured labour system. That this country is now considered as one of the most avant-gardiste in the field of Social Justice is in itself a great feat.

#### Reference 234 - 0.01% Coverage

The advent of indentured labourers, who came from India and who were themselves subject to some of the worst forms of ill-treatment, is another landmark. The history of Indian immigrants is a tale of injustice and misery. Leaving his wife and children behind, the Indian labourer was made to work odd hours in

#### Reference 235 - 0.01% Coverage

Ironically it was not necessary in the wake of this new mindset that Europe embarked on the conquest of new lands and clashed with the indigenous people in the Americas, Africa and the Far East. These people according to Aimé Césaire who had the misfortune to be on their way, were considered as inferior beings. The history of emerging Colonial Powers is littered with genocides, atrocities and humiliation and remained unwritten for long. Voltaire in his *Essais sur les races* in 1756 describes the people of Black Africa as half savages and mentally deficient, in short of inferior beings. The Code Noir of 1685 under Colbert, Minister of Louis XIV, to manage slaves in the newlyacquired colonies is a typical case of the bias ideas of the black people generally. Slaves captured

#### Reference 236 - 0.01% Coverage

Mauritius, an island ideally situated in the sea routes leading to India and the Far East, has inherited a long colonial history starting with the Dutch occupation in 1638 which ended only in 1968, in the wake of the decolonization of the British Empire. The Dutch outpost was set up, not for strategic reasons necessarily, but for exploitation of the untouched rich ebony forests. With the Dutch colonists, administrators and a small standing army, the first Malagasy slaves. The population rarely exceeded 300 individuals. Many of the slaves chose to elope in the thick forests as they disliked the idea of being exposed to ill-treatment by their masters. In the absence of any law governing slavery, the Dutch administrators showed extreme cruelty and on two occasions, in 1695 and 1706, the slaves revolted. Their moves were cruelly repressed, but the surge for justice had its first imprints during the Dutch occupation. Harassment by maroon slaves was the main reason for the abandonment of the island by the Dutch in 1710.<sup>7</sup>

#### Reference 237 - 0.01% Coverage

The French colonial period is undoubtedly the darkest period in Mauritian history, when it comes to the ill-treatment inflicted on human beings, to keep the slave population at bay. All rights conferred on slave-masters under the Code as enacted by the Letters Patents in 1723 were fully implemented; corporal punishment, mutilations for the slightest offences and the death penalty were the rule. Over the years, several clauses of the Code Noir were amended to reinforce control on slave labour and to act as deterrent against marooning which has always been a scourge for the authorities.<sup>10</sup>

#### Reference 238 - 0.01% Coverage

The Chagos Archipelago was part of the outer islands of the Colony of Mauritius. However, in the wake of an independent Mauritius, the British, contrary to U.N resolution regarding the dismantling of territories of any future State, decided to separate the Chagos Archipelago as part and parcel of the Colony of Mauritius. The Chagos Archipelago, very much like Rodrigues, Agalega, was inhabited by people of slave descent who laboured in the Coconut and Fishing industry in extremious conditions. The decision of the then Colonial Office to sever connections with the Mauritius mainland is a dark spot in Colonial History of the British Empire. As a consequence of the British decision, in 1970, thousands of them were deported to Seychelles and to Mauritius. They were uprooted from their motherland Peros Bahnos and Salomon Islands in the Chagos Archipelago, Diego Garcia. Following an agreement between USA and UK, shortly afterwards, Diego Garcia was ceded to USA for the establishment of a military base with sophisticated armaments. In 1972, the British Government paid a sum of 650,000 pounds sterling to the Mauritian Government destined for the displaced Chagossians. In 1982, the UK Government paid a further sum of Rs. 100 million to the Chagossians.

#### Reference 239 - 0.01% Coverage

The Malaise Creole had also to do with the history of the Creoles: the dispossession and suffering associated with slavery and the aftermath of it, the consequences of which can be seen in the persistence of poverty, social problems and political marginalization.

#### Reference 240 - 0.01% Coverage

The present report, done by a group of Rodriguans, aims at presenting, in an objective way, how the population of Rodrigues sees their past traumatic history, how they are coping with the present and how they envisage the future of the next generations. It is, indeed, an attempt to revisit the history of the island from the days of slavery to present time from a Rodriguan perspective. It is hoped that the recommendations of this report will be integrated in the National Policy and implemented as soon as possible so that in 2030, every single person born in Rodrigues in 2011(18 – 19 yrs old by then) is able to benefit from the plethora of opportunities offered by his/her fatherland to develop to his/her full potential in a totally liberalised world.

#### Reference 241 - 0.01% Coverage

Situated nearly in the middle of the Indian Ocean, East-North-East of Mauritius, Rodrigues is the last firm, hospitable land towards the Eastern coast of Australia. Due to its geographical position, at the turn of the 19th century, during the time when the European Colonial power games for control of the Indian Ocean, particularly by the French and the British, Rodrigues played an important role in the political and economic destiny of the Mascarenes, namely Mauritius and Reunion. In fact, Rodrigues became, for a very short time, the theatre of the power game between the British and the French Colonial powers at the turn of the 19th century, but unfortunately History seems to have forgotten the role played by Rodrigues and, consequently, succeeding Colonial Powers and national political powers up to the second half of the 20th century neglected Rodrigues and its inhabitants.

#### Reference 242 - 0.01% Coverage

Slavery has been recognised and condemned as a crime to Humanity. This inhumane practice has left lasting stigmas on the lives of its promoters and particularly on the lives of the victims. It is needless to go into great details about the general and lasting collateral damages that Slavery had caused in the History of Humanity; the following will suffice:

#### Reference 243 - 0.01% Coverage

Rodrigues suffered an abject neglect for most of its known history. It came under consideration only at the whim and will of the masters of the time. Having suffered terrible losses by the French stationed at Isle de France, the British decided to use Rodrigues as an assembly point for its Navy in 1809 to conquer Isle de France and Isle Bourbon. Even though Rodrigues played such a critical role in the Anglo-French struggles for supremacy in the Indian Ocean during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, between 1793 and 1811, Rodrigues was forgotten shortly afterwards and never got any recognition. The slaves, brought in by the French and the British, were left stranded on the island, with no basic support whatsoever for their livelihood. Naturally located right in the track of tropical cyclones and also prone to long periods of drought, the population of Rodrigues have experienced serious times of famine in its very short human history.

#### Reference 244 - 0.01% Coverage

Furthermore, the administration of the island, when it came, was chaotic. For instance, declarations of births and deaths, and publications and celebrations of marriages in Rodrigues, were first made compulsory from the 1st January 1857. However, it was only in 1890 that a Civil Status Office was created in Rodrigues. This infers that from 1857 to 1883, year when the Police Magistrate was given the powers to validate any will or contract of marriage certified as genuine, all acts so authenticated prior to that year were in fact illegal. Legally, the people of Rodrigues did not officially exist until 1883. There is thus a case to be made to research the History of Rodrigues from the official abolition of slavery in 1835 to 1883, to find out what really happened to the people of Rodrigues during that particular period.

#### Reference 245 - 0.01% Coverage

and 1830, those only rarely surpassed 350 acres, or 135 hectares. Subsequently, they were limited to about 108 acres. Because Rodrigues did not share in the sugar cane boom of Mauritius, it ceased to be of interest to the British Authorities very early in the history of colonization.

#### Reference 246 - 0.01% Coverage

The history of island remains unknown to many people (including Mauritians and Rodriguans), with Mauritian History taking precedence over that of Rodrigues. This report aims at adding to our knowledge of slavery, its sequels and legacies in contemporary Rodrigues.

#### Reference 247 - 0.01% Coverage

(Eng. trans: yes because in the past according to History, all people belonging to the Black race were slaves because there was a Black Code that, according to history, tells us...all people that are not of the White race Blacks are slaves)".

#### Reference 248 - 0.01% Coverage

slaves were not tortured and did not want to be emancipated. Another reason might be that there is no history of maroonage on the island, as in metropolitan Mauritius, and there are no 'slave hero' stories. Consequently, there are no myths, legends and local history of resistance with which the Rodriguans can identify.

#### Reference 249 - 0.01% Coverage

The historical events associated with Independence are still alive in the Rodriguan collective memory. The local population irrespective of the religio-ethnic affiliation identify with their local History. This shared History is the founding-stone of this strong and deeply rooted Rodriguan consciousness. The testimonies uncovered a common perception and feeling that Rodriguans have historically been ostracised and that their island has been neglected, marginalised and kept in an underdeveloped State by the British Colonial Government and, subsequently by the various Mauritian Governments.

#### Reference 250 - 0.01% Coverage

Rodriguans still bear the weight of their Colonial History and of their past historical development, and especially their Political History. The present socio-economic situation is the result of years of repression and ostracism from the preceding Governments that maintained the island in a State of underdevelopment. The local population is currently experiencing the triple burden of their past (slave ancestry, Colonial and Post-colonial political orientation and socio-economic poverty) and the current social and economic crisis exacerbates their already vulnerable state.

#### Reference 251 - 0.01% Coverage

The history of the Chagos Islanders, also named Chagossians and commonly known as Ilois (Eng. trans. Islanders) in Mauritius, has been under-researched. While colonialism and post-colonialism in Mauritius Island has been systematically researched, there is limited documentation on the history of the Chagossians that, until the beginning of the 21st century, has been overlooked.

#### Reference 252 - 0.01% Coverage

While many people, including Mauritians, ignored the detailed history of the Chagos Archipelago, contemporary researchers are now attempting to remedy this historical oversight by unravelling the intricacies of the excision of the Chagos and to place the Chagossian history within Colonial historiographies.

#### Reference 253 - 0.01% Coverage

comprehensive picture of the impact of forced displacement and resettlement on the latter. Hence, it should be read in conjunction with the Oral History project and other TJC reports on the Chagos Archipelago, since topics covered in the these documents are not included in the present document.

2. BRIEF HISTORY OF THE CHAGOS ARCHIPELAGO The history of the Chagos Archipelago and the Mascarenes islands are interrelated.

In fact, their history forms an integral part of the history of colonialism. The geo-political history of the United States of America and of the United Kingdom greatly impacted on, and played a decisive role in, shaping the historical path of the Chagos and Mauritius as well. (For a historical account of French colonisation of the Chagos Archipelago, see other reports).

#### Reference 254 - 0.01% Coverage

This is why the village where the public punishment was inflicted is still called ‘Vingt-Cinq’ (twenty-five). Some people want to change this name in order to blot out the unhappy memories of slavery. Others insist that it is important to keep history alive. Most inhabitants have no opinion. A consensus thereon is needed (Doc III TJC 99- 102 Créole Version).

#### Reference 255 - 0.01% Coverage

Excluded from the Elite's consideration, representations of slavery and indenture did not form part of the memorial process before the years 2000. These years mark a shift in the memorial process: memory expanded to include the experiences of the formerly dominated population. Our research in museums specifically showed the development of representations during this period. As part of its reorganisation in 2000, the National History Museum in Mahébourg presents indenture as an experience leading to a positive evolution in the society. However, representations of slavery imply that ex-slaves were victims of an inhuman system and consequently, were not given the opportunity to become actors in the society. At l'Aventure du Sucre created in 2003 by a consortium of sugar companies, the museum discourse provides positive accounts of local history in the perspective of international context. This provides an account of the "negative" events beyond the local context and helps to conciliate a national vision of the past. In addition, it also states that the descendants of the former Elite generate a vision of the past that accepts the colonial undertakings which affected the population. In this sense, the acceptance of the past acts towards the evolution of the memorial process in museums and serves the contemporary dynamics of nation building. Ultimately, this process of conciliation leads to remember why the Mauritian society took shape and evolved to form a nation. It was interesting to compare L'Aventure du Sucre, a private museum, with the Musée du Peuplement created by the State in 2010. The Musée du Peuplement interprets the past to remember the positive accounts: its dynamics are very similar to those of Aventure du Sucre activating the positive memory to establish a new approach to the past. This approach results in the recognition of a common heritage: it is the first instance in which the heritage deriving from the population's interactions is represented. Although we may question the quality of the display, the Musée du peuplement is marking a major shift in the memory process: it formulates the existence of a common heritage shaped by the various groups in action.

#### Reference 256 - 0.01% Coverage

The projection of the nation in the future raises a number of questions relevant to our knowledge of what really defines the nation and what constitutes its identity so that it may evolve in a sustainable manner. In this instance, the statement of Melville Herskovits that "a people without past is a people that nothing anchors in the present"<sup>1</sup> can probably explain why for the last thirty years, research in Mauritian history has developed and also led to a focus on heritage to establish national symbols representing the roots of the nation.

The focus on heritage is particularly significant since the inscription of two Mauritian sites on UNESCO World Heritage List. This can only bring to our attention the shift in the way heritage was considered prior to the 2000s. Heritage was mostly the legacy of the Colonial Administration and heritage was mostly focusing on the history of the former colons. However, the heritage process turned to an under-researched part of Mauritian history, with the project of recognition of Le Morne and Aapravasi Ghat both referring to two traditionally silent episodes of Mauritian history: slavery and indenture.

These two episodes of Mauritian history are not only a subject of concern established by the Truth and Justice Commission Act of 2008, but they are also two historical facts that led to the migration of the ancestors of more than 90% of the present-day Mauritian population on the island. Through coerced migrations, these immigrants suffered inhuman treatments, annihilation of their identity and also, all were unrooted to settle in a new land where their cultural referential were not present. Encouraged by the colonial policy aiming at securing available workforce

Mauritian society slowly took shape to become one of the most dynamic nation of the African continent. At the turn of the 21th century, it is thus not surprising to see Mauritian society engaging to question its past when most of the past evocative of the population has almost never been the subject of recognition and is now facing disappearance, for the benefit of modernity.

#### Reference 257 - 0.01% Coverage

It was also for me, the chance to focus on a topic directly related to the problematic encountered in the course of my professional life. The study of the representations of slavery and indenture are currently a main subject of concern. The AGTF has engaged in the setting up of an Interpretation Centre aiming at presenting the history of the World Heritage Site and also, the experience of indenture. This subject thus directly addresses the problematic encountered at AGTF so as to fairly transcribe the historical experience to reconstruct the past and produce a vision with which the Mauritian population identifies.

#### Reference 258 - 0.01% Coverage

Our research could not include all representations of slavery and indenture in museums. Fieldwork focused on a selection comprising of the Mauritius Institute in Port Louis, the National History Museum and the “musée du peuplement” located in Mahébourg, and l'Aventure du sucre in Beau Plan. The selection of museums relied on the fact that they do portray slavery and indenture as a constitutional element of Mauritian society. If the Mauritius Institute does not directly address memories of slavery and indenture, it seemed to be of interest as it is the oldest museum on the island and helped us understanding how museums first took shape and how the concept of museum was elaborated to better appreciate its evolution within the Mauritian context.

#### Reference 259 - 0.01% Coverage

The concern for legitimacy seemed omnipresent, when we note that the Société erected symbols through the construction of monuments that represented outstanding characters, historic figures or representatives of authority<sup>19</sup>. These three categories showed the need to anchor the position of the nineteenth-century elite and convey a concern for the past that focused on local realisations with reference to European markers. The memory process of the elite operated on the strength of Western references to identify local symbols. The elite developed a memory that negotiated its contribution to local history and affirmed its cultural belonging. Through this process, the elite created and instituted a local anchorage on the colonial territory.

#### Reference 260 - 0.01% Coverage

The creation of the Mauritius Institute is the result of the heritage process led by the Elite. The museum came into existence through the initiative of the Royal Society of Arts and Sciences. It shows how the Société has implanted a Natural History Museum in the colony according to the same heritage dynamics attested in Europe in the same period. The account on the Mauritius Institute help us appreciating how heritage was inherited from the colonial Elite and later in the report, we

#### Reference 261 - 0.01% Coverage

The institution is the archetype of Natural History Museums developed outside Europe in the nineteenth century (Gob et Drouguet, 2004). The dissemination of the European concept of Culture and its application in various colonies can refer to what Richard Grove calls 'green imperialism'.<sup>37</sup>

#### Reference 262 - 0.01% Coverage

The Mauritius Institute was established according to the European model of Natural History Museum: the Institute adopted the same functioning system by assembling the local scientific competences, the same categories of classifications and the European conservation norms and presents Natural History Collections from the local fauna and flora, from Madagascar, from the South of Africa and the neighbouring islands (Cheke, 2003). This Corpus of collections indicated the intention to document the local and regional environment and to make of the Museum, a place of exception. This national project absorbed the resources of the Royal Society of Arts and Sciences

#### Reference 263 - 0.01% Coverage

Elite's omnipresence in the constitution of the island: the Elite naturally inscribe its contribution in a depiction of the National History.

This is also perceptible through the commemorative dynamics aimed at recognizing the local contribution of the elite. This is instrumental in the legitimating – and affirming - their position in the society. If there was a concern to consolidate a link with their homeland or country of origin, the memorial process seemed primarily intended to serve the implantation of the elite in the colony. In early years, the memory process operated to acknowledge the actions of the elite in favour of the progress of the colony and created a sense of belonging to the island. This process was soon consolidated by the expansion of the memory scope to signify the omnipresence of the elite in the constitution of the island: the elite wanted to inscribe its contribution through a depiction of the National History.

#### Reference 264 - 0.01% Coverage

### 5. REPRESENTING NATIONAL HISTORY IN THE PUBLIC SPACE: THE NATIONAL HISTORY MUSEUM – MAHÉBOURG

By the second half of the twentieth century, the setting up of the naval museum and later, the National History museum shows a specific object of concern: there is a need to portray the national history at national and international level. The establishment of the Mahébourg museum appears as an outcome of the memorial process taking shape with the SRAS and HRC. The memorial process is evolving to organise isolated events into a national representation of the past. As such, it confirms primarily the omnipresence of the Elite in the colony. Ultimately, it shows how the colonial State visualizes its past.

The museum takes shape as the combination of a major place of heritage where a depiction of the life of the colons is presented. The Elite create a link with the past by the evocation of its

own experience. The museum institutes a national vision of history seen by western eyes. Only recently, the museography evolved to integrate more information on slavery and indenture and enabled an analysis of how the Museums Council perceives the experience of the former “dominated” population.

The study of Mahébourg museum offers an interesting insight as the first museum depicting the National History. Considering this, our purpose was to explore how the representations of slavery and indenture were integrated and how they were portrayed. In this undertaking, it seemed important to initiate our research by a short evolution of the museum to better appreciate the current vision of the National History elaborated upon the legacy of the colonial perception of the past.

#### Reference 265 - 0.01% Coverage

The representation of National History is based on the evocation of the colonial experience through the collections. The social time – that we define as the recognition in the public sphere of the articulation of the national history – focuses on the life of the colons in the colony and related events. Other segments of the population are hardly represented. A rough estimation shows that 75% of the displays – excluding the temporary exhibition space- deal with the white elite's experience in Mauritius, while 25% present information concerns the former dominated population's past.

The main reason for this unbalanced representation probably lies in the fact that the Museum evolved as a result of the desire to present events that marked the lives of the colons on the island. The Museum was instigated by the white elite wishing to present, in a symbolic location, most objects saved from destruction by Mr. Austen. The Museum thus became a place devoted to the actions of the white elite which led the colony: their position of power enabled them to set up a public institution that transcribed their vision of the history of the island. The Museum is therefore a continuation of the concept of museum initiated with the Mauritius Institute, where the European vision supersedes.

The Museum of National History responds to the objective of a traditional museum of history highlighting the main battles and events induced by the ruling segment of the population. It is thus a good example of how the people in power engaged in the creation of museums and indirectly, legitimated their position at the head of the State. It is only after the year 2000 that the display was reviewed to integrate representations of slavery and indenture to allow a better appreciation of the Mauritian history.

#### Reference 266 - 0.01% Coverage

The presentation of slavery is based on information from a scientific point of view, providing key dates and within the framework of the overall context of slavery in French colonies. This point of view offers a good historical understanding of how slavery evolved through time in Mauritius. It also allows visitors to grasp slavery chronologically within the history of Mauritius. The display presents:

#### Reference 267 - 0.01% Coverage

Emancipation is also presented as a negative event in history and as only benefitting the rich and powerful: “the abolition, proclaimed in 1835 in all the British colonies, eventually proved to be more beneficial to the masters than to the slaves, since the period of apprenticeship that followed was strangely identical to slavery, as the fundamental human rights were still being flouted.”

#### Reference 268 - 0.01% Coverage

The configuration of the building does not allow the presentation of a linear history of Mauritius. However, when visitors enter this section, there is a clear understanding of the period referred to, thanks to the organisation of the display that presents the context leading to the establishment of a British colony in Mauritius.

At the end of the visit, visitors leave the Museum with a vision of colonial Mauritius. In this respect, this also leads to the question of what is the notion of National History in the Museum of Mahébourg?

The display is devoted to the presentation of the colonial history of Mauritius seen through the eyes of the white elite. The Museum of National History represents how the colonial elite evolved and lived in colonial Mauritius before the emergence of a ruling elite among the formerly dominated population. The notion of National History at Mahébourg refers to the genesis of the Mauritian nation from its beginnings to the early nineteenth century.

The Museum of National History thus addresses a fundamental part of Mauritian history that certainly deserves preservation and recognition. Nowadays, the notion of National History would deserve further attention, and should include the history of Mauritius from the early nineteenth century to the present day. However, we may want to discard the idea of including this recent part of Mauritian history in the present National History Museum which has its own overall theme.

#### Reference 269 - 0.02% Coverage

The Mahébourg Museum was reorganised in the early 2000s and was certainly the Museum where the first representations of slavery and indenture were portrayed. Our research showed that it is precisely at this period that a concern for the representation of slavery and indenture started to emerge. The initiative of the National History Museum is commendable, in that it tries to recognize two silent episodes of Mauritian history but it was mostly directed in museums by the vision of the White elite. However, it is interesting to note that the need to raise consciousness of slavery and indenture was not only a Governmental concern. It was also supported by private initiatives during the same period. The chief example was the creation of “L'Aventure du sucre” which today is the most frequently visited Museum in Mauritius.

From the National History Museum to Aventure du sucre: the formulation of the untold background of aventure du sucre

Inaugurated on 28 October 2002, l'Aventure du Sucre is the second private initiative that aimed at setting up a museum<sup>48</sup> and is considered as the first project of its kind in Mauritius by its instigators (Gufflet, 2003:4). The Museum is the result of the collaboration of Constance and La Gaité Sugar Estate Company Ltd., Deep River Beau Champ Ltd. and the Beau Plan Sugar Estate Company Ltd. The three sugar industry Companies joined forces to create L'Aventure du Sucre, presenting the history of the sugar industry in Mauritius and the evolution of its technologies.

The idea emerged from the intention to convert Beau Plan Sugar Factory, closed on 22 July 1999

as a result of the centralisation of sugar production, into a museum, an initiative of Mr. Aldo Vallet, Chairman of the Company Sugar World Ltd.

The main purpose of the Museum is to evoke the history of Mauritius through the evolution of the sugar industry. For the instigators of the project, the history of Mauritius developed around the sugar industry (Fauque, 2002:6). This central theme is, thus, the opportunity to present an overview of how the country evolved. This shift marks a significant evolution in the way the history of Mauritius is approached. In museums created at an earlier date, the vision was focused on the lives of the former colons and not on a common binding dynamism leading to the creation of today's Mauritian society. The creation of L'Aventure du Sucre thus marks the emergence of a different vision of the past, especially when this vision was initiated by the descendants of the first inhabitants of the island and also, its former rulers.

According to literature, the concept was to create mainly a cultural and leisure place where the visitor can learn and entertained. The objective was also to preserve the memory of the sugar industry that largely contributed to the shaping of Mauritian identity. For Sugarworld Ltd., this states the need to promote History among Mauritians and tourists (Gufflet, 2003:5). The main motivation is also to develop Cultural Tourism and Eco-Tourism and provide new offerings to tourists, as the Tourism Industry is mainly centered on Mauritius as a place for beach and sea. Their aim is thus to convey that the country has a rich culture and to promote a “new image of Mauritius” as a cultural destination (Gufflet, 2003:8). Not only would L'Aventure du Sucre be a place of history, but it is also ideally located to attract a large number of visitors, since the converted factory is near the Pamplemousses Gardens that receive more than 220 000 visitors in 2002 (WeekEnd, 2002).

The project thus supports a new conception of the Museum in Mauritius by associating economic concerns with the need to promote Mauritian history in a wider perspective. The overall approach is presented as a philanthropic undertaking by the former sugar barons who wish to share a common heritage:

#### Reference 270 - 0.01% Coverage

L'Aventure du Sucre also creates a rupture with the past of the White Elite visible at Mahébourg or at the Mauritius Institute for example. The Aventure du Sucre detaches itself from any association with the former white Elite who established the first cultural institutions in Mauritius. The creators of l'Aventure du Sucre are the direct descendants of the white Elite and represent the former oligarchy of planters. However, they mark a rupture with their past: it is the first time that the descendants of Planters take the initiative to talk about slavery and indenture. The establishment of a rupture conveys the intention to reconstruct an objective vision of the past and ultimately, contribute to the national interest. The opening of the museum created a rupture in many ways: it offered a new vision of history based on academic justifications, involved substantive investments in culture and set out a new concept of cultural place devoted to local history.

#### Reference 271 - 0.01% Coverage

Part 3. “A l'ombre de la cheminée: le pavillon de l'histoire” [Eng: In the shade of the chimney: the History Pavillon];

Part 4. From cane to juice (“De la canne au jus”); Part 5. “Le pavillon des technologies” [Eng: The History Pavillon]; Part 6. From juice to sugar; Part 7. Different types of soils; Part 8. Sugar routes.

The Museum’s storyline covers the entire scope of Mauritian History. It starts with the presentation of the geological formation of the island of Mauritius followed by first settlements. The first section ends with a chronology of events that marked the last four centuries on the island. The section on ‘origins’ is followed by an account of the importance of the sugar market considering that sugar was a refined good in Europe since 15th century, when Mauritius was not yet a sugar producer. This section stresses the shift from a scarce and refined good, reserved for the elite, to its consumption spreading among the population at large. This section only presents an overview of the use of sugar in Europe and describes as such, the main market destination of the sugar produced in Mauritius. It also presents sugar as a product from a European perspective. This section tends to valorise the contribution of Mauritius in the production of sugar, by stressing that sugar was a prestigious product that Mauritius was trusted to produce for the high European aristocracy.

The history section is presented after these two introductory parts and is followed by sections referring to the various technologies illustrated by machines preserved from Beau Plan factory. The final display focuses on the specificities of sugar cane. The Museum collections end with an account of the sugar routes throughout the world and its exportation from Mauritius until a recent date.

#### Reference 272 - 0.01% Coverage

L’Aventure du Sucre display may have been better if it had chosen to focus on its central theme so as not to lose visitors through excessive information. This trend is also noticed in the History Section of the Museum. It has an impact on representations of slavery and indenture, since information displayed reveals the same ambition to cover the full range of information dealing with slavery and indenture. Thus, it sometimes fails to directly address the Mauritian experience and the close relation between slavery and indenture and the local context.

#### Reference 273 - 0.01% Coverage

The History Section called “A l’ombre de la cheminée” is introduced by a statement indicating that sugar, as a product and exported good, is a fundamental theme to explain the History of Mauritius. According to L’Aventure du Sucre, the exploitation of sugar is central to the formation of the Mauritian society:

#### Reference 274 - 0.01% Coverage

In this section, the role of the sugar aristocracy is also implicitly referred to as a binding element for the society. The plantocracy is referred to as a group wishing to offer protection. This vision discards the main objectives of the planters to recruit cheap labour to respond to industrial requirements. The discourse here focuses on an ideal interpretation of history where the sugar industry is central to the constitution of the nation. According to this vision, it has thus contributed to federate the different components of the society to constitute a nation. This introduction thus highlights the intention of the museum to retain positive accounts of the past:

the main one being that the sugar industry was a federative element in the constitution of Mauritian society.

Slavery and indenture are referred to in the last part of the introduction entitled “À l'ombre de la cheminée” or “In the shade of the chimney”. The shade may indirectly refer to the difficulties encountered by the dominated population throughout the History of the Sugar Industry.

#### Reference 275 - 0.01% Coverage

The representations of slavery and indenture are presented in the History section – Part 3 – entitled “À l'ombre de la cheminée: le pavillon de l'histoire”. Slavery and indenture are presented within the large scope of Mauritian History, stretching from the Dutch settlement to nowadays. Representations of slavery and indenture account for 1.6% of the Museum and 10.5% of the section on the History of Mauritius.

The discourse is chronological: slavery is first referred to in the section presenting the first development of the island. The status of slaves is explained through the presentation of the Code Noir and ‘Patent Letters’. This is the introduction to a small section devoted to the History of Slavery in Mauritius, illustrated by texts and two screens showing a film on slavery in Mauritius elaborated by Claude Fauque, Museologist, in collaboration with the Nelson Mandela Centre for African Culture, the University of Mauritius and UNESCO Slavery Route Project.

#### Reference 276 - 0.01% Coverage

In the film, the History of Slavery is presented from Antiquity to the 19th century. This chronological approach supports a clear understanding of the nature of slavery and also of its presence in Mauritius, as this section is well documented and illustrated in respect of academic expectations. Slavery is presented as a global phenomenon and the Mauritian experience is considered from an international perspective. This discourse helps to understand the global phenomenon of slavery and ensures the quality of discourse; justifications are given for presenting in such details, the experience of slavery.

#### Reference 277 - 0.01% Coverage

formulation of a traumatic experience. This is particularly important as the discourse on slavery refers to the inhuman conditions of the slaves and may give rise to emotional considerations, leading to contemporary demands. The scientific discourse is thus instrumental in formulating slavery as a historical fact. This stand discards personal misleading appreciations of slavery. In this respect, the scientific discourse recreates a clear link with the past. It helps to consider slavery with objectivity and sets a basis for the process of acceptance of slavery as a historical fact and as forming part of the nation's past. The trauma would need to be formulated to offer the opportunity to contemporary generations to accept and appropriate in a positive manner this part of their History.

#### Reference 278 - 0.01% Coverage

The discourse on indenture is inspired by the same vein: the display provides us with a scientific account leading from the abolition of slavery to the establishment of a new system of recruitment

called indenture. Mahébourg National History Museum's representations failed to portray a clear evolutive process. At L'Aventure du Sucre, the process of evolution is clearly transcribed to help an overall understanding of the Mauritian experience. What we identified as Section 12, clearly states the mutation experienced by the society after the abolition of slavery. The discourse is organised as follows:

#### Reference 279 - 0.01% Coverage

This is further supported by the intention to situate the Mauritian experience within international historical context. It certainly helps a better appreciation of the local history within the broader 18th and 19th century context and ultimately places the Mauritian experience as a consequence of worldwide phenomenon. This helps to minimize the focus on the “negative” past that could lead to social divisions and offers a perspective to better appreciate the local past. This process is particularly important since the recognition of a “negative” past is instrumental in allowing the evolution of mentalities and serves the development of a national history that can ultimately receive general acceptance.

There is in the undertaking of L'Aventure du Sucre a process of recognition that never took place before. The Aventure du Sucre is the first museum to devote a full space to the experience of slavery and indenture in the perspective of the evolution of Mauritian society. This helps to provide references for the memoration process by expressing the untold and accepting the “dark side” of the sugar industry. In this respect, the museum is a place of reference serving a vision of unity. This is attested by the conclusion part of the section on history entitled “Et tous forment un peuple”.

#### Reference 280 - 0.01% Coverage

The example of L'Aventure du Sucre shows how the descendants of the former oligarchy choose to formulate the past. Their stand is to provide positive accounts of local history in the perspective of international context. This provides an account of the “negative” events outside the local context that helps to conciliate a national vision of the past. Ultimately, this process of conciliation leads to remember why the Mauritian society took shape and evolved to form a nation.

#### Reference 281 - 0.02% Coverage

Similarly, it was interesting to consider how the descendants of the former dominated population appropriated the past to shape a memorial framework. Our research showed the emergence of a new conception of the past in the 2000s with the creation or reorganisation of museums. It is precisely in these years that the Mahébourg Museum was renamed National History Museum and that L'Aventure du Sucre was created.

To this analysis, it seemed important to add the contribution of the Musée du Peuplement. The museum is located in Mahébourg, at Pointe Canon. It is the most recent expression of a vision of National History. It was set up as part of the celebration of the bicentenary of the battle of Grand Port in 2010. The museum was open as part of the celebration activities and generated a significant number of visitors making this undertaking a real success.

The museum is composed of two parts: a building houses a permanent exhibition presenting the history of Mauritius from the Dutch period to nowadays. This section is complemented by an outdoor section called “village historique” composed of reconstitutions featuring human figures providing several tableaux of past Mauritian life.

The organisation of the display in the permanent exhibition is problematic on various accounts. The presentation of Mauritian history is elaborated upon the combination of several panels prepared for former temporary exhibitions. It also includes exhibits acquired from Mauritian Heritage, a private exhibition space formerly located in La Gaulette that no longer exists. In addition to this, large paintings depicting sceneries are displayed to create cohesion between the exhibition panels and exhibits. The panels, exhibits and large paintings are combined and displayed in the various sections composing the museum. The main impression when entering the exhibition is an overwhelming availability of information not necessarily related to one another.

The relation between the exhibits is problematic: they were all initially conceived to address the core line of specific temporary exhibitions. All the display elements were assembled to form the Musée du peuplement. The current presentation relies on elements not originally elaborated to address the purpose of the museum and consequently, fails to respect an overall coherence. The reorganisation of exhibits from three different exhibitions assembled together impacts on the quality. It results in the perception of a scattered presentation of national history where a core line of discourse would have ensured coherence and conveyed clear messages.

Slavery and indenture are illustrated through the evocation of Le Morne Cultural Landscape and Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage Sites. The presentation highlights positive contributions: it shows how the slaves resisted their condition and how indentured labourers engaged in plantation work to later evolve in society. These representations are associated to general information on slavery and indenture formerly presented in Mauritian Heritage. It provides a general account on slavery and indenture systems. However, each event is presented in dedicated sections which are not related to one another by a transition. Each section thus provides an insight on a specific aspect of Mauritian history. The flow of information is therefore not elaborated according to a core line of evolution but rather offers insights on the experiences of the various cultural groups. The lack of transitions between each part is detrimental to an overall understanding of how the various groups interacted to shape the Mauritian nation.

The “ethnic” segmentation in the display questions the notion of national history. Traditionally, the Mauritian society is divided in segments. This was the policy of the colonial authorities who

#### Reference 282 - 0.01% Coverage

The need for a national history: the emergence of a new memorial framework representative of the majority

Through tangible representations of the past, the Musée du peuplement establishes roots for Mauritian culture: in the Village historique, representations identify a clear legacy, from the origins of heritage to its contemporary expressions. This link allows the population to relate to the past and activate a process leading to the legitimization of their past experiences. This process probably explains the significant success of the Musée du peuplement as part of the celebration of the battle of Grand Port: the audience was provided with tools empowering the appropriation of the past. This marks a shift in the memorial process and shows that the appropriation of national history is in process.

The memorial framework in museums was inherited from the colonial Elite thus discarded the former dominated population and did not speak to the majority's aspirations. The memorial process is now taking place through new actors who are descendants of the lower classes of the society. The memorial framework undertakes a complete redefinition. The portrayal of National History now intends to include the memory of the majority of the population and not just a small segment of the Mauritian population. In this undertaking, the representations of slavery and indenture hold a major place as the experiences of more than 90% of the current day population.

#### Reference 283 - 0.01% Coverage

The promotion of culture is presented as a main priority and the Government takes initiatives aiming at fostering the image of a national unity. This objective materialises through the renaming of Mahébourg Museum as the National History Museum. This marks the appropriation and the recognition of colonial history together with the intention to establish cultural references for all. The shift in the memorial process is in action. It is marked by significant initiatives such as declaring 1st February as a public holiday “to commemorate the abolition of slavery” and 2nd November as “the termination of indentured labour”<sup>55</sup>. The President further mentions that “a programme of activities will be elaborated to highlight the maximised through the promotion of local folklore, traditions and theatrical performances”.

#### Reference 284 - 0.01% Coverage

With the inscription of the two sites on the World Heritage List, Mauritius changed the vision of the past inherited from the colonial Elite. The past is no more the prerogative of a small portion of the population. The memorial process now works towards the appropriation of the history of the majority of the population and institutes fundamental references relating to their identity and origins. This process shows the importance of establishing roots in a land of migrations where most of the ancestors of the population came through coerced migrations. As immigrants – slaves or indentured labourers – references to their homeland or cultural background were absent in the colony. Both slaves and indentured labourers had to recreate a cultural environment serving their well-being through the affirmation of their position in society.

#### Reference 285 - 0.01% Coverage

We may also argue that both sites can be perceived as an “ethnic” heritage: slavery is associated with the Creole segment of the population while indenture refers to the Mauritians of Indian origin. Opting for World Heritage Status allows recognition by an external apparatus and supports the legitimisation of this national heritage outside the national boundaries. The recognition generated by an international body thus reinforces the importance of this heritage and ultimately encourages the adhesion of the entire population. The presence of two World Heritage Sites on the national territory establishes an emblem of what constitutes the Mauritian history and identity. Their authenticity or meaning may be contested but still their status as emblem of Mauritian society is not challenged.<sup>56</sup>

#### Reference 286 - 0.01% Coverage

In the course of our research, we attempted to find answers in a document stating a general policy for culture and heritage. The outcome was not successful. Intentions and objectives are formulated but are not inscribed in an overall policy ensuring an integrated approach to heritage. Considering that the memorial process was always established by the colonial Elite until recently, we believe that the Mauritians themselves hold the answers to what they believe are the common values of the Mauritian society. Our survey revealed that the perception of heritage does not necessarily meet the nature of heritage in place. Indeed, the highest rates defined Mauritian heritage as séga music (20%) and Mauritian cuisine (16%). Archaeological and World Heritage Sites come in third position and museums, next to last. Considering this, we may want to think that the Mauritian population still feels that their heritage – mainly intangible- is not represented in museums or in cultural spaces. For 42% of the people polled, Mauritian history was not well represented in museums. This tells us that the past reconstructed in museums may not meet the expectations of Mauritians and thus discards appropriation.

#### Reference 287 - 0.01% Coverage

We also noticed that there is a national history of Mauritius but it is immersed in other display objectives. This is detrimental to the quality of the past reconstructed. Messages are superimposed and do not focus on a deep reflection on how to best reconstruct a national history. The National History museum in Mahébourg is the remnant part of the colonial past and as such, presents the contribution of the colonial Elite to the national history. Le Musée du peuplement is an interesting initiative as it produces contemporary depictions of the past that leads to the recognition of intangible heritage. However, it fails to represent the interactions that led to the formation of a unified society. L'Aventure du Sucre was also presented an interesting account of national history but it was merged with the history of sugar as a central theme and largely expanded the scope of national history to details creating a confusing environment for non-experimented visitors.

These initiatives clearly showed that there was a need for National History in which the representations of slavery and indenture play a central role as the evocation of the majority of the population's past. Throughout our research, we noted that representations of slavery and indenture only represent a small portion of the total of public space available in Mauritian Museums. The list of museums visited and considered within this report is as follows:

□ The 'Postal Museum'; □ The 'Blue Penny Museum'; □ L'Aventure du Sucre; □ The 'Mauritius Institute'; □ The 'National History Museum';

#### Reference 288 - 0.01% Coverage

Our research shows that slavery does not have a dedicated space for expression, when indenture is largely considered. We may want to consider that 70% of the Mauritian population are descendants of indentured labourers, while above 30% are related to the experience of slavery. In this perspective, the voice of the majority can explain the presence of a museum namely the Folk Museum, devoted to the history of the Indian origin segment of the population. The Folk Museum was set up to depict the immigration of the ancestors of people of - Indian origin to Mauritius. The Folk Museum is part of the Mahatma Gandhi Institute founded in 1970, two years after Independence, by the Government of Mauritius in collaboration the Indian Government. The aims of the Institute is to “provide the academic and cultural basis for the promotion,

consolidation and dissemination of the Indian traditions” and “contribute to a developing Mauritian culture by creating an awareness of the richness of the Mauritian heritage”<sup>58</sup>. The general concept behind the creation of the MGI is to promote the Indian culture. However, it is not the only area of focus. Mauritian Studies are also part of its programme and promote the need for interaction between various cultural heritages.

However, we may question the place of the other cultural groups: the experience of slavery or even commercial merchants who migrated to Mauritius are hardly referred to. In fact, we come to a statement that only the former elite or the current group leading the country have managed to set up spaces representing their history and their experience on the island. Considering the multicultural background of Mauritius, it is interesting to envisage a museum that would restore, on factual ground, the experiences of all the components of society. The Government proposed, on several instances, the creation of a Museum of Immigration. This concept would deserve further attention so as to define how the experiences of all could be depicted?

## Caste System

References or discussions of the caste system

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC\_.Report-FULL> - § 18 references coded [0.07% Coverage]

### Reference 1 - 0.02% Coverage

3. A third issue that the TJC has dealt with, has been the suspicion and concern expressed in many quarters about academic history not reaching the local population. The TJC attempted, therefore, to bring together, through its historical projects, scholars, community groups and the local population. There was, we believe, frank discussions where community views were able to feed on the work of scholars, (local and foreign) who were able to voice their views, share their knowledge and arrive at a consensus. The TJC feels it was the start of a new historical ‘adventure’ and hopes that this approach will be continued in the future. It is hoped that the historians involved, have recognized the value of this work. TJC thus avoided what has become common elsewhere, where Western academic scholarship has clashed with community-based’ histories. TJC has also ensured that other forms of historical research have been used, in particular oral history and that archaeological and ethnographic research has been used and promoted in the various studies. Such studies finally aroused a great deal of public attention, and this is indeed very encouraging for the future. It is clear, however, that the gap between academic history and communities being researched needs to be narrowed even further. TJC has devised a policy that will guarantee access to most of the data collected (archival, oral, ethnographic, and archaeological) to the public as well as the academic community.

Knowledge production is still an issue as people from particular ethnic groups tend to read what historians from their own ethnic groups write, even though it may not be completely objective and scientific in its approach. The class, caste and gender approaches need also to be incorporated into Mauritian History. These historians and communities would benefit from sharing their perspectives, and this would go a long way towards a shared history and a shared heritage in the future. Academic historians need, therefore, to popularize their writings. They also need to relate their findings to the contemporary situation.

4. How one faces the past was another area of concern. Will apologies and forgiveness heal the wounds of the past? Some believe so. TJC believes it is not enough and that public institutions must ensure that the debate about our history never ends, because history is always being written and rewritten. Although many wish to close the book, this will not be possible. Rather, TJC invites Mauritians to continue uncovering the Truth, and not to forget that Injustice can always recur and that Mauritians must be vigilant.

#### Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

Are these consequences of indentured labour or the actions of Mauritians in post Independence Mauritius? The choice to maintain a caste system and to maintain division of ethnic groups in census is clearly a choice of independent Governments since Independence, and it is difficult to see how the indentured system could be held responsible. The choice not to teach a common history rather than a compartmentalised history, and for political and religious leaders to make public speeches where the failure of one ethnic group to achieve in one particular field is underlined, is a dangerous policy to tolerate. Over the years, this has led to increased social and cultural fractures. To avoid further divisions, these need to be stopped and should no longer sanctioned officially.

#### Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

The lack of interest in tribal history on the part of Indo-Mauritians is disturbing. During the course of TJC work, many Mauritians did not want to even talk about this subject. It is perhaps the association in India and reinforced by the current elitist policies of assigning Tribals to the lower caste category, even they are outside the caste system which has created this.

#### Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

In terms of language those who came from the North of India and from Bhojpuri regions, spoke Bhojpuri and many, especially of those of a higher status, could also speak and write Urdu. With 'Islamisation', many have rejected this Bhojpuri/Indian culture and it is mainly the elderly alone in rural areas who continue to speak it. Many have opted for a more 'Arab-style' culture. The celebration of the Muharram festival, called in Mauritius the Ghoon or Yamse, which has existed in Mauritius since 1790s and where many Calcuttiya Muslims has joined in the 19th century, is also frowned upon today as being 'unIslamic'. However, among the younger generation of historians, there are interesting studies being carried out on family histories and their evolution as Mauritians. These studies deserve to be incorporated into a larger study and published.<sup>271</sup> The Bengali language also spoken among those originating from district located around Calcutta are unknown to descendants interviewed.

#### Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

One can infer that the so-numerous 'Vaish', identified in Mauritius today, probably belonged to other castes before indenture. This is to be regarded as another example of upward caste mobility. Some 'jatis' belonging to lower castes in India have been 'upgraded' in the Mauritian caste system But such upward mobility often goes hand in hand with temptations to deny the

popular origins they shared with other indentured labourers. This reluctance to acknowledge their real history may explain the MGI's insistence that caste information of indentured should not be revealed to public. This attitude is reminiscent of descendants of slaves in Mauritius as well as descendants of convicts in Australia. In Mauritius, however, this is tied up with claims of political representation and caste quotas.

Upward mobility was also possible through intercaste marriages. Numerous examples exist in family histories. Loss of caste identity occurred at several stages apart from the Emigration and Immigration Depot in Calcutta and Mauritius.

#### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

In Mauritius, conversion has continued throughout History, right up to today. Pentecostalism is proving attractive to many Hindus, and it is not known how many are low caste among converts.

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

All, low or high castes, were embarrassed about evoking low castes. Concerning family histories, neighbours were sometimes brought in to 'recall' the history of a family member who had married into a lower-caste family. It is also true, in a general manner, when it comes to recognizing the very existence of castes known as 'low'. The term 'Chamar' or 'Dusadh' or the associated occupational or devotional habits such as rearing or sacrificing pork (which is associated with Dusadh in India) is expressed in a derogatory manner.

#### Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

□ 'Casteism still exists (marriage, politics, temple entry and rituals) and must be researched and brought out in history books. Cases of discrimination must be brought out'

#### Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

Nothing indicates that the importance of the caste system is declining in the history of modern India. Rather, with Indian modernity appeared a certain number of pressure groups that focused on

#### Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

One can infer that the numerous 'Vaish', identified in Mauritius today, probably belonged to other castes before indenture. This is to be regarded as another example of upward caste mobility. But such upward mobility often goes hand in hand with temptations to deny the popular origins they shared with other indentured peoples. This reluctance to acknowledge their real history may explain the MGI's insistence that caste information of indentured not be revealed to public. This attitude is reminiscent of descendants of slaves in Mauritius as well as descendants of convicts in Australia. In Mauritius, however, this is tied up with claims of political representation and caste quotas.

Upward mobility was also possible through inter-caste marriage. Numerous examples exist in family histories.

#### Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

The theoretical perspective of associating the departure from India with a disintegration of caste system does not hold, therefore, as detailed indentured studies and family histories have shown.

#### Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

All, low or high caste, were embarrassed about evoking low castes. It is true concerning family histories (it takes a neighbour's intervention to 'recall' to the interviewee and force her to admit, that one of her daughters did marry into a lower-caste family). It is also true in a general manner, when it comes to recognizing the very existence of castes known as 'low'. The term 'Chamar' or 'Dusadh' or the associated occupational or devotional habits such as rearing or sacrificing pork (what is associated with Dusadh in India) is expressed in a derogatory manner.

#### Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

Second, the general taboo and ignorance that was shared in Mauritius as regards castes was mistakenly perceived as a symptom of its disintegration. We were prone to believe that a population confusing Varna, jati and ethnicity, for instance, was hardly able to live and think according to the regulations of the Indian caste system. At first, it seemed that the holistic Indian caste system needed a context where an overall balance of castes of distinct status would be reproduced, what has been constantly under-evaluated as a reality in Mauritius indenture history. Most of all, the caste system in India rules the whole Indian society, regardless of religious affiliations, and we initially doubted that the Mauritian communities of Indian origin could manage to preserve a caste system in a society with important populations radically unfamiliar with such a logic.

#### Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

True enough, all the implications of the Mauritian caste system must definitely be understood and considered a product of the specific Mauritian history, and of what is at stake locally when it comes to identity and political claims. In the same way, any discriminative process observed must be understood in the very Mauritian context. From this perspective, castes as they have been experienced by Mauritian Hindus during indenture and afterwards, are at least partially the product of the very process of indenture.

#### Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

- Contrary to the Indian caste system that can still be described as mainly religious, the caste system in Mauritius appears essentially political. It is one in many identity criteria that can be mobilized to claim recognition, national resources or separation from a "national" history.

#### Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

In this recent article, Abhimanyu Unnuth points out the real issues. One cannot help remembering that the same author has himself been active in promoting the fantasy Indo-Mauritian identity founding narrative. The first pages of his major literary production, *Sueurs de Sang* (Lal Pasina, 1977), may be read as a picture of Indians as eternally linked to Mauritius: they are described as discovering it, fighting for it and they are its legitimate owners (Claveyrolas 2012). Time has passed since the 1970's in Mauritius, and probably the legitimate goodwill to rehabilitate Indo-Mauritians' history was not possible without paving the way for the current "collective and historical fantasies" Mauritius now faces. Communalism and fantasies go hand in hand. Fantasies, particularly those founding so-called Indian rooted communities or identities, do need to be corrected in Mauritius. And this is deeply linked with caste consciousness.

#### Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

The false discourse denying the existence of castes in Mauritius is damage able to low castes, in the first place, who feel ashamed of their identity, while it allows high castes to feel proud of their so-called superiority. A better knowledge of Mauritian history, a deeper investment in it, may be used as a way of equalizing the status of different castes. Mauritian citizens having traced their roots were disappointed to learn that the caste of their ancestors was actually lower than what they, nowadays, pretend to be. This might well be the truth for many Mauritians. As a matter of fact, Vaishya, for example, have never represented such a huge part of the Indian Bhojpuri population, which means that Mauritian Vaish were probably lower castes in India who "became" Vaish somewhere in the process of indenture. A sincere tracing of roots might help realize the relatively coherent popular culture of most indentured ancestors, far from any Sanskritic or Brahmanic pretensions. Once again, this should be stressed as a reason for pride: ancestors and descendants of migrant populations did manage their way up, and did build today's nation.

#### Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

India (its history of castes and attempts to eradicate them) warns us about such a temptation; Mauritius sometimes seems to take the same dangerous path. We think that a greater dose of secularism-laïcité, separating more sincerely the State from religious affairs, is necessary for an all-Mauritian identity to prevail and flourish. The Mauritian state is sometimes too lenient about religious affairs, too prone to participate and validate them. The result is dependence on religion

### Indenture

References or discussions of indenture and indentured servants

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC\_.Report-FULL> - § 26 references coded [0.12% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission has also addressed the continuing discussion (albeit sterile) about whether indenture was similar to slavery. This debate is summarized here and an explanation offered as to

why these perceptions have held good, despite documentary evidence to the contrary. Ignorance of basic facts of one's history and concepts appear to be rampant in Mauritius, in spite of the high rate of literacy of its population.

What were the conditions of indentured labourers on estates? Did all indentured labourers work on sugar estates? Were all indentured labourers Indian or Hindu? Did all indentured labourers obtain land and become educated in baithkas? These are some questions we have answered through fundamental research on demography, landownership and education, as well as detailed histories of families and their lives in Mauritius. Just as it has been stated that one cannot generalize for the slave population, so one cannot do so for the indentured population: the family and life histories presented in Volumes 3 and 4 here show the immense variety of indentured experience, and it is clear that more such family histories, using interdisciplinary methodologies, need to be compiled.

It has been common in public and official discourse to demarcate, along clear lines, the slaves from indentured immigrants; yet, Mauritius at the time was not divided into these two groups: due to the extreme shortage of female immigrants, intermarriage and cohabitation occurred. Intercaste, interregional and interethnic marriages occurred, as evidenced by the family histories compiled. Many, if not most, Mauritian families have undergone a higher rate of métissage than they care to admit.

#### Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

In France, a complete inventory of all French engagés arriving to Mauritius has already been undertaken and published, and it is not necessary to list all of them. Their history, however, is little known in Mauritius, as many returned to France and have left no descendants. A reading of their conditions is strangely reminiscent of indenture of the 19th century in many respects. Their names were often misspelt and they did not speak French but Breton, and their names are spelt differently on several documents. Their conditions were not always good as one might think, despite the wages. For example, fines were imposed for absences: Antoine Aimé, soldier and locksmith, is described as 24 years, 5'1", with curly brownish hair, square face, small grey eyes. He arrived on the *Badine* on 8 June 1731, worked for a year and left for Bourbon. As his contract included fines, a fine was imposed on him for a day's absence for which he paid 3 livres.

#### Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

From the much quoted figure of 453,000 believed to have come to Mauritius, about one-third returned to India, while another 1/3 did not survive their indenture and did not leave any descendants. This makes the request by the Mahatma Gandhi Institute, which houses the Immigration Archives even more ridiculous, when they ask researchers to 'get the permission' of descendants, before embarking on tracing family histories. It appears they are not aware that the bulk of immigrants never left descendants and are now consigned to oblivion in Mauritian History books, because of uninformed and unscientific based policies.

Mauritians, thus, still needs, to do justice to the history of these immigrants. Truth and Justice Commission 154

#### Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

The history of Calcuttiya Muslims was no different to that of other labourers on plantations. Housing arrangements were made, when they did not want to live near pig-breeders among the labourers families. But, in general, they went through the same evolution. After indenture, many became small planters, share-croppers (known as métayers in Mauritius) and others migrated to the town of Port Louis and opened textile shops, some of which are still in existence today. It is not known yet how many returned, but one family story does not confirm that there were immigrants who returned after the indenture. Many left families in Mauritius since those born in Mauritius, were not eligible for return passages. One immigrant returned to India, kept up a correspondence with his family, but remarried and reindentured to Guyana and was lost from view from then on.<sup>270</sup>

#### Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

During the period of indentured immigration, children were also brought either accompanying their parents or came alone. There are many ways in which a child could have ended up on a ship alone. A parent may have died in the Depot or abandoned children being an easy prey for unscrupulous recruiters would be enticed into the ship. Their stories will probably never get into the History books as so little written evidence has survived. What we do have today are the few descendants who have kept alive their family history and recounted how their ancestors arrived as children.

#### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

History has repeated itself. About one hundred and thirty years ago, the plantocracy recruited indentured labourers from a vast reservoir of cheap labour found in British India. As a result, the plantocracy accumulated capital which was partly siphoned off to financiers/ investors abroad (Britain and France mainly) and partly reinvested in modernising the sugar factories. The new dimension, this time, lies in the fact that the reservoir of cheap labour came from within Mauritius: women and the unemployed. Unemployment and poverty were the direct consequences of policies of free trade by British Imperial Government and of cheap labour policy of the Colonial Government and the plantocracy.

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

As far as Indentured immigrants are concerned, although there were concerns about the type of education to be dispensed in the early years, by the 20th century, many Indian children were going to school. Parents had overcome their original hostility to Western-type schools and were sending boys to schools. Education was highly sought after and many sacrifices were made by parents to secure a place in school. Oral histories abound with such stories. Education was also seen by many as a way out of the sugar sector and into white collar jobs. Discrimination, however, against Indian children existed in schools as few schools were willing to offer a place to Indian children in the early 20th century. However, many schools, private and public, were later opened and these were made full use of by the descendants.

#### Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

family and what he has left as legacy is: 2 children, 3 grandchildren, 9 great grandchildren, 24 great great-grandchildren, 34 great great-great-grandchildren and 1 great great-great-great grandchild. There is still more research waiting to be carried out in Mauritius and in India. Until that time comes, the Researcher feels enriched with the stories of the past and having started on this journey and met some wonderful people that she would have never known other than through this research, precious stories and shared memories, passed from generation to generation.

#### Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

The term 'presumed descendants' has to be used because many Mauritians have no idea of their own family history and indeed of Mauritian history. One can fairly assume that being of Indian origin their roots are in the indenture system, it has also been established that many Indians came before and after indenture period.

#### Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

Despite the harmony that appeared to reign, the extent to which this interaction and harmonious cohabitations led to more inter-ethnic and inter-religious relationships (i.e. through marriage) is not very clear, and we only have a few indications of this. If we look at the history of indentured period, we have many instances of inter-ethnic and inter-caste marriage taking place. These appear to be reduced as a result of consolidation of identities along caste, ethnicity and religious lines. But the sample under analysis in this report does not give explicit information on this. We have only two explicit cases of inter-communal marriages<sup>37</sup>, though some informants have mentioned that their grandmother spoke a foreign language and some informants mentioned the fact that a caste system existed and was practised in marriages.<sup>38</sup>

#### Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

It is ironic that we seem to know so much about the fate of indentured labourers in Mauritius and know so little about the experiences of workers in the sugar industry after the end of indenture. A cursory review of the literature on the history of employer and employee relations in the Mauritian sugar industry reveals that a majority of studies have focused overwhelmingly on the indentured labour period (e.g. Bissoondoyal 1984, 1986; Carter 1995; Allen 1999). That is not to say that no studies have focused on the working and living conditions of sugar estate workers after the end of indenture. For instance, the historian Daniel North-Coombes (1987) has provided us with a compelling account of the 1937 and 1943 strikes in the Mauritian sugar industry and what working conditions were generally like in the first half of the twentieth century. And the anthropologist Burton Benedict (1961), who conducted fieldwork in Mauritius in the 1950s, has provided us with a detailed study of the living conditions of Indo-Mauritians in villages and to a lesser extent in estate camps, a majority of whom were still reliant upon work in the sugar industry during this period. Nevertheless, one struggles to find any studies that address both the working and living conditions of sugar estate workers in Mauritius since the end of the indentured labour period. The following study represents a modest attempt at redressing this gap in the literature.

#### Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

implication of' the following. But can one go so far as to argue that sugar estates in Mauritius are culpable for the consequences of their actions if we are taking into account a time frame extending well beyond the twentieth century? "Truth Commissions", as they have come to be collectively referred to internationally, are relatively recent innovations intended for the most part to address crimes or wrongs committed against humanity in the twentieth century. Yet in spite of the wide yawn separating the indenture and post-indenture periods in Mauritian history, I intend to argue that the Mauritian sugar industry does appear to be culpable for the reckless and at times callous manner in which it has treated its workforce. And, in particular, of flouting its legal responsibilities under existing Labour Laws. However, I should also add that this judgement is not necessarily applicable to all sugar estates in Mauritius, some of which have a record of treating their workers well beyond what was required of them by law.

#### Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

The passing of the 1922 Labour Ordinance marks an important turning point in the history of Mauritius as it finally did away with the use of penal sanctions in civil contracts between planters and labourers and coincided with the end of the indenture labour system. However, it only covered immigrants and did not theoretically apply to Mauritian-born labourers and the forfeit of wages for breaches of contract was still allowed under this ordinance. It was only with the passing of the 1938 Labour Ordinance, which sought to implement the recommendations of the Hooper Commission of enquiry into the 1937 strikes, that fining labourers for bad or negligent work was finally disallowed. This ordinance was applicable not only to monthly but also casual workers and was responsible for introducing a raft of changes such as a six day working week and eight hour day, legislating for over-time work, the registration of trade unions, maternity allowances for women, the regulation of sanitary conditions on estate camps, and paved the way for a transferral of power from the Protector of Immigrants to the newly created Labour Department. Yet in spite of these legislative changes, there is evidence that job-contractors, sirdars and estate managerial staff were still marking labourers as absent when they failed to complete a set task or forced them to redo tasks they designated as unfinished. The use of the double-cut, or fining labourers two days wages for everyday they were absent, seems to have been discontinued with the end of the indenture labour system, although Daniel North-Coombes (1987:30) claims it was still being enforced in 1938. But that does not mean that the practice of marking labourers as absent when they had done a day's work, or "maron", in the words of the elderly sugar estate workers themselves,<sup>63</sup> and making illegal deductions from the wages of labourers was itself discontinued.

#### Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

One of the main purposes of the AGTF's oral history project was to find out more about estate camp life as it is recognized that this way of life is fast disappearing.<sup>77</sup> But underlying this recognition was the problematic assumption that residents of estate camps are purported to be the direct descendents of the first waves of indentured labourers from India who were housed on the estates. This uncritical assumption is reflected for instance in the Hooper Commission's report which in comparing the complaints of casual and monthly workers during the 1937 strikes, states

that monthly workers “are the descendants for the most part of the original indentured immigrants (Hooper 1937:161; cf. Hooper 1937:176). This assumption appears to be informed by the belief that estate camp populations are stable communities that have been insulated from demographic fluctuations and change. Thus, according to this line of reasoning, estate camp residents should be viewed as being the most direct descendents of the “original indentured immigrants”, as the Hooper Commission report describes them, because their living conditions most

#### Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

There is another reason why this assumption is problematic. As I pointed out in a subsequent review of the various memoranda that were written detailing how to initiate the AGTF’s oral history project, it is problematic to refer to estate camp residents as the “descendents of indentured labourers” without mentioning the thousands of time-expired and non-expired

#### Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

As stated from the outset of this study, the most comprehensive accounts that we have of the lives of Mauritian sugar estate workers in the post-indenture period comes to us from Daniel NorthCoombes and Burton Benedict. It is instructive to compare their respective accounts of the lives of sugar estate workers after the termination of the indenture labour system in Mauritius, as each of them had different objectives and foci due in part to their methodological biases. For instance, where North-Coombes was more concerned with class-conflict and the various forms of exploitation that existed in the Mauritian sugar industry, Benedict evinced an approach that sought to pay greater attention to the living conditions of ordinary Mauritians, even if this meant that he tended to overlook signs of class-conflict and tension in Mauritian society. In the final analysis, both approaches are of equal value in any attempt to reconstruct the history of Mauritian society, but what this study has shown is that it is just as important to consult the opinions of those affected by these events. The voices of elderly sugar estate workers has shown to us there were important matters that have been overlooked by both North-Coombes and Benedict, and which places the recent past into sharper relief. I am thinking in particular of the fact that estate managerial staff and sirdars and job-contractors conspired to abuse the rights of labourers by continuing to mark them as absent, or “marron”, and deducting their wages for failing to complete unreasonable estimations of set tasks. One would have thought that these abuses would have discontinued after the end of indenture, but quite clearly, that was not the case.

#### Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

As stated earlier, the above-mentioned oral history project aims at investigating the consequences of indentureship on the descendants of the Indian indentured labourers. It should be highlighted that this analysis is not representative of the life-experiences of the descendants of the Indian immigrants that migrated to Mauritius under the indenture system, in that the sample of respondents was limited to former sugar estate workers who are assumed to be of Indian indentured descent. The white-collar and other blue-collar employees were not interviewed.

#### Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

Their knowledge of family history remained restricted to one or two generations because of limited genealogical memory. In addition, some did not know their grandparents who died before their birth or when they were underage. They did not know if their ancestors came as indentured labourers or free passengers, and when and why they migrated to Mauritius.

#### Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

Indentured history, and the way it is perceived in Mauritius today, are central in historical and the Mauritian contemporary construction of identity.

#### Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

In all cases, indenture stands as a pivotal period in Mauritian history. Academic research in history and anthropology for the period 1835-1907 can begin to give us fair bases for an objective and more nuanced vision of indenture. However, research (Allen, Benoist, Hazareesingh, Tinker) often lacks the perspective of the host country, India, and the economic and social conditions there and their overall representations of candidates for indenture.

#### Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

As Marina Carter (1995) explains, sordid realism (describing indenture as just another Slave Trade) or, on the contrary, revisionist temptations (as colonists), have blurred historical visions. The first important point lies in the evolution of indenture during the whole period. Indenture in the 1830s was radically different from indenture twenty years later, not to mention the last decades, of the beginning of the 20th century. One must also remember that, as is the case for slavery, there is no such thing as a unique history and experience of indenture.

#### Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

However, individual experiences of marriage are highly revealing and allow us to reconstruct in greater detail the social life of indentured immigrants. Marriage patterns among Indentured Immigrants in the early years of immigration are particularly interesting, since they allow us to see the impact of migration on the social life of immigrants. We can understand how far they were able to maintain the social organisation which they had brought with them. It was only possible to undertake a limited study for the purposes of the work of the Commission, but this shows that the process of uncovering the full extent of our history must continue.

#### Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

things more complicated and a dehumanising experience for a considerable time in the history of indenture. Many of their children were denied inheritances and admissions to schools because they could not prove their legitimate parentage, merely because their parents' marriages have not been registered.

#### Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

The question has often been asked: When did indentured immigration officially come to an end? This question can be answered in two ways: When did indenture come to an end legally? When did Indian labour immigration into Mauritius really end? The reason is that many labourers continued to arrive, even though the system of indenture had officially ended and these new non-indentured endured the same hardships as the indentured. Just as employers in the 1830s found it hard to adjust to 'free' indentured labourers as opposed to having slaves, they found it equally hard to distinguish between what was a 'free Indian' and an Indian who had come under the 'indentured' system. A life history of one family is also provided here as an example, but there are many others who also deserve to be known.

#### Reference 25 - 0.01% Coverage

The advent of indentured labourers, who came from India and who were themselves subject to some of the worst forms of ill-treatment, is another landmark. The history of Indian immigrants is a tale of injustice and misery. Leaving his wife and children behind, the Indian labourer was made to work odd hours in

#### Reference 26 - 0.01% Coverage

The discourse on indenture is inspired by the same vein: the display provides us with a scientific account leading from the abolition of slavery to the establishment of a new system of recruitment called indenture. Mahébourg National History Museum's representations failed to portray a clear evolutive process. At L'Aventure du Sucre, the process of evolution is clearly transcribed to help an overall understanding of the Mauritian experience. What we identified as Section 12, clearly states the mutation experienced by the society after the abolition of slavery. The discourse is organised as follows:

### Slavery

References or discussions of slaves, slavery or the slave trade

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC\_.Report-FULL> - § 110 references coded [0.40% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

Even today, no monument has been erected to remind us of their contribution to history and to the development of the country.

#### Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

“The issue is this. The under-development and poverty which affect the majority of countries in Africa and in the Caribbean, as well as the ghetto conditions in which many black people live in the United States and elsewhere, are not, speaking in general terms, the result of laziness, incompetence or corruption of African people or their governments. They are in a very large

measure the consequences the legacy – of one of the most massive and terrible criminal enterprises – in recorded human history; that is, the transatlantic slave trade and the institution of slavery”.

#### Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

This has been one of the most intractable questions, given the lack of information. Here too, one must refrain from treating all ex-slaves as one uniform mass of persons. However, it is not so much how they travelled but where they ended up at different times in history, up to today. What was their trajectory? The TJC used the migration pattern of inhabitants of one village to attempt to reconstruct this history. More family histories need to be undertaken nationwide to assess the full extent of the mobility of ex-slaves and their families across Mauritius from 1835 to the 1940s. One must not forget, however, those who were free before that date and their trajectories in life.

#### Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

As stated, the aim is not to review the entire history of slavery, rather to look at lesser-known aspects which deserve to be better known.

#### Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

Recommendations relating to the history of slavery and slave trade are contained at the end of this volume in a consolidated chapter of recommendations.

#### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

The cultural relationships including lineages, languages, and traditions, which, from the mideighteenth to the early twentieth centuries, emerged in the slave trade and slavery and after, in the region, need to be better known by Mauritians. The Commission has initiated this by undertaking a preliminary study of Mozambique-Mauritius slave trade to better understand the full extent of our cultural origins and our history. This must be continued.

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

Economic and accounting historians of the slave trade study slavery and the slave trade from an economist's or financial analyst's perspective. However, historians cannot focus only on what is quantifiable, but have to look at the unquantifiable: the 'intangible' issues of history, such as identity or culture loss, mental and physical stress, mobility, laws, consequences on family life or the sense of loss felt as a result of being removed from one's homeland.

#### Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

Accounting historians have been investigating how the accounts of the slave trade were kept. A unique journal, the *Guide du commerce*, written by Gaignat de l'Aulnais in 1771, has led to a detailed and equally unique historical study by Cheryl McWatters.<sup>95</sup> In this journal, McWatters

highlights the basic documents required for a slave trading expedition, according to Gaignat. These were: “Le journal de traite, le livre de factures, le journal de vente des noirs et achats en retour et enfin le grand livre” (Eng trans: The slave trading journal, the receipt book, the sales of slaves book, and purchases book and finally the big book). Although written for Atlantic voyages, it seems unlikely that it would have been any different in the Indian Ocean, since many of the ships and Captains were the same. A greater search of the accounts of slave traders might reveal as yet unknown facets of the history of slavery and the slave trade. For example, it is currently impossible to quantify the volume of trade carried on in the interior: those who were simply captured and kidnapped from their villages and where no trading took place. Oral traditions in Mozambique exist and deserve further study. Benigna Zimba, Mozambican historian, has recommended that memorialisation of this part of the history of the slave trade should also be included in future representations of slavery in Mauritius.

#### Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

merchants and traders are listed in Port Louis and a good number were involved in the slave trade. Allen has quoted, for example, Messrs. Closnard, Cloupet, Collique, Drieux, Geoffriou, De La Rochelle, Le Blanc, Rolland, Le Bouchet, Le Bourdé, Dahuy Solminiac, La Corte, Laurent Raphaël, d’Hotman and Vally. Louis Monneron also had family links with merchants in India, while Morice focused on slave trading with Zanzibar. Apart from the traders there are also the captains of ships, many of whom have descendants today in Mauritius. Many were also corsairs and this is publicly stated. However they are less public about the slave trading involvement of that ancestor. In France, “Si le titre de corsair est loin de déplaire dans nos annales de famille, ce n’est pas sans regret que nous trouvons celui de négrier.”<sup>126</sup> The same could be said of many families in Mauritius where some parts of family histories are thought best left hidden or conveniently forgotten.

#### Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

The slaves: The challenge for descendants of slaves on what origin to look back to help to uncover lost or forgotten identities is of a different nature. The slave registration returns do not show the original names but adopted names in Mauritius. With the mixing of slave populations and absence of adequate civil status records, it is a difficult task to reconstruct one’s family history and identity.

#### Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

Had the French National Archives documents been available to him (photo 2), these questions would have been answered. It is imperative that authorities pay attention to the urgent need to obtain copies of all documents found overseas pertaining to Mauritian slavery. These are important, not only for historical records, but also for memorialisation purposes and allow Mauritians to better research their history.<sup>226</sup>

#### Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

As with most neglected histories, they come to light only when the criminal records mention them. Thus Delport, probably the most famous of them all was accused of multiple crimes: receiving stolen goods, encouraging slaves to steal and giving them resources to steal, squatting on 'unconceded' land etc.<sup>232</sup> Despite all this, they did enjoy the benefits that having a whiter skin colour proffered on them. A black skilled worker would never be equal to a white skilled worker in French Mauritius.<sup>233</sup>

#### Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission also recommends the continuation of an inventory of documents found in France and elsewhere and the continuation of input into the Slave Trade Database. The aim is to establish a list of all ships and their cargo in order to better document the slave trade and arrive at an improved assessment of the volume of the slave trade to Mauritius, and the actual number of slaves having been disembarked in Mauritius. It is also necessary to include in calculations, those ships/persons/slaves destined for Mauritius but who never arrived, due to revolts, shipwrecks, diseased etc. This information will be inserted in the database. Scholars from overseas working on the slave trade to Mauritius, in their respective countries, need to be included in this project, such as Thomas Vernet and Benigna Zimba. It is further recommended that this database work be continued by the University of Mauritius in partnership with other institutions with an interest in the slave trade and slavery. The University possesses both history and computer science departments who can collaborate with minimal cost with each other to maintain the database. It also has a pool of students every year who can be initiated and trained in historical research and data entry. However, appropriate funding must be provided and this work is to be shared with the public through an online database.

The Commission recommends the establishment of an Intercontinental Slavery Museum on the Port Louis Waterfront as a permanent reminder of the existence of slavery and the contribution of slaves to the history of Mauritius. We recommend that the Project be initiated and supervised by the Prime Minister's Office in collaboration with related institutions. Being located in the capital city Port Louis will ensure the history of slavery is given its due importance and also to ensure financial sustainability for the Museum once it is opened.

Finally the Commission recommends a NATIONAL GENEALOGY CENTRE, which will help numerous Mauritians, many of whom of African and Malagasy descent, who faced enormous difficulties in tracing their family history and genealogy. This has also caused much distress in families, and some believed they had lost property as a result. These families were unable to furnish basic information on their ancestors to the TJC. Consequently, the TJC helped a large number of families in recreating their genealogical trees and, during this process, it was able to verify for itself the difficulties mentioned by these families.

#### Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

'African Recaptives' and 'Prize Slaves'. The trade thus continued and involved many of the islands further out in the Indian Ocean such as Rodrigues and Seychelles where slaves could be better hidden. This history has yet to be written using sources found in all these countries and would need a concerted regional effort, currently lacking.

#### Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

The apprenticeship system has been researched in some depth in Mauritian Historiography, as well as the opposition to it coming from abolitionists who saw it as not being much different from slavery. The complicity of the local Government in creating a system that was no different from slavery and ensured that labour stayed on estates until contract labour system was established, while owners enjoyed the compensation money and invested in their sugar estates. Apprentices were quick to see they had been duped of their freedom. They expressed this disapproval of this 'new system of slavery' in several forms. Some marooned and were hunted in exactly the same manner as they had been under slavery. When caught they were flogged in the same manner. Others chose to withdraw from plantation labour (but not from agriculture), knowing full well that this is what would strike at the heart of plantation's operation. Others still bought their freedom from apprenticeship, just as, when slaves, they had bought their manumission. They were still advertised as slaves for hire, even though slavery had been abolished. While the stereotype of women is that they were downtrodden people, the number of applications for freedom from apprenticeship are very revealing. These women's history must not be forgotten and deserves further study.

#### Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

The number of apprentices who bought their freedom must also be acknowledged in Mauritian History. This phenomenon has yet to be analysed by historians. However, the interpretation of the motive of the apprentice is doing so is currently not conclusive. We know that 9,000 did not want to be 'given' freedom; they wanted to buy their freedom. For some observers, it was a matter of

#### Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

Reports in 1845 of the whereabouts of the slave population indicate a high rate of mobility between regions: in Black River, for example, 1/3 of the slave population left the district, only to be replaced by others entering it.<sup>335</sup> This too deserves further attention. TJC's research into family histories is a pioneering venture in that it helps to determine the exact location of families and how they moved from one region to another, after abolition of slavery. This has been the most challenging part of the TJC's work: to retrace family genealogies between 1840s and 1860s, which appear to be periods of high mobility among the ex-slave population. Yet, here unfortunately, the records are deficient. Large numbers of Civil Status registers for ex-slaves, in particular, are missing from the institution concerned, making the task of Family History reconstruction extremely difficult.

#### Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

Elsewhere in Mauritius, the ex-slave population, which did not own land, was shifted from camp to camp, depending on the whim of employers who tended to be those owning large estates and needed land for clearing the woods for sugar cultivation. Informal and verbal arrangements were made with owners concerning the length of stay in any particular area, and many considered the camp as 'home' The detailed study of censuses, combined with Family History research, and Oral History work conducted in the past few years by various institutions and individuals are

sufficient evidence of the numerous camps that existed in the 19th century and which have survived up to the 21st century; this indicates constant mobility and shifting of 'home'. Displacement of persons of African and Malagasy origin, whether as slaves, ex-slaves or descendants appears to be a continuing and apparently constant feature of Mauritian History and custom. The history of the former inhabitants of the original Le Morne Village/Trou Chenille, as well as the History of the Chagossians, are some of the most publicized of cases, but such displacement continues in 'modern' Mauritius.

#### Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

History has its part to play in this state of affairs. The History of slavery which has been repressed does not 'disappear'; it forms part of the subconscious. Absence of a sense of belonging and a sense of personal history induce life-styles and ways of spending which penalise whole families. Living on credit and overspending on occasions of celebrations (weddings and first communion) are ways of positioning self and the family, acquiring respect and dignity, whatever the price to pay.

#### Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

The railways, still in 1962, employed mostly Creole workers. Railway employees were laid off without any compensation in the wake of the closure of the Railway Department in 1962. They all had to be satisfied with a small gratuity for the rest of their life.<sup>424</sup> No real study has yet been undertaken to highlight the immense contribution of Creole workers, mostly descendants of exslaves, the Sugar Industry and in the Aloe Fibre Industry, nor has any attempt been made to collect oral archives on their history.

#### Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

##### 3000 Short History

Artisanal fishing has existed since the days of slavery and was practised by all categories of persons. Estates located on the coast used slaves for fishing activities although it is not certain whether the slaves were free to fish for themselves. After slavery, ex-slaves, who wanted autonomy, found in fishing the perfect economic activity. Marooned slaves on the run waited for dusk to install batatran, a sort of creeper growing in the coastal region in passages to catch certain varieties of fish, entering the lagoon at night, thus ensuring a diet rich in protein content for those living by the sea.<sup>432</sup> Fishing is, thus, is closely associated with the history of slavery and freedom. Trou Chenille in the Le Morne region and many of the coastal fishing villages, Le Morne, Tamarin, La Gaulette on the Black River coast, was one of the reknowned places for fishing and also where ex-slave communities established themselves. This area has great symbolical value for descendants of exslaves today.<sup>433</sup> Other coastal settlements, inhabited by Creoles, are Mahebourg, Trou d'Eau Douce and Grand Gaube, Grand Baie, Poudre d'Or and Poste de Flacq.<sup>434</sup>

#### Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

Indian slaves won fame for their ability to prepare food and were preferred to their African counterparts as domestic servants and often spared from hard labour. Free slaves, recruited since Mahé de Labourdonnais as skilled workers and artisans, proved to be essential in the building and construction sector. Throughout the whole French occupation, slaves of Indian origin were not differently treated to other slaves, and some joined the ranks of the maroons. The history of marooned slaves bears witness to an extract of *Le Nouvelliste*, dated 1st May 1802.

#### Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

The Malaise Créole had also to do with the history of the Creoles: the dispossession and suffering associated with slavery and its aftermath, the consequences of which can be seen in the persistence of poverty, social problems and political marginalization.

#### Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

1. Better safeguard of archival records and documents pertaining to the history of slavery so that a holistic version of the history of people of creole origin can be undertaken,

#### Reference 25 - 0.01% Coverage

8. Jimmy Harmon Jimmy Harmon is an academic and claims to be a militant engaged in the promotion of the Creole community. He has indeed devoted his life to the study of the behavioral attitude of Creoles towards education and their relations with the Catholic Church and Government. His interest in the history of Mauritius has enlightened him on the circumstances which have led to the ‘marginalization’ of the Creole community to which he claims to belong. His struggle in favour of the rehabilitation of the Creoles during his 22year career as an educationist has led him to conclude that racism and the worst method of discrimination are the root causes for the situation in which the descendents of slaves find themselves today. He is fully conscious that the struggle for restorative justice is not an easy one, but he believes that the Truth and Justice Commission has a sacrosanct task to make major recommendations to bring about a drastic change of policy by government to better the fate of the Creole community in Mauritius. He also stated:

#### Reference 26 - 0.01% Coverage

10. Jose Rose of the Rastafari movement The Rastafari movement, constitutes a small group of Afro-Malagasy Mauritians established in Chamarel. They have been victims of racial prejudice in their history, because of their lifestyle. They feel they are not lesser citizens of the country. They have been dispossessed of their ancestral land and claim to be the poorest among the poorest class of descendants of former slaves.

#### Reference 27 - 0.01% Coverage

4. Preservation of historical sites and archival records and need of a holistic version of the history of people of slave descent

#### Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

7. Actions towards national unity and reconciliation to include joint collaborative events where descendants of slave owners and of slaves can interact and share histories, such as that carried

#### Reference 29 - 0.01% Coverage

18. Online historical data to be freely available on slavery and the slave trade to enable all Mauritians to access their History.

#### Reference 30 - 0.01% Coverage

□ Trou Chenille - home of ex-slave population forcibly removed. The Le Morne Trust Fund must document and publish this history.

#### Reference 31 - 0.01% Coverage

A very large number of views were expressed on education and the need for reform. These are summarized here: educational programmes to fight racism must be put in place and for schools to be aware of the various conventions; the need for stereotypes of occupations for descendants to be countered; the destigmatisation of those who did not vote for independence; the study of the history of education; choice of English by the descendants of indenture while those of slaves had no choice: French was the language of Catechism and was chosen. New language developed by the new Creole elite emerging: Creole. Creole needed to be introduced for descendants of slaves as a cultural, part of linguistic /cultural rights. High failure rate needed to be examined.

#### Reference 32 - 0.01% Coverage

□ The simple database started by the TKC should be continued by the University of Mauritius in partnership with other institutions which have an interest in the slave trade and slavery. The University possesses both history and computer science departments who can collaborate with minimal cost with each other to maintain the database. It also has a pool of students every year who can be initiated and trained in historical research and data entry.

#### Reference 33 - 0.01% Coverage

Considering the role of future generations in social and cultural development of the continent, the main goal of this Project, is to rescue the history of slavery and the slave traffic in southeastern Africa. In this context, the gathering, collection and preservation of oral traditions; as well as the promotion of cultural diversity and cultural tourism, and of a whole range of activities interconnected to this phenomenon, are crucial to this Project.

#### Reference 34 - 0.01% Coverage

The conceptors of this Project recommend that the Museum be located in the capital city Port Louis. Apart from giving the history of slavery its due importance it is also appropriate that it

should be placed in a location that is reminiscent of slavery and related to slavery. Furthermore as the historic parts of the city are frequently visited by tourists and Mauritians alike, this will ensure financial sustainability for the Museum once it is opened.

#### Reference 35 - 0.01% Coverage

the Abolition of British Colonial Slavery", which was published in the "Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History, May 1976, Volume IV Number 3" Burroughs made reference to an exchange of letter "Buchanan to Lefevre, dated 7th June 1833"<sup>2</sup> underlining: "Shrewd scheming advocates with the eye to augmenting fees and influence found unlimited scope to ensnare opponents in the meshes of law, prolong cases brought before trial, and emasculate unpopular legislation. The local bar buttressed its enviable position by restricting the number of "Avoués" who could practice and making this privilege a monopoly of foremost French families. Because of its intimate association with planters and merchants through intermarriage, investment, and a common concern to defend the status quo, as well as its mastery of the obscurities of French commercial and land law, the legal fraternity dominated to an extraordinary degree the life of the whole community and exploited that predominance for selfish ends. Whenever the British Government devised incongenial policies or threatened to undermine the oligarchy's ascendancy, judges and lawyers could and did unashamedly empty the Courts to protect their sectoral interests. British merchants and creditors, for example, who, by 1832, apparently held mortgages on all but one of the island's sugar plantations, protested regularly about being defrauded by Mauritian debtors because of partisan "Avoués" and antiquated French laws so 'remarkably convenient for cheating the British out of their money'. They persistently urged the Colonial Office to introduce English laws and English Judges".

#### Reference 36 - 0.01% Coverage

The Oral History Project research (See ORAL HISTORY OF DESCENDANTS OF SLAVES Part 1, Volume 3), commissioned by the Truth and Justice Commission to document and preserve the memories and views of people who consider themselves as slave descendants, surveyed the collective memory of the people who have a particular knowledge of the history, culture, lifestyle, heritage and traditions of slaves, ex-slaves and their descendants. The survey, which covered the islands of Mauritius and Rodrigues, Agaléga, Chagos aimed, amongst others, at uncovering the "Causes of landownership and causes for loss of land" by the descendants of ex-slaves.

#### Reference 37 - 0.01% Coverage

"Slavery had an impact on us. This is the history of my ancestors, they were living in their country, they worked, risked their lives, fought, lost their loved ones. To be healed from that, it needs time. They liberated themselves, created their language, and invented their music to fight the harshness of life. Sega is the intelligence and sweat of our ancestors to regroup and express the hardships of life. Their descendants still suffer

#### Reference 38 - 0.01% Coverage

## VOL 3: PART I – SLAVERY - ORAL HISTORY OF DESCENDANTS OF SLAVES

### INTRODUCTION

This oral history project research has been commissioned by the Truth and Justice Commission to document and preserve the memories and views of people who consider themselves as slave descendants. It surveys the collective memory of the people who have a particular knowledge of the history, culture, lifestyle, heritage and traditions of slaves, ex-slaves and their descendants. The survey covers the islands of Mauritius and Rodrigues, Agaléga, Chagos and aims at uncovering the following topics identified by the Truth and Justice Commission:

#### Reference 39 - 0.01% Coverage

B. Contributions of slaves and their descendants to the economic, political, social and cultural life of Mauritius C. Perceptions of slavery and its consequences D. Perceptions of descendants of slaves and indentured labourers E. Life histories of the individuals, their parents and grandparents F. Particular constraining experiences of living in cités (coastal and non-coastal) and occupation etc. G. Causes of illiteracy H. Causes of landownership and causes for loss of land I. Perceptions of other ethnic and cultural groups and their history

#### Reference 40 - 0.01% Coverage

Since Rodriguan informants might have felt uncomfortable in front of a stranger who is not a native of Rodrigues, the local facilitator assisted the researcher during the interview. Two interview guides were designed, translating the aims of the study. Given that the slave history of Rodrigues Island differs from that of Mauritius Island and, consequently, that the experiences of Rodriguans and Mauritians, might diverge, a different interview guide was designed for Rodrigues to reflect Rodriguans' reality. Open-ended questions were used to encourage the informants to talk freely and the guides were translated into Creole.

In line with the aims of the project, the questions were regrouped under fourteen main topics: 1. Life History 2. Literacy 3. Family History 4. Property 5. Identity/Perception of descendants of slaves 6. Slavery and its consequences 7. Contribution of slaves and their descendants to the economic life of Mauritius 8. Contributions of slaves and their descendants to the political life of Mauritius 9. Contribution of slaves and their descendants to the social life of Mauritius 10. Contribution of slaves and their descendants to cultural life of Mauritius 11. Slavery and its consequences and perceptions of descendants of slaves 12. Life in cités 13. Perceptions of other ethnic and cultural groups 14. Racism 15. Expectations and hopes for the future

#### Reference 41 - 0.01% Coverage

generations). This is perhaps because, families have moved from one area to another resulting in a cut off from family ties and most probably because of absence or lack of oral transmission of family origins. Interviews revealed that there has been either no or limited transmission of knowledge of family origins. Generational transmission of family history was limited to one to two generations and hence for many people recollections of family history were limited to their grandparents and sometimes to their great grandparents. Although they did not know their origins they identified themselves as of slave descent because of their African phenotype. For

example, Rosemay considers herself as being Mauritian of African descent because of her skin colour, she is Black and hair type is ‘frizzy’. For those who do not know their origins, most of them guessed about their family ancestry based on their physical appearance and what their parents told them. Their identification is not derived from knowledge of ancestral origins but rather on shared legacies of slavery such as social experiences and lack of education and opportunities. On the other hand, some informants’ identification with the slaves descendant seems also to be founded on racial grounds. This biological identification associates the African phenotype, skin colour (being black) and hair style (frizzy hair) with slave ancestry.

#### Reference 42 - 0.01% Coverage

R14 has a broad definition of Creole: “If someone declares he is Creole, we should accept the fact, and if a black person does not say he is a Creole, we should accept it also. A Creole is one who chooses to be Creole. The pride of a Creole is not only slavery history because it transcends history and in the modern world – this is a “parti-pris d’espérance” because the world is becoming intercultural and Creole. Then racism and xenophobia and protectionism will disappear.”

#### Reference 43 - 0.01% Coverage

Mauritian, for some knowing their origins is not important because they identify themselves to the capitalist system and to contemporary times and they obliterate past history that is not significant to them. For example, R5 stated that she cannot say that she is either a slave or of slave descent. Her statement is rooted in a conceptualisation of slavery that if we do not experience modern forms of slavery we are not slaves or of slave descent.

Although they do not recognise their descent, they all mentioned that people need to be of their slave origins. Indeed, even if they do not assert a slave stock, yet they assert a slave history and identify themselves to this history. One explanation for this identification might be that it is rooted in a collective history of slavery, in other words, a sharing of this history.

#### Reference 44 - 0.01% Coverage

On one hand, based on interviewees’ testimonies, it appears that their identification as descendant of slaves is based on their shared feelings and experiences of sufferings and oppression rooted in the belief that ‘the others’ and society keep them in oppression by refusing or repressing their social mobility and undermining their history and consequently the memory of the slaves. A collective memory of suffering and oppression is perpetuated with the generational transmission of suffering, misery and poverty that keep the descendants of slaves in the continuous cycle of deprivation. Their identification is not derived from knowledge of ancestral origins but rather on shared legacies of slavery such as social experiences and lack of education and opportunities.

#### Reference 45 - 0.01% Coverage

R9 Slavery had an impact on us. This is the history of my ancestors, they were living in their country, they worked, risked their lives, fought, lost their loved ones. To be healed from that, it

needs time. They liberated themselves, created their language, and invented their music to fight the harshness of life. Sega is the intelligence and sweat of our ancestors to regroup and express the hardships of life. Their descendants still suffer from these wounds. They had no one to advise them as indentured labourers had. The French colonists educated the children they had with slaves but there were barriers between those categories of descendants. They are not liberated at 100% today. There are not enough advisors today. I have three children. I want to advise them for a job. Who will I turn to to know about that? How to help orientate them professionally? Creoles that have succeeded don't help others. Other communities do that.

#### Reference 46 - 0.01% Coverage

R7 I was a teacher and considered as an intellectual and I sang sega considered a low class cultural trait. Sega is our Mauritian folklore. People liked my songs. I composed Lil Moris mo zoli pays, Zarina and Mme Eugène. They became a disk. Mme Eugène became a big success. I had an ulcer. When I was well, I went to P. Laval. Cocono pa le mor. I was greeted everywhere. (...) I always wanted to know what had happened in the past and what will happen in the future. When I went to Paris, I went to cultural places: libraries, museums. Same in England and Italy. When I began with sega, I was encouraged by my parents and the public. I travelled a lot. I progressed. I researched on sega, the most Mauritian thing that exists. I think I have slave ancestors from what I have read. Sega helped me to know the history

#### Reference 47 - 0.01% Coverage

There is a commonly held belief that the ancestral culture of the slaves was eradicated by Christianisation but from the testimonies it transpires that traditional practices and values survived but under modified forms which constitute Creole culture. They all mentioned the need to recognise the history and cultural heritage of the slaves.

#### Reference 48 - 0.01% Coverage

The informants recognised the contribution of the slaves and their descendants to the development and to the future of the island. For example R1 mentioned that the slaves did not only contribute to the construction of churches but she also believes that they gave the land in Saint Croix for the grave of Father Laval. They were hard workers, carrying heavy loads in the sugar cane plantations. The informants pointed out that they were the ones who developed the sugar cane plantations in the country such as R3 stressed that the history of the sugar industry is closely related to the history of slavery:

#### Reference 49 - 0.01% Coverage

It would be tedious to make a list of the enormous contribution in terms of labour force of slaves and slaves' descendants/Creoles. In the plantation sector, in sugar cane estates and textile and other factories (sack). In Free Zone and tourism. Listening to their life history would be enough.

#### Reference 50 - 0.01% Coverage

In the same line of thought, Paul mentioned that he feels that ‘the others’ do not want the descendant of slaves to succeed and that is why they (‘the others’) are not willing to recognise the history of slaves. When talking of the history of slaves, we should distinguish between the history of slavery which is rather the history of the slave system whereas the history of the slaves refer to the history of the people who were slaves such as their life histories. Based on the information gathered, what people are claiming is the recognition of the history of the slaves which implies looking at their experiences of slavery and subsequently of the slave system from the perspective of the slaves.

#### Reference 51 - 0.01% Coverage

The Oral Research History project has unraveled the perceptions of respondents who consider themselves as slave descendants from various regions of Mauritius, Rodrigues and Chagos as to a series of fundamental issues identified by the Truth and Justice Commission.

#### Reference 52 - 0.01% Coverage

Another legend says that Paul and Virginie swam in the pond and the last one is about the slaves or maroons who came to this pond. These two legends take place with the history of slavery.

#### Reference 53 - 0.01% Coverage

(Eng. trans:...Why name it Aigrette Pond? But me I always knew it as Aigrette Pond, but as said by history, there is legend [associated to it]. Which legend? There are people who say that they saw...long ago a mermaid...because it forms stones, big stone...how to say that? You see this pond [is] deep, there is a cave underneath...in this cave there is a giant eel, there is an eel inside it. But, now, because of draught, because normally, there was...lots water in the pond they say it is deep...thus what is the mermaid story? It is, finally, I have heard, the elders said that, their family told them, they saw a baby mermaid. But how the mermaid looked?...half human, half fish...after that I do not know. I do not know whether it is true or if it is fake. Because they say that each time Paul and Virginie, used to swim there...I cannot tell you who heard that story, but I do not believe that Paul and Virginie came here. Me...each time I thought it were the slaves who came here. And why you thought there were slaves?...How to say that, they searched for hiding places...)

#### Reference 54 - 0.01% Coverage

Family histories revealed changes in occupational choices after slavery. For example, Albain Michel Jean Pierre, grandfather of Dorisse Jean Pierre was a carpenter. Joseph Albert, the great grandfather of Louis Horace Albert was a blacksmith and Téfine Hanine, his great grandmother was a seamstress. (See Appendices 8 and 9)

#### Reference 55 - 0.01% Coverage

Reparation starts with work on the memory of slavery and of the slaves’ history of abuse for psychological healing purposes. This healing process starts with a de-construction of the deep

internalised sense of limitations and powerlessness. Furthermore, other social, cultural and psychological dynamics should take into consideration such as differential socialisation and enculturation processes to understand the Cité inner-structure, subculture and value system. It is only with time and sincere and genuine political will that we shall be able to break this deeply seated perception that their marginalisation and underprivileged situation are inherent to their being. The recommendations are all made to help address the plight of the residents of Cité La Mivoie and improve their social and economic situation. We should learn from past errors made during post-slavery whereby now there is no living memory of the slaves among the residents. Recommendations are also proposed for the preservation of the local tangible and intangible heritage to ensure that the history of the residents' ancestors do not go in oblivion and ensure that the memories of their ancestors remain alive.

#### Reference 56 - 0.01% Coverage

9. Ministry of Arts and Culture: Similarly at the Ministry of Arts and Culture under whom, specialists in slavery, indenture and in heritage management archaeology history and anthropology must be appointed to better monitor these institutions. Currently to our knowledge, there are none.

#### Reference 57 - 0.01% Coverage

slavery comes from the perspective of a historian. I approach the subject of reparations from a multidisciplinary perspective but do not regard myself as an expert in any discipline other than history. This is my contribution to the discourse.

#### Reference 58 - 0.01% Coverage

Seeing that our past is still with us, which is true in the United States and Mauritius; a Commission for Truth is an opportunity to heal the damages done to Mauritians through slavery and the indenture system as Randall Robinson says in his book, *The debt that America owes to Blacks* that “no nation can enslave a race of people for hundreds of years, set them free bedraggled and penniless, pit them, without assistance in a hostile environment, against privileged victimizers, and then reasonably expect the gap between the heirs of the two groups to narrow. Lines, begun parallel and left alone, can never touch.”<sup>12</sup> Reparations through the Truth and Justice Commission are a means of democratizing history, it gives a voice to those who are seldom heard; silenced by a society founded on slavery.

#### Reference 59 - 0.01% Coverage

Section three gives the political background and legal histories of compensatory reparations in Mauritius Island after the abolition of slavery. It examines the case of a Mauritian consortium, which was created after the abolition of slavery with compensatory monies from the British government compared to a lawsuit for compensatory damages for the loss of slaves' labour and property as a result of abolition in the State of Louisiana. This section also investigates the reparations suit for the refugees of the Chagos Islands in Mauritius and why the compensatory actions did not heal these people's wounds. It also explores the theory of race through history

comparatively in the U.S and Mauritius using Adelbert Jenkins humanistic approach to psychology and cross-cultural psychology proposed by Ute Schönplflug.

#### Reference 60 - 0.01% Coverage

Furthermore, Mauritius is the first country in Africa and the world to have a Truth and Justice Commission investigating the history of slavery and its consequences and to accept the principle that reparations are required.

#### Reference 61 - 0.01% Coverage

Considering the role of future generations in social and cultural development of the continent, the main goal of this Project, is to rescue the history of slavery and the slave traffic in southeastern Africa. In this context, the gathering, collection and preservation of oral traditions; as well as the promotion of cultural diversity and cultural tourism, and of a whole range of activities interconnected to this phenomenon, are crucial to this Project.

#### Reference 62 - 0.02% Coverage

The aim of this section devoted to descendants of Indian immigrants aims to highlight, as for slave populations the necessity of every family knowing and understanding his or her family origins. In the very delicate fabric that Mauritian society is made up of and being a newly emerging society, it has become abundantly clear that this type of knowledge makes Mauritians feel more 'Mauritian' and at the same time distinguished Mauritians from other nationalities. There are inherent difficulties however in tracing one's history: documents since the French and British period have not been well kept and even today numerous problems face the family historian.

These family histories and life histories are compiled by a group of young Mauritians trained in history who were given the task of finding and confronting their own family's past. It has not only proved to be a rich personal experience for them but has also provided the Commission with the justification for proposing a more vigorous campaign to collect all available documentary sources about Mauritians and make it accessible to the public. In the course of the research, the conservative approach adopted by some institutions towards releasing immigrant data must be unequivocally condemned. Judging by the numerous correspondence and discussions after the controversy concerning access of public Immigration archives currently housed at the Mahatma Gandhi Institute, it is clear that not all Mauritians feel the need to hide their truth about their family or caste origins and indeed they welcome openness and progressive attitudes. It is recommended that the MGI and all those other institutions and individuals rethink this policy of blocking public access to this section of the National Archives. A public campaign to explain the nature of the sources and why discrepancies and errors exist in the sources needs to accompany this open policy, as is the practice in other National Archives found overseas.

The metissage in terms of not only ethnic groups and but among Indian immigrants of various linguistic, regional and caste backgrounds leads one also to recommend that all copies of genealogical and family data be regrouped in one institution to make the task of reconstructing genealogies and family histories easier for the Mauritian population. Many Mauritians are descended from Indian. African and European origins and this currently means that a 'multi-

racial' Mauritian has to visit no less than 5 different institutions over many years to compile his/her family history. In the digital age this is an unnecessary burden to place on Mauritians.

#### Reference 63 - 0.01% Coverage

Rodrigues is disadvantaged because its people are largely 'Creole' – hence descendants of slaves. Would a predominantly Indo-Mauritian island be allowed to lack such basic educational resources and infrastructures? Some kind of reverse discrimination, or affirmative action, is therefore called for, if we are to give Rodriguan youths the same opportunities – educational, cultural, social and political – as Mauritian youths. Perhaps, therein lies a microcosmic image of a 'Coloured' and 'Creole' community through the ages; in Rodrigues, one finds the tangible impact of a society that can become neglected, because of its isolation, because of its origins and because it does not clamour loudly enough. Hence, one of our recommendations, which should also be one of the most urgent pleas of the Truth and Justice Commission, is that Rodrigues should be made a special case for positive discrimination, in terms of funding for education (at primary, secondary and tertiary levels). In connection with Rodrigues, too, interviewees suggested that the island's history be reevaluated and re-written so that young people might be given a more authentic picture of their past, and that this be put in a truly culturally Creole context.

#### Reference 64 - 0.01% Coverage

coloured immigrants to the island. Moreover, this group is characterised by the fact that its members came to the island of their own accord or were brought to the colony under contract so as to practise a trade or craft for a specified period of time. However, it is also true that the 'Coloured Population' includes descendants of 'Freed Slaves' who married individuals from other groups. To this extent, they have a very complex history and identity as a community. Do presentday Gens de Couleur live with this complex identity and are they aware of it? Such are the questions we attempted to partly answer.

#### Reference 65 - 0.01% Coverage

Who were these slaves? Although this report does not offer a substantive account of that history, it is important to note that there were also slaves of Indian origins in Mauritius. From what we gather from secondary sources on the treatment of slaves in general, these individuals must have also experienced the same hardships as those coming from Africa. Furthermore, the abolition of slavery in 1835 and the arrival of indentured labourers from the subcontinent of India in Mauritius continued the legacy of slave practices. As historians on Mauritius, such as Megan Vaughan, Vijaya Teelock and Marina Carter, remind us - the system of apprenticeship ensured the oppression of slave descendants and then indentured labourers after abolition.

#### Reference 66 - 0.01% Coverage

Karl Marx argued that slavery involved the 'primitive accumulation of capital' (Marx 1906:738)<sup>4</sup> and that 'the veiled slavery of the wage earners in Europe needed for its pedestal, slavery pure and simple in the New World' (Marx 1906:833).<sup>5</sup> Thus and as argued previously,

slavery was necessary to the establishment of the industrial revolution in Europe and for the enrichment of those countries and of Europeans in the colonies. The investments made at the time continue to benefit those countries. It is our hope that the project on the Economics of Slavery initiated in the TJC, will reveal the exact or approximate fiscal benefits gained from the slave system. It is also our hope that in considering the process of reparations, that the government will turn to this time in history to enter into a dialogue with ‘developed’ nations such as Britain, France and the Netherland in order

#### Reference 67 - 0.01% Coverage

One of the reports, which involved two intensive months of anthropological fieldwork in the region of Black River on the West Coast of the island, documents the experiences of Mauritians in general. The region of Black River was initially chosen for the fieldwork because of its association with the history of slavery and the development of ethnic relations with indentured labourers from about 1835.

#### Reference 68 - 0.01% Coverage

In the following extracts we note the reconstruction of Creole identity via the discourse of victimhood in the story of slavery. It is our view that this is happening because there is a ‘need’ to reassert boundaries around the Creole community and to give it value (by establishing a definitive source of identity and history of Creoles) in the culture-conscious space of Mauritius. It is possible, however, to also cynically argue that some Creoles have appropriated and transformed the discourse of victimisation and suffering apparent in the story of slavery and that they are now reinterpreting the story to argue that their ancestors were resilient and that this resilience is now helping them to confront the legacy of slavery. The discourse of resilience and freedom have now replaced the historical discourse on slavery as an experienced marked by humiliation and suffering. Those intent on using the transformed discourse for political purposes are now doing so, as a way of gaining leverage and support from the slave descendant population. It is also our view that the transformation of the discourse of slavery is not the sole project of selected Creole politicians but rather the work of politicians and scholars who actively search for, and promote, narratives of resilience in the history of slavery.

#### Reference 69 - 0.01% Coverage

(Eng. Trans.:...They are Baho, no Mascacreignes, on my mother’s side they are Baho. Then when you look on the side of the Cangy family, they say we come from Pondicherry others say that we come from whatever part region of India. But when we look at all this...You know when we felt we are of slave descent? When you try to do something with love but you do not succeed...my history I think my elders were among the slaves. And the blood, this vein, the slave blood in the veins is present...)

#### Reference 70 - 0.01% Coverage

Reading through the current Form 4 History book, it was astounding to note the invisibility of Creole history in the text books and the negative presentation of African slaves. In the history

book one of the first passages recounting African presence on the island is rather telling of the racial discourse around slavery in secondary education. The passage is of an account of a slave rebellion where slaves burnt down a field. Using the passage as a reference, two questions are posed to the students asking “what were the problems created by slaves” and “what were the activities carried out by the Dutch”.

#### Reference 71 - 0.01% Coverage

Suppression of slavery history in the Republic of Mauritius has helped to keep their descendants in a state of instability, confusion, and self-loathing. This has produced and maintained low self-esteem, feelings of inadequacy and low self-image, generating a low regard for those who are of the same community, creating an environment of envy, distrust, disloyalty, and hatred within the community. These are complex processes at the heart of the dynamics involved in the relationships between the individual, groups of affiliation and society, at large.

#### Reference 72 - 0.01% Coverage

Mauritius follows the trends observed in other countries with a history of slavery i.e. the conflicting tendencies between inherited traditional patterns of religious beliefs, based on popular culture and Christian faith linked with the elite culture of the slave owners.

#### Reference 73 - 0.01% Coverage

Chagossians, Agaleans as well as Rodriguans identify themselves above all to specific cultural capitals linked to the characteristics of their islands. A distinct homeland district history and tradition as cultural capital is produced, reinforced by perceptions of ostracism by Mauritians i.e. people born on Mauritius island, feelings of resentment at being left out of mainstream development “Parent Pauvre de la République”. As in any identity choice and alignment, partners and stakes determine the positioning of all parties.

In the case of Chagossians, Agaleans and Rodriguans, the common denominator is the struggle against what is perceived as structural domination to obtain access for better economic, social and political recognition. This is especially true in the case of the forced exile of Chagossians. In fighting exists but the sense of belonging, especially among uprooted or migrant communities on the island of Mauritius, helps to reduce cognitive dissonance and enables inner energies to focus on structural issues. Ilois and Rodriguan cultures present a positive rural identity as response to negative stereotyping (rural upbringing, social conservatism, traditional behaviours and attitudes, authentic values, alternative way of living and healing). Even if poverty exists and may be more vicious than on Mauritius, descendants refer less to the traumatic past of slavery. Theirs are histories with less social rivalry, negative discrimination, social comparisons pertaining to leadership, collective resources and upward social mobility

#### Reference 74 - 0.01% Coverage

The second one, more specific to slave descendants, lies in the interplay of six factors: 1) A history of enslavement, servitude and oppression; 2) Demographic composition; 3) Economic positioning and intensifying competition with other communities; 4) Racial prejudice and

discrimination; 5) Resources, internal structure, dynamics and leadership of the community itself, and 6) Capacity for self-determination and self-empowerment.

#### Reference 75 - 0.01% Coverage

questions, seeks to address the following : ‘Conditions of education of slaves, ex-slaves, indentured labourers and descendants, the state of ‘enforced illiteracy’ and its consequences on the slave population, the consequences of denial of education; consequences of non-inclusion of an oral culture. This Education Report also examines the articulations between the past and the present and how education can therefore be used as a tool for reparation and thus mitigating the tensions and injustices resulting from a history of injustice and oppression.

#### Reference 76 - 0.01% Coverage

persecution and massacres in history. Regarding slavery as the starting traumatic experience, the “Post-Traumatic Slave Syndrome” captures its devastating effects that have been internalized from generation to generation and continuously reinforced by systemic racism and discrimination on the social level. It means that slavery has consequences for all parties and for the whole of society sharing that history.

#### Reference 77 - 0.01% Coverage

the Colonial Government and the Church as institutions did not cater for slave education. A few individuals mostly French missionaries (Lazarists), provided basic religious education and opened a few schools to cater for basic academic education of coloured and slaves. The history of French colonial period is therefore largely one of exclusion. The non accessibility to education meant that slave descendants continued to remain in an unequal power relationship for a very long time.

#### Reference 78 - 0.01% Coverage

promote transparency and accountability, have the potential to heal past wounds, to provide a platform for citizens to engage with their fears and expectations, social justice. For this to happen, there needs to be reparations. Some of the hearings that have been done in Truth and Justice Commissions, inclusive that of Mauritius, have actually spoken of reparations and others have pointed towards the need for it. While historical periods and contexts are very different, many of the hearings across the board point to the need for healing, the need for forgiveness, the need for greater accountability and the urgent need of redress. The Mauritian Truth and Justice Commission which is digging in the consequences of a relatively distant history cannot, unlike many other Truth and Justice Commissions, bring the actual perpetrators of the violence to the platform but several voices emerging from the hearings speak of the violence perpetrated in the world of Education as well as the present-day prejudices and discriminatory practices that children of slave and indenture descent are having to experience. The former are much more pronounced amongst children of slave descent.

#### Reference 79 - 0.01% Coverage

The history of slavery is the history of inhuman treatment, misery, exploitation and violation of human rights scarring the dignity and self-esteem of individuals in the innermost sanctum of their body. Historians concur on this thread of slaves' life-course journey.

#### Reference 80 - 0.01% Coverage

Drug use has been closely associated with our immigration history. Illicit rum production by slaves under the French colonization (1715-1810). After the abolition of slavery in 1834, the then British Administration brought Indian indentured labourers who came with their culture and traditions. They introduced cannabis, known as gandia, while the Chinese immigrants, who came during the same period, introduced opium to the colony. However, these drugs, gandia and opium and illicit rum, were traditionally used in a controlled socio-cultural context in certain localized areas. They were mostly consumed by adults without much serious public concern.

#### Reference 81 - 0.01% Coverage

For Mauritius, Auguste Toussaint was undoubtedly the greatest compiler of data for Mauritian history before the 1980s. On the subject of trade and commerce, he compiled an impressive list of ships with details of tonnage, destinations for the period 1773 to 1810. In this, Toussaint listed 515 slaving voyages between 1773 and 1810. This data includes tonnage, size of cargoes and slave mortality. However, the slave trade per se was not his focus of interest, and he does not include much more information in the published versions. His private papers are not to be found in Mauritius.

#### Reference 82 - 0.01% Coverage

accounting historians of the slave trade believe that the study of slavery and the slave trade, from an economist's or financial analyst's perspective, allows them to study history more 'objectively' than traditional historians because they are studying history 'without passing judgement'.

#### Reference 83 - 0.01% Coverage

self-laudatory approach ignores, however, the fact that economic historians can only study what is quantifiable, such as trade statistics, prices, tonnage, numbers, heights and weights of slaves, rather than deal with 'intangible' issues of history such as identity or culture loss, mental and physical stress, mobility, laws, consequences on family life or the sense of loss felt as a result of being removed from one's homeland.

#### Reference 84 - 0.01% Coverage

Thus preferences for certain types of slaves for labour began to be expressed as early as then. It was not only the price, but their propensity for hard work, to maroon, that were taken into consideration. Linking ethnicity to occupation started at a very early stage and can be said to have continued throughout Mauritian history.

#### Reference 85 - 0.01% Coverage

Much therefore remains to be included in the lists compiled by Toussaint and others as far as the early history of the slave is concerned.

Slavery in French economic history

#### Reference 86 - 0.01% Coverage

des noirs et achats en retour et enfin le grand livre” [Eng trans: The slave trading journal, the receipt book, the sales of slaves book, and purchases book and finally the big book]. Although written for Atlantic voyages, it seems unlikely that it would have been any different in the Indian Ocean, since many of the ships and Captains were the same. A greater search of the accounts of slave traders might reveal as yet unknown facets of the history of slavery and slave trade.

#### Reference 87 - 0.01% Coverage

There were also those who were simply captured and kidnapped from their villages and where no trading took place. This is currently impossible to quantify. But oral tradition in Mozambique exist and deserve further study. Benigna Zimba has recommended that memorialistaion of this part of the history of slave trade should be included in future representations of slavery in Mauritius.

#### Reference 88 - 0.01% Coverage

Although in the early years of the slave trade to the Mascarenes, the armateurs and traders came from France, by the last quarter of the 18th century, some of the trading was carried on from Mauritius. A total of 72 merchants and traders are listed in Port Louis and a good number were involved in the slave trade. Allen has quoted, for example, Messrs. Closnard, Cloupet, Collique, Drieux, Geoffriou, De La Rochelle, Le Blanc, Rolland, Le Bouchet, Le Bourdé, Dahuy Solminiac, La Corte, Laurent Raphaël, d’Hotman and Vally. Louis Monneron also had family links with merchants in India, while Morice focused on slave trading with Zanzibar. Sharonne Philips has reconstructed part of the family’s history in Mauritius.

#### Reference 89 - 0.01% Coverage

of the French : the Mascarene slave trade and the worlds of the Indian Ocean and Atlantic during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries », *Journal of African History*, 49(1), 2008, pp. 43-72). Pourtant, là encore, bien que très précieuse, son étude ne peut pas être considérée comme définitive car son auteur n’a pas consulté les archives françaises. D’autre part, les chiffres donnés concernent la traite globale vers les Mascareignes, sans distinguer Bourbon et l’Île de France.

#### Reference 90 - 0.01% Coverage

While tracing the history of slavery and the slave trade, it is difficult to know the slaves’ original African names or surnames. This situation applies particularly to the case of slaves exported from Inhambane and Ilha de Moçambique under the Portuguese administration. Because they

travelled abroad already baptized, from the 1760s onwards, Inhambane slaves became known as the best of the Colony, and were sold in large numbers.<sup>11</sup> Through baptism, slaves received European names, which are those in the Registers of Export and Immigration. In a number of cases, baptized slaves did not know their birth names. Despite this situation, we should mention that according to Mozambican tradition, the names of the regions were also very often the same as those of people. In other words, it helps to emphasize that the names in Tables 3, 4, and 5, for example, were certainly the original names of a number of slaves exported specifically from the ports of Inhambane, Delagoa Bay and also Ilha de Moçambique.

#### Reference 91 - 0.01% Coverage

characterized slave behaviour. This short study of apprentice and indentured behaviour in a crucial moment in Mauritian history, the 1830s, helps to show that oppressed people in Mauritius have never bowed their heads and accepted their fate silently. They showed many innovative ways to overcome their servitude and fight the system. We are only at the beginning for our search to understand the consciousness of the oppressed in Mauritius.

#### Reference 92 - 0.01% Coverage

From the above, a low probability of abolition and emancipation would not affect the value of labour significantly. However, it may have been the case that, prior to the middle 1830s, it was widely believed that slavery would eventually not come to an end. After the mid-1830s, if our interpretation of the history is correct, there was little doubt that the slave regime would persist indefinitely. In terms of the model, Pem would be greater in the late 1820s. This, in turn, would imply that, *ceteris paribus*, the expected present value would increase. On the other hand, if abolition seemed unlikely, then Pem would have remained essentially constant over time with, *ceteris paribus*, no change in the expected present value.

#### Reference 93 - 0.01% Coverage

In 1840, Mauritius, formerly Isle de France, already had a complex history which was to become more complex with the Indians - Hindus and Muslims – and the Chinese being added to the ex-slaves mainly of Malagasy or African origin, to the Coloured people, the Whites. Among these last ones, were some of French origin and colonists in the country, the others being British and new administrators of the island; they were to form a population in search of its identity and to see imposing one which would be imposed upon them by the dominant racial oligarchy. It is within this complex socio-political system that the Church would have to integrate itself.

#### Reference 94 - 0.01% Coverage

The mid-nineteenth century represented a turning point in the History of the Church in Mauritius. Apart from the various social changes taking place in the country (abolition of slavery and apprenticeship), there was also a need for a Catholic revival. If the Roman Catholic Church could embark on such a revival, it was largely owing to the zeal and personality of Mgr. Collier who happened to be the right man at the right time.

#### Reference 95 - 0.01% Coverage

Mauritius is a country which has known the worse forms of injustice during its 400 years of history, marked by slavery and its aftermath and the indentured labour system. That this country is now considered as one of the most avant-gardiste in the field of Social Justice is in itself a great feat.

#### Reference 96 - 0.01% Coverage

The French colonial period is undoubtedly the darkest period in Mauritian history, when it comes to the ill-treatment inflicted on human beings, to keep the slave population at bay. All rights conferred on slave-masters under the Code as enacted by the Letters Patents in 1723 were fully implemented; corporal punishment, mutilations for the slightest offences and the death penalty were the rule. Over the years, several clauses of the Code Noir were amended to reinforce control on slave labour and to act as deterrent against marooning which has always been a scourge for the authorities.<sup>10</sup>

#### Reference 97 - 0.01% Coverage

The Malaise Creole had also to do with the history of the Creoles: the dispossession and suffering associated with slavery and the aftermath of it, the consequences of which can be seen in the persistence of poverty, social problems and political marginalization.

#### Reference 98 - 0.01% Coverage

The present report, done by a group of Rodriguans, aims at presenting, in an objective way, how the population of Rodrigues sees their past traumatic history, how they are coping with the present and how they envisage the future of the next generations. It is, indeed, an attempt to revisit the history of the island from the days of slavery to present time from a Rodriguan perspective. It is hoped that the recommendations of this report will be integrated in the National Policy and implemented as soon as possible so that in 2030, every single person born in Rodrigues in 2011 (18 – 19 yrs old by then) is able to benefit from the plethora of opportunities offered by his/her fatherland to develop to his/her full potential in a totally liberalised world.

#### Reference 99 - 0.01% Coverage

Slavery has been recognised and condemned as a crime to Humanity. This inhumane practice has left lasting stigmas on the lives of its promoters and particularly on the lives of the victims. It is needless to go into great details about the general and lasting collateral damages that Slavery had caused in the History of Humanity; the following will suffice:

#### Reference 100 - 0.01% Coverage

Furthermore, the administration of the island, when it came, was chaotic. For instance, declarations of births and deaths, and publications and celebrations of marriages in Rodrigues, were first made compulsory from the 1st January 1857. However, it was only in 1890 that a Civil

Status Office was created in Rodrigues. This infers that from 1857 to 1883, year when the Police Magistrate was given the powers to validate any will or contract of marriage certified as genuine, all acts so authenticated prior to that year were in fact illegal. Legally, the people of Rodrigues did not officially exist until 1883. There is thus a case to be made to research the History of Rodrigues from the official abolition of slavery in 1835 to 1883, to find out what really happened to the people of Rodrigues during that particular period.

#### Reference 101 - 0.01% Coverage

The history of island remains unknown to many people (including Mauritians and Rodriguans), with Mauritian History taking precedence over that of Rodrigues. This report aims at adding to our knowledge of slavery, its sequels and legacies in contemporary Rodrigues.

#### Reference 102 - 0.01% Coverage

(Eng. trans: yes because in the past according to History, all people belonging to the Black race were slaves because there was a Black Code that, according to history, tells us...all people that are not of the White race Blacks are slaves)”).

#### Reference 103 - 0.01% Coverage

slaves were not tortured and did not want to be emancipated. Another reason might be that there is no history of maroonage on the island, as in metropolitan Mauritius, and there are no ‘slave hero’ stories. Consequently, there are no myths, legends and local history of resistance with which the Rodriguans can identify.

#### Reference 104 - 0.01% Coverage

This is why the village where the public punishment was inflicted is still called ‘Vingt-Cinq’ (twenty-five). Some people want to change this name in order to blot out the unhappy memories of slavery. Others insist that it is important to keep history alive. Most inhabitants have no opinion. A consensus thereon is needed (Doc III TJC 99- 102 Créole Version).

#### Reference 105 - 0.01% Coverage

Excluded from the Elite’s consideration, representations of slavery and indenture did not form part of the memorial process before the years 2000. These years mark a shift in the memorial process: memory expanded to include the experiences of the formerly dominated population. Our research in museums specifically showed the development of representations during this period. As part of its reorganisation in 2000, the National History Museum in Mahébourg presents indenture as an experience leading to a positive evolution in the society. However, representations of slavery imply that ex-slaves were victims of an inhuman system and consequently, were not given the opportunity to become actors in the society. At l’Aventure du Sucre created in 2003 by a consortium of sugar companies, the museum discourse provides positive accounts of local history in the perspective of international context. This provides an account of the “negative” events beyond the local context and helps to conciliate a national

vision of the past. In addition, it also states that the descendants of the former Elite generate a vision of the past that accepts the colonial undertakings which affected the population. In this sense, the acceptance of the past acts towards the evolution of the memorial process in museums and serves the contemporary dynamics of nation building. Ultimately, this process of conciliation leads to remember why the Mauritian society took shape and evolved to form a nation. It was interesting to compare L'Aventure du Sucre, a private museum, with the Musée du Peuplement created by the State in 2010. The Musée du Peuplement interprets the past to remember the positive accounts: its dynamics are very similar to those of Aventure du Sucre activating the positive memory to establish a new approach to the past. This approach results in the recognition of a common heritage: it is the first instance in which the heritage deriving from the population's interactions is represented. Although we may question the quality of the display, the Musée du peuplement is marking a major shift in the memory process: it formulates the existence of a common heritage shaped by the various groups in action.

#### Reference 106 - 0.01% Coverage

The presentation of slavery is based on information from a scientific point of view, providing key dates and within the framework of the overall context of slavery in French colonies. This point of view offers a good historical understanding of how slavery evolved through time in Mauritius. It also allows visitors to grasp slavery chronologically within the history of Mauritius. The display presents:

#### Reference 107 - 0.01% Coverage

Emancipation is also presented as a negative event in history and as only benefitting the rich and powerful: "the abolition, proclaimed in 1835 in all the British colonies, eventually proved to be more beneficial to the masters than to the slaves, since the period of apprenticeship that followed was strangely identical to slavery, as the fundamental human rights were still being flouted."

#### Reference 108 - 0.01% Coverage

In the film, the History of Slavery is presented from Antiquity to the 19th century. This chronological approach supports a clear understanding of the nature of slavery and also of its presence in Mauritius, as this section is well documented and illustrated in respect of academic expectations. Slavery is presented as a global phenomenon and the Mauritian experience is considered from an international perspective. This discourse helps to understand the global phenomenon of slavery and ensures the quality of discourse; justifications are given for presenting in such details, the experience of slavery.

#### Reference 109 - 0.01% Coverage

formulation of a traumatic experience. This is particularly important as the discourse on slavery refers to the inhuman conditions of the slaves and may give rise to emotional considerations, leading to contemporary demands. The scientific discourse is thus instrumental in formulating slavery as a historical fact. This stand discards personal misleading appreciations of slavery. In this respect, the scientific discourse recreates a clear link with the past. It helps to consider

slavery with objectivity and sets a basis for the process of acceptance of slavery as a historical fact and as forming part of the nation's past. The trauma would need to be formulated to offer the opportunity to contemporary generations to accept and appropriate in a positive manner this part of their History.

#### Reference 110 - 0.01% Coverage

We may also argue that both sites can be perceived as an “ethnic” heritage: slavery is associated with the Creole segment of the population while indenture refers to the Mauritians of Indian origin. Opting for World Heritage Status allows recognition by an external apparatus and supports the legitimization of this national heritage outside the national boundaries. The recognition generated by an international body thus reinforces the importance of this heritage and ultimately encourages the adhesion of the entire population. The presence of two World Heritage Sites on the national territory establishes an emblem of what constitutes the Mauritian history and identity. Their authenticity or meaning may be contested but still their status as emblem of Mauritian society is not challenged.<sup>56</sup>

## *Commemoration*

References or discussions of commemoration, remembrance, heritage, museums, etc.

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC\_.Report-FULL> - § 91 references coded [0.42% Coverage]

### Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

Even today, no monument has been erected to remind us of their contribution to history and to the development of the country.

### Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

A museum, with what is left of the ancient establishment and families, will be a living memory of traditions and culture, and an open book of history.

### Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

There are different coconut fields with different names. Their delimitation, with their proper names, will be a practical exercise in pedagogy to teach the History of Agalega to all the population, particularly young students. Names of streets and avenues should also be marked. This measure will reinstate the dignity of the people: from Camp Noir to Avenue, from hut to bungalow.

### Reference 4 - 0.02% Coverage

3. A third issue that the TJC has dealt with, has been the suspicion and concern expressed in many quarters about academic history not reaching the local population. The TJC attempted, therefore, to bring together, through its historical projects, scholars, community groups and the local population. There was, we believe, frank discussions where community views were able to feed on the work of scholars, (local and foreign) who were able to voice their views, share their knowledge and arrive at a consensus. The TJC feels it was the start of a new historical 'adventure' and hopes that this approach will be continued in the future. It is hoped that the historians involved, have recognized the value of this work. TJC thus avoided what has become common elsewhere, where Western academic scholarship has clashed with community-based' histories. TJC has also ensured that other forms of historical research have been used, in particular oral history and that archaeological and ethnographic research has been used and promoted in the various studies. Such studies finally aroused a great deal of public attention, and this is indeed very encouraging for the future. It is clear, however, that the gap between academic history and communities being researched needs to be narrowed even further. TJC has devised a policy that will guarantee access to most of the data collected (archival, oral, ethnographic, and archaeological) to the public as well as the academic community.

Knowledge production is still an issue as people from particular ethnic groups tend to read what historians from their own ethnic groups write, even though it may not be completely objective and scientific in its approach. The class, caste and gender approaches need also to be incorporated into Mauritian History. These historians and communities would benefit from

sharing their perspectives, and this would go a long way towards a shared history and a shared heritage in the future. Academic historians need, therefore, to popularize their writings. They also need to relate their findings to the contemporary situation.

4. How one faces the past was another area of concern. Will apologies and forgiveness heal the wounds of the past? Some believe so. TJC believes it is not enough and that public institutions must ensure that the debate about our history never ends, because history is always being written and rewritten. Although many wish to close the book, this will not be possible. Rather, TJC invites Mauritians to continue uncovering the Truth, and not to forget that Injustice can always recur and that Mauritians must be vigilant.

#### Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

These are not accounted for and cannot be accurately calculated as yet, given the lack of information, but their history deserves to be remembered.

#### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

Accounting historians have been investigating how the accounts of the slave trade were kept. A unique journal, the *Guide du commerce*, written by Gaignat de l'Aulnais in 1771, has led to a detailed and equally unique historical study by Cheryl McWatters.<sup>95</sup> In this journal, McWatters highlights the basic documents required for a slave trading expedition, according to Gaignat. These were: “Le journal de traite, le livre de factures, le journal de vente des noirs et achats en retour et enfin le grand livre” (Eng trans: The slave trading journal, the receipt book, the sales of slaves book, and purchases book and finally the big book). Although written for Atlantic voyages, it seems unlikely that it would have been any different in the Indian Ocean, since many of the ships and Captains were the same. A greater search of the accounts of slave traders might reveal as yet unknown facets of the history of slavery and the slave trade. For example, it is currently impossible to quantify the volume of trade carried on in the interior: those who were simply captured and kidnapped from their villages and where no trading took place. Oral traditions in Mozambique exist and deserve further study. Benignaimba, Mozambican historian, has recommended that memorialisation of this part of the history of the slave trade should also be included in future representations of slavery in Mauritius.

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

Had the French National Archives documents been available to him (photo 2), these questions would have been answered. It is imperative that authorities pay attention to the urgent need to obtain copies of all documents found overseas pertaining to Mauritian slavery. These are important, not only for historical records, but also for memorialisation purposes and allow Mauritians to better research their history.<sup>226</sup>

#### Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission also recommends the continuation of an inventory of documents found in France and elsewhere and the continuation of input into the Slave Trade Database. The aim is to establish a list of all ships and their cargo in order to better document the slave trade and arrive at

an improved assessment of the volume of the slave trade to Mauritius, and the actual number of slaves having been disembarked in Mauritius. It is also necessary to include in calculations, those ships/persons/slaves destined for Mauritius but who never arrived, due to revolts, shipwrecks, diseased etc. This information will be inserted in the database. Scholars from overseas working on the slave trade to Mauritius, in their respective countries, need to be included in this project, such as Thomas Vernet and Benigna Zimba. It is further recommended that this database work be continued by the University of Mauritius in partnership with other institutions with an interest in the slave trade and slavery. The University possesses both history and computer science departments who can collaborate with minimal cost with each other to maintain the database. It also has a pool of students every year who can be initiated and trained in historical research and data entry. However, appropriate funding must be provided and this work is to be shared with the public through an online database.

The Commission recommends the establishment of an Intercontinental Slavery Museum on the Port Louis Waterfront as a permanent reminder of the existence of slavery and the contribution of slaves to the history of Mauritius. We recommend that the Project be initiated and supervised by the Prime Minister's Office in collaboration with related institutions. Being located in the capital city Port Louis will ensure the history of slavery is given its due importance and also to ensure financial sustainability for the Museum once it is opened.

Finally the Commission recommends a NATIONAL GENEALOGY CENTRE, which will help numerous Mauritians, many of whom of African and Malagasy descent, who faced enormous difficulties in tracing their family history and genealogy. This has also caused much distress in families, and some believed they had lost property as a result. These families were unable to furnish basic information on their ancestors to the TJC. Consequently, the TJC helped a large number of families in recreating their genealogical trees and, during this process, it was able to verify for itself the difficulties mentioned by these families.

#### Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

However, while looking forward to the younger generations moving up the social ladder, the community has been faced with a loss of memory, relegating its past sufferings and conditions. To some extent, the community preserves only the legendary hardworking capacities of the Chinese people. History itself has played a role in this parody of a depiction of this community which has often been limited to hard labour or to distinctive figure of the Chinese and their astonishing economic development over the last two centuries. These people fled their countries to form new communities all over the world. Most of them would not return to China after the Communist takeover and found no other solution, but to stay, and secure their future, in their adopted countries.

Nowadays, after an incredible economic success, the Chinese seem to witness a decline in their community due to various factors. Many young Sino-Mauritians are looking for better prospects elsewhere in the world; turning a blind eye to what their parents and grandparents had built through will-power and hard work. There is an outcry in the community that they should be given due recognition for their contribution to the overall development of the country; a recognition by all Mauritians for their history and past sufferings in the hope that they may revive the community, by convincing younger generations to stay and build a bright future for this country, to which they now belong.

#### Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission, therefore, supports the recommendation of creating a Conservation Institute or a 'Cultural heritage Institute', to be placed under the aegis of the University of Mauritius where young persons of all disciplines can be trained in the interdisciplinary framework which is so essential in cultural heritage preservation (Engineering, Computer Science, History, Chemistry and Natural Sciences) rather than at the Ministry of Arts and Culture, heavily staffed by administrators and only a few specialists in cultural fields. Scientific disciplines are represented in even less numbers.

#### Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

The creation of a Cultural Heritage Institute or a Conservation Institute at the University of Mauritius (UoM), which will include the preparation of a Master's Degree in Conservation of Mauritian Heritage; this could be part of both History programmes as well as Librarians' courses and even Sciences programme, as a multidisciplinary staff (Sciences Chemistry Entomology Mycology) is also required etc.

#### Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

4. Preservation of historical sites and archival records and need of a holistic version of the history of people of slave descent

#### Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

1. Memorialising Slavery 2. A better understanding of, and a more inclusive, Mauritian history and culture 3. A better and increased protection of Mauritian heritage 4. A less racist and elitist society 5. A more democratic public life 6. Empower Mauritians of African and Malagasy origin

#### Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

11. For a more just educational system 12. For our 'cités' 13. Concerning the caste system 14. Le Morne village history and heritage and Southern Mauritius 15. Metayers and Riche Terre Planters 16. Archives

#### Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

20. Recognition of the following sites and histories as National heritage:

#### Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

☐ Committee to study the history of Indians in French period and how to better memorialize their history and heritage in contemporary Mauritius.

#### Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

□ There is a low level of understanding of Mauritian History exhibited by Mauritians from all walks of life and irrespective of educational background. There is thus a need for research and the promotion of History

#### Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

38. Promote history and other disciplines involved in heritage documentation and research to provide the nation with scientific vision of the past thus allowing the dissemination of knowledge.

#### Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

Similarly, at the Ministry of Arts and Culture under which, specialists in slavery, indenture and in heritage management, Archaeology, History and Anthropology must be appointed to better monitor these institutions.

#### Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

□ The creation of a Cultural Heritage Institute or a Conservation Institute at the University of Mauritius (UoM) which will include the preparation of a Master's in Conservation of Mauritian Heritage. This could be part of both History programmes, as well as Librarians' courses and even Sciences programme as a multidisciplinary staff (Sciences, Chemistry, Entomology, Mycology) are also required etc.

#### Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

- ii. History of Agalega should be taught from Primary level onwards. The book of Father Dussercle Agaléga Petite Île is an excellent manual for secondary students.
- iii. A museum, with what is left of the ancient establishment and families, will be a living memory of traditions and culture, and an open book of history.

#### Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

279. That the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund currently the only institution to be legally entrusted with the preservation of the history and heritage of indentured immigrants be consulted concerning the management of the Immigration Archives and access to them.

#### Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

In this respect, the University of Mauritius has been identified as repository the databank mentioned in Chapter 2.01 The Centre for Research on slavery and indenture should be the repository of the oral history databank for the following reasons:

#### Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

□ Oral history is a new field of research in Mauritius and oral history archives should be set to promote oral history research

#### Reference 25 - 0.01% Coverage

Identity needed to be studied as an original construction and seen as a heritage but also as an original construction by Mauritians. Discussion needed to take place on what made up the Mauritian nation. History education was important but in a more dynamic way/

#### Reference 26 - 0.01% Coverage

5. History On this topic, much was said and is summarized here.  
Approaches and methodologies: oral histories needed to be incorporated with archival studies  
Gaps in the study of history: post 1830s 1840s 1850s - experience of slaves and descendants

#### Reference 27 - 0.01% Coverage

Considering the role of future generations in social and cultural development of the continent, the main goal of this Project, is to rescue the history of slavery and the slave traffic in southeastern Africa. In this context, the gathering, collection and preservation of oral traditions; as well as the promotion of cultural diversity and cultural tourism, and of a whole range of activities interconnected to this phenomenon, are crucial to this Project.

#### Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

The conceptors of this Project recommend that the Museum be located in the capital city Port Louis. Apart from giving the history of slavery its due importance it is also appropriate that it should be placed in a location that is reminiscent of slavery and related to slavery. Furthermore as the historic parts of the city are frequently visited by tourists and Mauritians alike, this will ensure financial sustainability for the Museum once it is opened.

#### Reference 29 - 0.01% Coverage

1. provide for the recording and keeping of oral history archives in relation to genealogy and family history;

#### Reference 30 - 0.01% Coverage

The Oral History Project research (See ORAL HISTORY OF DESCENDANTS OF SLAVES Part 1, Volume 3), commissioned by the Truth and Justice Commission to document and preserve the memories and views of people who consider themselves as slave descendants, surveyed the collective memory of the people who have a particular knowledge of the history, culture, lifestyle, heritage and traditions of slaves, ex-slaves and their descendants. The survey, which covered the islands of Mauritius and Rodrigues, Agaléga, Chagos aimed, amongst others, at uncovering the “Causes of landownership and causes for loss of land” by the descendants of ex-slaves.

Reference 31 - 0.01% Coverage

VOL 3: PART I – SLAVERY - ORAL HISTORY OF DESCENDANTS OF SLAVES  
INTRODUCTION

This oral history project research has been commissioned by the Truth and Justice Commission to document and preserve the memories and views of people who consider themselves as slave descendants. It surveys the collective memory of the people who have a particular knowledge of the history, culture, lifestyle, heritage and traditions of slaves, ex-slaves and their descendants. The survey covers the islands of Mauritius and Rodrigues, Agaléga, Chagos and aims at uncovering the following topics identified by the Truth and Justice Commission:

Reference 32 - 0.01% Coverage

There is a commonly held belief that the ancestral culture of the slaves was eradicated by Christianisation but from the testimonies it transpires that traditional practices and values survived but under modified forms which constitute Creole culture. They all mentioned the need to recognise the history and cultural heritage of the slaves.

Reference 33 - 0.01% Coverage

For example, a local history museum with pedagogical activities should be constructed and the publication of the local history.  
The history of the main estates should be retraced given that they determined local social and economic evolution.

Reference 34 - 0.01% Coverage

There are infrastructures that existed in the past but that have disappeared now because of spatial reconfigurations resulting from residential and other infrastructural developments. Some of these infrastructures are inherent to the local economic history and are still present in the collective and individual memories of the respondents as they have an historical significance for the latter. Therefore, the vestige of these infrastructures should be listed as local heritage sites:

Reference 35 - 0.01% Coverage

proposed construction of a cable car project on Le Morne. A number of studies were undertaken on archaeology, ethnography and history by various scholars. An institution was created to manage the site over which there has been much contestation of an ethnic nature from socio-cultural groups and on the part of developers. Since then, the site has become a World Heritage site, yet remains inaccessible to the public.

Reference 36 - 0.01% Coverage

TJC commissioned a professional archaeological survey of the abandoned cemetery, DNA testing of local inhabitants and a family history from one descendant of a slave family having

lived in Le Morne since the early 19th century. Circumstantial evidence points to a link between the cemetery and the former slave inhabitants of Le Morne although further studies are recommended to confirm this. Preliminary DNA testing did not prove conclusive as the bones were 'water logged' but further tests are required as well as C4 dating. DNA tests of inhabitants will also indicate their ethnic origin and whether they conform to the ethnic origin mentioned in slave registration returns. What we do know from the osteological analysis is that although they were not malnourished, the adults buried there lived 'short, hard and brutish' lives. Many children among the few adults indicate high infant mortality rate which is consistent with the historical demographic data on slaves in Mauritius.

The two studies one by Yola Argot Nayekoo, herself a descendant of a family of slaves having lived in Le Morne since early 19th century, if not before, and the archaeological study of Krish Seetah and his team in the abandoned cemetery point to a new facet of the history of Le Morne: aside from being associated with maroonage, Le Morne is also associated with a permanent slave community living and working in the area which need to be further researched. More studies such as that of Yola Nayekoo and Krish Seetah need to be undertaken, in collaboration with institutions and individuals interested in this region.

#### Reference 37 - 0.01% Coverage

6. That the area known as Trou Chenille be officially recognised as site of former settlement by inhabitants many of whom are descendants of slaves having lived there for generations (and not as squatters) and that their removal be recognised as 'forced removal'. Commission recommends they be compensated accordingly for loss of home, revenue and inability to continue their occupations and traditions. The Commission further recommends that their history be written before it is forgotten and the oral testimonies of those who lived there be recorded and made available in a public oral archive.

#### Reference 38 - 0.01% Coverage

The site of Le Morne Brabant represents perhaps one of the most significant global commemorations to the memory of slave resistance. Not only does this site evidence a rich associated cultural and oral history within a local context, but it has recently been inscribed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2008 precisely for its remarkable role within the maroon movement.

#### Reference 39 - 0.01% Coverage

Considering the role of future generations in social and cultural development of the continent, the main goal of this Project, is to rescue the history of slavery and the slave traffic in southeastern Africa. In this context, the gathering, collection and preservation of oral traditions; as well as the promotion of cultural diversity and cultural tourism, and of a whole range of activities interconnected to this phenomenon, are crucial to this Project.

#### Reference 40 - 0.01% Coverage

The proposers of this Project recommend that the Museum be located in the capital city Port Louis. Apart from giving the history of slavery its due importance it is also appropriate that it should be placed in a location that is reminiscent of slavery and related to slavery. Furthermore as the historic parts of the city are frequently visited by tourists and Mauritians alike, this will ensure financial sustainability for the Museum once it is opened.

#### Reference 41 - 0.01% Coverage

These analyses of interviews with persons who had previously lived and worked on sugar estates was conducted in the 2007-2009 period, when the Voluntary Retirement Scheme was in progress. They were conducted by research staff of the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund and donated to the TJC who wished to know how Mauritians lived on those estates and what people felt about their lives there and what memories they had. Three themes suggested themselves: first, the life experiences of the people, and if and how have their lives changed over the years; secondly, for those with 'memories' of their parents' and grandparents' lives, to follow their evolution up to today and third, whether there were any variations regionally; fourth, how were Inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic interactions on estates, and lastly, what do they think of their history? The interviewees were between 65 and 70 years of age and their work-related memories were good: they provided factual information about their working lives. They talked little, however, about emotions, thoughts and more subjective issues. About 70% of interviewees were males and the ethnic /religious proportions reflected very roughly the religious/ethnic population of Mauritius still living on sugar estates in the regions studied today. The semi-structured interviews have been conducted by research assistants with interview sheets. All interviews were recorded on either audio or videotapes and an archival form created containing basic information about the informants. These 400 interviews were copied on CDs and donated to the Truth and Justice Commission. The Commission undertook to transcribe these interviews as a gesture of its appreciation for the donation. The methodology used in analyzing oral interviews continues to be discussed and debated in academic circles and interpretations of the same interview often vary among scholars. For this reason, the Commission requested scholars from varying disciplinary traditions and training to assess the consequences on indenture on descendants. This as the reports show, proved a very fruitful exercise. As much as there is variation in the views of informants, so is the situation in the interpretations of this experience by scholars possible. The objectives of the Commission are also to ensure the memory of Mauritians particularly of indentured and slave descent are not forgotten and thus the creation of Oral History database is considered absolutely essential for the preservation of the nation's memory.

#### Reference 42 - 0.01% Coverage

Coriolis on the Council, and was later a member of the Executive Council from 1906 to 1911. A statue at the Place d'Armes, inaugurated in 1992, commemorates this Coloured man's contribution to the political history of Mauritius, at a time when only 12,000 men voted out of 220,000 adults. Only ten members were elected, while 8 were to be ex-officio members, and 9 nominated. The truth is that mainly the Whites and a few Coloured individuals were eligible to vote because of the high franchise, high literacy criteria and property qualifications. 150 The Coloured élite also clearly feared the rise of the Indo-Mauritian community. 151 In the first Legislative Elections in Mauritius (1886), the Democrats, de Coriolis, Célicourt Antelme and Dr.

O. Beugeard, another Coloured man, 152 a laureate of the Royal College in 1850, were carried in triumph through the streets. They had advocated a high franchise and had criticized openly the Governor, which led to his recall. After Pope-Hennessy's return in 1889, Beugeard resigned from the Council, although he became a nominated member in 1893. The Democrats won an emphatic victory over Newton's party which lost every seat.

#### Reference 43 - 0.01% Coverage

Promoting museums, sites and institutions that would deal jointly with the whole history of Mauritius would help make every citizen aware of what he shares with others. In this respect, the "Aventure du Sucre" museum can be used as a successful attempt to present proudly, but without dwelling on the dark side nor transforming indenture in a glorified conquest, what every community has brought to the building of a unique and potentially unitary nation.

#### Reference 44 - 0.01% Coverage

contemporary research methodology in the History of Education considers as the important distinction to be made between the 'archives of memory' and the 'memories of archives' (Fitzgerald, 2005). Such a perspective coheres with the quest for Truth, Justice and Reconciliation as the challenge, therefore, is to interrogate the contents of the archives as well as the archives themselves to reveal their privileges, silences and absences.

#### Reference 45 - 0.01% Coverage

There were also those who were simply captured and kidnapped from their villages and where no trading took place. This is currently impossible to quantify. But oral tradition in Mozambique exist and deserve further study. Benigna Zimba has recommended that memorialistaion of this part of the history of slave trade should be included in future representations of slavery in Mauritius.

#### Reference 46 - 0.01% Coverage

the emergence of an international consensus on the importance of confronting traumatic histories, as well as the creation of a variety of modalities and mechanisms for doing so. These approaches include, not only the payment of monetary reparations (the focus of the current slavery reparations debate in Mauritius), but also international tribunals, formal apologies, truth commissions, the creation of public memorials and days of remembrance, educational initiatives, and a wide variety of other non-monetary reparations programs. Although these different approaches, as well as some of the specific circumstances in which they have been or might be used are debatable, what is important to bear in mind is that there is no magical formula for righting historical wrongs.

#### Reference 47 - 0.01% Coverage

institutional apology, we believe that it is incumbent on the Church, as a minimum, to acknowledge formally and publicly the benefits that the Church derived from the institution of

slavery. This was done in 2006, during the mass of 1st February 2006 commemorating the Abolition of Slavery at the Church of Notre-Dame du Grand Pouvoir at Vieux Grand-Port. Mgr Maurice E. Piat, c.ssp, Bishop of the Diocese of Port Louis, has expressed an apology of the Catholic Church for having been linked to slavery in History. He has also recognized the contribution of Creoles to the Church of Mauritius. The Church has also accepted that it is the missionary work of Father Laval and his collaborators<sup>82</sup> that has consolidated the Church through the centuries. Yet with institutions as with individuals, taking responsibility for an offence entails more than expressing remorse for past conduct; it also requires a commitment to doing better in the future.

#### Reference 48 - 0.01% Coverage

A number of Historical Buildings have been destroyed by cyclones, but no efforts of reconstructions and restorations were undertaken to protect the heritage of the island. Some of the buildings fell into ruins, due to a lack of fund to repair and restore them, and also due to lack of the official policies. Recently, an old building which used to house the Maternity Ward at Port Mathurin was entirely pulled down without any reaction either from the authorities or the civil society. The old Health Centre at Mont Lubin was left to rot and, with it, the whole history of health care in Rodrigues. The public garden in Port Mathurin, with its tennis court and other leisure facilities, was scrapped to make way for the New Administration Building. Yet again, a whole piece of Rodriguan social and cultural history was swept away for good. It must be pointed out that since the demise of the public garden, Port Mathurin has no proper green space left. The lack of systematic town and country planning is the main cause of this situation and even today, decisions regarding buildings and development projects are left solely to the whims of the authorities that be, and are still being one on a piecemeal basis.

#### Reference 49 - 0.01% Coverage

Pointe Venus (first appeared on the Rodrigues map in 1876) is an important location in the scientific history of Rodrigues as the place where the scientific expedition observed the second transit of Venus in 1874. There are today no indication of this historical event, but quite wrongly the commemorative plaque that stands there, concerns the observation of the first transit of Venus by Alexandre Gui Pingré in 1761. The locals used to call the place “Battery” because of the presence of surveillance canons set-up there during the colonial days. The location of the surveillance canons have not been traced so far.

#### Reference 50 - 0.01% Coverage

Excluded from the Elite’s consideration, representations of slavery and indenture did not form part of the memorial process before the years 2000. These years mark a shift in the memorial process: memory expanded to include the experiences of the formerly dominated population. Our research in museums specifically showed the development of representations during this period. As part of its reorganisation in 2000, the National History Museum in Mahébourg presents indenture as an experience leading to a positive evolution in the society. However, representations of slavery imply that ex-slaves were victims of an inhuman system and consequently, were not given the opportunity to become actors in the society. At l’Aventure du

Sucre created in 2003 by a consortium of sugar companies, the museum discourse provides positive accounts of local history in the perspective of international context. This provides an account of the “negative” events beyond the local context and helps to conciliate a national vision of the past. In addition, it also states that the descendants of the former Elite generate a vision of the past that accepts the colonial undertakings which affected the population. In this sense, the acceptance of the past acts towards the evolution of the memorial process in museums and serves the contemporary dynamics of nation building. Ultimately, this process of conciliation leads to remember why the Mauritian society took shape and evolved to form a nation. It was interesting to compare L’Aventure du Sucre, a private museum, with the Musée du Peuplement created by the State in 2010. The Musée du Peuplement interprets the past to remember the positive accounts: its dynamics are very similar to those of Aventure du Sucre activating the positive memory to establish a new approach to the past. This approach results in the recognition of a common heritage: it is the first instance in which the heritage deriving from the population’s interactions is represented. Although we may question the quality of the display, the Musée du peuplement is marking a major shift in the memory process: it formulates the existence of a common heritage shaped by the various groups in action.

#### Reference 51 - 0.01% Coverage

Our research showed that the memorial process is now taking place through new actors who are descendants of the former colonial society. The memorial framework undertakes a complete redefinition. The portrayal of National History now intends to include the memory of the majority of the population and not just a small segment of the Mauritian population. In this undertaking, the representations of slavery and indenture hold a major place as the experiences of more than 90% of the current day population.

#### Reference 52 - 0.01% Coverage

The projection of the nation in the future raises a number of questions relevant to our knowledge of what really defines the nation and what constitutes its identity so that it may evolve in a sustainable manner. In this instance, the statement of Melville Herskovits that “a people without past is a people that nothing anchors in the present”<sup>1</sup> can probably explain why for the last thirty years, research in Mauritian history has developed and also led to a focus on heritage to establish national symbols representing the roots of the nation.

The focus on heritage is particularly significant since the inscription of two Mauritian sites on UNESCO World Heritage List. This can only bring to our attention the shift in the way heritage was considered prior to the 2000s. Heritage was mostly the legacy of the Colonial Administration and heritage was mostly focusing on the history of the former colons. However, the heritage process turned to an under-researched part of Mauritian history, with the project of recognition of Le Morne and Aapravasi Ghat both referring to two traditionally silent episodes of Mauritian history: slavery and indenture.

These two episodes of Mauritian history are not only a subject of concern established by the Truth and Justice Commission Act of 2008, but they are also two historical facts that led to the migration of the ancestors of more than 90% of the present-day Mauritian population on the island. Through coerced migrations, these immigrants suffered inhuman treatments, annihilation of their identity and also, all were unrooted to settle in a new land where their cultural referential

were not present. Encouraged by the colonial policy aiming at securing available workforce Mauritian society slowly took shape to become one of the most dynamic nation of the African continent. At the turn of the 21th century, it is thus not surprising to see Mauritian society engaging to question its past when most of the past evocative of the population has almost never been the subject of recognition and is now facing disappearance, for the benefit of modernity.

#### Reference 53 - 0.01% Coverage

I arrived in Mauritius in 2003. A year later, I had the chance to join the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund entrusted to preserve, manage and promote the Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage Site. The institution also conducts research projects to document the history of indenture. Our daily undertakings at AGTF lead us to discuss problematic related to heritage and public perception of the past. The institution is one of its kind. Created in 2001, it is led by AGTF Board who has, throughout the years, invested in building capacity in the heritage field among the technical staff of the institution. From its early days to now, the staff has continuously gained significant experience by being involved in the various stages leading to the inscription of the Site on the World Heritage List and also, in the challenges aiming at retaining this status.

#### Reference 54 - 0.01% Coverage

It was also for me, the chance to focus on a topic directly related to the problematic encountered in the course of my professional life. The study of the representations of slavery and indenture are currently a main subject of concern. The AGTF has engaged in the setting up of an Interpretation Centre aiming at presenting the history of the World Heritage Site and also, the experience of indenture. This subject thus directly addresses the problematic encountered at AGTF so as to fairly transcribe the historical experience to reconstruct the past and produce a vision with which the Mauritian population identifies.

#### Reference 55 - 0.01% Coverage

This also included heritage sites where much development is noted these last few years and, in particular, at Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage Site inscribed in 2006 and also directly referring to the history of indenture. The analysis of its recognition process showed an evolution in the representation of indenture that deserved specific focus and that also speak to the change in the way the past is perceived after the inscription of the Site on the World Heritage List. studying the expressions in the public space Museums and historic sites were the two main areas of focus, since it seemed essential to address the question of representations in the public space. This would allow for possible actions proposed through the recommendations after the completion of the Commission. In this respect, museums were particularly important as a place contributing to the national memory process, by establishing official and non-official representations of national history and take part, as public institutions, in the national construction of the past. To orientate our research towards the study of museums, our focus was on internationally recognized notion of museum as defined by the International Council of Museums (ICOM):

#### Reference 56 - 0.01% Coverage

Our research could not include all representations of slavery and indenture in museums. Fieldwork focused on a selection comprising of the Mauritius Institute in Port Louis, the National History Museum and the “musée du peuplement” located in Mahébourg, and l'Aventure du sucre in Beau Plan. The selection of museums relied on the fact that they do portray slavery and indenture as a constitutional element of Mauritian society. If the Mauritius Institute does not directly address memories of slavery and indenture, it seemed to be of interest as it is the oldest museum on the island and helped us understanding how museums first took shape and how the concept of museum was elaborated to better appreciate its evolution within the Mauritian context.

#### Reference 57 - 0.01% Coverage

As such, the Museum of National History was particularly interesting since it was the first attempt to depict the National History of Mauritius, seen by a governmental agency, while the musée du peuplement is the most recent expression of the vision of Mauritian history by the same authorities. Similarly, the other museums seemed an essential area of study as they are the result of private initiatives. This allowed the confrontation with the museums of the public sector and led to an interesting conclusion on the perception of the past by a segment of the local community and by the governmental agencies. In our analysis, the Code of Ethics of ICOM was the reference document to assess the performance of museums and also to evaluate how they responded to the international standards.

#### Reference 58 - 0.01% Coverage

Precisely, the study of the evolution of the notion of heritage is essential if we are to understand through which process common values were elaborated and also bring to light the overall framework that activated expressions of memory representations. We therefore assumed that representations of slavery and indenture could not be isolated from an overall process that led to the construction of a national perception of the past. Especially in the case of museum, representations as museums “must allow to give to the communities concerned the keys to understand the local history and environment (and not only focus on national history). The museum must enable us to define the image of oneself that one wishes to communicate to others”<sup>5</sup>. In this respect, museums seemed the right place to appreciate a common vision of the past and the expressions of shared values.

#### Reference 59 - 0.01% Coverage

This discrepancy between visions generated in the past and current appreciations shows that the memorial process is evolving. In this section, the objective is to appreciate how the memorial process took shape to identify heritage. It seemed important to include such considerations as it allows us to understand how the memorial process evolved until today and also, consider why parts of the national history remained silent until recently.

#### Reference 60 - 0.01% Coverage

process that led to the emergence of a local heritage. This undertaking was initiated by the intention of the Société to promote local history. Although the promotion of human sciences is not the primary mission of the Société, its participation in the cultural life of the colony was very active. As early as 1858, the members of the Société Royale expressed their intention to encourage historical research financially and intellectually. They argued that the richness of events that took place in Mauritius deserved to be researched for transmission to future generations (RSAS, 1860:217). This ambition led to the creation of a section on History and Literature within the Société on 22 June 1859 (SRAS, 1870:8). This committee proposed to recompense the members that would produce a contribution on the history of Mauritius, or scientific or literary publications (RSAS, 1860:334).

The Historical Committee of the Société met to talk about the significant events that marked the history of Mauritius and, in particular, those contributing to the development of Science. During the monthly sessions, members recalled the contributions of Scientists to local knowledge and proposed to undertake actions to recognize the importance of their work and pay homage to their memory. In the course of 1859, the Société financed the erection of two commemorative monuments and indicated its intention to pay homage to the local Scientists.

#### Reference 61 - 0.01% Coverage

During the same session, the HRC indicated that the listing did not imply specific measures nor impacted on the owners as the listing consisted in posting a plaque on the building “recalling the history of the building, of the Church or the place” and that the Government “would not take at its charge the maintenance of all the buildings or monuments that could be listed as historical”. The objective was thus to indicate the historical importance to the public for the purpose of remembrance and raise consciousness. It was, therefore, an act of memory and did not aim at integrating a wider heritage framework that would serve the aim to restore or preserve the heritage for the nation, as per today's conception. The HRC undertakings focused on the commemoration of people and events.

#### Reference 62 - 0.01% Coverage

The creation of the Mauritius Institute is the result of the heritage process led by the Elite. The museum came into existence through the initiative of the Royal Society of Arts and Sciences. It shows how the Société has implanted a Natural History Museum in the colony according to the same heritage dynamics attested in Europe in the same period. The account on the Mauritius Institute help us appreciating how heritage was inherited from the colonial Elite and later in the report, we

#### Reference 63 - 0.01% Coverage

At the end of the 1870s, the Royal Society proposed to gather the library and the Natural History collections in one place. This project of an Institute was finally supported by the Colonial Authorities whose representative, Governor Sir George Bowen, laid the first stone on 23 November 1880. The Mauritius Institute came into existence through the Proclamation of the Ordinance No. 19 of 1880 to promote the Arts, Sciences, Literature and Philosophy, in order to educate and entertain the public. The Mauritius Institute opened its doors during the Colonial

Exhibition in 1884 (Cheke, 2003: 199). Its objective was to regroup the Collection of the Desjardins Museum established in 1842 in the Royal College in Port Louis and other National History Collections and the library in one location. As the minutes of proceedings of the Royal Society of Arts and Science state:

#### Reference 64 - 0.01% Coverage

The Mauritius Institute regrouped the collections of Julien Desjardins, a Botanist who collected a number of National History specimens from Mauritius, two paintings representing “Raphael and the Fornarina” by Van Der Burhne and “Passage of Que” by Washington, given by Edgar de Rochecouste. The objective, with the acquisition of this paintings, was to develop a complete gallery of portraits similar to European Museums, to “développer le goût des arts dans notre petit pays” (SRAS, 1885: Vol.17:73).

#### Reference 65 - 0.01% Coverage

The institution is the archetype of Natural History Museums developed outside Europe in the nineteenth century (Gob et Drouguet, 2004). The dissemination of the European concept of Culture and its application in various colonies can refer to what Richard Grove calls ‘green imperialism’.<sup>37</sup>

#### Reference 66 - 0.01% Coverage

The Mauritius Institute was established according to the European model of Natural History Museum: the Institute adopted the same functioning system by assembling the local scientific competences, the same categories of classifications and the European conservation norms and presents Natural History Collections from the local fauna and flora, from Madagascar, from the South of Africa and the neighbouring islands (Cheke, 2003). This Corpus of collections indicated the intention to document the local and regional environment and to make of the Museum, a place of exception. This national project absorbed the resources of the Royal Society of Arts and Sciences

#### Reference 67 - 0.01% Coverage

Elite’s omnipresence in the constitution of the island: the Elite naturally inscribe its contribution in a depiction of the National History.

This is also perceptible through the commemorative dynamics aimed at recognizing the local contribution of the elite. This is instrumental in the legitimating – and affirming - their position in the society. If there was a concern to consolidate a link with their homeland or country of origin, the memorial process seemed primarily intended to serve the implantation of the elite in the colony. In early years, the memory process operated to acknowledge the actions of the elite in favour of the progress of the colony and created a sense of belonging to the island. This process was soon consolidated by the expansion of the memory scope to signify the omnipresence of the elite in the constitution of the island: the elite wanted to inscribe its contribution through a depiction of the National History.

## 5. REPRESENTING NATIONAL HISTORY IN THE PUBLIC SPACE: THE NATIONAL HISTORY MUSEUM – MAHÉBOURG

By the second half of the twentieth century, the setting up of the naval museum and later, the National History museum shows a specific object of concern: there is a need to portray the national history at national and international level. The establishment of the Mahébourg museum appears as an outcome of the memorial process taking shape with the SRAS and HRC. The memorial process is evolving to organise isolated events into a national representation of the past. As such, it confirms primarily the omnipresence of the Elite in the colony. Ultimately, it shows how the colonial State visualizes its past.

The museum takes shape as the combination of a major place of heritage where a depiction of the life of the colons is presented. The Elite create a link with the past by the evocation of its own experience. The museum institutes a national vision of history seen by western eyes. Only recently, the museography evolved to integrate more information on slavery and indenture and enabled an analysis of how the Museums Council perceives the experience of the former “dominated” population.

The study of Mahébourg museum offers an interesting insight as the first museum depicting the National History. Considering this, our purpose was to explore how the representations of slavery and indenture were integrated and how they were portrayed. In this undertaking, it seemed important to initiate our research by a short evolution of the museum to better appreciate the current vision of the National History elaborated upon the legacy of the colonial perception of the past.

Personalisation of history: history through the prism of the individual accomplishment  
Such focus on the achievements of individuals (also portrayed through the presentation of busts of former Governors) or of a community, reduces the scope for understanding by visitors who cannot contextualise the representations within a broader context. For foreigners, this may lead to the visualisation of a small window on Mauritian History, as they do not have the knowledge of a local context to interpret what they see. From this point of view, the Museum does not actually transcribe an overall vision of Mauritian History. On the contrary, a Mauritian visitor may have the opportunity to relate to the objects in a broader perspective, but representations only lead to a focus on individuals or items serving the purpose of community’s representation, when the presentation of their experiences in Mauritius could have provided a better appreciation of Mauritian specificity.

We may thus question the opportunities provided to visitors to help their interpretation of museum objects. In this instance, the general perception is that only “patches” of history are presented through personal accomplishments of figures complemented by views of Mauritius in the nineteenth century and by photographs of heritage buildings and few illustrations of the sugar industry. The general perception is that the display does not provide a coherent approach linking museum objects together. This results in creating a distance between the objects and visitors. The distance between the museum object and the visitors is a core element since in museums; the display ultimately addresses ways to reduce this distance by proposing elements allowing the visitors to understand by himself what he is given to see. On the second floor, we may want to

question the core theme around which the display was organised and for which purpose. This question is fundamental since the original organisation of the display was maintained conveying specific messages while new elements were added to provide an additional layer of information that does not relate to the original display orientation. This may have deserved an overall re-organisation to better convey messages to visitors. A reorganisation would question what would be the best tools to allow a clear interpretation of history by visitors and avoid a scattered view.

#### Reference 70 - 0.01% Coverage

The configuration of the building does not allow the presentation of a linear history of Mauritius. However, when visitors enter this section, there is a clear understanding of the period referred to, thanks to the organisation of the display that presents the context leading to the establishment of a British colony in Mauritius.

At the end of the visit, visitors leave the Museum with a vision of colonial Mauritius. In this respect, this also leads to the question of what is the notion of National History in the Museum of Mahébourg?

The display is devoted to the presentation of the colonial history of Mauritius seen through the eyes of the white elite. The Museum of National History represents how the colonial elite evolved and lived in colonial Mauritius before the emergence of a ruling elite among the formerly dominated population. The notion of National History at Mahébourg refers to the genesis of the Mauritian nation from its beginnings to the early nineteenth century.

The Museum of National History thus addresses a fundamental part of Mauritian history that certainly deserves preservation and recognition. Nowadays, the notion of National History would deserve further attention, and should include the history of Mauritius from the early nineteenth century to the present day. However, we may want to discard the idea of including this recent part of Mauritian history in the present National History Museum which has its own overall theme.

#### Reference 71 - 0.02% Coverage

The Mahébourg Museum was reorganised in the early 2000s and was certainly the Museum where the first representations of slavery and indenture were portrayed. Our research showed that it is precisely at this period that a concern for the representation of slavery and indenture started to emerge. The initiative of the National History Museum is commendable, in that it tries to recognize two silent episodes of Mauritian history but it was mostly directed in museums by the vision of the White elite. However, it is interesting to note that the need to raise consciousness of slavery and indenture was not only a Governmental concern. It was also supported by private initiatives during the same period. The chief example was the creation of “L'Aventure du sucre” which today is the most frequently visited Museum in Mauritius.

From the National History Museum to Aventure du sucre: the formulation of the untold background of aventure du sucre

Inaugurated on 28 October 2002, l'Aventure du Sucre is the second private initiative that aimed at setting up a museum<sup>48</sup> and is considered as the first project of its kind in Mauritius by its instigators (Gufflet, 2003:4). The Museum is the result of the collaboration of Constance and La Gaité Sugar Estate Company Ltd., Deep River Beau Champ Ltd. and the Beau Plan Sugar Estate Company Ltd. The three sugar industry Companies joined forces to create L'Aventure du Sucre,

presenting the history of the sugar industry in Mauritius and the evolution of its technologies. The idea emerged from the intention to convert Beau Plan Sugar Factory, closed on 22 July 1999 as a result of the centralisation of sugar production, into a museum, an initiative of Mr. Aldo Vallet, Chairman of the Company Sugar World Ltd.

The main purpose of the Museum is to evoke the history of Mauritius through the evolution of the sugar industry. For the instigators of the project, the history of Mauritius developed around the sugar industry (Fauque, 2002:6). This central theme is, thus, the opportunity to present an overview of how the country evolved. This shift marks a significant evolution in the way the history of Mauritius is approached. In museums created at an earlier date, the vision was focused on the lives of the former colons and not on a common binding dynamism leading to the creation of today's Mauritian society. The creation of L'Aventure du Sucre thus marks the emergence of a different vision of the past, especially when this vision was initiated by the descendants of the first inhabitants of the island and also, its former rulers.

According to literature, the concept was to create mainly a cultural and leisure place where the visitor can learn and entertained. The objective was also to preserve the memory of the sugar industry that largely contributed to the shaping of Mauritian identity. For Sugarworld Ltd., this states the need to promote History among Mauritians and tourists (Gufflet, 2003:5). The main motivation is also to develop Cultural Tourism and Eco-Tourism and provide new offerings to tourists, as the Tourism Industry is mainly centered on Mauritius as a place for beach and sea. Their aim is thus to convey that the country has a rich culture and to promote a “new image of Mauritius” as a cultural destination (Gufflet, 2003:8). Not only would L'Aventure du Sucre be a place of history, but it is also ideally located to attract a large number of visitors, since the converted factory is near the Pamplemousses Gardens that receive more than 220 000 visitors in 2002 (WeekEnd, 2002).

The project thus supports a new conception of the Museum in Mauritius by associating economic concerns with the need to promote Mauritian history in a wider perspective. The overall approach is presented as a philanthropic undertaking by the former sugar barons who wish to share a common heritage:

#### Reference 72 - 0.01% Coverage

However, Sugarworld Ltd. does not deny that there are economic challenges, considering that the project involved an investment of 75 millions (l'express, 2002). L'Aventure du Sucre marks a major development for the notion of Museum in Mauritius. It is the result of concerted efforts from investors from the sugar industry who involved various competences, including Researchers, Historians, Architects, Interior Designers etc., to create a major cultural space devoted to the history of Mauritius. To achieve this goal, the creators remind us that they wished to achieve high standards in order to “fill in a gap”<sup>49</sup> in Mauritius, where no structure was devoted to the history of the sugar industry.

#### Reference 73 - 0.01% Coverage

L'Aventure du Sucre also creates a rupture with the past of the White Elite visible at Mahébourg or at the Mauritius Institute for example. The Aventure du Sucre detaches itself from any association with the former white Elite who established the first cultural institutions in Mauritius. The creators of l'Aventure du Sucre are the direct descendants of the white Elite and represent

the former oligarchy of planters. However, they mark a rupture with their past: it is the first time that the descendants of Planters take the initiative to talk about slavery and indenture. The establishment of a rupture conveys the intention to reconstruct an objective vision of the past and ultimately, contribute to the national interest. The opening of the museum created a rupture in many ways: it offered a new vision of history based on academic justifications, involved substantive investments in culture and set out a new concept of cultural place devoted to local history.

#### Reference 74 - 0.01% Coverage

The ambition to cover such a wide scope may not be the best strategy to enhance the visitors' experience. Indeed, the information deals with such a wide perspective that the core focus of conveying the essence of the Sugar Industry History may be lost. The random survey effected at L'Aventure du Sucre reveals that most visitors enjoyed the setting, but found that too much information was available and that it was difficult to take in a clear understanding of Mauritian History. This impression is also expressed on online forums:

#### Reference 75 - 0.01% Coverage

L'Aventure du Sucre display may have been better if it had chosen to focus on its central theme so as not to lose visitors through excessive information. This trend is also noticed in the History Section of the Museum. It has an impact on representations of slavery and indenture, since information displayed reveals the same ambition to cover the full range of information dealing with slavery and indenture. Thus, it sometimes fails to directly address the Mauritian experience and the close relation between slavery and indenture and the local context.

#### Reference 76 - 0.01% Coverage

The History Section called "A l'ombre de la cheminée" is introduced by a statement indicating that sugar, as a product and exported good, is a fundamental theme to explain the History of Mauritius. According to L'Aventure du Sucre, the exploitation of sugar is central to the formation of the Mauritian society:

#### Reference 77 - 0.02% Coverage

Similarly, it was interesting to consider how the descendants of the former dominated population appropriated the past to shape a memorial framework. Our research showed the emergence of a new conception of the past in the 2000s with the creation or reorganisation of museums. It is precisely in these years that the Mahébourg Museum was renamed National History Museum and that L'Aventure du Sucre was created.

To this analysis, it seemed important to add the contribution of the Musée du Peuplement. The museum is located in Mahébourg, at Pointe Canon. It is the most recent expression of a vision of National History. It was set up as part of the celebration of the bicentenary of the battle of Grand Port in 2010. The museum was open as part of the celebration activities and generated a significant number of visitors making this undertaking a real success.

The museum is composed of two parts: a building houses a permanent exhibition presenting the history of Mauritius from the Dutch period to nowadays. This section is complemented by an outdoor section called “village historique” composed of reconstitutions featuring human figures providing several tableaux of past Mauritian life.

The organisation of the display in the permanent exhibition is problematic on various accounts. The presentation of Mauritian history is elaborated upon the combination of several panels prepared for former temporary exhibitions. It also includes exhibits acquired from Mauritian Heritage, a private exhibition space formerly located in La Gaulette that no longer exists. In addition to this, large paintings depicting sceneries are displayed to create cohesion between the exhibition panels and exhibits. The panels, exhibits and large paintings are combined and displayed in the various sections composing the museum. The main impression when entering the exhibition is an overwhelming availability of information not necessarily related to one another.

The relation between the exhibits is problematic: they were all initially conceived to address the core line of specific temporary exhibitions. All the display elements were assembled to form the Musée du peuplement. The current presentation relies on elements not originally elaborated to address the purpose of the museum and consequently, fails to respect an overall coherence. The reorganisation of exhibits from three different exhibitions assembled together impacts on the quality. It results in the perception of a scattered presentation of national history where a core line of discourse would have ensured coherence and conveyed clear messages.

Slavery and indenture are illustrated through the evocation of Le Morne Cultural Landscape and Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage Sites. The presentation highlights positive contributions: it shows how the slaves resisted their condition and how indentured labourers engaged in plantation work to later evolve in society. These representations are associated to general information on slavery and indenture formerly presented in Mauritian Heritage. It provides a general account on slavery and indenture systems. However, each event is presented in dedicated sections which are not related to one another by a transition. Each section thus provides an insight on a specific aspect of Mauritian history. The flow of information is therefore not elaborated according to a core line of evolution but rather offers insights on the experiences of the various cultural groups. The lack of transitions between each part is detrimental to an overall understanding of how the various groups interacted to shape the Mauritian nation.

The “ethnic” segmentation in the display questions the notion of national history. Traditionally, the Mauritian society is divided in segments. This was the policy of the colonial authorities who

#### Reference 78 - 0.01% Coverage

differentiated the various cultural segments in distinct categories. This supported the policy of representativeness which is still in force today. However, we may wonder if this approach serves favourably a national vision of Mauritius; especially in this instance where the display focuses specifically on national history seen through the representations of each segment of the population.

National history is represented through panels and contemporary paintings that do not present an authentic account of Mauritian history. The various large size paintings depict various sceneries portraying a contemporary vision of the past but are not actually productions of the past: they are as such an interpretation and not an objective account of the past. This questions the notion of authenticity as the permanent exhibition area is a contemporary creation. The information

provided on panels is counterbalanced by the various interpretations of the past. In this respect, it is subject to subjective appreciations of what the past may have been. It is further complemented by the village historique sceneries which are an interpretation of how the slaves or indentured labourers may have lived. In this sense, it may be misleading as it does not rely on authentic evidence of the past but rather on a subjective interpretation. This is the reason why we may want to call the Musée du peuplement, a cultural park, as it is not in line with the traditional definition of museum:

#### Reference 79 - 0.01% Coverage

The promotion of culture is presented as a main priority and the Government takes initiatives aiming at fostering the image of a national unity. This objective materialises through the renaming of Mahébourg Museum as the National History Museum. This marks the appropriation and the recognition of colonial history together with the intention to establish cultural references for all. The shift in the memorial process is in action. It is marked by significant initiatives such as declaring 1st February as a public holiday “to commemorate the abolition of slavery” and 2nd November as “the termination of indentured labour”<sup>55</sup>. The President further mentions that “a programme of activities will be elaborated to highlight the maximised through the promotion of local folklore, traditions and theatrical performances”.

#### Reference 80 - 0.01% Coverage

The Government has taken action to recognize the silent past of the nation. Heritage projects initiated in recent years are an interesting indicator to appreciate how the shift in the memorial process has operated. This shift may be explained by the need to preserve the past disappearing with the fast growing development but also, raises the concern to situate Mauritian culture facing globalization. Mauritius as many other countries expresses its concern to retain its cultural roots and specificity. In part, it results in turning to the documentation of under researched aspects of Mauritian history to better appreciate Mauritian culture.

#### Reference 81 - 0.01% Coverage

With the inscription of the two sites on the World Heritage List, Mauritius changed the vision of the past inherited from the colonial Elite. The past is no more the prerogative of a small portion of the population. The memorial process now works towards the appropriation of the history of the majority of the population and institutes fundamental references relating to their identity and origins. This process shows the importance of establishing roots in a land of migrations where most of the ancestors of the population came through coerced migrations. As immigrants – slaves or indentured labourers – references to their homeland or cultural background were absent in the colony. Both slaves and indentured labourers had to recreate a cultural environment serving their well-being through the affirmation of their position in society.

#### Reference 82 - 0.01% Coverage

We may also argue that both sites can be perceived as an “ethnic” heritage: slavery is associated with the Creole segment of the population while indenture refers to the Mauritians of Indian

origin. Opting for World Heritage Status allows recognition by an external apparatus and supports the legitimization of this national heritage outside the national boundaries. The recognition generated by an international body thus reinforces the importance of this heritage and ultimately encourages the adhesion of the entire population. The presence of two World Heritage Sites on the national territory establishes an emblem of what constitutes the Mauritian history and identity. Their authenticity or meaning may be contested but still their status as emblem of Mauritian society is not challenged.<sup>56</sup>

#### Reference 83 - 0.01% Coverage

In the course of our research, we attempted to find answers in a document stating a general policy for culture and heritage. The outcome was not successful. Intentions and objectives are formulated but are not inscribed in an overall policy ensuring an integrated approach to heritage. Considering that the memorial process was always established by the colonial Elite until recently, we believe that the Mauritians themselves hold the answers to what they believe are the common values of the Mauritian society. Our survey revealed that the perception of heritage does not necessarily meet the nature of heritage in place. Indeed, the highest rates defined Mauritian heritage as *séga* music (20%) and Mauritian cuisine (16%). Archaeological and World Heritage Sites come in third position and museums, next to last. Considering this, we may want to think that the Mauritian population still feels that their heritage – mainly intangible- is not represented in museums or in cultural spaces. For 42% of the people polled, Mauritian history was not well represented in museums. This tells us that the past reconstructed in museums may not meet the expectations of Mauritians and thus discards appropriation.

#### Reference 84 - 0.01% Coverage

Considerations on national history in museums Our research revealed that the appropriation of the past by the population is in process. However, this process takes place if the population is provided with tools allowing their appropriation of the past. The appropriation of the population cannot be considered as an isolated process but as a mechanism forming part of a memory process activated by actions of the State or private entities.

#### Reference 85 - 0.01% Coverage

We also noticed that there is a national history of Mauritius but it is immersed in other display objectives. This is detrimental to the quality of the past reconstructed. Messages are superimposed and do not focus on a deep reflection on how to best reconstruct a national history. The National History museum in Mahébourg is the remnant part of the colonial past and as such, presents the contribution of the colonial Elite to the national history. Le Musée du peuplement is an interesting initiative as it produces contemporary depictions of the past that leads to the recognition of intangible heritage. However, it fails to represent the interactions that led to the formation of a unified society. L'Aventure du Sucre was also presented an interesting account of national history but it was merged with the history of sugar as a central theme and largely expanded the scope of national history to details creating a confusing environment for non-experimented visitors.

These initiatives clearly showed that there was a need for National History in which the representations of slavery and indenture play a central role as the evocation of the majority of the population's past. Throughout our research, we noted that representations of slavery and indenture only represent a small portion of the total of public space available in Mauritian Museums. The list of museums visited and considered within this report is as follows:

□ The 'Postal Museum'; □ The 'Blue Penny Museum'; □ L'Aventure du Sucre; □ The 'Mauritius Institute'; □ The 'National History Museum';

#### Reference 86 - 0.01% Coverage

□ L'Aventure du Sucre is devoted to the History of the Sugar Industry in Mauritius; □ The 'National History Museum' refers to the experience of the colons on the island; □ The 'Blue Penny Museum' focused on philately and on the Mauritius Commercial Bank collection masterpieces;

□ The 'Mauritius Institute' is the oldest museum on the island and refers to Natural History in Mauritius and in the Indian Ocean Region;

#### Reference 87 - 0.01% Coverage

Our research shows that slavery does not have a dedicated space for expression, when indenture is largely considered. We may want to consider that 70% of the Mauritian population are descendants of indentured labourers, while above 30% are related to the experience of slavery. In this perspective, the voice of the majority can explain the presence of a museum namely the Folk Museum, devoted to the history of the Indian origin segment of the population. The Folk Museum was set up to depict the immigration of the ancestors of people of - Indian origin to Mauritius. The Folk Museum is part of the Mahatma Gandhi Institute founded in 1970, two years after Independence, by the Government of Mauritius in collaboration the Indian Government. The aims of the Institute is to "provide the academic and cultural basis for the promotion, consolidation and dissemination of the Indian traditions" and "contribute to a developing Mauritian culture by creating an awareness of the richness of the Mauritian heritage"<sup>58</sup>. The general concept behind the creation of the MGI is to promote the Indian culture. However, it is not the only area of focus. Mauritian Studies are also part of its programme and promote the need for interaction between various cultural heritages.

However, we may question the place of the other cultural groups: the experience of slavery or even commercial merchants who migrated to Mauritius are hardly referred to. In fact, we come to a statement that only the former elite or the current group leading the country have managed to set up spaces representing their history and their experience on the island. Considering the multicultural background of Mauritius, it is interesting to envisage a museum that would restore, on factual ground, the experiences of all the components of society. The Government proposed, on several instances, the creation of a Museum of Immigration. This concept would deserve further attention so as to define how the experiences of all could be depicted?

#### Reference 88 - 0.01% Coverage

What is more, we firmly believe that such undertaking also requires effective management and maintenance resulting from the establishment of a cultural and heritage policy. Indeed the

restitution of the past to society also supposes optimal managerial framework to ensure sustainability. This is also instrumental in the preservation of collections constituting a major part of Mauritian heritage. This is the reason why this report also includes MUSEUM MANAGEMENT considerations. The improvement of MUSEUM MANAGEMENT would certainly be an answer to the appropriate formulation of National History.

#### Reference 89 - 0.01% Coverage

At the Mauritius Institute, the museum galleries are equipped with thermo-hygrometers. However, the RH and T are not measured in the storage area. This is problematic since it does not allow the monitoring of the collections' environment although natural history collections are fragile and require specific care. Indeed, the natural history collections are particularly vulnerable when they are exposed to UV, high temperature and high relative humidity. The general guidelines for their conservation recommend that:

☐ filters or curtains be installed to block natural light; ☐ natural history collections should not be exposed to lights producing more than 50 lux; ☐ soft ventilation be available in showcase;

#### Reference 90 - 0.01% Coverage

☐ national history collections should be kept in environment with low temperature and controlled Relative Humidity.

#### Reference 91 - 0.01% Coverage

museums demonstrated that there is an ambition to depict national history but core questions are not necessarily addressed. One main question would be how to represent national history? And for whom?

## *Economy*

References or discussions of the economy, economics or economic systems

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC\_.Report-FULL> - § 84 references coded [0.40% Coverage]

### Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

“African governments today, who have tried to rectify the under-development which they have inherited from history, have borrowed from the financial institutions of the West and are now in a virtually uncontrollable spiral of debt. In reality – and in morality – I suggest that it is the West which is in debt to Africa, not Africa which is debt to the West”.

### Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

3. To assess the quantitative value of the labour by future researchers trained in Economic History and historical statistics.

### Reference 3 - 0.02% Coverage

1. Establishing the ‘Truth’ about History is not an easy task. Firstly, there is the professional historians’ point of view that there is no such thing as ‘permanent truth’, since new research will change what has been accepted. There is also ‘public history’ which often contains ‘perceptions of truth’. This is the truth that the TJC has attempted to deal with. In addition to this mandate, the TJC also had an underlying mandate which was to promote reconciliation. In Mauritius, reconciliation was seen by many as being possible, only if one did not talk about one’s history. This was no longer possible in contemporary Mauritius. Although some institutions and individual Mauritians have understood this, the TJC did clash with several institutions that possessed important repositories of documents but did not wish to open them to the TJC or to the public. Summons were issued and, in some cases, the access issues were resolved. Whether the access to the public will continue, is a matter which the TJC has, no control over. The TJC is, at least, sure that the public is fully aware that these archives exist, the Mauritian public has every right to access them, and that the State has the responsibility of preserving these documents and not allowing private appropriation of these documents. Opening access and a more forceful policy of encouraging historical research and an open debate, rather than engaging in parallel debates, will lead further to national reconciliation in the future.

2. The TJC has held 212 hearings at its offices and outside Port Louis. These also constitute the TJC archives as they show clearly public perceptions about Mauritian History and lives of Mauritians. They are, however, representative of the most vocal sections of Mauritians, rather than the voiceless. The TJC endeavoured to collect the views of Mauritians whose voices had no chance of being heard in Port Louis, and it embarked on a massive oral history collection exercise. The TJC feels that we have reached a wide cross-section of the Mauritian community and covered a variety of historical experiences of Mauritians living in the 20th century. These are personal experiences of contemporary Mauritians and reveal their personal interpretations of their history. The statements, when taken together, are amazingly similar, and a full study was undertaken by a multidisciplinary team of Historians, Anthropologists, Sociologists and

Ethnographers. The results are presented in the technical papers in Volumes 3 and 4 of the Report. The evidence shows even more clearly how many Mauritians know so little about Mauritian history and their family history. What Mauritians have preserved about their own history is limited, although this is to some extent understandable, because most Mauritians have led difficult lives. However, it is clear that their approach to life differs considerably, depending on their culture, religion (or absence of it), class and economic status in life.

The TJC cannot claim to have rewritten the whole history of slavery and indenture, but it has, at least, given a conceptual and structural version of Mauritian history free from political and racial agendas. It is now incumbent on future scholars and community groups to reflect and build on this and continue the work accomplished. The TJC has provided the tools and the sources where the historical material may be found, and civil society must now take this further. TJC's version of history cannot be considered as the 'official' history, but the beginning of a new 'national' history, in the sense that TJC recognises the fact that there are different perspectives and approaches.

#### Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

The Dutch had, in effect, started a set of historical processes which would dominate the history of Mauritius: the introduction of sugarcane (though to produce arrack and rum only), using enslaved people from Madagascar, India and South-East Asia as labour, developing slave trade in the region, developing trade between Madagascar and Mauritius, using Mauritius as a strategic position in the

#### Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

The period 1810-1839 in the history of Mauritius saw the creation of a mono crop economy, with the destruction of the cultivation of other crops. The economy became equally resolutely exportoriented, with little consideration being given to the development of productive forces for a balanced perspective.

#### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

Those events of 1937 are landmarks in the History of Mauritius. Further, in 1938, there were strikes in Port Louis by the dockers and in 1943, Sugar Industry labourers in the North, with three of them shot dead by the police. This unprecedented wave of protests and resistance by the laboring classes forced the Colonial Government to shake off its lethargy and indifference with regard to the laboring classes.

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

This has been answered in Chapter Two, where the economic history of the island has been reviewed from the Dutch period to the present, and where the conclusions are manifest. Continuities in economic systems are clear, as are the economic legacies that slavery and indenture have left us. It is of much concern that an island which has known such repressive labour systems and exploited populations from Madagascar, Mozambique India and China

should continue to import cheap labour from the very same countries, in conditions which, in many cases, are deplorable.

#### Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

Economic and accounting historians of the slave trade study slavery and the slave trade from an economist's or financial analyst's perspective. However, historians cannot focus only on what is quantifiable, but have to look at the unquantifiable: the 'intangible' issues of history, such as identity or culture loss, mental and physical stress, mobility, laws, consequences on family life or the sense of loss felt as a result of being removed from one's homeland.

#### Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

Accounting historians have been investigating how the accounts of the slave trade were kept. A unique journal, the *Guide du commerce*, written by Gaignat de l'Aulnais in 1771, has led to a detailed and equally unique historical study by Cheryl McWatters.<sup>95</sup> In this journal, McWatters highlights the basic documents required for a slave trading expedition, according to Gaignat. These were: "Le journal de traite, le livre de factures, le journal de vente des noirs et achats en retour et enfin le grand livre" (Eng trans: The slave trading journal, the receipt book, the sales of slaves book, and purchases book and finally the big book). Although written for Atlantic voyages, it seems unlikely that it would have been any different in the Indian Ocean, since many of the ships and Captains were the same. A greater search of the accounts of slave traders might reveal as yet unknown facets of the history of slavery and the slave trade. For example, it is currently impossible to quantify the volume of trade carried on in the interior: those who were simply captured and kidnapped from their villages and where no trading took place. Oral traditions in Mozambique exist and deserve further study. Benigna Zimba, Mozambican historian, has recommended that memorialisation of this part of the history of the slave trade should also be included in future representations of slavery in Mauritius.

#### Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

merchants and traders are listed in Port Louis and a good number were involved in the slave trade. Allen has quoted, for example, Messrs. Closnard, Cloupet, Collique, Drieux, Geoffriou, De La Rochelle, Le Blanc, Rolland, Le Bouchet, Le Bourdé, Dahuy Solminiac, La Corte, Laurent Raphaël, d'Hotman and Vally. Louis Monneron also had family links with merchants in India, while Morice focused on slave trading with Zanzibar. Apart from the traders there are also the captains of ships, many of whom have descendants today in Mauritius. Many were also corsairs and this is publicly stated. However they are less public about the slave trading involvement of that ancestor. In France, "Si le titre de corsair est loin de déplaire dans nos annales de famille, ce n'est pas sans regret que nous trouvons celui de négrier."<sup>126</sup> The same could be said of many families in Mauritius where some parts of family histories are thought best left hidden or conveniently forgotten.

#### Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

The Muslim part among the French India population has been studied by Emrith and Jumeer. Most had come from Bengal. Their history needs to be further researched using notarial records and Civil Status records. Although there was reluctance to use non-Christian labour, the shortage of labour had forced Governors to engage Indian Muslim sailors. They were all Urdu speaking, according to Jumeer. We know from research, conducted with one family who has traced their ancestry to the French period, although they have kept the memory of their family origins that they seem to reject their Indian ancestry. In 1805, they secured from Governor Decaen a plot of 250 toises to build a mosque, an unthinkable act in an island where Catholicism was the only authorized religion. However, it fitted in well with the principle of segregation of races, as envisaged by Decaen and so, may not seem so incongruous an action, in hindsight. The separate cemetery created at Rivière Lataniers was also symbolic of the separation of cultures at this time, demanded by part of the population itself and allowed by French Authorities. It is among this group that the first Yamse religious festival was held in 1765 (Emrith: 9).

#### Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

5. Reasons in Mauritius: The economic history of sugar and impact of immigration is more fully discussed in chapters 1 and 4. However for the period of 1858 and 1859 which witnessed the highest rates of emigration was in part due to the huge rise in sugar prices and consequent increase in sugar cultivation.

#### Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

The history of Calcuttiya Muslims was no different to that of other labourers on plantations. Housing arrangements were made, when they did not want to live near pig-breeders among the labourers families. But, in general, they went through the same evolution. After indenture, many became small planters, share-croppers (known as *métayers* in Mauritius) and others migrated to the town of Port Louis and opened textile shops, some of which are still in existence today. It is not known yet how many returned, but one family story does not confirm that there were immigrants who returned after the indenture. Many left families in Mauritius since those born in Mauritius, were not eligible for return passages. One immigrant returned to India, kept up a correspondence with his family, but remarried and reindentured to Guyana and was lost from view from then on.<sup>270</sup>

#### Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

If slavery and indenture as economic systems have received due attention on the part of scholars, the lesser-known aspects deserve also mention. Indentured labourers like slaves, brought with them their cultures, life-styles which they were in varying degrees able to keep. In the case of Indian labourers, how were their cultures and social life transformed by indenture? In other words, what was the impact on their non-working lives? Women have been recognised in Mauritian history as having kept the traditions brought from India. This was possibly because they stayed at home, unlike other labour immigrants and so were able to provide the nurturing roles. The absence of women, for example, in the early years deserve mention, as this was a matter of concern for authorities.

#### Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

Significant outbreaks of Malaria occurred in 1856 - 1859, 1862 and 1865. But the first serious epidemic struck the Island in 1867. It was a major calamity causing 40, 000 deaths in a population of 333, 000. Ronald Ross qualified the epidemic as the greatest disaster in Mauritian history. Thereafter, Malaria remained endemic in Mauritius until 1950's. The result was a serious source of wastage in terms of manpower and money, through deaths and reduction of population; loss of manual labour in plantations, factories, farms etc; sickness among labourers and officers, incapacitation and deaths among higher officials and soldiers.

#### Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

Among one of the conclusions of our review of the history of slavery and indenture is the fact that slavery and indenture, as they evolved in Mauritius, were in many ways continuations of an economic system based on the exploitation of unpaid or cheap, plentiful and docile or coercible labour. The Mauritian experience of slavery and indenture contrasts singularly with the Atlantic world in several respects.

#### Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission thus recommends measures that encourages the holders of economic and political power to morally and materially repair the harms and injustices of the past in order that will benefit not only the presumed descendants of slavery and indenture but the Mauritian nation as a whole so that Mauritius can be finally at peace with its history.

#### Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

The history of Mauritius has been characterized and fundamentally determined by the evolution of the Sugar Industry during the era of British Colonialism and later of British Imperialism. Two key events were the turning points in the evolution from economic and financial perspectives: (a) as Crown Colony, Mauritius was given access to the British sugar market as from 1815; (b) in 1825, the tariffs imposed by Britain on sugar imports from Mauritius and from the Caribbean were equalised.

The understanding of the consequences for contemporary Mauritius of these key events would be largely insufficient unless a holistic view of history is adopted. The Commission finds that there is a continuous evolution of economic exploitation, social and cultural oppression. This has led to contradictions between British Imperialism, the plantocracy of both French and British origin on the one hand and, on the other hand, labour (the enslaved, the indentured and their descendants). The wealth created throughout Mauritian history is the result of the impressive contribution of labour on the one hand and the capital and know-how of colonists and British Imperialism on the other hand. However most of this wealth has been appropriated by colonists and the British Imperial and Colonial States, whilst large proportion of the laboring classes faced unemployment and poverty during the Colonial era ending in 1968. The intermediate social and economic classes such as traders, merchants, middlemen and medium planters were able to retrieve some of the wealth. There have been thus two complementary historical processes:

development and substantial material advancement for the few and underdevelopment for the many constituting the labouring classes.

#### Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

History has repeated itself. About one hundred and thirty years ago, the plantocracy recruited indentured labourers from a vast reservoir of cheap labour found in British India. As a result, the plantocracy accumulated capital which was partly siphoned off to financiers/ investors abroad (Britain and France mainly) and partly reinvested in modernising the sugar factories. The new dimension, this time, lies in the fact that the reservoir of cheap labour came from within Mauritius: women and the unemployed. Unemployment and poverty were the direct consequences of policies of free trade by British Imperial Government and of cheap labour policy of the Colonial Government and the plantocracy.

#### Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

The apprenticeship system has been researched in some depth in Mauritian Historiography, as well as the opposition to it coming from abolitionists who saw it as not being much different from slavery. The complicity of the local Government in creating a system that was no different from slavery and ensured that labour stayed on estates until contract labour system was established, while owners enjoyed the compensation money and invested in their sugar estates. Apprentices were quick to see they had been duped of their freedom. They expressed this disapproval of this 'new system of slavery' in several forms. Some marooned and were hunted in exactly the same manner as they had been under slavery. When caught they were flogged in the same manner. Others chose to withdraw from plantation labour (but not from agriculture), knowing full well that this is what would strike at the heart of plantation's operation. Others still bought their freedom from apprenticeship, just as, when slaves, they had bought their manumission. They were still advertised as slaves for hire, even though slavery had been abolished. While the stereotype of women is that they were downtrodden people, the number of applications for freedom from apprenticeship are very revealing. These women's history must not be forgotten and deserves further study.

#### Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

Slavery and indenture were primarily economic systems responsible for many ills. Both were also ideological cultural social institutions which created a particular society that many believe to be unique. There may be a case for 'Mauritian exceptionalism'. The particular situation Mauritius was in (geography proximity, existence of local capital, insularity, highly mixed populations, coupled with huge interest of the powers in Mauritius has led to the creation to new communities in the midst of the existing populations. Some of them marked Mauritian history as indelibly as the colonists, slaves and indentured labourers without being any one of these groups or perhaps being a bit of all of these groups. They have been labelled a 'transitional' group or a 'dying' group or even people who did not fit in any category. In the Commission's attempt to be as inclusive as possible and to cover a wide range of experiences occurring under slavery and indenture, it has focussed some attention on those groups who are neither slaves nor indentured, nor pure ex-slaves nor pure ex-indentured. These

are for example the Gens de Couleur because they emerged out of the interaction of slaves, indentured and colonists, the fishermen and pig-breeders who refused to bow to plantation labour and become the unidentified mass living and eking out miserable existences in Port Louis, but chose activities that made them autonomous, the métayers who did not fit into the category of labourers who rose from 'rags to riches' (the traditional stereotype of indentured labourer history). There are also the Indian Christians, who are still struggling to find a place for themselves and who appear to be both rejected or ignored by both mainstream Hindu and Catholic communities.

#### Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

The railways, still in 1962, employed mostly Creole workers. Railway employees were laid off without any compensation in the wake of the closure of the Railway Department in 1962. They all had to be satisfied with a small gratuity for the rest of their life.<sup>424</sup> No real study has yet been undertaken to highlight the immense contribution of Creole workers, mostly descendants of ex-slaves, the Sugar Industry and in the Aloe Fibre Industry, nor has any attempt been made to collect oral archives on their history.

#### Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

##### 3000 Short History

Artisanal fishing has existed since the days of slavery and was practised by all categories of persons. Estates located on the coast used slaves for fishing activities although it is not certain whether the slaves were free to fish for themselves. After slavery, ex-slaves, who wanted autonomy, found in fishing the perfect economic activity. Marooned slaves on the run waited for dusk to install *batatran*, a sort of creeper growing in the coastal region in passages to catch certain varieties of fish, entering the lagoon at night, thus ensuring a diet rich in protein content for those living by the sea.<sup>432</sup> Fishing is, thus, is closely associated with the history of slavery and freedom. Trou Chenille in the Le Morne region and many of the coastal fishing villages, Le Morne, Tamarin, La Gaulette on the Black River coast, was one of the renowned places for fishing and also where ex-slave communities established themselves. This area has great symbolical value for descendants of ex-slaves today.<sup>433</sup> Other coastal settlements, inhabited by Creoles, are Mahebourg, Trou d'Eau Douce and Grand Gaube, Grand Baie, Poudre d'Or and Poste de Flacq.<sup>434</sup>

#### Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

The initiative of pig-breeders of Roche Bois to set up a Co-operative Society was followed by breeders in a few other localities, and a Federation of Pig-Breeders was set up. As a result of formal registration, the voice of pig-breeders made itself heard. The Port Louis Municipality decided to grant a pork stall to the Federation for the sale of pork meat. This was a great landmark in the history of pig-breeders, a class of producers who had, for generations, been the subject of shameful exploitation by butcher/ traders *bouchersabattant*. For the first time, a direct link between producers at farm gate and consumers had successfully been established. The Port-Louis Market is the main centre for the sale of fresh pork. Every day, a Chinese tradesmen would sell pork at the pork stalls to people in quest of fresh pork. The operation of the co-operative stall

came to break the cartel of unscrupulous traders/butchers, and the move was considered as a laudable initiative.

#### Reference 25 - 0.01% Coverage

At the same time, for the first time in the history of pig-breeding, Government agreed to release a plot of State Land of 25 arpents on long-term lease for a small holding pig farm. The lease was granted to the Plaisance Pig Credit and Marketing Co-operative Society in 1984 to be onlet to its bona fide pig breeders.

#### Reference 26 - 0.01% Coverage

Port activities today represent a vital economic sector because of the insularity of Mauritius and the fact that all imports and exports transit through Port Louis, making it into a strategic activity. Any disruption in its running undeniably affects the economy of the island. The port is a place of business and all its activities revolve around it; without the port, the city is in peril. In Mauritian History, the contribution of the port workers to the history, political life and economy of Mauritius has not been recognized. They are the builders of Modern Mauritius alongside slaves and indentured labourers. To date only a short history has been produced by the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund, extracts of which are reproduced here. The Commission is not aware of any other study on the history of port workers.

Work in the port was, and still is, male-centered. It was not until the 1990s that the port authorities hired women in administration. This section was written based on interviews of port workers and represents their thoughts about their lives.<sup>441</sup> This is as yet the unwritten history of the port.

#### Reference 27 - 0.01% Coverage

Although the 1970s are considered as glorious years of Trade Union activity, there is another history yet to be written concerning the emergence of communalism and division among the working classes, which emerges ironically at the same time. According to Fortune, a full historical investigation is required into the political movement of the 1970s and 1980s and whether it was responsible, among other things, for the propaganda concerning race and the supposed 'labour aristocracy' status of port workers. Was it done as a deliberate move to curtail the port workers' political strength in Mauritian society? Fortune questions how a political movement as such which gathered itself under the slogan 'One People, One Nation' and was sustained entirely upon working class efforts would create racially charged dissension as a means of political strategy.

In this propaganda, race and the supposed wealth of Creole port workers, mostly urban dwellers, was pitched against the much documented stark poverty of rural field labourers, rekindling old tension between these two communities. The propaganda worked well, according to Fortune, in the already racially charged atmosphere of Mauritius of late 1970s and early 1980s, with the riots of 1965 and 1968 only a decade or so ago. The racial discourse concerning the riots of 1965 between Hindus and Creoles, and 1968 between Creoles and Muslims, the strikes of 1971 and the elections of 1982 and how the subject of race was addressed or excluded in the political discourse are part of the history of neglect of port workers. This deserves further study.

Furthermore, the ethnic composition of the population working in the port was used to justify the supposed racial homogeneity that the Trade Unions of the 1970s and the elections of the 1980s had brought back to the surface. The historical literature available, however, paints a picture of the port as a racially diverse sector since the early days of the Colony. To think therefore, that in the 1970s and 1980s, the port suddenly became racially homogenous is rather hard to believe. The Trade Union leader of the port workers in 1938 was no less than Sandivi, of Indian origin as were many port workers and in his grandson's words, a 'Creole Malbar'.<sup>444</sup>

#### Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

The history of the métayers (share croppers) was brought to the Commission's attention as a result of representations made by métayers in the South of Mauritius. The Commission decided to investigate further for several reasons. First, although they have grown sugar since the days of indenture (1840s), they have never owned the land and can be evicted at any time. They have, like many other groups in Mauritius, been the victims of restructuring of the Sugar Industry. A history of metayage appears in Volume 2 and in Volume 4. In the past, eviction could occur at any time, when their leases ended, when sugar was no longer required, or when the land was required for other more profitable purposes. What is the future of métayers in the new economic configuration? What future do they have? Today, the lands which they occupy and have been associated with for generations, considered 'marginal' at the time, have been 're-labelled' 'strategic' zones today, and are worth millions. The sugar estates have played their historic role, as they always have; they have disposed of labour when no longer required, and shifted labour where work was required, intimidated and used all the legal arsenal at their disposal to maintain their property. What is

#### Reference 29 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission believes a fairer form of compensation would have been to take into account the historic rights of the métayers and the years of labour spent working the cane fields, clearing, weeding and maintaining it for the owners. The métayers deserve an apology from the State, for not having defended them appropriately and for the callous manner in which they were convened. The TJC's recommendations, therefore, go in this direction. Little can be done for those who were forced to leave before the new laws were introduced, and who left without any form of compensation. This history must, however, be documented and enter the History books.

#### Reference 30 - 0.01% Coverage

Following the cyclone of 1892, the Sugar Industry was seriously hit and in need of capital for reconsolidation and expansion. Requests for assistance from the United Kingdom met with reticence. In 1909, however, the Colonial Office appointed a three-man Commission, headed by Sir Frank Swettenham, to enquire into the financial situation of the country and all problems connected with labour and immigration. The Commission submitted various recommendations and showed its apprehension concerning the idea that, in spite of the overwhelming majority of people of Indian origin in the colony, these were not represented in the legislature. Although the Royal Commission of 1909 recommended the cessation of labour recruitment from India, this did not take place until Maharaj Singh also recommended it years later. This marked a new era in

Mauritian History. The First World War (1914-1918) did not slow down the fighting spirit of the emerging class of politicians which, hitherto, comprised part of the Indian elite.

#### Reference 31 - 0.01% Coverage

Measures taken by the State in the area of health, housing, education, social security and employment, have been great landmarks in Mauritian History. What is remarkable is that all successive Governments, which have been in office since Independence, while striving hard towards economic consolidation and expansion, have at the same time never relegated the poor and the vulnerable to the periphery of society. This philosophy has contributed to Social Justice and improved the overall quality of life of the people.

#### Reference 32 - 0.01% Coverage

12. To assess the quantitative value of the labour by future researchers trained in Economic History and historical statistics.

#### Reference 33 - 0.01% Coverage

357 Despite spending several pages describing the history of the use of manure as a fertilizing agent on Mauritian sugar estates over the past one hundred years, North-Coombes (1993:76-82) only writes one line on the Engrais system and the use of human manure to cultivate cane plants. “[H]uman excreta”, he says, “has ceased to be employed owing to the dissemination of Hook Worm”. Andrew Balfour’s (1921:87-88) report indicates the practice was very widespread at the time he visited Mauritius, which is why he singled out its discontinuation as one of the most important ways to combat the spread of hookworm disease, also pointing out that these conditions “probably have not their parallel in any other part of the world. The main industry in Mauritius is sugar cane cultivation. The cane requires fertiliser and as Victor Hugo said, possibly with some truth, “the most fertilising and effective of manures is human manure.” Unfortunately in the tropics it is also the most dangerous. This fact was not recognised.”

#### Reference 34 - 0.01% Coverage

Access to and control of land was a major factor that shaped the social and economic history of colonial Mauritius during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and much of the twentieth century. Soon after it colonized the island in 1721, the French Compagnie des Indes inaugurated a policy of making substantial grants of

#### Reference 35 - 0.01% Coverage

production of the foodstuffs, naval stores, and other commodities needed to support the French political and naval presence in the Indian Ocean. Following the advent of royal rule in 1767, the Colonial Government continued this policy until the late 1780s when it began to sell public land, usually at a very reasonable price, to the colony’s inhabitants. The properties, granted or sold to French and other European colonists during the eighteenth century, provided the nucleus around which many of the colony’s sugar estates were subsequently built during the early nineteenth

century. However, Europeans were not the only Mauritian residents to acquire landed property. Significant numbers of the colony's residents of African and Asian origin or descent also purchased, or otherwise acquired access to or use of land during the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. Their ability to do so similarly played an important role in shaping the course of the country's social and economic history.

#### Reference 36 - 0.01% Coverage

The extent to which access to capital is central to understanding the history of landownership in colonial Mauritius is revealed in other ways. The increasing incidence of sharecropping during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries may be traced, in so small measure, to the financial problems facing the local sugar industry at this time. Economic considerations also compelled men and women to squat on publically, or privately-owned land. Many ex-apprentices did so because they lacked the money needed to secure legal title to land. The illegal occupation of public lands, especially mountain and river reserves and the *pas géométriques*, by impoverished men and women of all ethno-cultural backgrounds remained a problem for the Colonial Government throughout the nineteenth century. Information on the extent of this activity and those who engaged in it remains frustratingly scarce, but in 1906, the colony's Conservator of Forests noted some of factors that made dealing with the alienation of these lands so problematic: the absence of detailed and accurate maps of the lands in question; the passage of laws such as Ordinance No. 30 of 1895 which essentially destroyed the inalienability of the *pas géométriques*; and the difficulties that arose from the fact that Indian and Creole small proprietors, many if not most of whom were illiterate, had often purchased land in Government reserves "in ignorance and good faith."<sup>77</sup> In so doing, he underscores the need for scholars, Government officials, and the general public to appreciate the complexities – social, economic, and political – that coming to grips with the nature, dynamics, and problems of land ownership in Mauritius, both past and present, entails.

#### Reference 37 - 0.01% Coverage

The Short History of Mauritius by Toussaint has elaborated on the World War II period, when the colony was seriously affected by famine, especially in 1941. Then Mauritius could not import rice from Burma, due to the war in Japan. So, the Government had to be very strict and established special War Laws. Therefore, Sugar Estates Managers were obliged to cultivate foodcrops from an initial value of one-fortieth up to one-quarter of their fields. This law was also applied to small planters.

#### Reference 38 - 0.01% Coverage

Throughout Mauritian History, the sugar magnates, having acquired large "grants", set up large conglomerates, obtained a cheap labour force to create their wealth. Solitude Sugar Estate was one of the three sugar factories which belonged to the Society Harel Frères Limited. Auguste Dioré was the first owner between 1838 and 1839. He sold 406 acres of land to Jean Baptiste d'Agnel in 1857. Since that time, the land changed hands and increased in acreage several times. The annexation of adjoining lands, resulting from the closing down of factories, increased considerably the factory area of the sugar mill as was the case in other parts of the island.

#### Reference 39 - 0.01% Coverage

Sugar is closely associated with Mauritius. It shaped the history and culture of the island. Covering more than 40% of the surface area of the island, this industry made the island State what it is today. But, the sweetener introduced by the Dutch

#### Reference 40 - 0.01% Coverage

Désiré Emmanuel Roussel, the applicant, says that his great-grandparents possessed a plot of land of 325 Acres at Plaine Magnien. He avers that the Mon Désert-Mon Trésor Sugar Estate cultivates sugarcane on the land. The applicant says that he is unaware of the history of land. He came to know about it by doing searches at the Archives.

#### Reference 41 - 0.01% Coverage

The informants recognised the contribution of the slaves and their descendants to the development and to the future of the island. For example R1 mentioned that the slaves did not only contribute to the construction of churches but she also believes that they gave the land in Saint Croix for the grave of Father Laval. They were hard workers, carrying heavy loads in the sugar cane plantations. The informants pointed out that they were the ones who developed the sugar cane plantations in the country such as R3 stressed that the history of the sugar industry is closely related to the history of slavery:

#### Reference 42 - 0.01% Coverage

It would be tedious to make a list of the enormous contribution in terms of labour force of slaves and slaves' descendants/Creoles. In the plantation sector, in sugar cane estates and textile and other factories (sack). In Free Zone and tourism. Listening to their life history would be enough.

#### Reference 43 - 0.01% Coverage

There are infrastructures that existed in the past but that have disappeared now because of spatial reconfigurations resulting from residential and other infrastructural developments. Some of these infrastructures are inherent to the local economic history and are still present in the collective and individual memories of the respondents as they have an historical significance for the latter. Therefore, the vestige of these infrastructures should be listed as local heritage sites:

#### Reference 44 - 0.01% Coverage

The cultural clashes are negatively affecting the Cité whose organisation was, until now, based on ancient structures with their own relation to time, assets, goods and wealth. Cité La Mivoie is at a transition between a traditional fishing village, with its specific social and spatial organisation and value systems, to a working housing estate. Their value system and social and cultural systems continue to be threatened by Eurocentric systems. These contemporary problems do not stand in isolation, history impacts on their present reality.

Oral history uncovered a continuity between the local economic and occupational evolution and the colonial history (slave and indenture system) in that the availability of cheap and docile skilled and unskilled labour underpins contemporary regional economic and social development and economic prosperity. There is precariousness in the Cité which stems from historic inter-dependence of the residents and their wealthy neighbours and especially economic dependence with the former being employees and needing to 'earn a living' and the latter, the employers, in need of cheap and docile labour. This inter-dependence is rooted in servitude and capitalist exploitation.

#### Reference 45 - 0.01% Coverage

#### VOL 3: PART I - INDENTURE - SEARCHING FOR OUR ORIGINS - A HISTORY OF THE PEERTHUM FAMILY

[...] all human ancestry goes back to some place, and some time, where there was no writing. Then, the memories and the mouths of ancient elders was the only way that early histories of mankind got passed along [...] for all of us today know who we are." Extract from the Acknowledgement Section of Alex Haley's 'Roots' (1976)

Research into one's family history is a difficult and complicated task, but a rewarding experience, since it allows a person to discover his/her roots or where we come from and who we are. The story of my family starts during the mid-19th century, with the arrival of Peerthum, my great greatgrandfather, an Indian non-indentured immigrant and day labourer, bearing the passenger list number 5750 (bis). He arrived in Mauritius from Calcutta, India, some time between the late 1860s and early 1870s.

#### Reference 46 - 0.01% Coverage

It is ironic that we seem to know so much about the fate of indentured labourers in Mauritius and know so little about the experiences of workers in the sugar industry after the end of indenture. A cursory review of the literature on the history of employer and employee relations in the Mauritian sugar industry reveals that a majority of studies have focused overwhelmingly on the indentured labour period (e.g. Bissoondoyal 1984, 1986; Carter 1995; Allen 1999). That is not to say that no studies have focused on the working and living conditions of sugar estate workers after the end of indenture. For instance, the historian Daniel North-Coombes (1987) has provided us with a compelling account of the 1937 and 1943 strikes in the Mauritian sugar industry and what working conditions were generally like in the first half of the twentieth century. And the anthropologist Burton Benedict (1961), who conducted fieldwork in Mauritius in the 1950s, has provided us with a detailed study of the living conditions of Indo-Mauritians in villages and to a lesser extent in estate camps, a majority of whom were still reliant upon work in the sugar industry during this period. Nevertheless, one struggles to find any studies that address both the working and living conditions of sugar estate workers in Mauritius since the end of the indentured labour period. The following study represents a modest attempt at redressing this gap in the literature.

#### Reference 47 - 0.01% Coverage

the onset of the twentieth century. As a method of research, then, oral history can help us to redress some of these imbalances in the historical record and it can shed new light on old debates as I hope shall become evident in the course of this study. The type of people interviewed by the AGTF's research assistants and their community facilitators includes the views of field labourers, skilled artisans, sirdars, job-contractors, markers and other estate personnel. This study does not pretend to be able to encompass the views of all of these informants. Given that field labourers are the most numerous employees in the Mauritian sugar industry, it is inevitable that their views will receive more consideration than others. But this should not be taken to mean that the views presented in this report have been accepted uncritically, or without being exposed to some form of critical scrutiny.

#### Reference 48 - 0.01% Coverage

As stated from the outset of this study, the most comprehensive accounts that we have of the lives of Mauritian sugar estate workers in the post-indenture period comes to us from Daniel NorthCoombes and Burton Benedict. It is instructive to compare their respective accounts of the lives of sugar estate workers after the termination of the indenture labour system in Mauritius, as each of them had different objectives and foci due in part to their methodological biases. For instance, where North-Coombes was more concerned with class-conflict and the various forms of exploitation that existed in the Mauritian sugar industry, Benedict evinced an approach that sought to pay greater attention to the living conditions of ordinary Mauritians, even if this meant that he tended to overlook signs of class-conflict and tension in Mauritian society. In the final analysis, both approaches are of equal value in any attempt to reconstruct the history of Mauritian society, but what this study has shown is that it is just as important to consult the opinions of those affected by these events. The voices of elderly sugar estate workers has shown to us there were important matters that have been overlooked by both North-Coombes and Benedict, and which places the recent past into sharper relief. I am thinking in particular of the fact that estate managerial staff and sirdars and job-contractors conspired to abuse the rights of labourers by continuing to mark them as absent, or "marron", and deducting their wages for failing to complete unreasonable estimations of set tasks. One would have thought that these abuses would have discontinued after the end of indenture, but quite clearly, that was not the case.

#### Reference 49 - 0.01% Coverage

Family histories revealed a generational transmission of occupations with the respondents and their elders (parents and grandparents) performing almost similar jobs. For generations, they were estate agricultural workers employed as labourer and/or Sirdar (Eng. trans. Overseer).

#### Reference 50 - 0.01% Coverage

Despite spending several pages describing the history of the use of manure as a fertilizing agent on Mauritian sugar estates over the past one hundred years, North-Coombes (1993:76-82) only writes one line on the Engrais system and the use of human manure to cultivate cane plants. "[H]uman excreta", he says, "has ceased to be employed owing to the dissemination of Hook Worm". Andrew Balfour's (1921:87-88) report indicates that the practice was very widespread at

the time he visited Mauritius, which is why he singled out its discontinuation as one of the most important ways to combat the spread of hookworm disease, also pointing out that these conditions “probably have not their parallel in any other part of the world. The main industry in Mauritius is sugar cane cultivation. The cane requires fertiliser and, as Victor Hugo said, possibly with some truth, “the most fertilising and effective of manures is human manure.” Unfortunately, in the Tropics it is also the most dangerous. This fact was not recognised.” 101

#### Reference 51 - 0.01% Coverage

The category Franco Mauritian was coined in written texts in 1908 (Boudet, 2005:36). A central motif to their name as Franco-Mauritian is their French ancestry and their use of the French language. Franco-Mauritians are described as “educated and elegant” (Personal communication, Anon., Flic-en-Flac, 5 June, 2010). Many characterisations of Franco-Mauritians have caught my attention in history books and through discussions with the islanders. Franco-Mauritians are generally perceived as aristocratic, upper-class, high society, highly cultured, privileged, the white plantocracy, the sugar oligarchy, as top of social hierarchy, as the historic bourgeoisie, and by and by, the economic elite.

#### Reference 52 - 0.01% Coverage

Chagossians, Agaleans as well as Rodriguans identify themselves above all to specific cultural capitals linked to the characteristics of their islands. A distinct homeland district history and tradition as cultural capital is produced, reinforced by perceptions of ostracism by Mauritians i.e. people born on Mauritius island, feelings of resentment at being left out of mainstream development “Parent Pauvre de la République”. As in any identity choice and alignment, partners and stakes determine the positioning of all parties.

In the case of Chagossians, Agaleans and Rodriguans, the common denominator is the struggle against what is perceived as structural domination to obtain access for better economic, social and political recognition. This is especially true in the case of the forced exile of Chagossians. In fighting exists but the sense of belonging, especially among uprooted or migrant communities on the island of Mauritius, helps to reduce cognitive dissonance and enables inner energies to focus on structural issues. Ilois and Rodriguan cultures present a positive rural identity as response to negative stereotyping (rural upbringing, social conservatism, traditional behaviours and attitudes, authentic values, alternative way of living and healing). Even if poverty exists and may be more vicious than on Mauritius, descendants refer less to the traumatic past of slavery. Theirs are histories with less social rivalry, negative discrimination, social comparisons pertaining to leadership, collective resources and upward social mobility

#### Reference 53 - 0.01% Coverage

The second one, more specific to slave descendants, lies in the interplay of six factors: 1) A history of enslavement, servitude and oppression; 2) Demographic composition; 3) Economic positioning and intensifying competition with other communities; 4) Racial prejudice and discrimination; 5) Resources, internal structure, dynamics and leadership of the community itself, and 6) Capacity for self-determination and self-empowerment.

#### Reference 54 - 0.01% Coverage

economic construct in the power sharing and making in Mauritian history. Between 1980 and 1990, there were rapid changes in Mauritian economy and society which have led to substantial improvement in the life conditions and education from which Creoles have been excluded. R. Cerveaux, a Catholic priest, denounced the fact that Creoles were poor and marginalized in society and in the Church. According to Cerveaux, Creoles have been victims of slavery, of their own intelligentsia, of the alienating culture of the Church and of politicians pursuing their own interests. The 'malaise créole' was the result of a concentration of problems and an accumulation of hurdles to be overcome: a mix of cultural oppression and identity problems, prejudice and stigmatization which are sequels of slavery and its subsequent history, as well as socioeconomic difficulties, precarious employment, low wages, housing problems: "Education in the broad sense was considered a key issue in reducing inequalities and repairing injustices towards Creoles' situation" (Romaine, 2010).

#### Reference 55 - 0.01% Coverage

seventies, eighties and nineties. Their invaluable contribution to the economic and cultural development of the country was silenced, their history ignored and prejudices and unjust treatments inflicted to them. There was the Creole taboo before the 'malaise créole'. The 1999 February riots came as a climax to a long history of oppression and injustice

#### Reference 56 - 0.01% Coverage

Today, there could be new opportunities for the people of Mauritius and for the Creoles, especially those of the working-class or lumpen proletariat. Education must be approached in a humanistic perspective in which the history and culture of all groups are taken into consideration. Education policy should be placed within its broader social, cultural, political and economic context, as an integral part of a human development strategy that places the people at the heart of the whole process. Education must help to engender a new Humanism, one that contains an

#### Reference 57 - 0.01% Coverage

essential component and sets considerable knowledge of, and respect for, the cultures and spiritual values of different civilizations as a much-needed counterweight to a globalization of the world. If this is not urgently done, globalisation will reveal even more dramatically the inequalities of Mauritian society and paralyse it, as worldwide changes require new competencies and polyvalence on the labour market. This can polarize Mauritian society further and ethnic turmoil cannot be excluded. It is only through education, encompassed within a large vision of Mauritianness, that slave and indentured labour, descendants can finally unite within one Mauritian nation and make history.

#### Reference 58 - 0.01% Coverage

Some people believe that reparations can be done through monetary means but the complexity of Mauritian history and the facts of the contemporary situation weaken the case for financial compensation. This same idea has been very aptly put forward by the Parliamentarian Alan Ganoo in the Parliamentary debate no. 40, of 7 November 2003, when he notes:

#### Reference 59 - 0.01% Coverage

And yet, the history of human civilization on health and living conditions as far as slavery and indentured labour are concerned is a dark spot carved on stone. Historians, writing about the health of slaves and indentured labour in the 18-19th century Mauritius, have portrayed a picture that has left an impression of 'quasi torture' and an extremely harsh life with death as liberation from persecution (Teelock 1998, Barker 1996, Nwulia 1981). The general consensus is that these labour constituted an asset for the planter owners and a necessity for the colonial powers for the exploitation of land in pre-industrial times. Slave labour was so essential to the economy that the French colonists defied all attempts of the authorities to enforce abolition of slavery. If the human labour force was a critical factor for the colonial administrations, inevitably the health of the slaves and the indentured labour should have been paramount to promote their interests. Was it so?

#### Reference 60 - 0.01% Coverage

The history of slavery and indentured labour in Mauritius takes its roots in the presence of visitors and settlers of colonial empires stretching over a period of two and a half centuries starting in the eighteenth century. Stuck in the trademark trappings of possession of the island, de-possession of its resources, trade rivalries, strategic presence for control of trade routes lapping the Indian Ocean and economic exploitation for the production of sugar were the dominant reasons explaining the Dutch (1698-1710), French (1710-1810) and British (1810-1968) occupation of the Island.

#### Reference 61 - 0.01% Coverage

For Mauritius, Auguste Toussaint was undoubtedly the greatest compiler of data for Mauritian history before the 1980s. On the subject of trade and commerce, he compiled an impressive list of ships with details of tonnage, destinations for the period 1773 to 1810. In this, Toussaint listed 515 slaving voyages between 1773 and 1810. This data includes tonnage, size of cargoes and slave mortality. However, the slave trade per se was not his focus of interest, and he does not include much more information in the published versions. His private papers are not to be found in Mauritius.

#### Reference 62 - 0.01% Coverage

self-laudatory approach ignores, however, the fact that economic historians can only study what is quantifiable, such as trade statistics, prices, tonnage, numbers, heights and weights of slaves, rather than deal with 'intangible' issues of history such as identity or culture loss, mental and physical stress, mobility, laws, consequences on family life or the sense of loss felt as a result of being removed from one's homeland.

#### Reference 63 - 0.01% Coverage

Thus preferences for certain types of slaves for labour began to be expressed as early as then. It was not only the price, but their propensity for hard work, to maroon, that were taken into consideration. Linking ethnicity to occupation started at a very early stage and can be said to have continued throughout Mauritian history.

#### Reference 64 - 0.01% Coverage

Much therefore remains to be included in the lists compiled by Toussaint and others as far as the early history of the slave is concerned.  
Slavery in French economic history

#### Reference 65 - 0.01% Coverage

Thus, the Dutch would start a set of historical processes which would dominate the history of Mauritius: the introduction of the sugar cane, the production of a liquor, arrack, from sugar cane, using slaves from Madagascar as labour, developing trade between Madagascar and Mauritius, using Mauritius as a 'key' of the Indian Ocean, in Holland's rivalry with Portugal for trade with Asia, and using Mauritius as a port of call for its ships.

#### Reference 66 - 0.01% Coverage

From the above, a low probability of abolition and emancipation would not affect the value of labour significantly. However, it may have been the case that, prior to the middle 1830s, it was widely believed that slavery would eventually not come to an end. After the mid-1830s, if our interpretation of the history is correct, there was little doubt that the slave regime would persist indefinitely. In terms of the model, Pem would be greater in the late 1820s. This, in turn, would imply that, ceteris paribus, the expected present value would increase. On the other hand, if abolition seemed unlikely, then Pem would have remained essentially constant over time with, ceteris paribus, no change in the expected present value.

#### Reference 67 - 0.01% Coverage

The exclusion of the ex-apprentices from the mainstream economy and the fragmentation of labour would have an impact even on modern Mauritius. Admittedly, in the history of Mauritius, political leadership has now and then used that historical state of affairs in defence of their interests.

#### Reference 68 - 0.01% Coverage

The period 1810-1839 in the history of Mauritius saw the creation of a monocrop economy, with the destruction of the cultivation of other crops. The driving force for fat profits and capital accumulation created conditions for a perpetual quest for coerced unwaged labour and later coerced waged labour.

#### Reference 69 - 0.01% Coverage

The Franco-Mauritians remained a strong interest group throughout the island's history. The Sugar Industry was their power base. The decline of the Sugar Industry in the 1960s weakened their ascendancy over the island's affairs. When their political power, dwindled their economic power declined considerably. In the new Constitution of Mauritius, which was promulgated in 1948 and with the extension of the franchise culminating, ten years later, in universal suffrage, we can trace the early ominous signs of the irreversible decline of the Sugar Industry and the Franco-Mauritian community in local affairs.<sup>192</sup>

#### Reference 70 - 0.01% Coverage

For the labouring classes, history tends to repeat itself. In the crisis at the turn of the twentieth century, the labouring classes were made to contribute very unfairly, when compared to the capitalist class and middle class, to Government revenue. In the lean years of the economic depression of the 1930s, yet again they would be made to contribute heavily to Government revenue as well as to the Sugar Industry.

#### Reference 71 - 0.01% Coverage

History has repeated itself. About one hundred and thirty years ago, the plantocracy recruited indentured labourers from a vast reservoir of cheap labour found in British India. As a result, the plantocracy accumulated capital which was partly siphoned off to financiers/ investors abroad (Britain and France mainly) and partly reinvested in modernising the sugar factories. The new dimension, this time, lies in the fact that the reservoir of cheap labour came from within Mauritius: women and the unemployed. As argued in chapter 5, unemployment and poverty were the direct consequences of policies of free trade by British Imperial Government and of cheap labour policy of the Colonial Government and the plantocracy.

#### Reference 72 - 0.01% Coverage

class, the new elite and the new business community. Today, this bourgeoisie controls State power. Further, the country is 'imprisoned' to a certain extent by its history. The sugar oligarchy still controls the Sugar Industry and has extended its control to some extent to the tourist sector, export-oriented industries and financial services.

#### Reference 73 - 0.01% Coverage

This period in the history of Mauritius witnessed a drastic change in the way the British Government viewed its colonies and their inhabitants. Following the publication of the Hooper Report in 1938 and the passing of the Colonial and Development Welfare Act 1940, major changes took place in the field of education, housing, and healthcare. These decisions also laid down the foundations of the Mauritian Welfare State.

Following the cyclone of 1892, the Sugar Industry was seriously hit and in need of capital for reconsolidation and expansion. Request for assistance from the United Kingdom met with

reticence. In 1909, however, the Colonial Office appointed a three man Commission headed by Sir Frank Swettenham to enquire into the financial situation of the country and all problems connected with labour and immigration. The Commission submitted various recommendations and showed its apprehension concerning the idea that in spite of the overwhelming majority of people of Indian origin in the colony. These were not represented in the legislature. It is the Royal Commission of 1909 which recommended the cessation of labour recruitment from India. This marked a new era in Mauritian history. The First World War (1914-1918) did not slow down the fighting spirit of the emerging class of politicians which, hitherto, comprised the Indian elite.

#### Reference 74 - 0.01% Coverage

The two most recent pieces of legislation in the field of Employment in Mauritius are the Employment Rights Act 2008 and the Employment Relations Act, 2008, which came to replace the former Labour Act, 1975 and the Industrial Relations Act of 1973 respectively. These Acts came in at a crucial moment in the history of the island in order to respond to the new work environment, as a result of forces of globalization.

#### Reference 75 - 0.01% Coverage

After the advent of the Independence of Mauritius and the de-facto integration of Rodrigues, the island did not know the same developmental strength as its sister but experienced some timid progress, namely in the commercial sector, where history details inhuman exploitations through trade, especially the barter system and the education sector undertaken mainly by the Catholic Church. The infrastructural development remained merely non-existent.

#### Reference 76 - 0.01% Coverage

It inevitable and intellectually dishonest to make abstraction of the question: Is Rodrigues part of Mauritius? Comparing the level of development in all economic and social spheres on mainland Mauritius with that in Rodrigues, one is bound to conclude there is a great disparity. Being citizens of the same Republic, Mauritians born in Rodrigues do not enjoy equal opportunities as their fellow countrymen born in Mauritius. This is not just a matter of perception, but a stark reality. All through this document, it has been made clear that Rodrigues, throughout its human history, has been either neglected or totally forgotten by the powers that be in Mauritius.

#### Reference 77 - 0.01% Coverage

and 1830, those only rarely surpassed 350 acres, or 135 hectares. Subsequently, they were limited to about 108 acres. Because Rodrigues did not share in the sugar cane boom of Mauritius, it ceased to be of interest to the British Authorities very early in the history of colonization.

#### Reference 78 - 0.01% Coverage

Rodriguans still bear the weight of their Colonial History and of their past historical development, and especially their Political History. The present socio-economic situation is the

result of years of repression and ostracism from the preceding Governments that maintained the island in a State of underdevelopment. The local population is currently experiencing the triple burden of their past (slave ancestry, Colonial and Post-colonial political orientation and socio-economic poverty) and the current social and economic crisis exacerbates their already vulnerable state.

#### Reference 79 - 0.01% Coverage

In times of scarcity, the Rodriguans eat anything available that can be consumed, wild fruit, and even snails. In the old days, when latanier palms were still plentiful, the cabbage was eaten. Lataniers became scarce after the prolonged drought of 1928. In the pre-ETC1 days, it could be weeks before a ship would bring an emergency supply of rice, and the inhabitants often had nothing at all to eat; fortunately, the resources of the sea helped out. In the course of their history, Rodriguans have often endured famine conditions, under which any other people would have rebelled (North-Coombes 1971).

#### Reference 80 - 0.02% Coverage

The Mahébourg Museum was reorganised in the early 2000s and was certainly the Museum where the first representations of slavery and indenture were portrayed. Our research showed that it is precisely at this period that a concern for the representation of slavery and indenture started to emerge. The initiative of the National History Museum is commendable, in that it tries to recognize two silent episodes of Mauritian history but it was mostly directed in museums by the vision of the White elite. However, it is interesting to note that the need to raise consciousness of slavery and indenture was not only a Governmental concern. It was also supported by private initiatives during the same period. The chief example was the creation of “L'Aventure du sucre” which today is the most frequently visited Museum in Mauritius.

From the National History Museum to Aventure du sucre: the formulation of the untold background of aventure du sucre

Inaugurated on 28 October 2002, l'Aventure du Sucre is the second private initiative that aimed at setting up a museum<sup>48</sup> and is considered as the first project of its kind in Mauritius by its instigators (Gufflet, 2003:4). The Museum is the result of the collaboration of Constance and La Gaité Sugar Estate Company Ltd., Deep River Beau Champ Ltd. and the Beau Plan Sugar Estate Company Ltd. The three sugar industry Companies joined forces to create L'Aventure du Sucre, presenting the history of the sugar industry in Mauritius and the evolution of its technologies. The idea emerged from the intention to convert Beau Plan Sugar Factory, closed on 22 July 1999 as a result of the centralisation of sugar production, into a museum, an initiative of Mr. Aldo Vallet, Chairman of the Company Sugar World Ltd.

The main purpose of the Museum is to evoke the history of Mauritius through the evolution of the sugar industry. For the instigators of the project, the history of Mauritius developed around the sugar industry (Fauque, 2002:6). This central theme is, thus, the opportunity to present an overview of how the country evolved. This shift marks a significant evolution in the way the history of Mauritius is approached. In museums created at an earlier date, the vision was focused on the lives of the former colons and not on a common binding dynamism leading to the creation of today's Mauritian society. The creation of L'Aventure du Sucre thus marks the emergence of a

different vision of the past, especially when this vision was initiated by the descendants of the first inhabitants of the island and also, its former rulers.

According to literature, the concept was to create mainly a cultural and leisure place where the visitor can learn and entertained. The objective was also to preserve the memory of the sugar industry that largely contributed to the shaping of Mauritian identity. For Sugarworld Ltd., this states the need to promote History among Mauritians and tourists (Gufflet, 2003:5). The main motivation is also to develop Cultural Tourism and Eco-Tourism and provide new offerings to tourists, as the Tourism Industry is mainly centered on Mauritius as a place for beach and sea. Their aim is thus to convey that the country has a rich culture and to promote a “new image of Mauritius” as a cultural destination (Gufflet, 2003:8). Not only would L'Aventure du Sucre be a place of history, but it is also ideally located to attract a large number of visitors, since the converted factory is near the Pamplémousses Gardens that receive more than 220 000 visitors in 2002 (WeekEnd, 2002).

The project thus supports a new conception of the Museum in Mauritius by associating economic concerns with the need to promote Mauritian history in a wider perspective. The overall approach is presented as a philanthropic undertaking by the former sugar barons who wish to share a common heritage:

#### Reference 81 - 0.01% Coverage

However, Sugarworld Ltd. does not deny that there are economic challenges, considering that the project involved an investment of 75 millions (l'express, 2002). L'Aventure du Sucre marks a major development for the notion of Museum in Mauritius. It is the result of concerted efforts from investors from the sugar industry who involved various competences, including Researchers, Historians, Architects, Interior Designers etc., to create a major cultural space devoted to the history of Mauritius. To achieve this goal, the creators remind us that they wished to achieve high standards in order to “fill in a gap”<sup>49</sup> in Mauritius, where no structure was devoted to the history of the sugar industry.

#### Reference 82 - 0.01% Coverage

Part 3. “A l'ombre de la cheminée: le pavillon de l'histoire” [Eng: In the shade of the chimney: the History Pavillon];

Part 4. From cane to juice (“De la canne au jus”); Part 5. “Le pavillon des technologies” [Eng: The History Pavillon]; Part 6. From juice to sugar; Part 7. Different types of soils; Part 8. Sugar routes.

The Museum’s storyline covers the entire scope of Mauritian History. It starts with the presentation of the geological formation of the island of Mauritius followed by first settlements. The first section ends with a chronology of events that marked the last four centuries on the island. The section on ‘origins’ is followed by an account of the importance of the sugar market considering that sugar was a refined good in Europe since 15th century, when Mauritius was not yet a sugar producer. This section stresses the shift from a scarce and refined good, reserved for the elite, to its consumption spreading among the population at large. This section only presents an overview of the use of sugar in Europe and describes as such, the main market destination of the sugar produced in Mauritius. It also presents sugar as a product from a European perspective. This section tends to valorise the contribution of Mauritius in the production of sugar, by

stressing that sugar was a prestigious product that Mauritius was trusted to produce for the high European aristocracy.

The history section is presented after these two introductory parts and is followed by sections referring to the various technologies illustrated by machines preserved from Beau Plan factory. The final display focuses on the specificities of sugar cane. The Museum collections end with an account of the sugar routes throughout the world and its exportation from Mauritius until a recent date.

#### Reference 83 - 0.01% Coverage

In this section, the role of the sugar aristocracy is also implicitly referred to as a binding element for the society. The plantocracy is referred to as a group wishing to offer protection. This vision discards the main objectives of the planters to recruit cheap labour to respond to industrial requirements. The discourse here focuses on an ideal interpretation of history where the sugar industry is central to the constitution of the nation. According to this vision, it has thus contributed to federate the different components of the society to constitute a nation. This introduction thus highlights the intention of the museum to retain positive accounts of the past: the main one being that the sugar industry was a federative element in the constitution of Mauritian society.

Slavery and indenture are referred to in the last part of the introduction entitled “À l'ombre de la cheminée” or “In the shade of the chimney”. The shade may indirectly refer to the difficulties encountered by the dominated population throughout the History of the Sugar Industry.

#### Reference 84 - 0.01% Coverage

This is further supported by the intention to situate the Mauritian experience within international historical context. It certainly helps a better appreciation of the local history within the broader 18th and 19th century context and ultimately places the Mauritian experience as a consequence of worldwide phenomenon. This helps to minimize the focus on the “negative” past that could lead to social divisions and offers a perspective to better appreciate the local past. This process is particularly important since the recognition of a “negative” past is instrumental in allowing the evolution of mentalities and serves the development of a national history that can ultimately receive general acceptance.

There is in the undertaking of L'Aventure du Sucre a process of recognition that never took place before. The Aventure du Sucre is the first museum to devote a full space to the experience of slavery and indenture in the perspective of the evolution of Mauritian society. This helps to provide references for the memoration process by expressing the untold and accepting the “dark side” of the sugar industry. In this respect, the museum is a place of reference serving a vision of unity. This is attested by the conclusion part of the section on history entitled “Et tous forment un peuple”.

## *Education*

References or discussions to education, curriculums or teaching of the past

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC\_.Report-FULL> - § 68 references coded [0.22% Coverage]

### Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

x. History of Agalega should be taught from Primary level onwards. The book of Father Dussercle Agaléga Petite Île is an excellent manual for secondary students.

### Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

There are different coconut fields with different names. Their delimitation, with their proper names, will be a practical exercise in pedagogy to teach the History of Agalega to all the population, particularly young students. Names of streets and avenues should also be marked. This measure will reinstate the dignity of the people: from Camp Noir to Avenue, from hut to bungalow.

### Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

1.2. A website to be designed to include the following:-the Act, Members of the Commission with their CVs, a bibliography of slavery and indentured labourers, a chronology of Mauritian History and links to other institutions.

### Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

To empower Mauritians to research their own History, the Commission has focussed on: 1. The collection of data with the aim of dissemination for future scholars and the public at large; 2. Pointing to new and innovative ways of looking at Mauritian History by some selective and indepth studies which will also guide future policies in History Education and Teaching; 3. Encouraging institutions to open up their collections rather than preserve it for the select few.

### Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission has also addressed the continuing discussion (albeit sterile) about whether indenture was similar to slavery. This debate is summarized here and an explanation offered as to why these perceptions have held good, despite documentary evidence to the contrary. Ignorance of basic facts of one's history and concepts appear to be rampant in Mauritius, in spite of the high rate of literacy of its population.

What were the conditions of indentured labourers on estates? Did all indentured labourers work on sugar estates? Were all indentured labourers Indian or Hindu? Did all indentured labourers obtain land and become educated in baithkas? These are some questions we have answered through fundamental research on demography, landownership and education, as well as detailed histories of families and their lives in Mauritius. Just as it has been stated that one cannot generalize for the slave population, so one cannot do so for the indentured population: the family

and life histories presented in Volumes 3 and 4 here show the immense variety of indentured experience, and it is clear that more such family histories, using interdisciplinary methodologies, need to be compiled.

It has been common in public and official discourse to demarcate, along clear lines, the slaves from indentured immigrants; yet, Mauritius at the time was not divided into these two groups: due to the extreme shortage of female immigrants, intermarriage and cohabitation occurred. Intercaste, interregional and interethnic marriages occurred, as evidenced by the family histories compiled. Many, if not most, Mauritian families have undergone a higher rate of métissage than they care to admit.

#### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

Are these consequences of indentured labour or the actions of Mauritians in post Independence Mauritius? The choice to maintain a caste system and to maintain division of ethnic groups in census is clearly a choice of independent Governments since Independence, and it is difficult to see how the indentured system could be held responsible. The choice not to teach a common history rather than a compartmentalised history, and for political and religious leaders to make public speeches where the failure of one ethnic group to achieve in one particular field is underlined, is a dangerous policy to tolerate. Over the years, this has led to increased social and cultural fractures. To avoid further divisions, these need to be stopped and should no longer sanctioned officially.

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

Suspicion on the part of immigrants towards schools also existed, as these were seen as sites of proselytisation missions. This situation continued long after indenture and lasted well into the 20th century as the numerous oral histories conducted with elderly Mauritians show, with girls suffering the most from this exclusion.

#### Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

that all communities have made a vital contribution to our history, irrespective of their origins. “History is philosophy teaching by examples,” declared Lord Bolingbroke. Educating the young through the teaching of a balanced History of Mauritius is the way forward. Only then, can cultural memory take on its true significance for young Mauritians – seeing the present through the past and envisioning the future through the present. Otherwise, old clichés will persist.

#### Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

As far as Indentured immigrants are concerned, although there were concerns about the type of education to be dispensed in the early years, by the 20th century, many Indian children were going to school. Parents had overcome their original hostility to Western-type schools and were sending boys to schools. Education was highly sought after and many sacrifices were made by parents to secure a place in school. Oral histories abound with such stories. Education was also seen by many as a way out of the sugar sector and into white collar jobs. Discrimination, however, against Indian children existed in schools as few schools were willing to offer a place

to Indian children in the early 20th century. However, many schools, private and public, were later opened and these were made full use of by the descendants.

#### Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

managed carefully and if its education system is organised and delivered in a manner that permits and ensures genuine equal and equitable opportunities for the children of the descendants of slaves and indenture. This would go a long way towards the creation of durable peace in the country. Peace, as Martin Luther King notes, is not about the absence of conflicts, but the presence of justice. Can Mauritian education ensure social cohesion and justice? Education in the postIndependence period has no doubt been informed by the history of the country, and this history has had ramifications for the different segments and communities of Mauritian society, including Rodrigues and the Outer Islands. The democratisation of education during the post-colonial period opened up several windows of opportunity, but discriminations and inequities persist. Several legislations marked educational developments both in the colonial and post-colonial period, but legislations are not enough to create equitable outcomes. The Commission proposed to examine the provision of education and how it can be used as a tool for reparation, thereby thus mitigating the tensions and injustices resulting from a history of injustice and oppression.

#### Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

curriculum content, the pedagogy and the culture of the school – often with all of those forming part of a dominant culture - there is an urgent need to rethink, revisit and repair all the wrong, much of which has been largely informed by the Colonial History of the island.

#### Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission, therefore, supports the recommendation of creating a Conservation Institute or a 'Cultural heritage Institute', to be placed under the aegis of the University of Mauritius where young persons of all disciplines can be trained in the interdisciplinary framework which is so essential in cultural heritage preservation (Engineering, Computer Science, History, Chemistry and Natural Sciences) rather than at the Ministry of Arts and Culture, heavily staffed by administrators and only a few specialists in cultural fields. Scientific disciplines are represented in even less numbers.

#### Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

The creation of a Cultural Heritage Institute or a Conservation Institute at the University of Mauritius (UoM), which will include the preparation of a Master's Degree in Conservation of Mauritian Heritage; this could be part of both History programmes as well as Librarians' courses and even Sciences programme, as a multidisciplinary staff (Sciences Chemistry Entomology Mycology) is also required etc.

#### Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

1. The history of Mauritius should be taught from primary to tertiary level in order to foster better inter- ethnic relations.

Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

11. For a more just educational system 12. For our 'cités' 13. Concerning the caste system 14. Le Morne village history and heritage and Southern Mauritius 15. Metayers and Riche Terre Planters 16. Archives

Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

☐ There is a low level of understanding of Mauritian History exhibited by Mauritians from all walks of life and irrespective of educational background. There is thus a need for research and the promotion of History

Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

23. Introduction of Mauritian history at all levels in the School Curriculum and for all categories of Mauritians.

Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

164. Education for a shared history, identity and culture in the school system and media ☐ That long-term education programs be introduced to promote the shared dimension of all Mauritians' history and identity.

☐ That the school system (via text books and national programs) should be revised to incorporate more recent approaches of the Mauritian History.

Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

ii. History of Agalega should be taught from Primary level onwards. The book of Father Dussercle Agaléga Petite Île is an excellent manual for secondary students.

iii. A museum, with what is left of the ancient establishment and families, will be a living memory of traditions and culture, and an open book of history.

Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

There are different coconut fields with different names. Their delimitation, with their proper names, will be a practical exercise in pedagogy to teach the History of Agalega to all the population, particularly young students. Names of streets and avenues should also be marked. This measure will reinstate the dignity of the people: from Camp Noir to Avenue, from hut to bungalow.

Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

Identity needed to be studied as an original construction and seen as a heritage but also as an original construction by Mauritians. Discussion needed to take place on what made up the Mauritian nation. History education was important but in a more dynamic way/

#### Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

A very large number of views were expressed on education and the need for reform. These are summarized here: educational programmes to fight racism must be put in place and for schools to be aware of the various conventions; the need for stereotypes of occupations for descendants to be countered; the destigmatisation of those who did not vote for independence; the study of the history of education; choice of English by the descendants of indenture while those of slaves had no choice: French was the language of Catechism and was chosen. New language developed by the new Creole elite emerging: Creole. Creole needed to be introduced for descendants of slaves as a cultural, part of linguistic /cultural rights. High failure rate needed to be examined.

#### Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

□ The simple database started by the TKC should be continued by the University of Mauritius in partnership with other institutions which have an interest in the slave trade and slavery. The University possesses both history and computer science departments who can collaborate with minimal cost with each other to maintain the database. It also has a pool of students every year who can be initiated and trained in historical research and data entry.

#### Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

generations). This is perhaps because, families have moved from one area to another resulting in a cut off from family ties and most probably because of absence or lack of oral transmission of family origins. Interviews revealed that there has been either no or limited transmission of knowledge of family origins. Generational transmission of family history was limited to one to two generations and hence for many people recollections of family history were limited to their grandparents and sometimes to their great grandparents. Although they did not know their origins they identified themselves as of slave descent because of their African phenotype. For example, Rosemay considers herself as being Mauritian of African descent because of her skin colour, she is Black and hair type is 'frizzy'. For those who do not know their origins, most of them guessed about their family ancestry based on their physical appearance and what their parents told them. Their identification is not derived from knowledge of ancestral origins but rather on shared legacies of slavery such as social experiences and lack of education and opportunities. On the other hand, some informants' identification with the slaves descendant seems also to be founded on racial grounds. This biological identification associates the African phenotype, skin colour (being black) and hair style (frizzy hair) with slave ancestry.

#### Reference 25 - 0.01% Coverage

On one hand, based on interviewees' testimonies, it appears that their identification as descendant of slaves is based on their shared feelings and experiences of sufferings and oppression rooted in the belief that 'the others' and society keep them in oppression by refusing

or repressing their social mobility and undermining their history and consequently the memory of the slaves. A collective memory of suffering and oppression is perpetuated with the generational transmission of suffering, misery and poverty that keep the descendants of slaves in the continuous cycle of deprivation. Their identification is not derived from knowledge of ancestral origins but rather on shared legacies of slavery such as social experiences and lack of education and opportunities.

#### Reference 26 - 0.01% Coverage

For everyone, with the exception of festivities, the government has done nothing for the descendant of slaves and they are still waiting for recognition. Children do not know the history of slavery as it is not taught in schools. Hence, there is a need to correct this error and to include the history of slavery in the school curriculum.

#### Reference 27 - 0.01% Coverage

All the people interviewed stressed that it is time for the future generations to get rid of this idiocy and arrogance that still hold them back. According to R6, the last five years has witnessed a change among the Creoles who have gained consciousness of the importance of education and of rectifying past mistakes. They also stressed the need to recognise the history of the slaves

#### Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

There is a generational transmission of menial jobs because as reflected by the life histories of the informants, they stopped schooling at a young age to start working. For example, R6 and R13 stopped schooling after Standard 6 and Form 2 respectively because of financial problems. They were poor and education was not free at that time.

#### Reference 29 - 0.01% Coverage

R7 I was a teacher and considered as an intellectual and I sang sega considered a low class cultural trait. Sega is our Mauritian folklore. People liked my songs. I composed Lil Moris mo zoli pays, Zarina and Mme Eugène. They became a disk. Mme Eugène became a big success. I had an ulcer. When I was well, I went to P. Laval. Coono pa le mor. I was greeted everywhere. (...) I always wanted to know what had happened in the past and what will happen in the future. When I went to Paris, I went to cultural places: libraries, museums. Same in England and Italy. When I began with sega, I was encouraged by my parents and the public. I travelled a lot. I progressed. I researched on sega, the most Mauritian thing that exists. I think I have slave ancestors from what I have read. Sega helped me to know the history

#### Reference 30 - 0.01% Coverage

The naming system of these places constitutes symbolical association and assimilation of these spaces to the person or to the group. Through these spatial configurations, we can learn much on the local history and on past life such as on past social systems.

These sites and the stories of these places should be preserved and transmitted to the future generations for them to learn their history and that of their ancestors.

#### Reference 31 - 0.01% Coverage

Family histories have uncovered an intergenerational transmission of academic underachievement in Cité La Mivoie in that few people have continued schooling until tertiary education and the children living in the Cité were identified as pupils at risk within the education system.

#### Reference 32 - 0.01% Coverage

Creole was the medium of communication at Mr. Pandoo Sayajee Row's school. Given that it was a Protestant school, he was required to perform catechesis. He also learned the history of France and England, arithmetic and geography. Hindi was the only oriental language that was taught at Mr. Pandoo Sayajee Row's school. He did not mention whether he attended these Hindi classes. But he did state that he learnt some Marathi from his paternal grandparents who came from Kolhapur Maharashtra. He also had to sing "God Save the King" at school because Mauritius had not yet become independent.

#### Reference 33 - 0.01% Coverage

as a nation; smaller communities, such as the 'General Population', and the 'Coloured people' within it, and Sino-Mauritians, may not have the numbers. However, the Mauritian people must recognise the fact that all communities have made a vital contribution to our history, irrespective of their origins.

"History is philosophy teaching by examples," declared Lord Bolingbroke.

Perhaps, educating the young through the teaching of a balanced history of Mauritius, rather than a revisionist history, is the way forward. Only then, can cultural memory take on its true significance for young Mauritians – seeing the present through the past and envisioning the future through the present. Otherwise, old clichés will persist, and the dawning of the Justice and Truth era will be a forlorn hope.

#### Reference 34 - 0.01% Coverage

CHAPTER 3 - The Struggle for Education for the Coloured 3.1. The 'Coloured people' with few educational opportunities The team drafting the 'Education Project' has dealt at length with the history of Education

#### Reference 35 - 0.01% Coverage

to the family, since whether they worked or not, they have contributed to the well-being of the members of their families. Their ability to cope with work as well as with domestic tasks is clearly revealed by the interviews together with their determination to head the family in case of the death of their husband, leaving a household with small children to look after and a living to gain through hard work. Far from being a story, the role of women in the families' history, as

well as at present, leads us to conclude that the stability of the family depends on the way they handle current and daily situations as well as taking important decisions, such as the type of education to be given to children and grandchildren, one of our interviewees points out.

#### Reference 36 - 0.01% Coverage

So that they can bring up well their children, Mauritian history and citizenship should be taught at school.

#### Reference 37 - 0.01% Coverage

Translation: « Concerning the question of history I think it is a good occasion to valorise the specific history of Rodrigues and then I think that this has been partly corrected because of sensitisation but often in school books for example Rodriguans were represented as carrying a hen cage on their head and rarely are the Rodriguans represented as a dentist, doctor or teacher (...) these are stereotypes Rodriguans need to cultivate their land and they cannot wait for rain to fall there needs to be irrigation and a market for example at Gravier there were hundreds of lemons which fell and there was no market even if there are efforts being made there are stereotypes the history of Rodrigues should be valorised and encourage Rodriguans in this great adventure”.

#### Reference 38 - 0.01% Coverage

The first interviews were conducted in the rural community of Rivière Noire at St. Esprit College, a confessional school where the researcher spent his/her first two weeks interviewing 18 students, conducting four life histories there. St Esprit College has a majority Creole student population due to the fact that it is a Catholic school and that the community in the area is largely Creole. At the school, access to the classrooms was provided and one was able to interact meaningfully with students inside and outside of interviews.

#### Reference 39 - 0.01% Coverage

The researcher also conducted fieldwork at Régis Chaperon School, in Rose Hill, where she interviewed the Headmaster and seven students. The all-boys school has gained a notorious reputation in the past decade and when the school was visited, it was in a terrible condition, with broken windows and a faulty sewerage system that left a pungent smell in the air. At the school, issues of discipline, parent-teacher cooperation, equality of Education in Mauritius, as well as the challenges of schooling in Mauritius's competitive school-ranking system, were discussed. Two days were spent at Port-Louis SSS, an all-girl College, which was newly-built. There, the researcher was able to conduct three life history interviews with girls from different socio-economic and racial backgrounds.

#### Reference 40 - 0.01% Coverage

Reading through the current Form 4 History book, it was astounding to note the invisibility of Creole history in the text books and the negative presentation of African slaves. In the history

book one of the first passages recounting African presence on the island is rather telling of the racial discourse around slavery in secondary education. The passage is of an account of a slave rebellion where slaves burnt down a field. Using the passage as a reference, two questions are posed to the students asking “what were the problems created by slaves” and “what were the activities carried out by the Dutch”.

#### Reference 41 - 0.01% Coverage

Further questions were asked about whether students learned about Creole leaders at school, and apart from Martin Luther King and Nelson Mandela, the students couldn't name any influential black or African icons either from Mauritius or abroad. Even contemporary Creole movements such as the Organisation of Creoles, Africans and Malagasy (OCAM), the Association Socio-cultural African and Malagasy (ASM) and the Fédération Créole Mauricien (FCM) were not known by the students nor were they mentioned in history or sociology text books.

Comparatively European history is valorised and all example images in the text book were only of Indian people. In the entire history book, the only images of Creoles/Black people were in the instance of slavery and there was only one picture of a Creole represented as a professional. The invisibility of Creole representation in school

#### Reference 42 - 0.01% Coverage

Professionals highlighted that when “you look at the history of slavery you understand impact of racism, you understand why they're that way, they got nothing to hang on to . . . The Hindus . . . could hold on to their tradition and their religion, that's why it's easier for them to go up the ladder, the cultural and social ladder and it's easy for them to have a culture of education that the Creole don't have. They don't have a base and you can't even blame them. That doesn't mean it's an excuse for what's not happening to them . . . But as a group, it's understandable that they're the ones who are poorer and . . . it's been built-up from what had happened to the culture itself, their absence of culture”

#### Reference 43 - 0.01% Coverage

- Educating towards a shared history and identity (school system and media awareness campaigns)

The most important recommendation proposed would be to implement serious and long-term educating programs valorizing the shared dimensions of all Mauritians' history and identity.

Fighting communalism in Mauritius has a direct and long-term impact on casteism. If the quest for roots is respectable, it should be contextualized in a definitely Mauritian identity.

The school system (via text books and national programs) should be revised to incorporate more recent approaches of the Mauritian history. The need is 1/ to break the global division line between indenture and slavery in such a way that descendants of both slaves and indentured labourers realize their common historical fate in Mauritius, and their effectively shared living and working conditions in the estate system that resulted in common representations and practices that ought to be valorized whereas they are denied and forgotten. 2/ to promote the shared popular culture of indentured and slaves descendants. This popular culture needs to be valorized against current temptations to promote an invented root in Sanskrit elitist and orthodox

Indian culture. The more people will be conscious and proud of their truly popular roots, the more they will realize their shared past and roots with all Mauritians.

#### Reference 44 - 0.01% Coverage

Generally speaking, it appears that Mauritians are remarkably unfamiliar with their history. They are all the more sensitive to mythologies and invented “roots” that unscrupulous or ignorant elites tend to promote. Scientific research in history and anthropology is now available for training school-teachers and increasing their awareness of a Mauritian identity in the making. Mass-media awareness campaigns can also be used in the same perspective, stressing the “allMauritian” history and identity.

#### Reference 45 - 0.01% Coverage

mobility, a tool for peace and reconciliation, but when education fails to do the above, social cohesion is threatened and instabilities of diverse kinds are bound to arise. Multicultural Mauritius, whilst peaceful on the surface, has all the ingredients necessary for a social explosion, but only if managed carefully and if its education system is organised and delivered in a manner that permits and ensures genuine equal and equitable chances/opportunities for the children of the descendants of slaves and indenture, it would go a long way towards the creation of durable peace in the country. Peace, as Martin Luther King notes, is not about the absence of conflicts but the presence of justice. Can Mauritian education ensure social cohesion and justice? Education in the postIndependence period has no doubt been informed by the history of the country, and this history has had ramifications for the different segments and communities of Mauritian society.

#### Reference 46 - 0.01% Coverage

questions, seeks to address the following : ‘Conditions of education of slaves, ex-slaves, indentured labourers and descendants, the state of ‘enforced illiteracy’ and its consequences on the slave population, the consequences of denial of education; consequences of non-inclusion of an oral culture. This Education Report also examines the articulations between the past and the present and how education can therefore be used as a tool for reparation and thus mitigating the tensions and injustices resulting from a history of injustice and oppression.

#### Reference 47 - 0.01% Coverage

In Mauritius, education has played different roles at different times in the country’s history

#### Reference 48 - 0.01% Coverage

committees. Given that it was important to understand how History informs the present, the education team deemed it important to use the Hansards as an additional tool of research. The Hansards helped to uncover some of the debates on education at different points of the country’s history

#### Reference 49 - 0.01% Coverage

Today, there could be new opportunities for the people of Mauritius and for the Creoles, especially those of the working-class or lumpen proletariat. Education must be approached in a humanistic perspective in which the history and culture of all groups are taken into consideration. Education policy should be placed within its broader social, cultural, political and economic context, as an integral part of a human development strategy that places the people at the heart of the whole process. Education must help to engender a new Humanism, one that contains an

#### Reference 50 - 0.01% Coverage

contemporary research methodology in the History of Education considers as the important distinction to be made between the 'archives of memory' and the 'memories of archives' (Fitzgerald, 2005). Such a perspective coheres with the quest for Truth, Justice and Reconciliation as the challenge, therefore, is to interrogate the contents of the archives as well as the archives themselves to reveal their privileges, silences and absences.

#### Reference 51 - 0.01% Coverage

the Colonial Government and the Church as institutions did not cater for slave education. A few individuals mostly French missionaries (Lazarists), provided basic religious education and opened a few schools to cater for basic academic education of coloured and slaves. The history of French colonial period is therefore largely one of exclusion. The non accessibility to education meant that slave descendants continued to remain in an unequal power relationship for a very long time.

#### Reference 52 - 0.01% Coverage

presence in the evolution of education has been marked by forces and actions of inclusion and exclusion. Both Bishop Collier and Father Laval were imbued with the idea of St. De La Salle who, back in the 17th-century France, advanced the social heresy that the children of the poor should be educated. But the social forces at play during the colonial period very often put the Church off track its original mission. Critical literature in Catholic education, and especially about the role of Catholic schools, is inexistent in Mauritius. Also, common criticisms against the Church do not go beyond the limited role of Father Laval in the emancipation process of the affranchis which has since then been established by Colson (1980). In fact, the controversial position of the Church can only be understood in the perspective that it is an institution which has always been shaped in its own history by various socio-historical forces at play, and its actions have been underpinned by forces of progress and Conservatism. For instance, it was not until post-February riots of 1999 that the Catholic Church would show real signs of concern for the education of the Creoles. This could be explained by the fact that education, in its global sense, could not be envisaged before from an ethnic perspective. In the same vein, it was only in 2007 that the Church, through Bishop Mgr Piat, presented its Pardon to the slave descendants and himself as a descent of slave owner.

#### Reference 53 - 0.01% Coverage

their failures and to believe that something is wrong with them, when actually it is the nature of the curriculum content, the pedagogy and the culture of the school – often with all of those forming part of a dominant culture - there is an urgent need to rethink, revisit and repair all the wrong, much of which has been largely informed by the colonial history of the island. The next chapter in fact addresses the question of reparations.

#### Reference 54 - 0.01% Coverage

should be introduced and assessed. Citizenship Education should consist of 3 core parts - one on Political Literacy and History, one on Intercultural Education and one on Family Life and Sex Education, incorporating the specific implications of associated problems such as HIV AIDS and teenage pregnancies. Assessment modes should therefore change to something more rigorous and regular but in the overall context of the abolition of the C.P.E.

#### Reference 55 - 0.01% Coverage

In 1883, a committee was set up under the Protector of Immigrants which recommended the creation of new primary schools under Government control, converting the Anglo-Vernacular schools into Second Grade schools and English as medium of instruction. Being the Protector of Immigrants, Trotter had first-hand experience of the appalling economic conditions of Indian immigrants and therefore, he made the most crucial recommendation of this committee – free education for the children of immigrants – for the first time in the history of education which had far-reaching consequences in the development of Education. Another set of important proposals were put forward by the Committee on Education in 1887. Taking a radical departure from the existing

#### Reference 56 - 0.01% Coverage

In the case of the Fair Price Cooperative stores, it is frankly written that “The history of nepotism and patronage in former cooperative stores is a lesson well learned by the federation.”<sup>275</sup> There is a concern that the next generation of cooperation is not being produced; hence there is an urgent need in education at grass roots level as well as in the formal education system.

#### Reference 57 - 0.01% Coverage

In any consideration of the progress of popular education, not only in Mauritius but throughout the whole of the British Empire in the nineteenth century, the work of the Church and Missions holds the highest place. The phenomenon of priests and monks engaged in educational work is familiar in both European and British educational history, but in Mauritius, as well as in the whole of the British Empire, where secular benefaction was comparatively small and ineffective, the contribution of religious bodies can hardly be overstated.

#### Reference 58 - 0.01% Coverage

This period in the history of Mauritius witnessed a drastic change in the way the British Government viewed its colonies and their inhabitants. Following the publication of the Hooper Report in 1938 and the passing of the Colonial and Development Welfare Act 1940, major changes took place in the field of education, housing, and healthcare. These decisions also laid down the foundations of the Mauritian Welfare State.

Following the cyclone of 1892, the Sugar Industry was seriously hit and in need of capital for reconsolidation and expansion. Request for assistance from the United Kingdom met with reticence. In 1909, however, the Colonial Office appointed a three man Commission headed by Sir Frank Swettenham to enquire into the financial situation of the country and all problems connected with labour and immigration. The Commission submitted various recommendations and showed its apprehension concerning the idea that in spite of the overwhelming majority of people of Indian origin in the colony. These were not represented in the legislature. It is the Royal Commission of 1909 which recommended the cessation of labour recruitment from India. This marked a new era in Mauritian history. The First World War (1914-1918) did not slow down the fighting spirit of the emerging class of politicians which, hitherto, comprised the Indian elite.

#### Reference 59 - 0.01% Coverage

Measures taken by the State in the area of health, housing, education, social security and employment have been great landmarks in Mauritian History. What is remarkable is that all successive Governments which have been in office since Independence, while striving hard towards economic consolidation and expansion, have at the same time never relegated the poor and the vulnerable to the periphery of society. This philosophy has contributed tremendously to Social Justice and improved the overall quality of life of the people.

#### Reference 60 - 0.01% Coverage

From the available historical literature on the History of Rodrigues, it is thus crystal clear that the education of the inhabitants of remote Rodrigues seemed not to have been a major concern to the rulers of Mauritius in the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century.

#### Reference 61 - 0.01% Coverage

The fact that the curriculum was supposed to be the same as in Mauritius, pupils who had passed the 6th Standard had to be sent to Mauritius to take examinations in History and Geography, if they wanted to sit for the Junior Scholarship Examination. At least one student, Paul Cyril Stephen, had to go to Mauritius to sit for the examination in December 1928.

#### Reference 62 - 0.01% Coverage

For the Rodriguans, the major concern is still whether the present Educational System, the curricula and the type of education dispensed to our children meet the latter's needs. There is a general consensus that the present Education System is not appropriate to equip the younger generation for future responsibilities in the Rodriguans society because it totally makes abstract

of the core history and culture of the island. There is, therefore, an urgent need to revisit the whole Educational System in Rodrigues, by aligning it more with the Rodriguan realities.

#### Reference 63 - 0.01% Coverage

Thus, nearly everyone thought that the History of Rodrigues should form part of the PVE curriculum for many good reasons, and although everyone said they knew the difference between a curriculum and a syllabus, when pressed to explain what they understood by a curriculum, there was little correlation in their answers.

#### Reference 64 - 0.01% Coverage

The final question dealt with the sense of History and identity of these students and with how easily they could relate to them. Significantly, most teachers thought this was not possible, mainly because of the entire absence of these topics on the curriculum.

This last issue raised - that of a Rodriguan sense of history and identity - would appear crucial to the work of the Commission: for we may well ask ourselves what is the main purpose of Education, if it is not to give the young a strong sense of identity and purpose in life, and liberate them from the hereditary constraints of History? And how can this be done, by these teachers, and in these classrooms, bound, as they are, by the often illogical directives coming from Mauritius?

#### Reference 65 - 0.01% Coverage

3. There is need of a revised syllabus for Pre-Vocational Departments in all schools (including those in Mauritius), but with a section on the History and Culture of Rodrigues. Text-books and student workbooks should accord more with the cultural and ethnic background of Rodrigues. A new Teachers' guide is necessary, one which will include new and creative teaching methods, while cutting down on the amount of paperwork that moves between the two territories. Many teachers complained about the amount of useless information that they were regularly required to produce and reproduce on demand, and the sheer volume of testing that went on. We need to find ways of reducing emphasis on assessments and tests, except informally, as a means of encouraging pupils and documenting their progress, instead of eliminating them. New subjects should take into account the sea, Rodriguan History, the Geography of the island and fishing, as well as the practice of animal husbandry which has always existed on the island.

#### Reference 66 - 0.01% Coverage

After the advent of the Independence of Mauritius and the de-facto integration of Rodrigues, the island did not know the same developmental strength as its sister but experienced some timid progress, namely in the commercial sector, where history details inhuman exploitations through trade, especially the barter system and the education sector undertaken mainly by the Catholic Church. The infrastructural development remained merely non-existent.

#### Reference 67 - 0.01% Coverage

At the end of the 1870s, the Royal Society proposed to gather the library and the Natural History collections in one place. This project of an Institute was finally supported by the Colonial Authorities whose representative, Governor Sir George Bowen, laid the first stone on 23 November 1880. The Mauritius Institute came into existence through the Proclamation of the Ordinance No. 19 of 1880 to promote the Arts, Sciences, Literature and Philosophy, in order to educate and entertain the public. The Mauritius Institute opened its doors during the Colonial Exhibition in 1884 (Cheke, 2003: 199). Its objective was to regroup the Collection of the Desjardins Museum established in 1842 in the Royal College in Port Louis and other National History Collections and the library in one location. As the minutes of proceedings of the Royal Society of Arts and Science state:

#### Reference 68 - 0.01% Coverage

The ambition to cover such a wide scope may not be the best strategy to enhance the visitors' experience. Indeed, the information deals with such a wide perspective that the core focus of conveying the essence of the Sugar Industry History may be lost. The random survey effected at l'Aventure du Sucre reveals that most visitors enjoyed the setting, but found that too much information was available and that it was difficult to take in a clear understanding of Mauritian History. This impression is also expressed on online forums:

## *Ethnicity*

References or discussions of ethnicity, ethnic lines, ethnic divisions and racism

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC\_.Report-FULL> - § 100 references coded [0.50% Coverage]

### Reference 1 - 0.02% Coverage

1. Establishing the 'Truth' about History is not an easy task. Firstly, there is the professional historians' point of view that there is no such thing as 'permanent truth', since new research will change what has been accepted. There is also 'public history' which often contains 'perceptions of truth'. This is the truth that the TJC has attempted to deal with. In addition to this mandate, the TJC also had an underlying mandate which was to promote reconciliation. In Mauritius, reconciliation was seen by many as being possible, only if one did not talk about one's history. This was no longer possible in contemporary Mauritius. Although some institutions and individual Mauritians have understood this, the TJC did clash with several institutions that possessed important repositories of documents but did not wish to open them to the TJC or to the public. Summons were issued and, in some cases, the access issues were resolved. Whether the access to the public will continue, is a matter which the TJC has, no control over. The TJC is, at least, sure that the public is fully aware that these archives exist, the Mauritian public has every right to access them, and that the State has the responsibility of preserving these documents and not allowing private appropriation of these documents. Opening access and a more forceful policy of encouraging historical research and an open debate, rather than engaging in parallel debates, will lead further to national reconciliation in the future.

2. The TJC has held 212 hearings at its offices and outside Port Louis. These also constitute the TJC archives as they show clearly public perceptions about Mauritian History and lives of Mauritians. They are, however, representative of the most vocal sections of Mauritians, rather than the voiceless. The TJC endeavoured to collect the views of Mauritians whose voices had no chance of being heard in Port Louis, and it embarked on a massive oral history collection exercise. The TJC feels that we have reached a wide cross-section of the Mauritian community and covered a variety of historical experiences of Mauritians living in the 20th century. These are personal experiences of contemporary Mauritians and reveal their personal interpretations of their history. The statements, when taken together, are amazingly similar, and a full study was undertaken by a multidisciplinary team of Historians, Anthropologists, Sociologists and Ethnographers. The results are presented in the technical papers in Volumes 3 and 4 of the Report. The evidence shows even more clearly how many Mauritians know so little about Mauritian history and their family history. What Mauritians have preserved about their own history is limited, although this is to some extent understandable, because most Mauritians have led difficult lives. However, it is clear that their approach to life differs considerably, depending on their culture, religion (or absence of it), class and economic status in life.

The TJC cannot claim to have rewritten the whole history of slavery and indenture, but it has, at least, given a conceptual and structural version of Mauritian history free from political and racial agendas. It is now incumbent on future scholars and community groups to reflect and build on this and continue the work accomplished. The TJC has provided the tools and the sources where the historical material may be found, and civil society must now take this further. TJC's version of history cannot be considered as the 'official' history, but the beginning of a new 'national'

history, in the sense that TJC recognises the fact that there are different perspectives and approaches.

#### Reference 2 - 0.02% Coverage

3. A third issue that the TJC has dealt with, has been the suspicion and concern expressed in many quarters about academic history not reaching the local population. The TJC attempted, therefore, to bring together, through its historical projects, scholars, community groups and the local population. There was, we believe, frank discussions where community views were able to feed on the work of scholars, (local and foreign) who were able to voice their views, share their knowledge and arrive at a consensus. The TJC feels it was the start of a new historical 'adventure' and hopes that this approach will be continued in the future. It is hoped that the historians involved, have recognized the value of this work. TJC thus avoided what has become common elsewhere, where Western academic scholarship has clashed with community-based' histories. TJC has also ensured that other forms of historical research have been used, in particular oral history and that archaeological and ethnographic research has been used and promoted in the various studies. Such studies finally aroused a great deal of public attention, and this is indeed very encouraging for the future. It is clear, however, that the gap between academic history and communities being researched needs to be narrowed even further. TJC has devised a policy that will guarantee access to most of the data collected (archival, oral, ethnographic, and archaeological) to the public as well as the academic community.

Knowledge production is still an issue as people from particular ethnic groups tend to read what historians from their own ethnic groups write, even though it may not be completely objective and scientific in its approach. The class, caste and gender approaches need also to be incorporated into Mauritian History. These historians and communities would benefit from sharing their perspectives, and this would go a long way towards a shared history and a shared heritage in the future. Academic historians need, therefore, to popularize their writings. They also need to relate their findings to the contemporary situation.

4. How one faces the past was another area of concern. Will apologies and forgiveness heal the wounds of the past? Some believe so. TJC believes it is not enough and that public institutions must ensure that the debate about our history never ends, because history is always being written and rewritten. Although many wish to close the book, this will not be possible. Rather, TJC invites Mauritians to continue uncovering the Truth, and not to forget that Injustice can always recur and that Mauritians must be vigilant.

#### Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

history and their past but to do this, they need not to be harassed by religious, political, social and cultural 'leaders' giving instructions on how they should behave, talk, dress because this is how certain communities are 'supposed to behave'. In other words, identities should not be imposed upon them. The variety of our origins is omnipresent in our identity, and there is not one, two or three groups (as defined by the existing Constitution), but many more.

#### Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

It was not understood by these institutions that the aim of collecting these documents was twofold: (a) to enable an objective and comprehensive study to be made, and (b) to make these documents available to the Mauritian public so they may study their own history and, in so doing, dispel the many myths and misconceptions that abound in Mauritian History. As stated above, it is a fact and this was confirmed during hearings held at the TJC, that most Mauritians are not familiar with basic facts about their own history. They must, in future, be given the tools with which to be able to judge the veracity and objectivity of what they hear and read which unfortunately, more often than not, is only partial information, often not objective and also ethnically-inspired.

#### Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

For the first time, the inequality of groups on the basis of colour was legally established under the Law, making it unique in French legal history, and institutionalizing what amounts to a 'racial

#### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

The Muslim part among the French India population has been studied by Emrith and Jumeer. Most had come from from Bengal. Their history needs to be further researched using notarial records and Civil Status records. Although there was reluctance to use non-Christian labour, the shortage of labour had forced Governors to engage Indian Muslim sailors. They were all Urdu speaking, according to Jumeer. We know from research, conducted with one family who has traced their ancestry to the French period, although they have kept the memory of their family origins that they seem to reject their Indian ancestry. In 1805, they secured from Governor Decaen a plot of 250 toises to build a mosque, an unthinkable act in an island where Catholicism was the only authorized religion. However, it fitted in well with the principle of segregation of races, as envisaged by Decaen and so, may not seem so incongruous an action, in hindsight. The separate cemetery created at Rivière Lataniers was also symbolic of the separation of cultures at this time, demanded by part of the population itself and allowed by French Authorities. It is among this group that the first Yamse religious festival was held in 1765 (Emrith: 9).

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

As with most neglected histories, they come to light only when the criminal records mention them. Thus Delport, probably the most famous of them all was accused of multiple crimes: receiving stolen goods, encouraging slaves to steal and giving them resources to steal, squatting on 'unconceded' land etc.<sup>232</sup> Despite all this, they did enjoy the benefits that having a whiter skin colour proffered on them. A black skilled worker would never be equal to a white skilled worker in French Mauritius.<sup>233</sup>

#### Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission has also addressed the continuing discussion (albeit sterile) about whether indenture was similar to slavery. This debate is summarized here and an explanation offered as to why these perceptions have held good, despite documentary evidence to the contrary. Ignorance

of basic facts of one's history and concepts appear to be rampant in Mauritius, in spite of the high rate of literacy of its population.

What were the conditions of indentured labourers on estates? Did all indentured labourers work on sugar estates? Were all indentured labourers Indian or Hindu? Did all indentured labourers obtain land and become educated in baithkas? These are some questions we have answered through fundamental research on demography, landownership and education, as well as detailed histories of families and their lives in Mauritius. Just as it has been stated that one cannot generalize for the slave population, so one cannot do so for the indentured population: the family and life histories presented in Volumes 3 and 4 here show the immense variety of indentured experience, and it is clear that more such family histories, using interdisciplinary methodologies, need to be compiled.

It has been common in public and official discourse to demarcate, along clear lines, the slaves from indentured immigrants; yet, Mauritius at the time was not divided into these two groups: due to the extreme shortage of female immigrants, intermarriage and cohabitation occurred. Inter caste, interregional and interethnic marriages occurred, as evidenced by the family histories compiled. Many, if not most, Mauritian families have undergone a higher rate of métissage than they care to admit.

#### Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

Are these consequences of indentured labour or the actions of Mauritians in post Independence Mauritius? The choice to maintain a caste system and to maintain division of ethnic groups in census is clearly a choice of independent Governments since Independence, and it is difficult to see how the indentured system could be held responsible. The choice not to teach a common history rather than a compartmentalised history, and for political and religious leaders to make public speeches where the failure of one ethnic group to achieve in one particular field is underlined, is a dangerous policy to tolerate. Over the years, this has led to increased social and cultural fractures. To avoid further divisions, these need to be stopped and should no longer sanctioned officially.

#### Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

Tribal Indians constitute one of the most, if not the most, ignored groups in Mauritian historiography. Indeed, many Indo-Mauritians are unaware of their own tribal origins. Reconstruction of this history, therefore, has been through immigration records, rather than family histories, as is the case for most other groups. Since it was not possible to study the whole tribal population as part of the enquiries undertaken by the Commission, a sample using the earliest records available was used. Tribal immigration was discontinued by the British as mortality was high among them in Mauritius, and their arrivals dwindled for the 1860s, and today, in the written records, they almost completely merge with the Hindu, Christian or Muslim population of Indian origins. The sample studies conform to the origins of the bulk of arrivals in the early phases of immigration, namely from Calcutta and neighbouring districts. Nowadays, much of this forms part of the newly-created tribal State of Jharkand.

#### Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

The history of Calcuttiya Muslims was no different to that of other labourers on plantations. Housing arrangements were made, when they did not want to live near pig-breeders among the labourers families. But, in general, they went through the same evolution. After indenture, many became small planters, share-croppers (known as *métayers* in Mauritius) and others migrated to the town of Port Louis and opened textile shops, some of which are still in existence today. It is not known yet how many returned, but one family story does not confirm that there were immigrants who returned after the indenture. Many left families in Mauritius since those born in Mauritius, were not eligible for return passages. One immigrant returned to India, kept up a correspondence with his family, but remarried and reindentured to Guyana and was lost from view from then on.<sup>270</sup>

#### Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

In terms of language those who came from the North of India and from Bhojpuri regions, spoke Bhojpuri and many, especially of those of a higher status, could also speak and write Urdu. With 'Islamisation', many have rejected this Bhojpuri/Indian culture and it is mainly the elderly alone in rural areas who continue to speak it. Many have opted for a more 'Arab-style' culture. The celebration of the Muharram festival, called in Mauritius the Ghoon or Yamse, which has existed in Mauritius since 1790s and where many Calcuttiya Muslims have joined in the 19th century, is also frowned upon today as being 'unIslamic'. However, among the younger generation of historians, there are interesting studies being carried out on family histories and their evolution as Mauritians. These studies deserve to be incorporated into a larger study and published.<sup>271</sup> The Bengali language also spoken among those originating from districts located around Calcutta are unknown to descendants interviewed.

#### Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

One can infer that the so-numerous 'Vaish', identified in Mauritius today, probably belonged to other castes before indenture. This is to be regarded as another example of upward caste mobility. Some 'jatis' belonging to lower castes in India have been 'upgraded' in the Mauritian caste system. But such upward mobility often goes hand in hand with temptations to deny the popular origins they shared with other indentured labourers. This reluctance to acknowledge their real history may explain the MGI's insistence that caste information of indentured should not be revealed to public. This attitude is reminiscent of descendants of slaves in Mauritius as well as descendants of convicts in Australia. In Mauritius, however, this is tied up with claims of political representation and caste quotas.

Upward mobility was also possible through intercaste marriages. Numerous examples exist in family histories. Loss of caste identity occurred at several stages apart from the Emigration and Immigration Depot in Calcutta and Mauritius.

#### Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

In order to achieve control or maintain hegemony, dominant groups construct fictions and homogeneity relating to various intra community groups. Myth, legend and history as fictions against others enable the crafting and reinforcement of power. Struggle between the desire to obtain an "essential" identity that makes for political currency among the dominant groups, and

the experience of new cultural values, transiting in all ethnic communities, has been and is still a main issue for power relationships.

#### Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

Slavery and indenture were primarily economic systems responsible for many ills. Both were also ideological cultural social institutions which created a particular society that many believe to be unique. There may be a case for 'Mauritian exceptionalism'. The particular situation Mauritius was in (geography proximity, existence of local capital, insularity, highly mixed populations, coupled with huge interest of the powers in Mauritius has led to the creation to new communities in the midst of the existing populations. Some of them marked Mauritian history as indelibly as the colonists, slaves and indentured labourers without being any one of these groups or perhaps being a bit of all of these groups. They have been labelled a 'transitional' group or a 'dying' group or even people who did not fit in any category.

In the Commission's attempt to be as inclusive as possible and to cover a wide range of experiences occurring under slavery and indenture, it has focussed some attention on those groups who are neither slaves nor indentured, nor pure ex-slaves nor pure ex-indentured. These are for example the Gens de Couleur because they emerged out of the interaction of slaves, indentured and colonists, the fishermen and pig-breeders who refused to bow to plantation labour and become the unidentified mass living and eking out miserable existences in Port Louis, but chose activities that made them autonomous, the métayers who did not fit into the category of labourers who rose from 'rags to riches' (the traditional stereotype of indentured labourer history). There are also the Indian Christians, who are still struggling to find a place for themselves and who appear to be both rejected or ignored by both mainstream Hindu and Catholic communities.

#### Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

The Gens de Couleur are part of the intermediate and unique categories that emerged from slavery and indenture but have been forgotten by History because they do not fit into the all-encompassing categories that officials and scholars alike, and Mauritians in general, have created throughout Mauritian History in order to classify Mauritians. As a 'minority within a minority', and because of their higher social position, they have been ignored, if not undermined at times, for their association with the elite. As stated above, however, as a group which emerged directly from slavery and indentured immigration, it was felt they deserved the attention of the Commission.

Several terms have been used throughout Mauritian History to describe this group: 'Coloured Population', 'Libres de Couleur', 'Gens de Couleur', 'Free Population', 'Creoles Ferblan', 'Mulatres' etc. We have chosen the term Gens de Couleur as it implies a certain social status whether neither of the other terms do. Their ethnic and social composition was varied: European, Indian, Malagasy, African, Chinese as well as having slave, free and indentured origins.

However, not all these origins have been recognized equally by them and the tendency has been to be Westernised and reject the non-European ancestry. In the 18th, 19th and part of the 20th centuries, when relationships between different groups were forbidden or frowned upon, their relationships were not hidden from public view. However, painful this is for the population to admit, it must also be stated that some were the product of sexual exploitation and rape of slave

and indentured women on plantations and in urban areas by owners and employers and heads of establishments. They occupied a unique social and economic status which, only in the past few years, is being uncovered, as more and more family histories are brought to light.

#### Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

Although the 1970s are considered as glorious years of Trade Union activity, there is another history yet to be written concerning the emergence of communalism and division among the working classes, which emerges ironically at the same time. According to Fortune, a full historical investigation is required into the political movement of the 1970s and 1980s and whether it was responsible, among other things, for the propaganda concerning race and the supposed 'labour aristocracy' status of port workers. Was it done as a deliberate move to curtail the port workers' political strength in Mauritian society? Fortune questions how a political movement as such which gathered itself under the slogan 'One People, One Nation' and was sustained entirely upon working class efforts would create racially charged dissension as a means of political strategy.

In this propaganda, race and the supposed wealth of Creole port workers, mostly urban dwellers, was pitched against the much documented stark poverty of rural field labourers, rekindling old tension between these two communities. The propaganda worked well, according to Fortune, in the already racially charged atmosphere of Mauritius of late 1970s and early 1980s, with the riots of 1965 and 1968 only a decade or so ago. The racial discourse concerning the riots of 1965 between Hindus and Creoles, and 1968 between Creoles and Muslims, the strikes of 1971 and the elections of 1982 and how the subject of race was addressed or excluded in the political discourse are part of the history of neglect of port workers. This deserves further study.

Furthermore, the ethnic composition of the population working in the port was used to justify the supposed racial homogeneity that the Trade Unions of the 1970s and the elections of the 1980s had brought back to the surface. The historical literature available, however, paints a picture of the port as a racially diverse sector since the early days of the Colony. To think therefore, that in the 1970s and 1980s, the port suddenly became racially homogenous is rather hard to believe. The Trade Union leader of the port workers in 1938 was no less than Sandivi, of Indian origin as were many port workers and in his grandson's words, a 'Creole Malbar'.<sup>444</sup>

#### Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

According to the 1952 census, 9,000 persons were registered as belonging to the group of IndoChristians, forming around 3½% of the population; Whether this figure has remained constant is difficult to say; since 1982, no mention is made of ethnic denominations in the Census.<sup>482</sup> The bare fact is that out of 413,000 persons, registered as Christians in the Housing and Population Census of 2000,<sup>483</sup> it is clear that a good many among them are of strong Indian descent, when they do not claim ancestry as Chinese or Europeans, the remaining Christians being more akin to people of African and Malagasy descent in varying degrees. According to the Indo-Mauritian Catholic Association (IMCA), an association founded in 1952 which claims to represent persons of the Catholic faith, but who have in no way given up the cultural appertenance proper to the land of their ancestors, these should be around 50,000. This short stay aims to trace the epic story of persons of Indian origin who have, throughout Mauritian history, been converted to Christianity

#### Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

The history of the métayers (share croppers) was brought to the Commission's attention as a result of representations made by métayers in the South of Mauritius. The Commission decided to investigate further for several reasons. First, although they have grown sugar since the days of indenture (1840s), they have never owned the land and can be evicted at any time. They have, like many other groups in Mauritius, been the victims of restructuring of the Sugar Industry. A history of metayage appears in Volume 2 and in Volume 4. In the past, eviction could occur at any time, when their leases ended, when sugar was no longer required, or when the land was required for other more profitable purposes. What is the future of métayers in the new economic configuration? What future do they have? Today, the lands which they occupy and have been associated with for generations, considered 'marginal' at the time, have been 're-labelled' 'strategic' zones today, and are worth millions. The sugar estates have played their historic role, as they always have; they have disposed of labour when no longer required, and shifted labour where work was required, intimidated and used all the legal arsenal at their disposal to maintain their property. What is

#### Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

them. Greater care must be taken in the use of particular category names. Race is not fixed among Mauritians although there is agreement that certain phenotype or physical markers clearly indicate an individual's racial identity. The history of slavery, indenture and Colonialism has been significant in the classification of individuals in Mauritius, creating enduring categories of 'oppressors' and 'victims', whose connotations have endured in contemporary society, due to enduring social stratification

#### Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

For Mauritius, there are clear dangers: what is not acceptable today is the dissimulation of one's real identity and history and the invention of tradition and castes to obtain promotion, political power and public funds.

#### Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

The Malaise Créole had also to do with the history of the Creoles: the dispossession and suffering associated with slavery and its aftermath, the consequences of which can be seen in the persistence of poverty, social problems and political marginalization.

#### Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

1. Better safeguard of archival records and documents pertaining to the history of slavery so that a holistic version of the history of people of creole origin can be undertaken,

#### Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

1. The history of Mauritius should be taught from primary to tertiary level in order to foster better inter- ethnic relations.

Reference 25 - 0.01% Coverage

8. Jimmy Harmon Jimmy Harmon is an academic and claims to be a militant engaged in the promotion of the Creole community. He has indeed devoted his life to the study of the behavioral attitude of Creoles towards education and their relations with the Catholic Church and Government. His interest in the history of Mauritius has enlightened him on the circumstances which have led to the 'marginalization' of the Creole community to which he claims to belong. His struggle in favour of the rehabilitation of the Creoles during his 22year career as an educationist has led him to conclude that racism and the worst method of discrimination are the root causes for the situation in which the descendents of slaves find themselves today. He is fully conscious that the struggle for restorative justice is not an easy one, but he believes that the Truth and Justice Commission has a sacrosanct task to make major recommendations to bring about a drastic change of policy by government to better the fate of the Creole community in Mauritius. He also stated:

Reference 26 - 0.01% Coverage

10. Jose Rose of the Rastafari movement The Rastafari movement, constitutes a small group of Afro-Malagasy Mauritians established in Chamarel. They have been victims of racial prejudice in their history, because of their lifestyle. They feel they are not lesser citizens of the country. They have been dispossessed of their ancestral land and claim to be the poorest among the poorest class of descendants of former slaves.

Reference 27 - 0.01% Coverage

There are many groups, linguistic and cultural who are neglected in official national events and who also deserve to have their history and contribution to Mauritius recognized. These include, for example, the Gens de Couleur, tribal groups from India, Indo-Christians, Agaleans, Rodriguans, and so on.

Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

Identity needed to be studied as an original construction and seen as a heritage but also as an original construction by Mauritians. Discussion needed to take place on what made up the Mauritian nation. History education was important but in a more dynamic way/

Reference 29 - 0.01% Coverage

The short history of Mauritius and the development of a Creole Culture

Reference 30 - 0.01% Coverage

The Mauritian population comprised three principal components during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: persons of European origin or ancestry, free persons of African, Malagasy, and Asian origin or ancestry, and slaves of African, Malagasy, Indian, and Southeast Asian origin or ancestry. Slaves, who regularly accounted for the overwhelming majority of the colony's population during this period, were legally prohibited from owning property by Section twenty-one of the Code Noir, promulgated in December 1723. No such restrictions applied, however, to the island's free coloured residents. These individuals, commonly referred to as Gens de couleur libres in the archival record and studies of the country's history, included both freeborn persons of African or Asian origin or ancestry and manumitted slaves.

#### Reference 31 - 0.01% Coverage

Between 1748 and 1810, however, the Colonial Land Office recorded approximately 410 grants and sales of public land to free persons of colour that provide a vantage point from which to begin reconstructing the history of landownership by free(d) persons of African and Asian origin or ancestry. These documents reveal that only a handful of free persons of colour received grants of public land before Compagnie rule ended in 1767. Most of these grantees were individuals of some consequence to the colony's social, economic, or political life. Elizabeth Sobobie Béty (or Bétia), who received the first land grant made to a non-European in 1758, was the daughter of the King, and later herself briefly the Queen, of Foulpointe, an important slave trading centre on the East coast of Madagascar.<sup>6</sup> Other early free coloured recipients of these grants, such as Louis LaViolette, an interpreter for the Compagnie in Madagascar, and Manuel Manique, a former Maître d'hôtel du gouvernement, were also persons of economic or administrative importance to the colony's wellbeing.<sup>7</sup>

#### Reference 32 - 0.01% Coverage

Gleadow's final statement reveals much about the state of affairs and explained why all the greatest laws would fail: - "The corruption of subordinates needs not to be insisted upon. It is the natural corollary of the want of supervision. But, it involves a general want of moral tone in considerable sections of the society... The spirit of camaraderie is the outcome of the history of the island. The majority of Whites and White Creoles are the descendants of comparatively few families who have married and intermarried for generations so that it would be dangerous to say who is not related to whom".

#### Reference 33 - 0.01% Coverage

Since Rodriguan informants might have felt uncomfortable in front of a stranger who is not a native of Rodrigues, the local facilitator assisted the researcher during the interview. Two interview guides were designed, translating the aims of the study. Given that the slave history of Rodrigues Island differs from that of Mauritius Island and, consequently, that the experiences of Rodriguans and Mauritians, might diverge, a different interview guide was designed for Rodrigues to reflect Rodriguans' reality. Open-ended questions were used to encourage the informants to talk freely and the guides were translated into Creole.

In line with the aims of the project, the questions were regrouped under fourteen main topics: 1. Life History 2. Literacy 3. Family History 4. Property 5. Identity/Perception of descendants of

slaves 6. Slavery and its consequences 7. Contribution of slaves and their descendants to the economic life of Mauritius 8. Contributions of slaves and their descendants to the political life of Mauritius 9. Contribution of slaves and their descendants to the social life of Mauritius 10. Contribution of slaves and their descendants to cultural life of Mauritius 11. Slavery and its consequences and perceptions of descendants of slaves 12. Life in cités 13. Perceptions of other ethnic and cultural groups 14. Racism 15. Expectations and hopes for the future

#### Reference 34 - 0.01% Coverage

Either no or limited transmission of knowledge of family origins. Generational transmission of family history was limited to one to two generations and hence for many people recollections of family history were limited to their grandparents and sometimes to their great grandparents. Although they did not know their origins they identified themselves as of slave descent because of their African phenotype. For example, Rosemay considers herself as being Mauritian of African descent because of her skin colour, she is Black and hair type is 'frizzy'. She does not know when her ancestors came to Mauritius but she thinks they came enchained as shown in films. Although the informants who did not know their origins mentioned that they would like to know about their family origins, some of them such as Joseph questioned what this knowledge will bring him?

#### Reference 35 - 0.01% Coverage

R6 Defined herself as Creole and slave descendant. What is a Creole? Answer: «Enn Nasion». Is conscious being a slave descendant because of the history of the family that he had learnt.

#### Reference 36 - 0.01% Coverage

R14 has a broad definition of Creole: "If someone declares he is Creole, we should accept the fact, and if a black person does not say he is a Creole, we should accept it also. A Creole is one who chooses to be Creole. The pride of a Creole is not only slavery history because it transcends history and in the modern world – this is a "parti-pris d'espérance" because the world is becoming intercultural and Creole. Then racism and xenophobia and protectionism will disappear."

#### Reference 37 - 0.01% Coverage

The way history has been presented does not help him. He is revolted and that does not help psychologically. Creoles are born with many handicaps: they have no bank account, they are born in a small house, poor environment. They are ill at ease. Difficult to manage his life conditions as a Creole. Teaching of history must help him think of the future.

#### Reference 38 - 0.01% Coverage

R9 Slavery had an impact on us. This is the history of my ancestors, they were living in their country, they worked, risked their lives, fought, lost their loved ones. To be healed from that, it

needs time. They liberated themselves, created their language, and invented their music to fight the harshness of life. Sega is the intelligence and sweat of our ancestors to regroup and express the hardships of life. Their descendants still suffer from these wounds. They had no one to advise them as indentured labourers had. The French colonists educated the children they had with slaves but there were barriers between those categories of descendants. They are not liberated at 100% today. There are not enough advisors today. I have three children. I want to advise them for a job. Who will I turn to to know about that? How to help orientate them professionally? Creoles that have succeeded don't help others. Other communities do that.

#### Reference 39 - 0.01% Coverage

All the people interviewed stressed that it is time for the future generations to get rid of this idiocy and arrogance that still hold them back. According to R6, the last five years has witnessed a change among the Creoles who have gained consciousness of the importance of education and of rectifying past mistakes. They also stressed the need to recognise the history of the slaves

#### Reference 40 - 0.01% Coverage

Oral history confirms there are three Hindi-Speaking families living in the housing estate, namely, the Sukhoo or Sokoo Family, the Saradee Family and the Gobinsingh Family. In addition, there are

#### Reference 41 - 0.01% Coverage

We should not forget that although the Creoles and the Indo-Mauritians have a shared history, yet, there are cultural and historical differences that impact on their present life such as differential opportunities and the Indo-Mauritians were allowed to maintain and perpetuate their traditional beliefs, values and practices.

#### Reference 42 - 0.01% Coverage

Accordingly, we should not undermine differential history and cultural background of these children and the fact that the children residing in the Cité, since their birth, are disadvantaged in that they are born in an econo-ethno-stratified and unequal society.

#### Reference 43 - 0.01% Coverage

TJC commissioned a professional archaeological survey of the abandoned cemetery, DNA testing of local inhabitants and a family history from one descendant of a slave family having lived in Le Morne since the early 19th century. Circumstantial evidence points to a link between the cemetery and the former slave inhabitants of Le Morne although further studies are recommended to confirm this. Preliminary DNA testing did not prove conclusive as the bones were 'water logged' but further tests are required as well as C4 dating. DNA tests of inhabitants will also indicate their ethnic origin and whether they conform to the ethnic origin mentioned in slave registration returns. What we do know from the osteological analysis is that although they were not malnourished, the adults buried there lived 'short, hard and brutish' lives. Many

children among the few adults indicate high infant mortality rate which is consistent with the historical demographic data on slaves in Mauritius.

The two studies one by Yola Argot Nayekoo, herself a descendant of a family of slaves having lived in Le Morne since early 19th century, if not before, and the archaeological study of Krish Seetah and his team in the abandoned cemetery point to a new facet of the history of Le Morne: aside from being associated with maroonage, Le Morne is also associated with a permanent slave community living and working in the area which need to be further researched. More studies such as that of Yola Nayekoo and Krish Seetah need to be undertaken, in collaboration with institutions and individuals interested in this region.

#### Reference 44 - 0.01% Coverage

some deeper issues within Mauritian society as a whole. Creoles however do not need a government sponsored study to tell them that they suffer from racial discrimination and before that study was ever undertaken; the first person to publicly declare that there is a problem with Mauritian society concerning the treatment of descendants of slaves is Father Roger Cerveaux, a Catholic priest who coined the term “Malaise Creole”. The ensuing public outcry felt more like a denial than applause or outrage at the situation. Cerveaux expounded his theory on Malaise Creole in the course of a Mass sermon; he declared that Creoles did not enjoy equal economic opportunities as the rest of the population based on their ancestry. In the sermon Cerveaux did not blame Creoles for their own problems per se; he saw them as victims of history who have trouble adjusting to the twenty first century due to ongoing racial discrimination. Ideas such as Cerveaux’s “Malaise Creole” belongs to the school of thought called Mechanism as opposed to Humanism proposed by Prof. Adelbert Jenkins.<sup>7</sup> Jenkins following the humanistic perspective focuses on people as being agents of their own destiny, capable to shape their lives through choices of their own. In so doing, Jenkins makes a clear distinction between the terms humanistic and humanitarian; the former refers to a philosophical stance that puts individuals and their choices as central, determining factors in their fate. While the latter refers to an attitude of compassion or benevolence towards humankind or a philosophical position which strives to attain the highest level of personal (sometimes spiritual) development for all humans. These factors are determinants in the individual’s freedom and responsibility; humanists may or may not be concerned with the welfare of the humankind in general as opposed to humanitarians. Jenkins’ humanistic position is drawn into sharp contrast to the Mechanists’ philosophical approach which sees human beings as constantly shaped by external circumstances with little input of their own.<sup>8</sup>

#### Reference 45 - 0.01% Coverage

or any court of law because he was black and all blacks (not just slaves) could not be citizens of the country because their ancestry could be traced back to Africa. He pronounced the most memorable lines in the history of the Court that is the Black man: “had no rights which the white man was bound to respect; and that the Negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for his benefit”.<sup>17</sup>

#### Reference 46 - 0.02% Coverage

The aim of this section devoted to descendants of Indian immigrants aims to highlight, as for slave populations the necessity of every family knowing and understanding his or her family origins. In the very delicate fabric that Mauritian society is made up of and being a newly emerging society, it has become abundantly clear that this type of knowledge makes Mauritians feel more 'Mauritian' and at the same time distinguished Mauritians from other nationalities. There are inherent difficulties however in tracing one's history: documents since the French and British period have not been well kept and even today numerous problems face the family historian.

These family histories and life histories are compiled by a group of young Mauritians trained in history who were given the task of finding and confronting their own family's past. It has not only proved to be a rich personal experience for them but has also provided the Commission with the justification for proposing a more vigorous campaign to collect all available documentary sources about Mauritians and make it accessible to the public. In the course of the research, the conservative approach adopted by some institutions towards releasing immigrant data must be unequivocally condemned. Judging by the numerous correspondence and discussions after the controversy concerning access of public Immigration archives currently housed at the Mahatma Gandhi Institute, it is clear that not all Mauritians feel the need to hide their truth about their family or caste origins and indeed they welcome openness and progressive attitudes. It is recommended that the MGI and all those other institutions and individuals rethink this policy of blocking public access to this section of the National Archives. A public campaign to explain the nature of the sources and why discrepancies and errors exist in the sources needs to accompany this open policy, as is the practice in other National Archives found overseas.

The metissage in terms of not only ethnic groups and but among Indian immigrants of various linguistic, regional and caste backgrounds leads one also to recommend that all copies of genealogical and family data be regrouped in one institution to make the task of reconstructing genealogies and family histories easier for the Mauritian population. Many Mauritians are descended from Indian, African and European origins and this currently means that a 'multi-racial' Mauritian has to visit no less than 5 different institutions over many years to compile his/her family history. In the digital age this is an unnecessary burden to place on Mauritians.

#### Reference 47 - 0.01% Coverage

According to oral history interviews, Baichoo Ramchurn was a "Saudi" also known as "Halway". During his free time, he used to sell "bhaja", "Kajha" and "gulab Jamun" [1 Indian savouries]. Baichoo Ramchurn used to wear "Dhoti" and a "Paltot" (Eng trans. Coat). He also tied a handkerchief on his head. He always carried a clock with him (fig. 1).

#### Reference 48 - 0.01% Coverage

Despite the harmony that appeared to reign, the extent to which this interaction and harmonious cohabitations led to more inter-ethnic and inter-religious relationships (i.e. through marriage) is not very clear, and we only have a few indications of this. If we look at the history of indentured period, we have many instances of inter-ethnic and inter-caste marriage taking place. These appear to be reduced as a result of consolidation of identities along caste, ethnicity and religious lines. But the sample under analysis in this report does not give explicit information on this. We have only two explicit cases of inter-communal marriages<sup>37</sup>, though some informants have

mentioned that their grandmother spoke a foreign language and some informants mentioned the fact that a caste system existed and was practised in marriages.<sup>38</sup>

#### Reference 49 - 0.01% Coverage

Creole was the medium of communication at Mr. Pandoo Sayajee Row's school. Given that it was a Protestant school, he was required to perform catechesis. He also learned the history of France and England, arithmetic and geography. Hindi was the only oriental language that was taught at Mr. Pandoo Sayajee Row's school. He did not mention whether he attended these Hindi classes. But he did state that he learnt some Marathi from his paternal grandparents who came from Kolhapur Maharashtra. He also had to sing "God Save the King" at school because Mauritius had not yet become independent.

#### Reference 50 - 0.01% Coverage

L'Homme, Sir Virgil Naz, Sir William Newton and Dr. O. Beugeard, among others, a relative victory was achieved, when Coloured boys were admitted to the Royal College and returned to Mauritius as lawyers, doctors, notaries, and eventually, politicians, elected in the Port Louis Municipal Elections (1850), and the first Legislative Elections of 1886 under Sir John Pope-Hennessy. This being the turning-point in the history of the 'Coloured Population', political, social and cultural progress was rapid in the first half of the 20th century, through the labours of Eugène and Edgar Laurent, Raoul Rivet, and Dr. Maurice Curé, culminating in the arrival on the political scene of Gaëtan Duval (the Creole King) in the 1960s. Yet, when all is said and done, the Gens de couleur were granted political rights much more rapidly than descendants of Indian settlers and indentured labourers, at the end of the nineteenth century.

#### Reference 51 - 0.01% Coverage

recommendations emerge that would impinge directly on the 'Coloured Population' in the future. Notably, they need to be reassured that they will never have to fight once more for their political, educational, employment and cultural rights. The study opens out on the concept that métissage is, not only inevitable in the global village, but something to be aimed at, since it is the true mark of an intercultural nation. Overcoming the social and cultural barriers between communities will result in an increasing brassage through intermarrying and socializing between communities. But for this to happen, the leaders of our 'Rainbow Nation' must give an example and stop fostering communalism for the sake of personal and party advancement. Numbers of votes matter less, in the end, than people, and duty to oneself even less than the national good. The history and development of the 'Coloured population' may be a microcosm of the Mauritian people, and many lessons may be drawn from it. Indeed, as Lord Bolingbroke once stated, "History is philosophy teaching by examples."

#### Reference 52 - 0.01% Coverage

'Whites' to property owned by the Gens de couleur in the late nineteenth century, and throughout the first half of the twentieth century, are at the core of Chapter 5. The Coloureds' erroneously paranoid fear of Indo-Mauritians to their social and economic position, as well as to their

newlyacquired political influence from the 1920s onwards, were to unify the ‘Coloured’ community under the leadership of Gaëtan Duval ‘The Creole King’, at the height of his campaigns against Independence in the 1960s. Clearly, the ‘Coloured Population’ has always been, and continues to be, divided in its allegiances; some were pro-British, others pro-French; some pro-d’Epinay and others anti-‘esclavagistes’; some sided with the Whites, others were anti-White. Herein lies their main weakness in social, cultural and political terms; not without justification, the community was said to bear the mark of Cain and Abel. Some of the Gens de couleur, especially in the first half of the twentieth century, despised the Ti-Créoles and would not stoop to certain types of work. Moreover, they would not contemplate marriage outside their community – hence, some sort of ‘caste system’ prevailed. But all this has changed recently; interviews with young ‘Creoles’ reveal that history matters less to them than to their elders, and that intermarrying is no longer a taboo for the ‘Coloured Population’. Being Mauritian matters more than ‘group belonging’.

#### Reference 53 - 0.01% Coverage

Rodrigues is disadvantaged because its people are largely ‘Creole’ – hence descendants of slaves. Would a predominantly Indo-Mauritian island be allowed to lack such basic educational resources and infrastructures? Some kind of reverse discrimination, or affirmative action, is therefore called for, if we are to give Rodriguan youths the same opportunities – educational, cultural, social and political – as Mauritian youths. Perhaps, therein lies a microcosmic image of a ‘Coloured’ and ‘Creole’ community through the ages; in Rodrigues, one finds the tangible impact of a society that can become neglected, because of its isolation, because of its origins and because it does not clamour loudly enough. Hence, one of our recommendations, which should also be one of the most urgent pleas of the Truth and Justice Commission, is that Rodrigues should be made a special case for positive discrimination, in terms of funding for education (at primary, secondary and tertiary levels). In connection with Rodrigues, too, interviewees suggested that the island’s history be reevaluated and re-written so that young people might be given a more authentic picture of their past, and that this be put in a truly culturally Creole context.

#### Reference 54 - 0.01% Coverage

as a nation; smaller communities, such as the ‘General Population’, and the ‘Coloured people’ within it, and Sino-Mauritians, may not have the numbers. However, the Mauritian people must recognise the fact that all communities have made a vital contribution to our history, irrespective of their origins.

“History is philosophy teaching by examples,” declared Lord Bolingbroke.

Perhaps, educating the young through the teaching of a balanced history of Mauritius, rather than a revisionist history, is the way forward. Only then, can cultural memory take on its true significance for young Mauritians – seeing the present through the past and envisioning the future through the present. Otherwise, old clichés will persist, and the dawning of the Justice and Truth era will be a forlorn hope.

#### Reference 55 - 0.01% Coverage

who worked as a clerk at the ‘Greffé au Tribunal de première instance’, worked on the case of several ‘Coloured people’ who had been refused entry to the Theatre’s Café, owned by M. Coignet. Resigning his job at the Greffe, Bruils took up the challenge in court, but it is unlikely that he won at this stage of the history of ‘Coloured people’. Only with the arrival on the scene of Rémy Ollier, and other Coloured champions in the 1840s, were the rights of ‘Coloured people’ more fully vindicated, as explained in the section ‘Political Representations’ below.

#### Reference 56 - 0.01% Coverage

CHAPTER 3 - The Struggle for Education for the Coloured 3.1. The ‘Coloured people’ with few educational opportunities The team drafting the ‘Education Project’ has dealt at length with the history of Education

#### Reference 57 - 0.01% Coverage

coloured immigrants to the island. Moreover, this group is characterised by the fact that its members came to the island of their own accord or were brought to the colony under contract so as to practise a trade or craft for a specified period of time. However, it is also true that the ‘Coloured Population’ includes descendants of ‘Freed Slaves’ who married individuals from other groups. To this extent, they have a very complex history and identity as a community. Do presentday Gens de Couleur live with this complex identity and are they aware of it? Such are the questions we attempted to partly answer.

#### Reference 58 - 0.01% Coverage

In summary, the literature strongly suggests that race is diversely defined and is diversely experienced and perpetrated. Scholars of Psychology, Anthropology, History and Sociology report that there are different words used to describe race, that there are different levels of racism; that racism can be explicit and implicit; that racism can be compounded by gender discrimination; that racism can and does influence long term health and opportunity and that it is context specific. What this means is that race is not a concept that is defined by those deemed to be in power. It is also a term whose meaning changes over time and individual and community experiences of race and racism will also therefore change. Race, according to the literature as well as the findings of the researchers on this project, can also be identified in phenotype and in behaviour. Thus an individual may outwardly appear to be ‘white’, but his behaviour and social associations will lead him to be classified as Creole or Black. Furthermore, even supposed absolute racial categories (i.e. white or black) are not necessarily so.

#### Reference 59 - 0.01% Coverage

that the answer as to why the Dominicans she encountered did not identify themselves as black resided in the particular history of the Dominican Republic. Simmons argues that we come to understand who we are in racial terms by a process of racial enculturation. Without that, we may not develop a racial identity. She also argues that racial categorization and processes of racial enculturation are contextually specific. The Dominican Republic, as she found out, has a long history of indigenous and immigrant population. This is in

contrast to the United States where racial enculturation is informed by the historical experience of slavery as well as past law. The Jim Crow laws and the 'One Drop' rule in the US for instance, forced the categorization of all those with African ancestry as black, regardless of variation in skin colour in this population. In the Dominican Republic on the other hand, those who would otherwise be considered as black in the US, perceived themselves as 'mixed' in the Dominican Republic. This is because racial enculturation in the Dominican Republic includes references to indigenous or Carib identity (Indio). Those in the Dominican Republic however, Haitians (their poorer neighbours across the island of Hispaniola) are perceived (by the Dominicans) as black. What also interesting in the latter is the conflation of blackness, geography and poverty.

#### Reference 60 - 0.01% Coverage

One of the reports, which involved two intensive months of anthropological fieldwork in the region of Black River on the West Coast of the island, documents the experiences of Mauritians in general. The region of Black River was initially chosen for the fieldwork because of its association with the history of slavery and the development of ethnic relations with indentured labourers from about 1835.

#### Reference 61 - 0.01% Coverage

The first interviews were conducted in the rural community of Rivière Noire at St. Esprit College, a confessional school where the researcher spent his/her first two weeks interviewing 18 students, conducting four life histories there. St Esprit College has a majority Creole student population due to the fact that it is a Catholic school and that the community in the area is largely Creole. At the school, access to the classrooms was provided and one was able to interact meaningfully with students inside and outside of interviews.

#### Reference 62 - 0.01% Coverage

In the following extracts we note the reconstruction of Creole identity via the discourse of victimhood in the story of slavery. It is our view that this is happening because there is a 'need' to reassert boundaries around the Creole community and to give it value (by establishing a definitive source of identity and history of Creoles) in the culture-conscious space of Mauritius. It is possible, however, to also cynically argue that some Creoles have appropriated and transformed the discourse of victimisation and suffering apparent in the story of slavery and that they are now reinterpreting the story to argue that their ancestors were resilient and that this resilience is now helping them to confront the legacy of slavery. The discourse of resilience and freedom have now replaced the historical discourse on slavery as an experienced marked by humiliation and suffering. Those intent on using the transformed discourse for political purposes are now doing so, as a way of gaining leverage and support from the slave descendant population. It is also our view that the transformation of the discourse of slavery is not the sole project of selected Creole politicians but rather the work of politicians and scholars who actively search for, and promote, narratives of resilience in the history of slavery.

#### Reference 63 - 0.01% Coverage

The above extracts suggest that socioeconomic mobility can encourage dissociation from one's economic and cultural roots. Among Creoles, this dissociation is perceived as a betrayal of the group in favour of a lifestyle and the social world in which the 'real' Creoles are excluded. Dissociation is also contrived as a form of aversive racism because dissociation implies disdain for, and a rejection of, a former lifestyle and of former associates. However, those leaving their 'old' world behind do not consciously leave but are doing so unconsciously and under pressure from the demands of the new social and economic situation. It is also noted by one of our researchers however that '...people's knowledge of their origins is limited to their grandparents and most of those interviewed did not have exact information about their origins but guessed their family ancestry based on their phenotype and on what they have learned or read on Mauritian history.' This means that informants may argue that their ancestors came from Africa or Madagascar because of their perceived physical traits but also because the story of slavery has become an integral part of the nationalist discourse:

#### Reference 64 - 0.01% Coverage

The category Franco Mauritian was coined in written texts in 1908 (Boudet, 2005:36). A central motif to their name as Franco-Mauritian is their French ancestry and their use of the French language. Franco-Mauritians are described as "educated and elegant" (Personal communication, Anon., Flic-en-Flac, 5 June, 2010). Many characterisations of Franco-Mauritians have caught my attention in history books and through discussions with the islanders. Franco-Mauritians are generally perceived as aristocratic, upper-class, high society, highly cultured, privileged, the white plantocracy, the sugar oligarchy, as top of social hierarchy, as the historic bourgeoisie, and by and by, the economic elite.

#### Reference 65 - 0.01% Coverage

Even if the informants denied being racist or communal, they all showed to some degree preconceived racial/communal prejudices and perceptions when talking of people from other ethnic groups. These racial/communal tensions especially between the Indo-Mauritians and Creoles might stem from, firstly, the fact that they are the two main ethnic groups in the country with the former and especially the Hindu Mauritians openly claiming their majority and superiority; and secondly from Mauritius' historical path with the Indo-Mauritians and Creoles having different past history and life experiences. This racial/communal antagonism seems to date back to colonial times and is rooted in the country's past development strategies, policies and political history.

#### Reference 66 - 0.01% Coverage

Professionals highlighted that when "you look at the history of slavery you understand impact of racism, you understand why they're that way, they got nothing to hang on to . . . The Hindus . . . could hold on to their tradition and their religion, that's why it's easier for them to go up the ladder, the cultural and social ladder and it's easy for them to have a culture of education that the Creole don't have. They don't have a base and you can't even blame them. That doesn't mean it's an excuse for what's not happening to them . . . But as a group, it's understandable that they're the

ones who are poorer and ...it's been built-up from what had happened to the culture itself, their absence of culture”

#### Reference 67 - 0.01% Coverage

“...Maybe for our children, it is different- as they are going to mixed schools and interact with others, playing football. They have not known the compartmentalization. But one day they came home so irritated and angry that they were called “blanc...white rat”- they were furious. I sat down with them, we normally talk about these things, and explain that there is a history behind that...when I was young, white people could say anything; at least now the balance is coming up though I am not saying discrimination is just... is like Creoles can revenge by calling names.”

#### Reference 68 - 0.01% Coverage

One can infer that the numerous ‘Vaish’, identified in Mauritius today, probably belonged to other castes before indenture. This is to be regarded as another example of upward caste mobility. But such upward mobility often goes hand in hand with temptations to deny the popular origins they shared with other indentured peoples. This reluctance to acknowledge their real history may explain the MGI’s insistence that caste information of indentured not be revealed to public. This attitude is reminiscent of descendants of slaves in Mauritius as well as descendants of convicts in Australia. In Mauritius, however, this is tied up with claims of political representation and caste quotas.

Upward mobility was also possible through inter-caste marriage. Numerous examples exist in family histories.

#### Reference 69 - 0.01% Coverage

Mauritius is a pluri-confessional nation, mainly populated by Hindus. And so is India. India has a longer history of dealing with such identity stakes, first as a colony to be managed, then as a nation to be built. Surely some lessons can be drawn from the comparison.

#### Reference 70 - 0.01% Coverage

In this recent article, Abhimanyu Unnuth points out the real issues. One cannot help remembering that the same author has himself been active in promoting the fantasy Indo-Mauritian identity founding narrative. The first pages of his major literary production, *Sueurs de Sang* (Lal Pasina, 1977), may be read as a picture of Indians as eternally linked to Mauritius: they are described as discovering it, fighting for it and they are its legitimate owners (Claveyrolas 2012). Time has passed since the 1970’s in Mauritius, and probably the legitimate goodwill to rehabilitate Indo-Mauritians’ history was not possible without paving the way for the current “collective and historical fantasies” Mauritius now faces. Communalism and fantasies go hand in hand. Fantasies, particularly those founding so-called Indian rooted communities or identities, do need to be corrected in Mauritius. And this is deeply linked with caste consciousness.

#### Reference 71 - 0.01% Coverage

We are at a period of history where, everywhere, people renegotiate their multiple identities, at loss for new references. This process is transnational. What is specific in our case is that in addition to structural factors that compel to reassess ourselves, Creole communities feel somehow abandoned by the very institutions which represented and still represent their way out of despair. Institutional mediations are thought to be too complex. In a world of disruptions at all levels, a more simple approach to religion and taking on board traditional beliefs captures the minds, affects and souls of new converts, disillusioned by traditional faith. The often utilitarian role of religion as provider of identity, social promotion and protection from the “mal”, in spite of shifts in the religious institutions, remains unchanged. We assist at the same overpowering influence of fear in the psyche of slave descendants.

#### Reference 72 - 0.01% Coverage

The second one, more specific to slave descendants, lies in the interplay of six factors: 1) A history of enslavement, servitude and oppression; 2) Demographic composition; 3) Economic positioning and intensifying competition with other communities; 4) Racial prejudice and discrimination; 5) Resources, internal structure, dynamics and leadership of the community itself, and 6) Capacity for self-determination and self-empowerment.

#### Reference 73 - 0.01% Coverage

from a history which has been marked by deep divisions characterized by conflict, racism, untold suffering and injustice. But today, the Republic of Mauritius is relatively stable and peaceful although cohesion and reconciliation are not complete and can perhaps be never complete, since reconciliation can be both a goal and a process. However, whether it is a goal or process or both, it should be worked at, so that a more just society, for each and everyone, irrespective of creed, colour, ethnicity, race and gender be obtained.

Cohesion and reconciliation depend heavily on our ability to see and understand what is happening today, right now - more than 40 years after Independence with all the learning and consequences (some visible and others not so visible) that our slave and indentured history has left us with. The legacy of the unequal power relations and deep divisions that existed between the haves and the have-nots, the White and the Non-White, the coloniser and the colonized, has taken many forms, and has had many consequences. Digging into the implications of this legacy, particularly as pertains to the educational arena, is a complex task since education in multiethnic Mauritius is often shaped and influenced by a number of forces with different vested interests. Several institutions have left their mark on education, some more positive than others. Education in Mauritius was, during the colonial period, a very rare commodity. When it did come on offer, it was for the privileged few. Enforced illiteracy had several consequences for the descendants of slaves and indentured labour, many of whom became assetless, powerless and voiceless as a result.

#### Reference 74 - 0.01% Coverage

injustices, experienced by the descendants of slaves and indentured labour, cannot be repaired through monetary means. It is essential not to attempt to commodify such a complex history

which continues to inform the present. This chapter borrows heavily from hearings at the TJC to highlight the various discriminatory practices and prejudices which prevail in contemporary Mauritian society and argues for the urgent need for some form of reparations. Education which caters for mixed abilities and heterogeneous cultures and backgrounds, coupled with some kind of affirmative action, seems to provide part of the answer. The chapter examines the potential that education therefore holds as a tool for reparation.

#### Reference 75 - 0.01% Coverage

economic construct in the power sharing and making in Mauritian history. Between 1980 and 1990, there were rapid changes in Mauritian economy and society which have led to substantial improvement in the life conditions and education from which Creoles have been excluded. R. Cerveaux, a Catholic priest, denounced the fact that Creoles were poor and marginalized in society and in the Church. According to Cerveaux, Creoles have been victims of slavery, of their own intelligentsia, of the alienating culture of the Church and of politicians pursuing their own interests. The 'malaise créole' was the result of a concentration of problems and an accumulation of hurdles to be overcome: a mix of cultural oppression and identity problems, prejudice and stigmatization which are sequels of slavery and its subsequent history, as well as socioeconomic difficulties, precarious employment, low wages, housing problems: "Education in the broad sense was considered a key issue in reducing inequalities and repairing injustices towards Creoles' situation" (Romaine, 2010).

#### Reference 76 - 0.01% Coverage

seventies, eighties and nineties. Their invaluable contribution to the economic and cultural development of the country was silenced, their history ignored and prejudices and unjust treatments inflicted to them. There was the Creole taboo before the 'malaise créole'. The 1999 February riots came as a climax to a long history of oppression and injustice

#### Reference 77 - 0.01% Coverage

China is better seen today through her Diaspora all across the world. The Chinese men and women, distinctive figures in the regions where they settled, played an important role in the development of commerce and participated in the creation of entire Chinese communities outside China, thereby transforming a part of their host country into a "little China". The history of the Chinese in Mauritius remains widely unknown to a Mauritian audience, and even the Sino-Mauritians (descendants of Chinese immigrants), are not aware of their ancestors' contributions, except only their contributions to the commerce guild. In order to understand the reasons behind the successive flow of Chinese immigrants and how they settled and adapted themselves in Mauritius, it is important to look back at the migration history of China and the history of the Chinese in Mauritius, addressing mainly the 19th and 20th centuries' historiography of the Chinese in Mauritius. This would portray the community which played (still maps) an important role in the development of the country. We will also look at the present situation of the Chinese in Mauritius, taking a glance at the observations of the Sino-Mauritians on their own community. Interviews and meetings with Sino-Mauritians help us to understand the feelings and perception

of these people and their past and contemporary history. The experience of this community began in China itself and impacted on the development of Mauritius.

#### Reference 78 - 0.01% Coverage

The migration process from China can be understood by 6 inter-relating factors which gave an opportunity to the Chinese to look for new horizons: the development of China's maritime trade and commerce, the interactions with South east Asia, the Growth of the Chinese population, the expansion of military power in Western countries, the impact of Europe on China and Southeast Asia and finally the disruption of China's domestic order.<sup>139</sup> These elements promoted and triggered the desire to migrate among those who wanted to seek a better and more secure future. However, for migration to be possible in the 19th and 20th centuries, the Chinese had gone through a long perilous journey before being able to found Diasporas across the world. The first coming of the Chinese to Mauritius remains unknown to Mauritians; so we shall begin by addressing the different reasons that triggered Chinese immigration to Mauritius and why their history has been overlooked.

#### Reference 79 - 0.01% Coverage

unable to circumscribe an opium chaos. The second half of the 19th century was a period of utter chaos for China. The country had to face the two shameful Anglo Chinese wars against the opium trade and at the same time, deal with the worst Civil War ever in its history; the Taiping Rebellion.

#### Reference 80 - 0.01% Coverage

From 1839 to 1842 occurred the first Anglo-Chinese War for opium. The British introduced opium massively as a drug<sup>145</sup> whereas, before, in China, opium was being used as a medicinal ingredient; its recreational use was limited, and strict laws regulated its use.<sup>146</sup> The drug was widespread in Chinese society and the Qing Government attempted to end the opium trade, but its hard work was hampered by corrupted local officials. The Chinese Government made illegal the consumption of this drug, and British traffickers continued illegally to introduce the addictive drug within China's borders. The situation worsened and reached its peak with the outbreak of the First Opium War between the British and the Chinese which eventually ended with the defeat of the Chinese. From 1856 to 1860, the Second War for Opium took place, which again resulted in a Chinese defeat. This Second War coincided with the Treaty of Nanking, which is known to mark the end of the first Opium War. At the same time, in 1850 and 1864, the Qing Government had to face the Taiping<sup>147</sup> Rebellion, where soldiers seized of Nanjing.<sup>148</sup> These were the worst civil wars ever in the history of China where approximately 20 million people died. The dynasty, failing to confront internal and external challenges, abdicated in February 1912. Henceforth, China was heading towards becoming a Republic.

#### Reference 81 - 0.01% Coverage

The presence of Chinese as slaves in the history of the country is specific to a short period of time and a small group of individuals. During their research, various scholars such as Huguette

Ly-TioFane-Pineo (1985) and James Ng and Marina Carter (2009), came across documents attesting the presence of Chinese slaves at Isle de France. And for some of these, they have been able to trace their history after emancipation. Indeed, James Ng, during his research, found “in 1761 two natives of Macao listed among the register of the government slaves; while; in 1792 a 60 year old male Chinese slave was recorded as having died in Flacq. Another, Jean Benoit, born on the Isle de France of Chinese parents, is reported as having died in the same region, in 1791.”<sup>161</sup>

#### Reference 82 - 0.01% Coverage

However, while looking forward to the younger generations moving up the social ladder, the community has been faced with relegating their past sufferings and conditions to a loss of memory. To some extent the community preserves only the legendary hardworking capacities of the Chinese people. History itself has played a role in this parody depiction of this community which has often been limited to hard labour or to distinctive figure of the Chinese and their astonishing economic development through over the last two centuries. These people fled their countries to form new communities all across the world. Most of them would not return to China after the Communist take-over and found no other solution but to stay and secure their future in their adopted countries.

Today, after an incredible economic success, the Chinese seem to face their decline due to various factors. Many young Sino-Mauritians are looking for better prospects elsewhere in the world; turning a blind eye to what their parents and grandparents had built through will power and hard work. There is an outcry of the community that they should be given due recognition of their contribution to the overall development of the country; a recognition for their history and past sufferings by all Mauritians in the hopes that they may revive the community, by attracting younger generations to stay and build their future in this country to which they now belong.

#### Reference 83 - 0.01% Coverage

There was some concern that, with the social stratification among the Indian immigrant population, a conflict of interest of the wealthy against the poor small planters might jeopardise the emerging cooperative movement. Unfortunately, history would prove this concern to be a very valid one indeed.

#### Reference 84 - 0.01% Coverage

In 1840, Mauritius, formerly Isle de France, already had a complex history which was to become more complex with the Indians - Hindus and Muslims – and the Chinese being added to the ex-slaves mainly of Malagasy or African origin, to the Coloured people, the Whites. Among these last ones, were some of French origin and colonists in the country, the others being British and new administrators of the island; they were to form a population in search of its identity and to see imposing one which would be imposed upon them by the dominant racial oligarchy. It is within this complex socio-political system that the Church would have to integrate itself.

#### Reference 85 - 0.01% Coverage

- encourage the Church in being more open about its history and allowing access to its archives to researchers before these disappear forever. This can only be achieved by providing assistance in the conservation of church repositories<sup>83</sup>;
- commission a new history of the Mauritius that is not compartmentalized by ethnic considerations to replace the currently available text, which makes virtually no reference to role (both positive and negative) played by the Church in the forging of Mauritian society;

#### Reference 86 - 0.01% Coverage

The advent of indentured labourers, who came from India and who were themselves subject to some of the worst forms of ill-treatment, is another landmark. The history of Indian immigrants is a tale of injustice and misery. Leaving his wife and children behind, the Indian labourer was made to work odd hours in

#### Reference 87 - 0.01% Coverage

Fortunately, the Indian immigrant found in Alphonse Von De Plevitz a friend who showed marked sympathy to their cause. He was appalled by the treatment meted out to Indian labourers. Although married to a Franco-Mauritian girl, whose parents own an estate at Nouvelle Découverte, he encouraged them to put up a petition to Queen Victoria to redress the wrong done to them. The petition received 9401 signatures. The British Government reacted positively and appointed a Royal Commission to inquire into their complaints and to make appropriate recommendations. This was the first quest for Justice in Mauritian history. The findings and recommendations which ensued went a long way to put a stop to the inhuman treatment meted out to a community of individuals.

#### Reference 88 - 0.01% Coverage

The Conservatoire defeat in the 1948 elections was a clear signal of popular support for the Labour Party. The Parti Mauricien, later on Parti Mauricien Social Démocrate, used a political strategy by branding the whole Hindu population as communalists and, at the same time, asking all non-Hindus to unite. The political awakening of the Indo-Mauritians was interpreted as the rise of Indian Nationalism. The opposition expected the Indo-Mauritians to join them in a common front against what was termed as a Hindu-dominated Labour Party, the aim being to create a rift between Guy Rozemont and Dr. Ramgoolam. The PMSD thus weakened the Labour Party, by using the communal argument, and it championed the cause of all minorities, including the Muslims. This part of the history of Mauritius is perhaps the darkest in terms of national unity and nation-building.

#### Reference 89 - 0.01% Coverage

Rodrigues suffered an abject neglect for most of its known history. It came under consideration only at the whim and will of the masters of the time. Having suffered terrible losses by the French stationed at Isle de France, the British decided to use Rodrigues as an assembly point for its Navy in 1809 to conquer Isle de France and Isle Bourbon. Even though Rodrigues played such a critical role in the Anglo-French struggles for supremacy in the Indian Ocean during the

Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, between 1793 and 1811, Rodrigues was forgotten shortly afterwards and never got any recognition. The slaves, brought in by the French and the British, were left stranded on the island, with no basic support whatsoever for their livelihood. Naturally located right in the track of tropical cyclones and also prone to long periods of drought, the population of Rodrigues have experienced serious times of famine in its very short human history.

#### Reference 90 - 0.01% Coverage

From the available historical literature on the History of Rodrigues, it is thus crystal clear that the education of the inhabitants of remote Rodrigues seemed not to have been a major concern to the rulers of Mauritius in the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century.

#### Reference 91 - 0.01% Coverage

harshly right through its history. There are too many people, I believe, who still think that the Rodriguan cannot be taken much above the level of a primitive society.”

#### Reference 92 - 0.01% Coverage

For the Rodriguans, the major concern is still whether the present Educational System, the curricula and the type of education dispensed to our children meet the latter’s needs. There is a general consensus that the present Education System is not appropriate to equip the younger generation for future responsibilities in the Rodriguans society because it totally makes abstract of the core history and culture of the island. There is, therefore, an urgent need to revisit the whole Educational System in Rodrigues, by aligning it more with the Rodriguan realities.

#### Reference 93 - 0.01% Coverage

It inevitable and intellectually dishonest to make abstraction of the question: Is Rodrigues part of Mauritius? Comparing the level of development in all economic and social spheres on mainland Mauritius with that in Rodrigues, one is bound to conclude there is a great disparity. Being citizens of the same Republic, Mauritians born in Rodrigues do not enjoy equal opportunities as their fellow countrymen born in Mauritius. This is not just a matter of perception, but a stark reality. All through this document, it has been made clear that Rodrigues, throughout its human history, has been either neglected or totally forgotten by the powers that be in Mauritius.

#### Reference 94 - 0.01% Coverage

Neglected, alienated, undesirable and forgotten throughout most of its History, Rodriguans categorically refused to give up. Rodriguans are now more than ever convinced that they have a brilliant future.

#### Reference 95 - 0.01% Coverage

and 1830, those only rarely surpassed 350 acres, or 135 hectares. Subsequently, they were limited to about 108 acres. Because Rodrigues did not share in the sugar cane boom of Mauritius, it ceased to be of interest to the British Authorities very early in the history of colonization.

#### Reference 96 - 0.01% Coverage

The historical events associated with Independence are still alive in the Rodriguan collective memory. The local population irrespective of the religio-ethnic affiliation identify with their local History. This shared History is the founding-stone of this strong and deeply rooted Rodriguan consciousness. The testimonies uncovered a common perception and feeling that Rodriguans have historically been ostracised and that their island has been neglected, marginalised and kept in an underdeveloped State by the British Colonial Government and, subsequently by the various Mauritian Governments.

#### Reference 97 - 0.01% Coverage

The ethnic stratification of Rodriguan society differs from that of Mauritian society because of differing migratory histories. The present local cosmopolitan composition is the product, and the window, of the island's peculiar settlement History.

#### Reference 98 - 0.01% Coverage

Gradually, the Chagossian people evolved their own culture in terms of food, music and religion and their own distinctive Creole language, based on a French-based Creole dialect. The social system was matriarchal. The majority of the islanders were Christian. With the inevitable growth of the population, some of the other islands like Peros Banhos and the Salomon islands were also settled. Throughout their recorded history, the plantations in the Archipelago had a population of approximately 1,000 individuals, two-thirds of whom lived in Diego Garcia. A peak of 1,142 persons was recorded in 1953. Those workers, born in the Archipelago, were referred as 'Ilois', a French word meaning 'Islanders' but, in the 1990s, they adopted the name 'Chagossians'. Visits from Diego Garcia to the islands were not easy as Diego Garcia was some 100 miles away. But it was thousands of miles away, in the metropolitan capital, that an unexpected and tragic decision was taken. The unique and peaceful way of life of the Chagossian community came to a dramatic end, following a decision taken in London in 8th November 1965 for the excision of Chagos Archipelago from Mauritius. That decision has had tremendous and serious consequences for the Chagossian community and these far-reaching consequences are still being felt today.

#### Reference 99 - 0.02% Coverage

Similarly, it was interesting to consider how the descendants of the former dominated population appropriated the past to shape a memorial framework. Our research showed the emergence of a new conception of the past in the 2000s with the creation or reorganisation of museums. It is precisely in these years that the Mahébourg Museum was renamed National History Museum and that L'Aventure du Sucre was created.

To this analysis, it seemed important to add the contribution of the Musée du Peuplement. The museum is located in Mahébourg, at Pointe Canon. It is the most recent expression of a vision of

National History. It was set up as part of the celebration of the bicentenary of the battle of Grand Port in 2010. The museum was open as part of the celebration activities and generated a significant number of visitors making this undertaking a real success.

The museum is composed of two parts: a building houses a permanent exhibition presenting the history of Mauritius from the Dutch period to nowadays. This section is complemented by an outdoor section called “village historique” composed of reconstitutions featuring human figures providing several tableaux of past Mauritian life.

The organisation of the display in the permanent exhibition is problematic on various accounts. The presentation of Mauritian history is elaborated upon the combination of several panels prepared for former temporary exhibitions. It also includes exhibits acquired from Mauritian Heritage, a private exhibition space formerly located in La Gaulette that no longer exists. In addition to this, large paintings depicting sceneries are displayed to create cohesion between the exhibition panels and exhibits. The panels, exhibits and large paintings are combined and displayed in the various sections composing the museum. The main impression when entering the exhibition is an overwhelming availability of information not necessarily related to one another.

The relation between the exhibits is problematic: they were all initially conceived to address the core line of specific temporary exhibitions. All the display elements were assembled to form the Musée du peuplement. The current presentation relies on elements not originally elaborated to address the purpose of the museum and consequently, fails to respect an overall coherence. The reorganisation of exhibits from three different exhibitions assembled together impacts on the quality. It results in the perception of a scattered presentation of national history where a core line of discourse would have ensured coherence and conveyed clear messages.

Slavery and indenture are illustrated through the evocation of Le Morne Cultural Landscape and Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage Sites. The presentation highlights positive contributions: it shows how the slaves resisted their condition and how indentured labourers engaged in plantation work to later evolve in society. These representations are associated to general information on slavery and indenture formerly presented in Mauritian Heritage. It provides a general account on slavery and indenture systems. However, each event is presented in dedicated sections which are not related to one another by a transition. Each section thus provides an insight on a specific aspect of Mauritian history. The flow of information is therefore not elaborated according to a core line of evolution but rather offers insights on the experiences of the various cultural groups. The lack of transitions between each part is detrimental to an overall understanding of how the various groups interacted to shape the Mauritian nation.

The “ethnic” segmentation in the display questions the notion of national history. Traditionally, the Mauritian society is divided in segments. This was the policy of the colonial authorities who

#### Reference 100 - 0.01% Coverage

We may also argue that both sites can be perceived as an “ethnic” heritage: slavery is associated with the Creole segment of the population while indenture refers to the Mauritians of Indian origin. Opting for World Heritage Status allows recognition by an external apparatus and supports the legitimisation of this national heritage outside the national boundaries. The recognition generated by an international body thus reinforces the importance of this heritage and ultimately encourages the adhesion of the entire population. The presence of two World Heritage Sites on the national territory establishes an emblem of what constitutes the Mauritian

history and identity. Their authenticity or meaning may be contested but still their status as emblem of Mauritian society is not challenged.<sup>56</sup>

## Chagossians

References or discussions of the island of Chagos and its inhabitants

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC\_.Report-FULL> - § 3 references coded [0.01% Coverage]

### Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

Gradually, the Chagossian people evolved their own culture in terms of food, music and religion and their own distinctive Creole language, based on a French-based Creole dialect. The social system was matriarchal. The majority of the islanders were Christian. With the inevitable growth of the population, some of the other islands like Peros Banhos and the Salomon islands were also settled. Throughout their recorded history, the plantations in the Archipelago had a population of approximately 1,000 individuals, two-thirds of whom lived in Diego Garcia. A peak of 1,142 persons was recorded in 1953. Those workers, born in the Archipelago, were referred as 'Ilois', a French word meaning 'Islanders' but, in the 1990s, they adopted the name 'Chagossians'. Visits from Diego Garcia to the islands were not easy as Diego Garcia was some 100 miles away. But it was thousands of miles away, in the metropolitan capital, that an unexpected and tragic decision was taken. The unique and peaceful way of life of the Chagossian community came to a dramatic end, following a decision taken in London in 8th November 1965 for the excision of Chagos Archipelago from Mauritius. That decision has had tremendous and serious consequences for the Chagossian community and these far-reaching consequences are still being felt today.

### Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

the interviews of the Chagossians, conducted in the context of the Oral History of the Descendants of Slaves, were not available at the time of data compilation. Consequently, the voices of the Chagos islanders are, unfortunately, not included in this document.

### Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

comprehensive picture of the impact of forced displacement and resettlement on the latter. Hence, it should be read in conjunction with the Oral History project and other TJC reports on the Chagos Archipelago, since topics covered in the these documents are not included in the present document.

2. BRIEF HISTORY OF THE CHAGOS ARCHIPELAGO The history of the Chagos Archipelago and the Mascarenes islands are interrelated.

In fact, their history forms an integral part of the history of colonialism. The geo-political history of the United States of America and of the United Kingdom greatly impacted on, and played a decisive role in, shaping the historical path of the Chagos and Mauritius as well. (For a historical account of French colonisation of the Chagos Archipelago, see other reports).

## Chinese

References or discussions of China, Chinese immigrants and their descendants

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

The Gens de Couleur are part of the intermediate and unique categories that emerged from slavery and indenture but have been forgotten by History because they do not fit into the all-encompassing categories that officials and scholars alike, and Mauritians in general, have created throughout Mauritian History in order to classify Mauritians. As a 'minority within a minority', and because of their higher social position, they have been ignored, if not undermined at times, for their association with the elite. As stated above, however, as a group which emerged directly from slavery and indentured immigration, it was felt they deserved the attention of the Commission.

Several terms have been used throughout Mauritian History to describe this group: 'Coloured Population', 'Libres de Couleur', 'Gens de Couleur', 'Free Population', 'Creoles Ferblan', 'Mulatres' etc. We have chosen the term Gens de Couleur as it implies a certain social status whether neither of the other terms do. Their ethnic and social composition was varied: European, Indian, Malagasy, African, Chinese as well as having slave, free and indentured origins.

However, not all these origins have been recognized equally by them and the tendency has been to be Westernised and reject the non-European ancestry. In the 18th, 19th and part of the 20th centuries, when relationships between different groups were forbidden or frowned upon, their relationships were not hidden from public view. However, painful this is for the population to admit, it must also be stated that some were the product of sexual exploitation and rape of slave and indentured women on plantations and in urban areas by owners and employers and heads of establishments. They occupied a unique social and economic status which, only in the past few years, is being uncovered, as more and more family histories are brought to light.

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

According to the 1952 census, 9,000 persons were registered as belonging to the group of IndoChristians, forming around 3½% of the population; Whether this figure has remained constant is difficult to say; since 1982, no mention is made of ethnic denominations in the Census.<sup>482</sup>The bare fact is that out of 413,000 persons, registered as Christians in the Housing and Population Census of 2000,<sup>483</sup> it is clear that a good many among them are of strong Indian descent, when they do not claim ancestry as Chinese or Europeans, the remaining Christians being more akin to people of African and Malagasy descent in varying degrees. According to the Indo-Mauritian Catholic Association (IMCA), an association founded in 1952 which claims to represent persons of the Catholic faith, but who have in no way given up the cultural appertenance proper to the land of their ancestors, these should be around 50,000. This short stay aims to trace the epic story of persons of Indian origin who have, throughout Mauritian history, been converted to Christianity

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

China is better seen today through her Diaspora all across the world. The Chinese men and women, distinctive figures in the regions where they settled, played an important role in the

development of commerce and participated in the creation of entire Chinese communities outside China, thereby transforming a part of their host country into a “little China”. The history of the Chinese in Mauritius remains widely unknown to a Mauritian audience, and even the Sino-Mauritians (descendants of Chinese immigrants), are not aware of their ancestors’ contributions, except only their contributions to the commerce guild. In order to understand the reasons behind the successive flow of Chinese immigrants and how they settled and adapted themselves in Mauritius, it is important to look back at the migration history of China and the history of the Chinese in Mauritius, addressing mainly the 19th and 20th centuries’ historiography of the Chinese in Mauritius. This would portray the community which played (still maps) an important role in the development of the country. We will also look at the present situation of the Chinese in Mauritius, taking a glance at the observations of the Sino-Mauritians on their own community. Interviews and meetings with Sino-Mauritians help us to understand the feelings and perception of these people and their past and contemporary history. The experience of this community began in China itself and impacted on the development of Mauritius.

#### Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

The migration process from China can be understood by 6 inter-relating factors which gave an opportunity to the Chinese to look for new horizons: the development of China’s maritime trade and commerce, the interactions with South east Asia, the Growth of the Chinese population, the expansion of military power in Western countries, the impact of Europe on China and Southeast Asia and finally the disruption of China’s domestic order.<sup>139</sup> These elements promoted and triggered the desire to migrate among those who wanted to seek a better and more secure future. However, for migration to be possible in the 19th and 20th centuries, the Chinese had gone through a long perilous journey before being able to found Diasporas across the world. The first coming of the Chinese to Mauritius remains unknown to Mauritians; so we shall begin by addressing the different reasons that triggered Chinese immigration to Mauritius and why their history has been overlooked.

#### Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

unable to circumscribe an opium chaos. The second half of the 19th century was a period of utter chaos for China. The country had to face the two shameful Anglo Chinese wars against the opium trade and at the same time, deal with the worst Civil War ever in its history; the Taiping Rebellion.

#### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

From 1839 to 1842 occurred the first Anglo-Chinese War for opium. The British introduced opium massively as a drug<sup>145</sup> whereas, before, in China, opium was being used as a medicinal ingredient; its recreational use was limited, and strict laws regulated its use.<sup>146</sup> The drug was widespread in Chinese society and the Qing Government attempted to end the opium trade, but its hard work was hampered by corrupted local officials. The Chinese Government made illegal the consumption of this drug, and British traffickers continued illegally to introduce the addictive drug within China’s borders. The situation worsened and reached its peak with the outbreak of the First Opium War between the British and the Chinese which eventually ended with the defeat

of the Chinese. From 1856 to 1860, the Second War for Opium took place, which again resulted in a Chinese defeat. This Second War coincided with the Treaty of Nanking, which is known to mark the end of the first Opium War. At the same time, in 1850 and 1864, the Qing Government had to face the Taiping<sup>147</sup> Rebellion, where soldiers seized of Nanjing.<sup>148</sup> These were the worst civil wars ever in the history of China where approximately 20 million people died. The dynasty, failing to confront internal and external challenges, abdicated in February 1912. Henceforth, China was heading towards becoming a Republic.

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

The presence of Chinese as slaves in the history of the country is specific to a short period of time and a small group of individuals. During their research, various scholars such as Huguette Ly-TioFane-Pineo (1985) and James Ng and Marina Carter (2009), came across documents attesting the presence of Chinese slaves at Isle de France. And for some of these, they have been able to trace their history after emancipation. Indeed, James Ng, during his research, found “in 1761 two natives of Macao listed among the register of the government slaves; while; in 1792 a 60 year old male Chinese slave was recorded as having died in Flacq. Another, Jean Benoit, born on the Isle de France of Chinese parents, is reported as having died in the same region, in 1791.”<sup>161</sup>

#### Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

However, while looking forward to the younger generations moving up the social ladder, the community has been faced with relegating their past sufferings and conditions to a loss of memory. To some extent the community preserves only the legendary hardworking capacities of the Chinese people. History itself has played a role in this parody depiction of this community which has often been limited to hard labour or to distinctive figure of the Chinese and their astonishing economic development through over the last two centuries. These people fled their countries to form new communities all across the world. Most of them would not return to China after the Communist take-over and found no other solution but to stay and secure their future in their adopted countries.

Today, after an incredible economic success, the Chinese seem to face their decline due to various factors. Many young Sino-Mauritians are looking for better prospects elsewhere in the world; turning a blind eye to what their parents and grandparents had built through will power and hard work. There is an outcry of the community that they should be given due recognition of their contribution to the overall development of the country; a recognition for their history and past sufferings by all Mauritians in the hopes that they may revive the community, by attracting younger generations to stay and build their future in this country to which they now belong.

### Creole

References or discussions of Creoles

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC\_.Report-FULL> - § 21 references coded [0.10% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

Although the 1970s are considered as glorious years of Trade Union activity, there is another history yet to be written concerning the emergence of communalism and division among the working classes, which emerges ironically at the same time. According to Fortune, a full historical investigation is required into the political movement of the 1970s and 1980s and whether it was responsible, among other things, for the propaganda concerning race and the supposed 'labour aristocracy' status of port workers. Was it done as a deliberate move to curtail the port workers' political strength in Mauritian society? Fortune questions how a political movement as such which gathered itself under the slogan 'One People, One Nation' and was sustained entirely upon working class efforts would create racially charged dissension as a means of political strategy.

In this propaganda, race and the supposed wealth of Creole port workers, mostly urban dwellers, was pitched against the much documented stark poverty of rural field labourers, rekindling old tension between these two communities. The propaganda worked well, according to Fortune, in the already racially charged atmosphere of Mauritius of late 1970s and early 1980s, with the riots of 1965 and 1968 only a decade or so ago. The racial discourse concerning the riots of 1965 between Hindus and Creoles, and 1968 between Creoles and Muslims, the strikes of 1971 and the elections of 1982 and how the subject of race was addressed or excluded in the political discourse are part of the history of neglect of port workers. This deserves further study. Furthermore, the ethnic composition of the population working in the port was used to justify the supposed racial homogeneity that the Trade Unions of the 1970s and the elections of the 1980s had brought back to the surface. The historical literature available, however, paints a picture of the port as a racially diverse sector since the early days of the Colony. To think therefore, that in the 1970s and 1980s, the port suddenly became racially homogenous is rather hard to believe. The Trade Union leader of the port workers in 1938 was no less than Sandivi, of Indian origin as were many port workers and in his grandson's words, a 'Creole Malbar'.<sup>444</sup>

#### Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

The Malaise Créole had also to do with the history of the Creoles: the dispossession and suffering associated with slavery and its aftermath, the consequences of which can be seen in the persistence of poverty, social problems and political marginalization.

#### Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

1. Better safeguard of archival records and documents pertaining to the history of slavery so that a holistic version of the history of people of creole origin can be undertaken,

#### Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

8. Jimmy Harmon Jimmy Harmon is an academic and claims to be a militant engaged in the promotion of the Creole community. He has indeed devoted his life to the study of the behavioral attitude of Creoles towards education and their relations with the Catholic Church and Government. His interest in the history of Mauritius has enlightened him on the circumstances which have led to the 'marginalization' of the Creole community to which he claims to belong. His struggle in favour of the rehabilitation of the Creoles during his 22year career as an

educationist has led him to conclude that racism and the worst method of discrimination are the root causes for the situation in which the descendants of slaves find themselves today. He is fully conscious that the struggle for restorative justice is not an easy one, but he believes that the Truth and Justice Commission has a sacrosanct task to make major recommendations to bring about a drastic change of policy by government to better the fate of the Creole community in Mauritius. He also stated:

#### Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

Gleadow's final statement reveals much about the state of affairs and explained why all the greatest laws would fail: - "The corruption of subordinates needs not to be insisted upon. It is the natural corollary of the want of supervision. But, it involves a general want of moral tone in considerable sections of the society... The spirit of camaraderie is the outcome of the history of the island. The majority of Whites and White Creoles are the descendants of comparatively few families who have married and intermarried for generations so that it would be dangerous to say who is not related to whom".

#### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

R6 Defined herself as Creole and slave descendant. What is a Creole? Answer: «Enn Nasion».Is conscious being a slave descendant because of the history of the family that he had learnt.

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

R14 has a broad definition of Creole: "If someone declares he is Creole, we should accept the fact, and if a black person does not say he is a Creole, we should accept it also. A Creole is one who chooses to be Creole. The pride of a Creole is not only slavery history because it transcends history and in the modern world – this is a "parti-pris d'espérance" because the world is becoming intercultural and Creole. Then racism and xenophobia and protectionism will disappear."

#### Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

The way history has been presented does not help him. He is revolted and that does not help psychologically.

Creoles are born with many handicaps: they have no bank account, they are born in a small house, poor environment. They are ill at ease. Difficult to manage his life conditions as a Creole. Teaching of history must help him think of the future.

#### Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

All the people interviewed stressed that it is time for the future generations to get rid of this idiocy and arrogance that still hold them back. According to R6, the last five years has witnessed a change among the Creoles who have gained consciousness of the importance of education and of rectifying past mistakes. They also stressed the need to recognise the history of the slaves

#### Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

We should not forget that although the Creoles and the Indo-Mauritians have a shared history, yet, there are cultural and historical differences that impact on their present life such as differential opportunities and the Indo-Mauritians were allowed to maintain and perpetuate their traditional beliefs, values and practices.

#### Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

some deeper issues within Mauritian society as a whole. Creoles however do not need a government sponsored study to tell them that they suffer from racial discrimination and before that study was ever undertaken; the first person to publicly declare that there is a problem with Mauritian society concerning the treatment of descendants of slaves is Father Roger Cerveaux, a Catholic priest who coined the term “Malaise Creole”. The ensuing public outcry felt more like a denial than applause or outrage at the situation. Cerveaux expounded his theory on Malaise Creole in the course of a Mass sermon; he declared that Creoles did not enjoy equal economic opportunities as the rest of the population based on their ancestry. In the sermon Cerveaux did not blame Creoles for their own problems per se; he saw them as victims of history who have trouble adjusting to the twenty first century due to ongoing racial discrimination. Ideas such as Cerveaux’s “Malaise Creole” belongs to the school of thought called Mechanism as opposed to Humanism proposed by Prof. Adelbert Jenkins.<sup>7</sup> Jenkins following the humanistic perspective focuses on people as being agents of their own destiny, capable to shape their lives through choices of their own. In so doing, Jenkins makes a clear distinction between the terms humanistic and humanitarian; the former refers to a philosophical stance that puts individuals and their choices as central, determining factors in their fate. While the latter refers to an attitude of compassion or benevolence towards humankind or a philosophical position which strives to attain the highest level of personal (sometimes spiritual) development for all humans. These factors are determinants in the individual’s freedom and responsibility; humanists may or may not be concerned with the welfare of the humankind in general as opposed to humanitarians. Jenkins’ humanistic position is drawn into sharp contrast to the Mechanists’ philosophical approach which sees human beings as constantly shaped by external circumstances with little input of their own.<sup>8</sup>

#### Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

Creole was the medium of communication at Mr. Pandoo Sayajee Row’s school. Given that it was a Protestant school, he was required to perform catechesis. He also learned the history of France and England, arithmetic and geography. Hindi was the only oriental language that was taught at Mr. Pandoo Sayajee Row’s school. He did not mention whether he attended these Hindi classes. But he did state that he learnt some Marathi from his paternal grandparents who came from Kolhapur Maharashtra. He also had to sing “God Save the King” at school because Mauritius had not yet become independent.

#### Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

‘Whites’ to property owned by the Gens de couleur in the late nineteenth century, and throughout the first half of the twentieth century, are at the core of Chapter 5. The Coloureds’ erroneously paranoid fear of Indo-Mauritians to their social and economic position, as well as to their newlyacquired political influence from the 1920s onwards, were to unify the ‘Coloured’ community under the leadership of Gaëtan Duval ‘The Creole King’, at the height of his campaigns against Independence in the 1960s. Clearly, the ‘Coloured Population’ has always been, and continues to be, divided in its allegiances; some were pro-British, others pro-French; some pro-d’Epinay and others anti-‘esclavagistes’; some sided with the Whites, others were anti-White. Herein lies their main weakness in social, cultural and political terms; not without justification, the community was said to bear the mark of Cain and Abel. Some of the Gens de couleur, especially in the first half of the twentieth century, despised the Ti-Créoles and would not stoop to certain types of work. Moreover, they would not contemplate marriage outside their community – hence, some sort of ‘caste system’ prevailed. But all this has changed recently; interviews with young ‘Creoles’ reveal that history matters less to them than to their elders, and that intermarrying is no longer a taboo for the ‘Coloured Population’. Being Mauritian matters more than ‘group belonging’

#### Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

In the following extracts we note the reconstruction of Creole identity via the discourse of victimhood in the story of slavery. It is our view that this is happening because there is a ‘need’ to reassert boundaries around the Creole community and to give it value (by establishing a definitive source of identity and history of Creoles) in the culture-conscious space of Mauritius. It is possible, however, to also cynically argue that some Creoles have appropriated and transformed the discourse of victimisation and suffering apparent in the story of slavery and that they are now reinterpreting the story to argue that their ancestors were resilient and that this resilience is now helping them to confront the legacy of slavery. The discourse of resilience and freedom have now replaced the historical discourse on slavery as an experienced marked by humiliation and suffering. Those intent on using the transformed discourse for political purposes are now doing so, as a way of gaining leverage and support from the slave descendant population. It is also our view that the transformation of the discourse of slavery is not the sole project of selected Creole politicians but rather the work of politicians and scholars who actively search for, and promote, narratives of resilience in the history of slavery.

#### Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

The above extracts suggest that socioeconomic mobility can encourage dissociation from one’s economic and cultural roots. Among Creoles, this dissociation is perceived as a betrayal of the group in favour of a lifestyle and the social world in which the ‘real’ Creoles are excluded. Dissociation is also contrived as a form of aversive racism because dissociation implies disdain for, and a rejection of, a former lifestyle and of former associates. However, those leaving their ‘old’ world behind do not consciously leave but are doing so unconsciously and under pressure from the demands of the new social and economic situation. It is also noted by one of our researchers however that ‘...people’s knowledge of their origins is limited to their grandparents and most of those interviewed did not have exact information about their origins but guessed their family ancestry based on their phenotype and on what they have learned or read on

Mauritian history.’ This means that informants may argue that their ancestors came from Africa or Madagascar because of their perceived physical traits but also because the story of slavery has become an integral part of the nationalist discourse:

#### Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

Even if the informants denied being racist or communal, they all showed to some degree preconceived racial/communal prejudices and perceptions when talking of people from other ethnic groups. These racial/communal tensions especially between the Indo-Mauritians and Creoles might stem from, firstly, the fact that they are the two main ethnic groups in the country with the former and especially the Hindu Mauritians openly claiming their majority and superiority; and secondly from Mauritius’ historical path with the Indo-Mauritians and Creoles having different past history and life experiences. This racial/communal antagonism seems to date back to colonial times and is rooted in the country’s past development strategies, policies and political history.

#### Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

Professionals highlighted that when “you look at the history of slavery you understand impact of racism, you understand why they're that way, they got nothing to hang on to . . . The Hindus . . . could hold on to their tradition and their religion, that's why it's easier for them to go up the ladder, the cultural and social ladder and it's easy for them to have a culture of education that the Creole don't have. They don't have a base and you can't even blame them. That doesn't mean it's an excuse for what's not happening to them . . . But as a group, it's understandable that they're the ones who are poorer and ...it's been built-up from what had happened to the culture itself, their absence of culture”

#### Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

“...Maybe for our children, it is different- as they are going to mixed schools and interact with others, playing football. They have not known the compartmentalization. But one day they came home so irritated and angry that they were called “blanc...white rat”- they were furious. I sat down with them, we normally talk about these things, and explain that there is a history behind that...when I was young, white people could say anything; at least now the balance is coming up though I am not saying discrimination is just... is like Creoles can revenge by calling names.”

#### Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

economic construct in the power sharing and making in Mauritian history. Between 1980 and 1990, there were rapid changes in Mauritian economy and society which have led to substantial improvement in the life conditions and education from which Creoles have been excluded. R. Cerveaux, a Catholic priest, denounced the fact that Creoles were poor and marginalized in society and in the Church. According to Cerveaux, Creoles have been victims of slavery, of their own intelligentsia, of the alienating culture of the Church and of politicians pursuing their own interests. The ‘malaise créole’ was the result of a concentration of problems and an accumulation of hurdles to be overcome: a mix of cultural oppression and identity problems, prejudice and

stigmatization which are sequels of slavery and its subsequent history, as well as socioeconomic difficulties, precarious employment, low wages, housing problems: “Education in the broad sense was considered a key issue in reducing inequalities and repairing injustices towards Creoles’ situation” (Romaine, 2010).

#### Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

seventies, eighties and nineties. Their invaluable contribution to the economic and cultural development of the country was silenced, their history ignored and prejudices and unjust treatments inflicted to them. There was the Creole taboo before the ‘malaise créole’. The 1999 February riots came as a climax to a long history of oppression and injustice

#### Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

We may also argue that both sites can be perceived as an “ethnic” heritage: slavery is associated with the Creole segment of the population while indenture refers to the Mauritians of Indian origin. Opting for World Heritage Status allows recognition by an external apparatus and supports the legitimization of this national heritage outside the national boundaries. The recognition generated by an international body thus reinforces the importance of this heritage and ultimately encourages the adhesion of the entire population. The presence of two World Heritage Sites on the national territory establishes an emblem of what constitutes the Mauritian history and identity. Their authenticity or meaning may be contested but still their status as emblem of Mauritian society is not challenged.<sup>56</sup>

### Indians

References of discussions of India, Indian immigrants and their descendants

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC\_.Report-FULL> - § 21 references coded [0.11% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

The Muslim part among the French India population has been studied by Emrith and Jumeer. Most had come from Bengal. Their history needs to be further researched using notarial records and Civil Status records. Although there was reluctance to use non-Christian labour, the shortage of labour had forced Governors to engage Indian Muslim sailors. They were all Urdu speaking, according to Jumeer. We know from research, conducted with one family who has traced their ancestry to the French period, although they have kept the memory of their family origins that they seem to reject their Indian ancestry. In 1805, they secured from Governor Decaen a plot of 250 toises to build a mosque, an unthinkable act in an island where Catholicism was the only authorized religion. However, it fitted in well with the principle of segregation of races, as envisaged by Decaen and so, may not seem so incongruous an action, in hindsight. The separate cemetery created at Rivière Lataniers was also symbolic of the separation of cultures at this time, demanded by part of the population itself and allowed by French Authorities. It is among this group that the first Yamse religious festival was held in 1765 (Emrith: 9).

#### Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission has also addressed the continuing discussion (albeit sterile) about whether indenture was similar to slavery. This debate is summarized here and an explanation offered as to why these perceptions have held good, despite documentary evidence to the contrary. Ignorance of basic facts of one's history and concepts appear to be rampant in Mauritius, in spite of the high rate of literacy of its population.

What were the conditions of indentured labourers on estates? Did all indentured labourers work on sugar estates? Were all indentured labourers Indian or Hindu? Did all indentured labourers obtain land and become educated in baithkas? These are some questions we have answered through fundamental research on demography, landownership and education, as well as detailed histories of families and their lives in Mauritius. Just as it has been stated that one cannot generalize for the slave population, so one cannot do so for the indentured population: the family and life histories presented in Volumes 3 and 4 here show the immense variety of indentured experience, and it is clear that more such family histories, using interdisciplinary methodologies, need to be compiled.

It has been common in public and official discourse to demarcate, along clear lines, the slaves from indentured immigrants; yet, Mauritius at the time was not divided into these two groups: due to the extreme shortage of female immigrants, intermarriage and cohabitation occurred. Intercaste, interregional and interethnic marriages occurred, as evidenced by the family histories compiled. Many, if not most, Mauritian families have undergone a higher rate of métissage than they care to admit.

#### Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

Tribal Indians constitute one of the most, if not the most, ignored groups in Mauritian historiography. Indeed, many Indo-Mauritians are unaware of their own tribal origins. Reconstruction of this history, therefore, has been through immigration records, rather than family histories, as is the case for most other groups. Since it was not possible to study the whole tribal population as part of the enquiries undertaken by the Commission, a sample using the earliest records available was used. Tribal immigration was discontinued by the British as mortality was high among them in Mauritius, and their arrivals dwindled for the 1860s, and today, in the written records, they almost completely merge with the Hindu, Christian or Muslim population of Indian origins. The sample studies conform to the origins of the bulk of arrivals in the early phases of immigration, namely from Calcutta and neighbouring districts. Nowadays, much of this forms part of the newly-created tribal State of Jharkand.

#### Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

The history of Calcuttiya Muslims was no different to that of other labourers on plantations. Housing arrangements were made, when they did not want to live near pig-breeders among the labourers families. But, in general, they went through the same evolution. After indenture, many became small planters, share-croppers (known as métayers in Mauritius) and others migrated to the town of Port Louis and opened textile shops, some of which are still in existence today. It is not known yet how many returned, but one family story does not confirm that there were immigrants who returned after the indenture. Many left families in Mauritius since those born in

Mauritius, were not eligible for return passages. One immigrant returned to India, kept up a correspondence with his family, but remarried and reindentured to Guyana and was lost from view from then on.<sup>270</sup>

#### Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

In terms of language those who came from the North of India and from Bhojpuri regions, spoke Bhojpuri and many, especially of those of a higher status, could also speak and write Urdu. With 'Islamisation', many have rejected this Bhojpuri/Indian culture and it is mainly the elderly alone in rural areas who continue to speak it. Many have opted for a more 'Arab-style' culture. The celebration of the Muharram festival, called in Mauritius the Ghoon or Yamse, which has existed in Mauritius since 1790s and where many Calcuttiya Muslims have joined in the 19th century, is also frowned upon today as being 'unIslamic'. However, among the younger generation of historians, there are interesting studies being carried out on family histories and their evolution as Mauritians. These studies deserve to be incorporated into a larger study and published.<sup>271</sup> The Bengali language also spoken among those originating from districts located around Calcutta are unknown to descendants interviewed.

#### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

One can infer that the so-numerous 'Vaish', identified in Mauritius today, probably belonged to other castes before indenture. This is to be regarded as another example of upward caste mobility. Some 'jatis' belonging to lower castes in India have been 'upgraded' in the Mauritian caste system. But such upward mobility often goes hand in hand with temptations to deny the popular origins they shared with other indentured labourers. This reluctance to acknowledge their real history may explain the MGI's insistence that caste information of indentured should not be revealed to public. This attitude is reminiscent of descendants of slaves in Mauritius as well as descendants of convicts in Australia. In Mauritius, however, this is tied up with claims of political representation and caste quotas.

Upward mobility was also possible through intercaste marriages. Numerous examples exist in family histories. Loss of caste identity occurred at several stages apart from the Emigration and Immigration Depot in Calcutta and Mauritius.

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

Slavery and indenture were primarily economic systems responsible for many ills. Both were also ideological cultural social institutions which created a particular society that many believe to be unique. There may be a case for 'Mauritian exceptionalism'. The particular situation Mauritius was in (geography proximity, existence of local capital, insularity, highly mixed populations, coupled with huge interest of the powers in Mauritius) has led to the creation of new communities in the midst of the existing populations. Some of them marked Mauritian history as indelibly as the colonists, slaves and indentured labourers without being any one of these groups or perhaps being a bit of all of these groups. They have been labelled a 'transitional' group or a 'dying' group or even people who did not fit in any category.

In the Commission's attempt to be as inclusive as possible and to cover a wide range of experiences occurring under slavery and indenture, it has focussed some attention on those

groups who are neither slaves nor indentured, nor pure ex-slaves nor pure ex-indentured. These are for example the Gens de Couleur because they emerged out of the interaction of slaves, indentured and colonists, the fishermen and pig-breeders who refused to bow to plantation labour and become the unidentified mass living and eking out miserable existences in Port Louis, but chose activities that made them autonomous, the métayers who did not fit into the category of labourers who rose from 'rags to riches' (the traditional stereotype of indentured labourer history). There are also the Indian Christians, who are still struggling to find a place for themselves and who appear to be both rejected or ignored by both mainstream Hindu and Catholic communities.

#### Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

The Gens de Couleur are part of the intermediate and unique categories that emerged from slavery and indenture but have been forgotten by History because they do not fit into the all-encompassing categories that officials and scholars alike, and Mauritians in general, have created throughout Mauritian History in order to classify Mauritians. As a 'minority within a minority', and because of their higher social position, they have been ignored, if not undermined at times, for their association with the elite. As stated above, however, as a group which emerged directly from slavery and indentured immigration, it was felt they deserved the attention of the Commission.

Several terms have been used throughout Mauritian History to describe this group: 'Coloured Population', 'Libres de Couleur', 'Gens de Couleur', 'Free Population', 'Creoles Ferblan', 'Mulatres' etc. We have chosen the term Gens de Couleur as it implies a certain social status whether neither of the other terms do. Their ethnic and social composition was varied: European, Indian, Malagasy, African, Chinese as well as having slave, free and indentured origins. However, not all these origins have been recognized equally by them and the tendency has been to be Westernised and reject the non-European ancestry. In the 18th, 19th and part of the 20th centuries, when relationships between different groups were forbidden or frowned upon, their relationships were not hidden from public view. However, painful this is for the population to admit, it must also be stated that some were the product of sexual exploitation and rape of slave and indentured women on plantations and in urban areas by owners and employers and heads of establishments. They occupied a unique social and economic status which, only in the past few years, is being uncovered, as more and more family histories are brought to light.

#### Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

Although the 1970s are considered as glorious years of Trade Union activity, there is another history yet to be written concerning the emergence of communalism and division among the working classes, which emerges ironically at the same time. According to Fortune, a full historical investigation is required into the political movement of the 1970s and 1980s and whether it was responsible, among other things, for the propaganda concerning race and the supposed 'labour aristocracy' status of port workers. Was it done as a deliberate move to curtail the port workers' political strength in Mauritian society? Fortune questions how a political movement as such which gathered itself under the slogan 'One People, One Nation' and was sustained entirely upon working class efforts would create racially charged dissension as a means of political strategy.

In this propaganda, race and the supposed wealth of Creole port workers, mostly urban dwellers, was pitched against the much documented stark poverty of rural field labourers, rekindling old tension between these two communities. The propaganda worked well, according to Fortune, in the already racially charged atmosphere of Mauritius of late 1970s and early 1980s, with the riots of 1965 and 1968 only a decade or so ago. The racial discourse concerning the riots of 1965 between Hindus and Creoles, and 1968 between Creoles and Muslims, the strikes of 1971 and the elections of 1982 and how the subject of race was addressed or excluded in the political discourse are part of the history of neglect of port workers. This deserves further study. Furthermore, the ethnic composition of the population working in the port was used to justify the supposed racial homogeneity that the Trade Unions of the 1970s and the elections of the 1980s had brought back to the surface. The historical literature available, however, paints a picture of the port as a racially diverse sector since the early days of the Colony. To think therefore, that in the 1970s and 1980s, the port suddenly became racially homogenous is rather hard to believe. The Trade Union leader of the port workers in 1938 was no less than Sandivi, of Indian origin as were many port workers and in his grandson's words, a 'Creole Malbar'.<sup>444</sup>

#### Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

There are many groups, linguistic and cultural who are neglected in official national events and who also deserve to have their history and contribution to Mauritius recognized. These include, for example, the Gens de Couleur, tribal groups from India, Indo-Christians, Agaleans, Rodriguans, and so on

#### Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

We should not forget that although the Creoles and the Indo-Mauritians have a shared history, yet, there are cultural and historical differences that impact on their present life such as differential opportunities and the Indo-Mauritians were allowed to maintain and perpetuate their traditional beliefs, values and practices.

#### Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

Creole was the medium of communication at Mr. Pandoo Sayajee Row's school. Given that it was a Protestant school, he was required to perform catechesis. He also learned the history of France and England, arithmetic and geography. Hindi was the only oriental language that was taught at Mr. Pandoo Sayajee Row's school. He did not mention whether he attended these Hindi classes. But he did state that he learnt some Marathi from his paternal grandparents who came from Kolhapur Maharashtra. He also had to sing "God Save the King" at school because Mauritius had not yet become independent.

#### Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

Even if the informants denied being racist or communal, they all showed to some degree preconceived racial/communal prejudices and perceptions when talking of people from other ethnic groups. These racial/communal tensions especially between the Indo-Mauritians and Creoles might stem from, firstly, the fact that they are the two main ethnic groups in the country

with the former and especially the Hindu Mauritians openly claiming their majority and superiority; and secondly from Mauritius' historical path with the Indo-Mauritians and Creoles having different past history and life experiences. This racial/communal antagonism seems to date back to colonial times and is rooted in the country's past development strategies, policies and political history.

#### Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

Professionals highlighted that when "you look at the history of slavery you understand impact of racism, you understand why they're that way, they got nothing to hang on to . . . The Hindus . . . could hold on to their tradition and their religion, that's why it's easier for them to go up the ladder, the cultural and social ladder and it's easy for them to have a culture of education that the Creole don't have. They don't have a base and you can't even blame them. That doesn't mean it's an excuse for what's not happening to them . . . But as a group, it's understandable that they're the ones who are poorer and ...it's been built-up from what had happened to the culture itself, their absence of culture"

#### Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

Mauritius is a pluri-confessional nation, mainly populated by Hindus. And so is India. India has a longer history of dealing with such identity stakes, first as a colony to be managed, then as a nation to be built. Surely some lessons can be drawn from the comparison.

#### Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

In this recent article, Abhimanyu Unnuth points out the real issues. One cannot help remembering that the same author has himself been active in promoting the fantasy Indo-Mauritian identity founding narrative. The first pages of his major literary production, *Sueurs de Sang* (Lal Pasina, 1977), may be read as a picture of Indians as eternally linked to Mauritius: they are described as discovering it, fighting for it and they are its legitimate owners (Claveyrolas 2012). Time has passed since the 1970's in Mauritius, and probably the legitimate goodwill to rehabilitate Indo-Mauritians' history was not possible without paving the way for the current "collective and historical fantasies" Mauritius now faces. Communalism and fantasies go hand in hand. Fantasies, particularly those founding so-called Indian rooted communities or identities, do need to be corrected in Mauritius. And this is deeply linked with caste consciousness.

#### Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

There was some concern that, with the social stratification among the Indian immigrant population, a conflict of interest of the wealthy against the poor small planters might jeopardise the emerging cooperative movement. Unfortunately, history would prove this concern to be a very valid one indeed.

#### Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

In 1840, Mauritius, formerly Isle de France, already had a complex history which was to become more complex with the Indians - Hindus and Muslims – and the Chinese being added to the ex-slaves mainly of Malagasy or African origin, to the Coloured people, the Whites. Among these last ones, were some of French origin and colonists in the country, the others being British and new administrators of the island; they were to form a population in search of its identity and to see imposing one which would be imposed upon them by the dominant racial oligarchy. It is within this complex socio-political system that the Church would have to integrate itself.

#### Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

The advent of indentured labourers, who came from India and who were themselves subject to some of the worst forms of ill-treatment, is another landmark. The history of Indian immigrants is a tale of injustice and misery. Leaving his wife and children behind, the Indian labourer was made to work odd hours in

#### Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

Fortunately, the Indian immigrant found in Alphonse Von De Plevitz a friend who showed marked sympathy to their cause. He was appalled by the treatment meted out to Indian labourers. Although married to a Franco-Mauritian girl, whose parents own an estate at Nouvelle Découverte, he encouraged them to put up a petition to Queen Victoria to redress the wrong done to them. The petition received 9401 signatures. The British Government reacted positively and appointed a Royal Commission to inquire into their complaints and to make appropriate recommendations. This was the first quest for Justice in Mauritian history. The findings and recommendations which ensued went a long way to put a stop to the inhuman treatment meted out to a community of individuals.

#### Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

The Conservatoire defeat in the 1948 elections was a clear signal of popular support for the Labour Party. The Parti Mauricien, later on Parti Mauricien Social Democrate, used a political strategy by branding the whole Hindu population as communalists and, at the same time, asking all non-Hindus to unite. The political awakening of the Indo-Mauritians was interpreted as the rise of Indian Nationalism. The opposition expected the Indo-Mauritians to join them in a common front against what was termed as a Hindu-dominated Labour Party, the aim being to create a rift between Guy Rozemont and Dr. Ramgoolam. The PMSD thus weakened the Labour Party, by using the communal argument, and it championed the cause of all minorities, including the Muslims. This part of the history of Mauritius is perhaps the darkest in terms of national unity and nation-building.

### Rodriguans

References or discussions of the island of Rodrigues and its inhabitants

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC\_.Report-FULL> - § 11 references coded [0.04% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

There are many groups, linguistic and cultural who are neglected in official national events and who also deserve to have their history and contribution to Mauritius recognized. These include, for example, the Gens de Couleur, tribal groups from India, Indo-Christians, Agaleans, Rodriguans, and so on

#### Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

Since Rodriguan informants might have felt uncomfortable in front of a stranger who is not a native of Rodrigues, the local facilitator assisted the researcher during the interview. Two interview guides were designed, translating the aims of the study. Given that the slave history of Rodrigues Island differs from that of Mauritius Island and, consequently, that the experiences of Rodriguans and Mauritians, might diverge, a different interview guide was designed for Rodrigues to reflect Rodriguans' reality. Open-ended questions were used to encourage the informants to talk freely and the guides were translated into Creole.

In line with the aims of the project, the questions were regrouped under fourteen main topics: 1. Life History 2. Literacy 3. Family History 4. Property 5. Identity/Perception of descendants of slaves 6. Slavery and its consequences 7. Contribution of slaves and their descendants to the economic life of Mauritius 8. Contributions of slaves and their descendants to the political life of Mauritius 9. Contribution of slaves and their descendants to the social life of Mauritius 10. Contribution of slaves and their descendants to cultural life of Mauritius 11. Slavery and its consequences and perceptions of descendants of slaves 12. Life in cités 13. Perceptions of other ethnic and cultural groups 14. Racism 15. Expectations and hopes for the future

#### Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

Rodrigues is disadvantaged because its people are largely 'Creole' – hence descendants of slaves. Would a predominantly Indo-Mauritian island be allowed to lack such basic educational resources and infrastructures? Some kind of reverse discrimination, or affirmative action, is therefore called for, if we are to give Rodriguan youths the same opportunities – educational, cultural, social and political – as Mauritian youths. Perhaps, therein lies a microcosmic image of a 'Coloured' and 'Creole' community through the ages; in Rodrigues, one finds the tangible impact of a society that can become neglected, because of its isolation, because of its origins and because it does not clamour loudly enough. Hence, one of our recommendations, which should also be one of the most urgent pleas of the Truth and Justice Commission, is that Rodrigues should be made a special case for positive discrimination, in terms of funding for education (at primary, secondary and tertiary levels). In connection with Rodrigues, too, interviewees suggested that the island's history be reevaluated and re-written so that young people might be given a more authentic picture of their past, and that this be put in a truly culturally Creole context.

#### Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

Rodrigues suffered an abject neglect for most of its known history. It came under consideration only at the whim and will of the masters of the time. Having suffered terrible losses by the

French stationed at Isle de France, the British decided to use Rodrigues as an assembly point for its Navy in 1809 to conquer Isle de France and Isle Bourbon. Even though Rodrigues played such a critical role in the Anglo-French struggles for supremacy in the Indian Ocean during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, between 1793 and 1811, Rodrigues was forgotten shortly afterwards and never got any recognition. The slaves, brought in by the French and the British, were left stranded on the island, with no basic support whatsoever for their livelihood. Naturally located right in the track of tropical cyclones and also prone to long periods of drought, the population of Rodrigues have experienced serious times of famine in its very short human history.

#### Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

From the available historical literature on the History of Rodrigues, it is thus crystal clear that the education of the inhabitants of remote Rodrigues seemed not to have been a major concern to the rulers of Mauritius in the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century.

#### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

For the Rodriguans, the major concern is still whether the present Educational System, the curricula and the type of education dispensed to our children meet the latter's needs. There is a general consensus that the present Education System is not appropriate to equip the younger generation for future responsibilities in the Rodriguans society because it totally makes abstract of the core history and culture of the island. There is, therefore, an urgent need to revisit the whole Educational System in Rodrigues, by aligning it more with the Rodriguan realities.

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

It inevitable and intellectually dishonest to make abstraction of the question: Is Rodrigues part of Mauritius? Comparing the level of development in all economic and social spheres on mainland Mauritius with that in Rodrigues, one is bound to conclude there is a great disparity. Being citizens of the same Republic, Mauritians born in Rodrigues do not enjoy equal opportunities as their fellow countrymen born in Mauritius. This is not just a matter of perception, but a stark reality. All through this document, it has been made clear that Rodrigues, throughout its human history, has been either neglected or totally forgotten by the powers that be in Mauritius.

#### Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

Neglected, alienated, undesirable and forgotten throughout most of its History, Rodriguans categorically refused to give up. Rodriguans are now more than ever convinced that they have a brilliant future.

#### Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

and 1830, those only rarely surpassed 350 acres, or 135 hectares. Subsequently, they were limited to about 108 acres. Because Rodrigues did not share in the sugar cane boom of Mauritius, it ceased to be of interest to the British Authorities very early in the history of colonization.

#### Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

The historical events associated with Independence are still alive in the Rodriguan collective memory. The local population irrespective of the religio-ethnic affiliation identify with their local History. This shared History is the founding-stone of this strong and deeply rooted Rodriguan consciousness. The testimonies uncovered a common perception and feeling that Rodriguans have historically been ostracised and that their island has been neglected, marginalised and kept in an underdeveloped State by the British Colonial Government and, subsequently by the various Mauritian Governments

#### Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

The ethnic stratification of Rodriguan society differs from that of Mauritian society because of differing migratory histories. The present local cosmopolitan composition is the product, and the window, of the island's peculiar settlement History.

## *Invoking Others*

References or discussions invoking other countries and their histories for comparison

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC\_.Report-FULL> - § 13 references coded [0.06% Coverage]

### Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

approach, which ought to (but not limited to) include philosophy, psychology, history, sociology and law. It makes sense to compare the study of reparations in Mauritius to reparations movement in the United States for the Mauritian case has no legal precedent moreover; the multi-cultural nature of the population in the U.S is also very similar to Mauritius. However the reparations movement in the United States is privately initiated and brought about by individuals or groups of people who filed legal suits for compensatory reparations for the harms of slavery. Conversely the Mauritian study for the reparation of the harms caused by slavery is a governmental endeavour enacted by the parliament. It is part of a Truth and Justice Commission and among its many objectives is the study of the effects of slavery on the descendants of slaves in a historical, sociological and economic context. The Mauritian reparations study is in fact very similar to the United States Congressman Conyers H.R. 40 bill, which is still infamously lingering in congressional sub-committee since its introduction in 1989. Congressman Conyers perennially re-introduces the bill and each time it garners yawns of boredom from the floor followed by a predictable defeat.

### Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

Seeing that our past is still with us, which is true in the United States and Mauritius; a Commission for Truth is an opportunity to heal the damages done to Mauritians through slavery and the indenture system as Randall Robinson says in his book, *The debt that America owes to Blacks* that “no nation can enslave a race of people for hundreds of years, set them free bedraggled and penniless, pit them, without assistance in a hostile environment, against privileged victimizers, and then reasonably expect the gap between the heirs of the two groups to narrow. Lines, begun parallel and left alone, can never touch.”<sup>12</sup> Reparations through the Truth and Justice Commission are a means of democratizing history, it gives a voice to those who are seldom heard; silenced by a society founded on slavery.

### Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

Section three gives the political background and legal histories of compensatory reparations in Mauritius Island after the abolition of slavery. It examines the case of a Mauritian consortium, which was created after the abolition of slavery with compensatory monies from the British government compared to a lawsuit for compensatory damages for the loss of slaves' labour and property as a result of abolition in the State of Louisiana. This section also investigates the reparations suit for the refugees of the Chagos Islands in Mauritius and why the compensatory actions did not heal these people's wounds. It also explores the theory of race through history comparatively in the U.S and Mauritius using Adelbert Jenkins humanistic approach to psychology and cross-cultural psychology proposed by Ute Schönpflug.

#### Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

that the answer as to why the Dominicans she encountered did not identify themselves as black resided in the particular history of the Dominican Republic.

Simmons argues that we come to understand who we are in racial terms by a process of racial enculturation. Without that, we may not develop a racial identity. She also argues that racial categorization and processes of racial enculturation are contextually specific. The Dominican Republic, as she found out, has a long history of indigenous and immigrant population. This is in contrast to the United States where racial enculturation is informed by the historical experience of slavery as well as past law. The Jim Crow laws and the 'One Drop' rule in the US for instance, forced the categorization of all those with African ancestry as black, regardless of variation in skin colour in this population. In the Dominican Republic on the other hand, those who would otherwise be considered as black in the US, perceived themselves as 'mixed' in the Dominican Republic. This is because racial enculturation in the Dominican Republic includes references to indigenous or Carib identity (Indio). Those in the Dominican Republic however, Haitians (their poorer neighbours across the island of Hispaniola) are perceived (by the Dominicans) as black. What also interesting in the latter is the conflation of blackness, geography and poverty.

#### Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

Further questions were asked about whether students learned about Creole leaders at school, and apart from Martin Luther King and Nelson Mandela, the students couldn't name any influential black or African icons either from Mauritius or abroad. Even contemporary Creole movements such as the Organisation of Creoles, Africans and Malagasy (OCAM), the Association Socio-cultural African and Malagasy (ASM) and the Fédération Créole Mauricien (FCM) were not known by the students nor were they mentioned in history or sociology text books.

Comparatively European history is valorised and all example images in the text book were only of Indian people. In the entire history book, the only images of Creoles/Black people were in the instance of slavery and there was only one picture of a Creole represented as a professional. The invisibility of Creole representation in school

#### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

Mauritius is a pluri-confessional nation, mainly populated by Hindus. And so is India. India has a longer history of dealing with such identity stakes, first as a colony to be managed, then as a nation to be built. Surely some lessons can be drawn from the comparison.

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

India (its history of castes and attempts to eradicate them) warns us about such a temptation; Mauritius sometimes seems to take the same dangerous path. We think that a greater dose of secularism-laïcité, separating more sincerely the State from religious affairs, is necessary for an allMauritian identity to prevail and flourish. The Mauritian state is sometimes too lenient about religious affairs, too prone to participate and validate them. The result is dependence on religion

#### Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

mobility, a tool for peace and reconciliation, but when education fails to do the above, social cohesion is threatened and instabilities of diverse kinds are bound to arise. Multicultural Mauritius, whilst peaceful on the surface, has all the ingredients necessary for a social explosion, but only if managed carefully and if its education system is organised and delivered in a manner that permits and ensures genuine equal and equitable chances/opportunities for the children of the descendants of slaves and indenture, it would go a long way towards the creation of durable peace in the country. Peace, as Martin Luther King notes, is not about the absence of conflicts but the presence of justice. Can Mauritian education ensure social cohesion and justice? Education in the postIndependence period has no doubt been informed by the history of the country, and this history has had ramifications for the different segments and communities of Mauritian society.

#### Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

The migration process from China can be understood by 6 inter-relating factors which gave an opportunity to the Chinese to look for new horizons: the development of China's maritime trade and commerce, the interactions with South east Asia, the Growth of the Chinese population, the expansion of military power in Western countries, the impact of Europe on China and Southeast Asia and finally the disruption of China's domestic order.<sup>139</sup> These elements promoted and triggered the desire to migrate among those who wanted to seek a better and more secure future. However, for migration to be possible in the 19th and 20th centuries, the Chinese had gone through a long perilous journey before being able to found Diasporas across the world. The first coming of the Chinese to Mauritius remains unknown to Mauritians; so we shall begin by addressing the different reasons that triggered Chinese immigration to Mauritius and why their history has been overlooked.

#### Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

unable to circumscribe an opium chaos. The second half of the 19th century was a period of utter chaos for China. The country had to face the two shameful Anglo Chinese wars against the opium trade and at the same time, deal with the worst Civil War ever in its history; the Taiping Rebellion.

#### Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

From 1839 to 1842 occurred the first Anglo-Chinese War for opium. The British introduced opium massively as a drug<sup>145</sup> whereas, before, in China, opium was being used as a medicinal ingredient; its recreational use was limited, and strict laws regulated its use.<sup>146</sup> The drug was widespread in Chinese society and the Qing Government attempted to end the opium trade, but its hard work was hampered by corrupted local officials. The Chinese Government made illegal the consumption of this drug, and British traffickers continued illegally to introduce the addictive drug within China's borders. The situation worsened and reached its peak with the outbreak of the First Opium War between the British and the Chinese which eventually ended with the defeat

of the Chinese. From 1856 to 1860, the Second War for Opium took place, which again resulted in a Chinese defeat. This Second War coincided with the Treaty of Nanking, which is known to mark the end of the first Opium War. At the same time, in 1850 and 1864, the Qing Government had to face the Taiping<sup>147</sup> Rebellion, where soldiers seized Nanjing.<sup>148</sup> These were the worst civil wars ever in the history of China where approximately 20 million people died. The dynasty, failing to confront internal and external challenges, abdicated in February 1912. Henceforth, China was heading towards becoming a Republic.

#### Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

business, and societies and institutions that undertake it should do so with humility and a clear-eyed recognition of the inadequacy of any reparative program to restore what was taken away. Yet, looking at the experience of other societies that have confronted (or failed to confront) legacies of historical injustice – at the contrasting experiences of West Germany, East Germany, and Japan following World War II; at the operation of Truth Commissions in South Africa and elsewhere; at the bitter controversies generated by the Turkish Government's denial of the Armenian genocide or by the Australian Government's refusal to apologize to Aboriginal children for being abducted from their families as part of a State-sponsored forced assimilation policy – there seems good reason to believe that communities that face their histories tend to emerge stronger than those that choose the path of denial and evasion.

#### Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

Ironically it was not necessary in the wake of this new mindset that Europe embarked on the conquest of new lands and clashed with the indigenous people in the Americas, Africa and the Far East. These people according to Aimé Césaire who had the misfortune to be on their way, were considered as inferior beings. The history of emerging Colonial Powers is littered with genocides, atrocities and humiliation and remained unwritten for long. Voltaire in his *Essais sur les races* in 1756 describes the people of Black Africa as half savages and mentally deficient, in short of inferior beings. The Code Noir of 1685 under Colbert, Minister of Louis XIV, to manage slaves in the newly acquired colonies is a typical case of the bias ideas of the black people generally. Slaves captured

## *Land*

References or discussions of land, land ownership, land compensation claims, etc.

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC\_.Report-FULL> - § 38 references coded [0.14% Coverage]

### Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

For those who stayed in Mauritius and who are the focus of this Commission's study, general histories have been written which have become stereotypical: labourer becomes sirdar or recruiter, saves money and purchases a plot of land. Children become educated, are employed as civil servants or professionals and are considered a success. This picture of the supposed typical 'experience' of the trajectory of the indentured labourer is reproduced regularly by those of nonindentured ancestry, by those who create the myths of the success story etc.

However, it ignores the other reality: those who never obtained land, those who were never highly educated, those who never became urbanized, and were still working on sugar estates until a decade ago. The Commission has investigated both of these sets of experiences through detailed family histories, life histories and in-depth interviews. Hundreds of descendants have been consulted and the results published in Volumes 3 and 4.

### Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

According to the 1952 census, 9,000 persons were registered as belonging to the group of IndoChristians, forming around 3½% of the population; Whether this figure has remained constant is difficult to say; since 1982, no mention is made of ethnic denominations in the Census.<sup>482</sup> The bare fact is that out of 413,000 persons, registered as Christians in the Housing and Population Census of 2000,<sup>483</sup> it is clear that a good many among them are of strong Indian descent, when they do not claim ancestry as Chinese or Europeans, the remaining Christians being more akin to people of African and Malagasy descent in varying degrees. According to the Indo-Mauritian Catholic Association (IMCA), an association founded in 1952 which claims to represent persons of the Catholic faith, but who have in no way given up the cultural appertenance proper to the land of their ancestors, these should be around 50,000. This short stay aims to trace the epic story of persons of Indian origin who have, throughout Mauritian history, been converted to Christianity

### Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

The history of the métayers (share croppers) was brought to the Commission's attention as a result of representations made by métayers in the South of Mauritius. The Commission decided to investigate further for several reasons. First, although they have grown sugar since the days of indenture (1840s), they have never owned the land and can be evicted at any time. They have, like many other groups in Mauritius, been the victims of restructuring of the Sugar Industry. A history of metayage appears in Volume 2 and in Volume 4. In the past, eviction could occur at any time, when their leases ended, when sugar was no longer required, or when the land was required for other more profitable purposes. What is the future of métayers in the new economic configuration? What future do they have? Today, the lands which they occupy and have been

associated with for generations, considered ‘marginal’ at the time, have been ‘re-labelled’ ‘strategic’ zones today, and are worth millions. The sugar estates have played their historic role, as they always have; they have disposed of labour when no longer required, and shifted labour where work was required, intimidated and used all the legal arsenal at their disposal to maintain their property. What is

#### Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

Retracing one’s family history in Mauritius required, in addition to papers, research using Oral History as knowledge about families has been transmitted orally. The University of Mauritius’ oral History Project shows clearly that many more families than those who submitted land claims at the Commission have knowledge of their family’s past ownership of land. Today, it is virtually impossible to obtain lost land without a genealogical tree. This section, therefore, provides a survey of how genealogical research has been conducted in Mauritius through the experiences and difficulties encountered by deponents coming to the TJC. For most retracing their family is nothing less than an immense hurdle compounded by inadequate and antiquated laws and bored and petty minded Officers.

#### Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

The work undertaken by the Commission has been laborious, given the short span of time available to probe into more than 300 years of History since the first land grant (concession) was given officially in 1726 to Pierre Christophe Lenoir, a French colon, Director of Pondichéry. Moreover, the task was delicate as it concerned people who have a profound emotional attachment to land they believe they have lost. Working sessions with hundreds of persons from all walks of life, have aroused mixed feelings. People were led to believe that the Commission was a centre where they could be registered on a list to obtain compensation, either as descendants of slaves or indentured labourers; others firmly believed that the Commission was set up to help them recover plots of land which,

#### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

information or a total lack of financial means on the part of complainants to attain their ultimate objective of proving their ownership of land. People relied mostly on their memory, focusing on the oral history transmitted by past generations, but many were unable to explain the mechanism that led to the dispossession of their lands.

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

Historians, researchers, Land surveyors, Attorneys, Notaries, Barristers cannot research properly land transactions which may have occurred at different periods of history because of the absence or bad state of these documents. It is also common knowledge that most people are unable to easily access all the Archives relating principally to land transactions. This situation must change. Furthermore, the practice of acquiring, exchanging or selling plots of land through private signature (“sous seing privé”) has, in many cases, deprived researchers of opportunities to explain the state of affairs prevailing at that time. The layman, being ignorant of the Law,

might have seen in this practice an easy way to undertake land transactions without having recourse to the service of a Notary Public.

#### Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

Land tenure system and landownership have been the most important components that have shaped the political, social and economic history of Mauritius since the Portuguese first put the Island on the world map in 1505.

#### Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

The history of land grants in Mauritius stretched over a period of 285 years, started with the first Act of concession witnessing land conceded to Pierre Christophe Lenoir in 1726 by the Compagnie des Indes Orientales, governed by the Feudal Laws. It encompasses the struggle of the colonists for a better system of land tenure, the struggle of the slaves for freedom and justice and for their recognition as citizens capable of holding lands. And the fight of the ‘gens de couleur’ for a better comprehension of their aspirations to acquire land and take part in the set up and consolidation of a ‘pieds-à-terre’ common to all. Where everyone can celebrate and chant the Code Civil: “La propriété est le droit de jouir et disposer des choses de la manière la plus absolue, pourvu qu’on n’en fasse pas un usage prohibé par les lois ou par les règlements.”

#### Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

Access to and control of land was a major factor that shaped the social and economic history of colonial Mauritius during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and much of the twentieth century. Soon after it colonized the island in 1721, the French Compagnie des Indes inaugurated a policy of making substantial grants of

#### Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

production of the foodstuffs, naval stores, and other commodities needed to support the French political and naval presence in the Indian Ocean. Following the advent of royal rule in 1767, the Colonial Government continued this policy until the late 1780s when it began to sell public land, usually at a very reasonable price, to the colony’s inhabitants. The properties, granted or sold to French and other European colonists during the eighteenth century, provided the nucleus around which many of the colony’s sugar estates were subsequently built during the early nineteenth century. However, Europeans were not the only Mauritian residents to acquire landed property. Significant numbers of the colony’s residents of African and Asian origin or descent also purchased, or otherwise acquired access to or use of land during the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. Their ability to do so similarly played an important role in shaping the course of the country’s social and economic history.

#### Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

Between 1748 and 1810, however, the Colonial Land Office recorded approximately 410 grants and sales of public land to free persons of colour that provide a vantage point from which to

begin reconstructing the history of landownership by free(d) persons of African and Asian origin or ancestry. These documents reveal that only a handful of free persons of colour received grants of public land before Compagnie rule ended in 1767. Most of these grantees were individuals of some consequence to the colony's social, economic, or political life. Elizabeth Sobobie Béty (or Bétia), who received the first land grant made to a non-European in 1758, was the daughter of the King, and later herself briefly the Queen, of Foulpointe, an important slave trading centre on the East coast of Madagascar.<sup>6</sup> Other early free coloured recipients of these grants, such as Louis LaViolette, an interpreter for the Compagnie in Madagascar, and Manuel Manique, a former Maître d'hôtel du gouvernement, were also persons of economic or administrative importance to the colony's wellbeing.<sup>7</sup>

#### Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

This propensity of Mauritian ex-apprentices to reside in the general vicinity of the small properties they purchased is not unexpected. Post-emancipation Caribbean history is replete with examples of former apprentices who, despite an intense desire to dissociate themselves from all vestiges of their former condition, nevertheless continued to live in relatively close proximity to the estates on which they had once labored. Their reasons for doing so are not difficult to discern. Complex webs of social, economic, and psychological ties that had been created over the years were not easily or readily dismantled. Moreover, many estates included large areas of uncleared or unused arpentage, precisely the kind of land that estate-owners were inclined to sell and former apprentices were inclined to acquire, especially if they had lived on or near the land in question.

#### Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

The extent to which access to capital is central to understanding the history of landownership in colonial Mauritius is revealed in other ways. The increasing incidence of sharecropping during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries may be traced, in so small measure, to the financial problems facing the local sugar industry at this time. Economic considerations also compelled men and women to squat on publically, or privately-owned land. Many ex-apprentices did so because they lacked the money needed to secure legal title to land. The illegal occupation of public lands, especially mountain and river reserves and the *pas géométriques*, by impoverished men and women of all ethno-cultural backgrounds remained a problem for the Colonial Government throughout the nineteenth century. Information on the extent of this activity and those who engaged in it remains frustratingly scarce, but in 1906, the colony's Conservator of Forests noted some of factors that made dealing with the alienation of these lands so problematic: the absence of detailed and accurate maps of the lands in question; the passage of laws such as Ordinance No. 30 of 1895 which essentially destroyed the inalienability of the *pas géométriques*; and the difficulties that arose from the fact that Indian and Creole small proprietors, many if not most of whom were illiterate, had often purchased land in Government reserves "in ignorance and good faith."<sup>77</sup> In so doing, he underscores the need for scholars, Government officials, and the general public to appreciate the complexities – social, economic, and political – that coming to grips with the nature, dynamics, and problems of land ownership in Mauritius, both past and present, entails.

#### Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

Throughout Mauritian History, the sugar magnates, having acquired large “grants”, set up large conglomerates, obtained a cheap labour force to create their wealth. Solitude Sugar Estate was one of the three sugar factories which belonged to the Society Harel Frères Limited. Auguste Dioré was the first owner between 1838 and 1839. He sold 406 acres of land to Jean Baptiste d'Agnel in 1857. Since that time, the land changed hands and increased in acreage several times. The annexation of adjoining lands, resulting from the closing down of factories, increased considerably the factory area of the sugar mill as was the case in other parts of the island.

#### Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

Conscious that they were being dispossessed of their ancestral lands, an association known as “The descendants of Gabriel Bégué Welfare and Heritage Association” was formed in January 2010. The aim of the association is to establish a genealogy of all heirs and successors of the deceased Gabriel Bégué and to promote the history of the family since the arrival of Gabriel Bégué in Rodrigues. The family requests to the Commission to help them restore their “patrimoine” (heritage); to reset confidence in the heirs of their ancestors Gabriel Bégué and in the public in general; and to stop all the mal practices made by illegal occupiers especially with the help of the legal advisors. The petitioners have prayed the Truth and Justice Commission to intervene before the Chief Island Commissioners to stop the practice of allowing people who have no claim to the Bégué succession in making false declarations to the effect that they have elected domicile on part of the land and to carry an inquiry into the circumstances of a number of prescriptions that have been registered following false testimony of witnesses. Ronald Bégué mentioned a case where a person alien to the Bégué family has

#### Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

However, in Mauritius, the extent of ownership is highly skewed in favour of large plantations owners. There has never been large-scale redistribution of lands either after abolition of slavery or indenture or independence by governments, colonial or independent. Small farmers and proprietors have on their own saved enough money and bought many plots of land at various moments in history.

#### Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

the Abolition of British Colonial Slavery", which was published in the "Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History, May 1976, Volume IV Number 3" Burroughs made reference to an exchange of letter "Buchanan to Lefevre, dated 7th June 1833"<sup>2</sup> underlining: “Shrewd scheming advocates with the eye to augmenting fees and influence found unlimited scope to ensnare opponents in the meshes of law, prolong cases brought before trial, and emasculate unpopular legislation. The local bar buttressed its enviable position by restricting the number of “Avoués” who could practice and making this privilege a monopoly of foremost French families. Because of its intimate association with planters and merchants through intermarriage, investment, and a common concern to defend the status quo, as well as its mastery of the obscurities of French commercial and land law, the legal fraternity dominated to an extraordinary degree the life of the

whole community and exploited that predominance for selfish ends. Whenever the British Government devised incongenial policies or threatened to undermine the oligarchy's ascendancy, judges and lawyers could and did unashamedly empty the Courts to protect their sectoral interests. British merchants and creditors, for example, who, by 1832, apparently held mortgages on all but one of the island's sugar plantations, protested regularly about being defrauded by Mauritian debtors because of partisan "Avoués" and antiquated French laws so 'remarkably convenient for cheating the British out of their money'. They persistently urged the Colonial Office to introduce English laws and English Judges".

#### Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

At the closing date of 30th June 2010, the Truth and Justice Commission received some 230 files from claimants in Mauritius and 30 others from Rodrigues, to be analysed and assessed in order to find out how dispossession occurred. The background highlighted above gives an idea of how things happened at different periods of our history.

#### Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

In addition, it is worthy to note that at the hearing session the CEO stated that in the past the Company had solved existing land issues by asking the two Land surveyors to study the case and come in with a full history of the land.

#### Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

The Labonté, is a Malagasy free family that came to Mauritius and was established in Le Morne as fishermen. Their history is documented in works of missionaries. The current descendants are Laviolette family. The family lost their land, then David Labonté died leaving only minors as heirs and under a tutor who proceeded to sell most of the land.

#### Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

It has been impossible for the heirs to get access to the plots of land, to the administrators of Constance-Fuel. The employees are unaware of the history of the lands and it is impossible to survey the plots of land.

#### Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

the circumstances from oral history why no one can take care of the land. Illiteracy as such is not a reason.

#### Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

The history of the case concerning this plot of land and the incident related in the said case before

#### Reference 25 - 0.01% Coverage

Edley John Mollières, the applicant, and his brother say that their grandparents owned a plot of land of 15 Acres at Mare D'Albert. The cousins of the applicant inherited and bought several plots of land. They were proprietors of several sugar plantations. The applicant says that he is unaware of the history of land.

Reference 26 - 0.01% Coverage

They request the Commission to rediscover the history of the land, recover the land and make justice prevail. They submitted a number of documents which have no bearing to the claim.

Reference 27 - 0.01% Coverage

Désiré Emmanuel Roussel, the applicant, says that his great-grandparents possessed a plot of land of 325 Acres at Plaine Magnien. He avers that the Mon Désert-Mon Trésor Sugar Estate cultivates sugarcane on the land. The applicant says that he is unaware of the history of land. He came to know about it by doing searches at the Archives.

Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

He requests the Commission to help him to recover the land and to know the family history.

Reference 29 - 0.01% Coverage

The main objective of the registration of title is to spare persons, dealing with registered land, from the trouble and expense of going behind the Register, in order to investigate the history of their author's title and satisfy themselves of the validity. That end is accomplished by ensuring that anyone who purchased 'bona fide' and for value, from a registered proprietor and then enters his deed of transfer or mortgage on the register, shall thereby acquire an indefensible right notwithstanding the infirmity of the author's title. Registration of title gives finality and does away with the repeated, imperfect and costly examination of past title.

Reference 30 - 0.01% Coverage

The setting up of the Truth and Justice Commission has created high expectations within the Mauritian population at large. Different people had different interpretations of the true mandate of the Commission, particularly as far as land is concerned. Most of those who presented themselves before the Commission were of the opinion that the TJC would do the utmost to retrieve the land that their ancestors might have possessed at different periods of our history. While others thought that they would be compensated for the land they probably owned and which they have lost. This perception has, moreover, been emphasized from certain quarters who have led people to believe that the Commission has been created, first and foremost, to take back large portions of lands, especially from sugar estates, and to undertake an equitable redistribution among the less privileged and those lower on the economic and social ladder.

Reference 31 - 0.01% Coverage

Following findings of the Commission, which has probed deeply into the history of slaves and indentured descendants, it has been found that people have lost their land due to their inability to establish their claim or prevent people from acquiring their land through prescription and illegal means.

#### Reference 32 - 0.01% Coverage

This research has also shown that within the community, knowledge of family history and of ancestors is rather blurred. However, there is a strong belief that many members of this group have been spoliated of the lands they once possessed and that reparation is necessary.

#### Reference 33 - 0.01% Coverage

Oral history discloses that, apparently, Petite Rivière Noire to Tamarin somewhat belong to the Maurel Family before 1960 since they were the main landowners in the region with the exception of the Koenig brothers salt-pan owners.

#### Reference 34 - 0.01% Coverage

(Eng. trans:...but the land how will I explain to you it is a little about history. You hear land is for Maingard, you hear that land is for Colfir, you hear that land is for government. But to know who exactly is landowner. Ok. So no-one knows to whom exactly Cité Tamarinier is? No. To whom it was before? No. What I know, recently before the construction...Cité Tamarinier there was the Colfir Family, that undertook proceedings to get this land. But maybe the proceedings were too long, that they could not continue and abandoned, there were papers missing to continue...)

The history of these ‘dispossessed families’, and especially of the Albert/Colfir Family who reside in the Cité, forms part of the collective memory of Cité La Mivoie. These family histories are still alive in the memories of the residents – all respondents mentioned having heard that these families were landowners and that they were dispossessed of their property even though some were more knowledgeable than others who did not know the detailed story.

#### Reference 35 - 0.01% Coverage

implication of” the following. But can one go so far as to argue that sugar estates in Mauritius are culpable for the consequences of their actions if we are taking into account a time frame extending well beyond the twentieth century? “Truth Commissions”, as they have come to be collectively referred to internationally, are relatively recent innovations intended for the most part to address crimes or wrongs committed against humanity in the twentieth century. Yet in spite of the wide yawn separating the indenture and post-indenture periods in Mauritian history, I intend to argue that the Mauritian sugar industry does appear to be culpable for the reckless and at times callous manner in which it has treated its workforce. And, in particular, of flouting its legal responsibilities under existing Labour Laws. However, I should also add that this judgement is not necessarily applicable to all sugar estates in Mauritius, some of which have a record of treating their workers well beyond what was required of them by law.

#### Reference 36 - 0.01% Coverage

Translation: « Concerning the question of history I think it is a good occasion to valorise the specific history of Rodrigues and then I think that this has been partly corrected because of sensitisation but often in school books for example Rodriguans were represented as carrying a hen cage on their head and rarely are the Rodriguans represented as a dentist, doctor or teacher (...) these are stereotypes Rodriguans need to cultivate their land and they cannot wait for rain to fall there needs to be irrigation and a market for example at Gravier there were hundreds of lemons which fell and there was no market even if there are efforts being made there are stereotypes the history of Rodrigues should be valorised and encourage Rodriguans in this great adventure”.

#### Reference 37 - 0.01% Coverage

5) Ownership of land / house is usually associated with independence from landlords' wish or strategy. It is a sign of long term investment, sense of capitalization and transmission to next generations. It supposes an idea, an ideal of lineage, a valued position of self in a succession of generations, a representation of ancestry, therefore an apprehension of self / sacrifices / choices / sublimation process based on a sense of history. Denied of existence and of any form of future, slave descendants are in an impossible situation to look beyond the immediate and cater for a more stable future, a permanent home being one of its concretizations.

#### Reference 38 - 0.01% Coverage

According to Allen, the 1860s were a turning point in the history of the Mauritius Sugar Industry which saw an extensive restructuration of the Industry with the parcelling out of large tracts of land on some estates and the merging of other estates into larger financially more viable units.

## *Legacy*

References or discussions of the legacy, impact or long-term consequences of colonialism and violence

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC\_.Report-FULL> - § 102 references coded [0.44% Coverage]

### Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

“The history of our country is based on a continuous quest for freedom and social justice. Our past has been marked by the forcible removal of thousands of people from the mainland of Africa, Madagascar and Asia. These are the darkest and most shameful pages of our history. The introduction of indentured labour under slavish conditions was no less shameful and evil.”

### Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

It was further decided that there would be three broad areas of research; firstly, the revision of History from 1723 to 2009 (slavery, indentured labourers and identification of elements of History which have not been studied yet or hidden or not known, i.e., the caste system, post-1835 situation of ex-slaves, etc); secondly, the consequences of slavery and indentured labour on society. Thirdly, measures to achieve Social Justice. In addition, a number of critical specialist studies were undertaken on land, reparations, the role of religion and the collecting of views of people who are not so visible or vocal through Oral History.

There were a number of project teams established. These included Slave Trade and Slavery; the Indentured Experience; Mauritian Economic History; Culture, Ethnicity, Memory and Identity; Health; Education; Towards a Just Society; Rodrigues, Agalega, Chagos and St. Brandon Islands; Recommendations.

### Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

“The issue is this. The under-development and poverty which affect the majority of countries in Africa and in the Caribbean, as well as the ghetto conditions in which many black people live in the United States and elsewhere, are not, speaking in general terms, the result of laziness, incompetence or corruption of African people or their governments. They are in a very large measure the consequences the legacy – of one of the most massive and terrible criminal enterprises – in recorded human history; that is, the transatlantic slave trade and the institution of slavery”.

### Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

“African governments today, who have tried to rectify the under-development which they have inherited from history, have borrowed from the financial institutions of the West and are now in a virtually uncontrollable spiral of debt. In reality – and in morality – I suggest that it is the West which is in debt to Africa, not Africa which is debt to the West”.

### Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

ii. Provide Mauritians with all the data required, free of charge, to reconstruct this family tree in recognition of the numerous difficulties faced by ordinary Mauritians to collect relevant and accurate data concerning their family history.

#### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

iii. Children, victims of abuse (sexual/physical/gross neglect/ill-treatment) and who are placed at shelters (NGOs) are at times placed at the RYC at a very young age, given their behavioural problems – there is a need for proper assessment and psychological intervention and close follow-up at such cases so that they get the necessary caring and supportive environment to help them grow and deal with their past history.

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

Part of the Mandate of the Truth and Justice Commission requires the assessment of the consequences of slavery and indenture. The task of assessing these consequences entails, inter alia, a review of 350 years of Mauritian History. As pointed out by the Chairman in his introduction, the Commission has, therefore, focussed on three aspects: History; consequences, and how to achieve a more just society.

#### Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

As the Act mandates the Commission to enquire into the History of slavery and indenture and study its consequences, a number of enquiries were proposed:

#### Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

Volume I contains the Commission's report and covers all topics falling under the mandate of the Commission, namely the history of the slave trade, slavery and indenture; the economics of slavery and indenture; legacies, consequences and continuities; racism and casteism; education and health, land reform, social justice, ending with main findings and recommendations. The last part of the recommendations is a consolidated version with those considered high priority on top of the list. A time-frame for implementation is also included.

Volume Two consists of papers prepared by the Land Team on Land issues in Mauritius, as well as the results of the analysis by the same Team on the 340 claims concerning land dispossession. It is divided into a History of Land Tenure section, detailed studies on selected topics such as Lack of capital, prescription and a summary of each case and the main findings of the Land Team. As Commissioners were not Land experts, the Commission has borrowed heavily (but not exclusively) from the Report of the Land Team to make its general findings on cases being heard before the Commission.

Volumes Three and Four consist of technical papers, research reports and surveys conducted by a team of consultants, researchers and research assistants. It is divided thematically. Volume Three consists mainly of studies of contemporary Mauritius and surveys which Mauritians had expressed themselves or participated in. Volume Four consists mainly of studies by specialists in the field of History, Economics, Anthropology, Psychology, using an immense amount of

archival material. Both volumes also contain the recommendations of the persons or teams undertaking the study and a substantial set of references.

Volume Five in digital format, is the collection of all audio and film material collected by the Commission and is divided into: a Hearings Section, where the audio and the transcriptions are included; the oral history interviews that were not confidential and their transcripts; a press cuttings database and photos and film strips covering the work of the Commission during field-trips, surveys and site visits.

#### Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

This has been one of the most intractable questions, given the lack of information. Here too, one must refrain from treating all ex-slaves as one uniform mass of persons. However, it is not so much how they travelled but where they ended up at different times in history, up to today. What was their trajectory? The TJC used the migration pattern of inhabitants of one village to attempt to reconstruct this history. More family histories need to be undertaken nationwide to assess the full extent of the mobility of ex-slaves and their families across Mauritius from 1835 to the 1940s. One must not forget, however, those who were free before that date and their trajectories in life.

#### Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

Economic and accounting historians of the slave trade study slavery and the slave trade from an economist's or financial analyst's perspective. However, historians cannot focus only on what is quantifiable, but have to look at the unquantifiable: the 'intangible' issues of history, such as identity or culture loss, mental and physical stress, mobility, laws, consequences on family life or the sense of loss felt as a result of being removed from one's homeland.

#### Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

In Mauritius, cases of smallpox were reported as far back as 1771. But the first major epidemic occurred in June 1792, when a slave ship from South India reached Port Louis with smallpox on board. The disease spread rapidly among the population, amidst heated debate over the practice of inoculation. Some slave owners asserted their right to inoculate their slaves, while others were vehemently against this practice because of the possibility of the inoculated person developing a severe infection and transmitting smallpox to others. Megan Vaughan of Nuffield College Oxford, writing on Social History of Medicine, has made the following observations on the attitude adopted by the colonists:

#### Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

As with most neglected histories, they come to light only when the criminal records mention them. Thus Delport, probably the most famous of them all was accused of multiple crimes: receiving stolen goods, encouraging slaves to steal and giving them resources to steal, squatting on 'unconceded' land etc.<sup>232</sup> Despite all this, they did enjoy the benefits that having a whiter skin colour proffered on them. A black skilled worker would never be equal to a white skilled worker in French Mauritius.<sup>233</sup>

#### Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

Are these consequences of indentured labour or the actions of Mauritians in post Independence Mauritius? The choice to maintain a caste system and to maintain division of ethnic groups in census is clearly a choice of independent Governments since Independence, and it is difficult to see how the indentured system could be held responsible. The choice not to teach a common history rather than a compartmentalised history, and for political and religious leaders to make public speeches where the failure of one ethnic group to achieve in one particular field is underlined, is a dangerous policy to tolerate. Over the years, this has led to increased social and cultural fractures. To avoid further divisions, these need to be stopped and should no longer sanctioned officially.

#### Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

In France, a complete inventory of all French engagés arriving to Mauritius has already been undertaken and published, and it is not necessary to list all of them. Their history, however, is little known in Mauritius, as many returned to France and have left no descendants. A reading of their conditions is strangely reminiscent of indenture of the 19th century in many respects. Their names were often misspelt and they did not speak French but Breton, and their names are spelt differently on several documents. Their conditions were not always good as one might think, despite the wages. For example, fines were imposed for absences: Antoine Aimé, soldier and locksmith, is described as 24 years, 5'1", with curly brownish hair, square face, small grey eyes. He arrived on the *Badine* on 8 June 1731, worked for a year and left for Bourbon. As his contract included fines, a fine was imposed on him for a day's absence for which he paid 3 livres.

#### Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

'African Recaptives' and 'Prize Slaves'. The trade thus continued and involved many of the islands further out in the Indian Ocean such as Rodrigues and Seychelles where slaves could be better hidden. This history has yet to be written using sources found in all these countries and would need a concerted regional effort, currently lacking.

#### Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

Tribal Indians constitute one of the most, if not the most, ignored groups in Mauritian historiography. Indeed, many Indo-Mauritians are unaware of their own tribal origins. Reconstruction of this history, therefore, has been through immigration records, rather than family histories, as is the case for most other groups. Since it was not possible to study the whole tribal population as part of the enquiries undertaken by the Commission, a sample using the earliest records available was used. Tribal immigration was discontinued by the British as mortality was high among them in Mauritius, and their arrivals dwindled for the 1860s, and today, in the written records, they almost completely merge with the Hindu, Christian or Muslim population of Indian origins. The sample studies conform to the origins of the bulk of arrivals in the early phases of immigration, namely from Calcutta and neighbouring districts. Nowadays, much of this forms part of the newly-created tribal State of Jharkand.

#### Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

The Bengali-speaking immigrants have received no recognition yet in History books, despite the large numbers emigrating to Mauritius and despite the evidence of emigration from what is today Bangladesh, Dacca, the 24 Pergunnahs, all Bengali-speaking territory. Various 'Camp Bengali' existed in Mauritius and many families up to the 1980s still had members of families speaking Bengali.

#### Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

If slavery and indenture as economic systems have received due attention on the part of scholars, the lesser-known aspects deserve also mention. Indentured labourers like slaves, brought with them their cultures, life-styles which they were in varying degrees able to keep. In the case of Indian labourers, how were their cultures and social life transformed by indenture? In other words, what was the impact on their non-working lives? Women have been recognised in Mauritian history as having kept the traditions brought from India. This was possibly because they stayed at home, unlike other labour immigrants and so were able to provide the nurturing roles. The absence of women, for example, in the early years deserve mention, as this was a matter of concern for authorities.

#### Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

During the period of indentured immigration, children were also brought either accompanying their parents or came alone. There are many ways in which a child could have ended up on a ship alone. A parent may have died in the Depot or abandoned children being an easy prey for unscrupulous recruiters would be enticed into the ship. Their stories will probably never get into the History books as so little written evidence has survived. What we do have today are the few descendants who have kept alive their family history and recounted how their ancestors arrived as children.

#### Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

Significant outbreaks of Malaria occurred in 1856 - 1859, 1862 and 1865. But the first serious epidemic struck the Island in 1867. It was a major calamity causing 40, 000 deaths in a population of 333, 000. Ronald Ross qualified the epidemic as the greatest disaster in Mauritian history. Thereafter, Malaria remained endemic in Mauritius until 1950's. The result was a serious source of wastage in terms of manpower and money, through deaths and reduction of population; loss of manual labour in plantations, factories, farms etc; sickness among labourers and officers, incapacitation and deaths among higher officials and soldiers.

#### Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

The history of Mauritius has been characterized and fundamentally determined by the evolution of the Sugar Industry during the era of British Colonialism and later of British Imperialism. Two key events were the turning points in the evolution from economic and financial perspectives: (a)

as Crown Colony, Mauritius was given access to the British sugar market as from 1815; (b) in 1825, the tariffs imposed by Britain on sugar imports from Mauritius and from the Caribbean were equalised.

The understanding of the consequences for contemporary Mauritius of these key events would be largely insufficient unless a holistic view of history is adopted. The Commission finds that there is a continuous evolution of economic exploitation, social and cultural oppression. This has led to contradictions between British Imperialism, the plantocracy of both French and British origin on the one hand and, on the other hand, labour (the enslaved, the indentured and their descendants). The wealth created throughout Mauritian history is the result of the impressive contribution of labour on the one hand and the capital and know-how of colonists and British Imperialism on the other hand. However most of this wealth has been appropriated by colonists and the British Imperial and Colonial States, whilst large proportion of the laboring classes faced unemployment and poverty during the Colonial era ending in 1968. The intermediate social and economic classes such as traders, merchants, middlemen and medium planters were able to retrieve some of the wealth. There have been thus two complementary historical processes: development and substantial material advancement for the few and underdevelopment for the many constituting the labouring classes.

#### Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

History has repeated itself. About one hundred and thirty years ago, the plantocracy recruited indentured labourers from a vast reservoir of cheap labour found in British India. As a result, the plantocracy accumulated capital which was partly siphoned off to financiers/ investors abroad (Britain and France mainly) and partly reinvested in modernising the sugar factories. The new dimension, this time, lies in the fact that the reservoir of cheap labour came from within Mauritius: women and the unemployed. Unemployment and poverty were the direct consequences of policies of free trade by British Imperial Government and of cheap labour policy of the Colonial Government and the plantocracy.

#### Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

Elsewhere in Mauritius, the ex-slave population, which did not own land, was shifted from camp to camp, depending on the whim of employers who tended to be those owning large estates and needed land for clearing the woods for sugar cultivation. Informal and verbal arrangements were made with owners concerning the length of stay in any particular area, and many considered the camp as 'home'. The detailed study of censuses, combined with Family History research, and Oral History work conducted in the past few years by various institutions and individuals are sufficient evidence of the numerous camps that existed in the 19th century and which have survived up to the 21st century; this indicates constant mobility and shifting of 'home'. Displacement of persons of African and Malagasy origin, whether as slaves, ex-slaves or descendants appears to be a continuing and apparently constant feature of Mauritian History and custom. The history of the former inhabitants of the original Le Morne Village/Trou Chenille, as well as the History of the Chagossians, are some of the most publicized of cases, but such displacement continues in 'modern' Mauritius.

#### Reference 25 - 0.01% Coverage

History has its part to play in this state of affairs. The History of slavery which has been repressed does not ‘disappear’; it forms part of the subconscious. Absence of a sense of belonging and a sense of personal history induce life-styles and ways of spending which penalise whole families. Living on credit and overspending on occasions of celebrations (weddings and first communion) are ways of positioning self and the family, acquiring respect and dignity, whatever the price to pay.

#### Reference 26 - 0.01% Coverage

Moreover, the relationship to space and time has to be structured since early childhood and is due to many socialisation processes, which are transmitted from generation to generation. But when the past does not form part of History, when “lineage” cannot exist, projection into the future is blocked and the present overwhelms all perceptions. Strategies cannot be set up, specially in the absence of assets, financial and cultural; hope does not exist.

#### Reference 27 - 0.01% Coverage

For those who stayed in Mauritius and who are the focus of this Commission’s study, general histories have been written which have become stereotypical: labourer becomes sirdar or recruiter, saves money and purchases a plot of land. Children become educated, are employed as civil servants or professionals and are considered a success. This picture of the supposed typical ‘experience’ of the trajectory of the indentured labourer is reproduced regularly by those of nonindentured ancestry, by those who create the myths of the success story etc. However, it ignores the other reality: those who never obtained land, those who were never highly educated, those who never became urbanized, and were still working on sugar estates until a decade ago. The Commission has investigated both of these sets of experiences through detailed family histories, life histories and in-depth interviews. Hundreds of descendants have been consulted and the results published in Volumes 3 and 4.

#### Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

The Gens de Couleur are part of the intermediate and unique categories that emerged from slavery and indenture but have been forgotten by History because they do not fit into the all-encompassing categories that officials and scholars alike, and Mauritians in general, have created throughout Mauritian History in order to classify Mauritians. As a ‘minority within a minority’, and because of their higher social position, they have been ignored, if not undermined at times, for their association with the elite. As stated above, however, as a group which emerged directly from slavery and indentured immigration, it was felt they deserved the attention of the Commission.

Several terms have been used throughout Mauritian History to describe this group: ‘Coloured Population’, ‘Libres de Couleur’, ‘Gens de Couleur’, ‘Free Population’, ‘Creoles Ferblan’, ‘Mulatres’ etc. We have chosen the term Gens de Couleur as it implies a certain social status whether neither of the other terms do. Their ethnic and social composition was varied: European, Indian, Malagasy, African, Chinese as well as having slave, free and indentured origins. However, not all these origins have been recognized equally by them and the tendency has been

to be Westernised and reject the non-European ancestry. In the 18th, 19th and part of the 20th centuries, when relationships between different groups were forbidden or frowned upon, their relationships were not hidden from public view. However, painful this is for the population to admit, it must also be stated that some were the product of sexual exploitation and rape of slave and indentured women on plantations and in urban areas by owners and employers and heads of establishments. They occupied a unique social and economic status which, only in the past few years, is being uncovered, as more and more family histories are brought to light.

#### Reference 29 - 0.01% Coverage

The initiative of pig-breeders of Roche Bois to set up a Co-operative Society was followed by breeders in a few other localities, and a Federation of Pig-Breeders was set up. As a result of formal registration, the voice of pig-breeders made itself heard. The Port Louis Municipality decided to grant a pork stall to the Federation for the sale of pork meat. This was a great landmark in the history of pig-breeders, a class of producers who had, for generations, been the subject of shameful exploitation by butcher/ traders bouchersabattant. For the first time, a direct link between producers at farm gate and consumers had successfully been established. The Port-Louis Market is the main centre for the sale of fresh pork. Every day, a Chinese tradesmen would sell pork at the pork stalls to people in quest of fresh pork. The operation of the co-operative stall came to break the cartel of unscrupulous traders/butchers, and the move was considered as a laudable initiative.

#### Reference 30 - 0.01% Coverage

Although the 1970s are considered as glorious years of Trade Union activity, there is another history yet to be written concerning the emergence of communalism and division among the working classes, which emerges ironically at the same time. According to Fortune, a full historical investigation is required into the political movement of the 1970s and 1980s and whether it was responsible, among other things, for the propaganda concerning race and the supposed 'labour aristocracy' status of port workers. Was it done as a deliberate move to curtail the port workers' political strength in Mauritian society? Fortune questions how a political movement as such which gathered itself under the slogan 'One People, One Nation' and was sustained entirely upon working class efforts would create racially charged dissension as a means of political strategy.

In this propaganda, race and the supposed wealth of Creole port workers, mostly urban dwellers, was pitched against the much documented stark poverty of rural field labourers, rekindling old tension between these two communities. The propaganda worked well, according to Fortune, in the already racially charged atmosphere of Mauritius of late 1970s and early 1980s, with the riots of 1965 and 1968 only a decade or so ago. The racial discourse concerning the riots of 1965 between Hindus and Creoles, and 1968 between Creoles and Muslims, the strikes of 1971 and the elections of 1982 and how the subject of race was addressed or excluded in the political discourse are part of the history of neglect of port workers. This deserves further study. Furthermore, the ethnic composition of the population working in the port was used to justify the supposed racial homogeneity that the Trade Unions of the 1970s and the elections of the 1980s had brought back to the surface. The historical literature available, however, paints a picture of the port as a racially diverse sector since the early days of the Colony. To think therefore, that in

the 1970s and 1980s, the port suddenly became racially homogenous is rather hard to believe. The Trade Union leader of the port workers in 1938 was no less than Sandivi, of Indian origin as were many port workers and in his grandson's words, a 'Creole Malbar'.<sup>444</sup>

#### Reference 31 - 0.01% Coverage

However, while looking forward to the younger generations moving up the social ladder, the community has been faced with a loss of memory, relegating its past sufferings and conditions. To some extent, the community preserves only the legendary hardworking capacities of the Chinese people. History itself has played a role in this parody of a depiction of this community which has often been limited to hard labour or to distinctive figure of the Chinese and their astonishing economic development over the last two centuries. These people fled their countries to form new communities all over the world. Most of them would not return to China after the Communist takeover and found no other solution, but to stay, and secure their future, in their adopted countries.

Nowadays, after an incredible economic success, the Chinese seem to witness a decline in their community due to various factors. Many young Sino-Mauritians are looking for better prospects elsewhere in the world; turning a blind eye to what their parents and grandparents had built through will-power and hard work. There is an outcry in the community that they should be given due recognition for their contribution to the overall development of the country; a recognition by all Mauritians for their history and past sufferings in the hope that they may revive the community, by convincing younger generations to stay and build a bright future for this country, to which they now belong.

#### Reference 32 - 0.01% Coverage

The history of the métayers (share croppers) was brought to the Commission's attention as a result of representations made by métayers in the South of Mauritius. The Commission decided to investigate further for several reasons. First, although they have grown sugar since the days of indenture (1840s), they have never owned the land and can be evicted at any time. They have, like many other groups in Mauritius, been the victims of restructuring of the Sugar Industry. A history of metayage appears in Volume 2 and in Volume 4. In the past, eviction could occur at any time, when their leases ended, when sugar was no longer required, or when the land was required for other more profitable purposes. What is the future of métayers in the new economic configuration? What future do they have? Today, the lands which they occupy and have been associated with for generations, considered 'marginal' at the time, have been 're-labelled' 'strategic' zones today, and are worth millions. The sugar estates have played their historic role, as they always have; they have disposed of labour when no longer required, and shifted labour where work was required, intimidated and used all the legal arsenal at their disposal to maintain their property. What is

#### Reference 33 - 0.01% Coverage

For Mauritius, there are clear dangers: what is not acceptable today is the dissimulation of one's real identity and history and the invention of tradition and castes to obtain promotion, political power and public funds.

#### Reference 34 - 0.01% Coverage

As far as Indentured immigrants are concerned, although there were concerns about the type of education to be dispensed in the early years, by the 20th century, many Indian children were going to school. Parents had overcome their original hostility to Western-type schools and were sending boys to schools. Education was highly sought after and many sacrifices were made by parents to secure a place in school. Oral histories abound with such stories. Education was also seen by many as a way out of the sugar sector and into white collar jobs. Discrimination, however, against Indian children existed in schools as few schools were willing to offer a place to Indian children in the early 20th century. However, many schools, private and public, were later opened and these were made full use of by the descendants.

#### Reference 35 - 0.01% Coverage

managed carefully and if its education system is organised and delivered in a manner that permits and ensures genuine equal and equitable opportunities for the children of the descendants of slaves and indenture. This would go a long way towards the creation of durable peace in the country. Peace, as Martin Luther King notes, is not about the absence of conflicts, but the presence of justice. Can Mauritian education ensure social cohesion and justice? Education in the postIndependence period has no doubt been informed by the history of the country, and this history has had ramifications for the different segments and communities of Mauritian society, including Rodrigues and the Outer Islands. The democratisation of education during the post-colonial period opened up several windows of opportunity, but discriminations and inequities persist. Several legislations marked educational developments both in the colonial and post-colonial period, but legislations are not enough to create equitable outcomes. The Commission proposed to examine the provision of education and how it can be used as a tool for reparation, thereby thus mitigating the tensions and injustices resulting from a history of injustice and oppression.

#### Reference 36 - 0.01% Coverage

In 1924, the 27 Leprosy patients from St. Lazare were transferred to the Powder Mills which became the Leper Hospital. In 1970, it was integrated into the Skin Disease Unit of the Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam National Hospital with 40 beds and an average of 34 occupied throughout the year. The responsibility for medical care was taken over by specialist dermatologists. Throughout history, lepers were ostracized by their communities and families. This age-old stigma associated with the disease, was an obstacle to self-reporting and early treatment. The final assault on *Mycobacterium Lepae* was made in 1980s and the multidrug therapy was the key element in the strategy to eliminate leprosy as a public health problem in the Republic of Mauritius. The leper hospital was closed in 2006.

#### Reference 37 - 0.01% Coverage

Mortality rates are no longer due to communicable diseases but to NCDs. There is a five-fold increase in deaths caused by Diabetes mellitus. This is caused by an increase in rise in standard

of living, consumption of high glycaemic index food, leading a more stressful life and less daily physical activities. There is no relation with the history of slavery, indenture or colonialism. The prevalence of hypertension has also increased from 30.2 % in 1987 to 37.9 % in 2009. This is due partly to modern lifestyle with stress at work and on the road or because financial and social tensions, again little to do with the history of slavery or indenture.

#### Reference 38 - 0.01% Coverage

Retracing one's family history in Mauritius required, in addition to papers, research using Oral History as knowledge about families has been transmitted orally. The University of Mauritius' oral History Project shows clearly that many more families than those who submitted land claims at the Commission have knowledge of their family's past ownership of land. Today, it is virtually impossible to obtain lost land without a genealogical tree. This section, therefore, provides a survey of how genealogical research has been conducted in Mauritius through the experiences and difficulties encountered by deponents coming to the TJC. For most retracing their family is nothing less than an immense hurdle compounded by inadequate and antiquated laws and bored and petty-minded Officers.

#### Reference 39 - 0.01% Coverage

A. To assist Mauritian families, many of whom are descendants of slaves and indentured labourers, to reconstruct their family trees in a more credible manner than hitherto possible. This is in recognition of the numerous difficulties faced by ordinary Mauritians to collect relevant and accurate data concerning their family history due to :

#### Reference 40 - 0.01% Coverage

This mandate has also been read in conjunction with other clauses in the Act relating to the history of slavery and indenture and its consequences. Hence, it could not adopt a purely technical or legal approach and has considered the land dispossession issue in a more holistic manner than has been attempted so far in Mauritius. However, the time-frame proposed (two years) is much too short to be able to produce a comprehensive report as many documents are not available easily and extensive and in-depth searches were required. Recommendations for additional work on the cases are made towards the setting up of institutions to democratise access to technical persons and professionals, so that the members of the public not in possession of vast reserves of cash can fight, on a more equal basis, the holders of economic power who take them to Court.

#### Reference 41 - 0.01% Coverage

In its short 400-year-old history, Mauritius has known one of the worst forms of injustice, marked by the establishment of slavery and a not-so-perfect post-emancipation period where indentured labour was brought in. Today, Mauritius is now considered as one of the most avant-gardiste in the field of Social Justice. Yet a Truth and Justice Commission was set up, indicating that all was not well.

#### Reference 42 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission's mandate was to look at the consequences, if any, of this history of slavery and indenture and make recommendations to this effect to increase social justice. While the history of slavery and indenture, the post-emancipation period has been examined and continuities and consequences outlined, the question remains: how does one increase social justice? It is important to first examine briefly the philosophical precepts underlying the task before the Commission in order to provide a basis for understanding what needs to be done and, above all, enable the Mauritian public to understand what, and why, particular recommendations are being made.

#### Reference 43 - 0.01% Coverage

This period in the History of Mauritius witnessed a drastic change in the way the British Government viewed its colonies and their inhabitants. Following the publication of the Hooper Report in 1938 and the passing of the Colonial and Development Welfare Act 1940, major changes took place in the fields of education, housing, and healthcare. These decisions also laid down the foundations of the Mauritian Welfare State.

#### Reference 44 - 0.01% Coverage

Measures taken by the State in the area of health, housing, education, social security and employment, have been great landmarks in Mauritian History. What is remarkable is that all successive Governments, which have been in office since Independence, while striving hard towards economic consolidation and expansion, have at the same time never relegated the poor and the vulnerable to the periphery of society. This philosophy has contributed to Social Justice and improved the overall quality of life of the people.

#### Reference 45 - 0.01% Coverage

In the wake of an independent Mauritius, the British, contrary to U.N resolution regarding the dismantling of territories of any future State, decided to separate the Chagos Archipelago as part and parcel of the Colony of Mauritius. The Chagos Archipelago, very much like Rodrigues and Agalega, was inhabited by people of slave descent who laboured in the Coconut and Fishing industry in extremious conditions. The decision of the then Colonial Office to sever connections with the Mauritius mainland is a dark spot in Colonial History of the British Empire. As a consequence of the British decision, in 1970, thousands of Chagossians were deported to Seychelles and to Mauritius. They were uprooted from their motherland, Peros Bahnos and Salomon Islands, in the Chagos Archipelago, Diego Garcia. Following an agreement between USA and UK, shortly afterwards, Diego Garcia was ceded to USA for the establishment of a military base with sophisticated armaments. In 1972, the British Government paid a sum of £ 650,000 to the Mauritian Government destined for the displaced Chagossians. In 1982, the UK Government paid a further sum of Rs. 100 million to the Chagossians.

#### Reference 46 - 0.01% Coverage

The Malaise Créole had also to do with the history of the Creoles: the dispossession and suffering associated with slavery and its aftermath, the consequences of which can be seen in the persistence of poverty, social problems and political marginalization.

#### Reference 47 - 0.01% Coverage

8. Jimmy Harmon Jimmy Harmon is an academic and claims to be a militant engaged in the promotion of the Creole community. He has indeed devoted his life to the study of the behavioral attitude of Creoles towards education and their relations with the Catholic Church and Government. His interest in the history of Mauritius has enlightened him on the circumstances which have led to the 'marginalization' of the Creole community to which he claims to belong. His struggle in favour of the rehabilitation of the Creoles during his 22year career as an educationist has led him to conclude that racism and the worst method of discrimination are the root causes for the situation in which the descendents of slaves find themselves today. He is fully conscious that the struggle for restorative justice is not an easy one, but he believes that the Truth and Justice Commission has a sacrosanct task to make major recommendations to bring about a drastic change of policy by government to better the fate of the Creole community in Mauritius. He also stated:

#### Reference 48 - 0.01% Coverage

10. Jose Rose of the Rastafari movement The Rastafari movement, constitutes a small group of Afro-Malagasy Mauritians established in Chamarel. They have been victims of racial prejudice in their history, because of their lifestyle. They feel they are not lesser citizens of the country. They have been dispossessed of their ancestral land and claim to be the poorest among the poorest class of descendants of former slaves.

#### Reference 49 - 0.01% Coverage

357 Despite spending several pages describing the history of the use of manure as a fertilizing agent on Mauritian sugar estates over the past one hundred years, North-Coombes (1993:76-82) only writes one line on the Engrais system and the use of human manure to cultivate cane plants. "[H]uman excreta", he says, "has ceased to be employed owing to the dissemination of Hook Worm". Andrew Balfour's (1921:87-88) report indicates the practice was very widespread at the time he visited Mauritius, which is why he singled out its discontinuation as one of the most important ways to combat the spread of hookworm disease, also pointing out that these conditions "probably have not their parallel in any other part of the world. The main industry in Mauritius is sugar cane cultivation. The cane requires fertiliser and as Victor Hugo said, possibly with some truth, "the most fertilising and effective of manures is human manure." Unfortunately in the tropics it is also the most dangerous. This fact was not recognised."

#### Reference 50 - 0.01% Coverage

information or a total lack of financial means on the part of complainants to attain their ultimate objective of proving their ownership of land. People relied mostly on their memory, focusing on

the oral history transmitted by past generations, but many were unable to explain the mechanism that led to the dispossession of their lands.

#### Reference 51 - 0.01% Coverage

Historians, researchers, Land surveyors, Attorneys, Notaries, Barristers cannot research properly land transactions which may have occurred at different periods of history because of the absence or bad state of these documents. It is also common knowledge that most people are unable to easily access all the Archives relating principally to land transactions. This situation must change. Furthermore, the practice of acquiring, exchanging or selling plots of land through private signature (“sous seing privé”) has, in many cases, deprived researchers of opportunities to explain the state of affairs prevailing at that time. The layman, being ignorant of the Law, might have seen in this practice an easy way to undertake land transactions without having recourse to the service of a Notary Public.

#### Reference 52 - 0.01% Coverage

production of the foodstuffs, naval stores, and other commodities needed to support the French political and naval presence in the Indian Ocean. Following the advent of royal rule in 1767, the Colonial Government continued this policy until the late 1780s when it began to sell public land, usually at a very reasonable price, to the colony’s inhabitants. The properties, granted or sold to French and other European colonists during the eighteenth century, provided the nucleus around which many of the colony’s sugar estates were subsequently built during the early nineteenth century. However, Europeans were not the only Mauritian residents to acquire landed property. Significant numbers of the colony’s residents of African and Asian origin or descent also purchased, or otherwise acquired access to or use of land during the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. Their ability to do so similarly played an important role in shaping the course of the country’s social and economic history.

#### Reference 53 - 0.01% Coverage

Conscious that they were being dispossessed of their ancestral lands, an association known as “The descendants of Gabriel Bégué Welfare and Heritage Association” was formed in January 2010. The aim of the association is to establish a genealogy of all heirs and successors of the deceased Gabriel Bégué and to promote the history of the family since the arrival of Gabriel Bégué in Rodrigues. The family requests to the Commission to help them restore their “patrimoine” (heritage); to reset confidence in the heirs of their ancestors Gabriel Bégué and in the public in general; and to stop all the mal practices made by illegal occupiers especially with the help of the legal advisors. The petitioners have prayed the Truth and Justice Commission to intervene before the Chief Island Commissioners to stop the practice of allowing people who have no claim to the Bégué succession in making false declarations to the effect that they have elected domicile on part of the land and to carry an inquiry into the circumstances of a number of prescriptions that have been registered following false testimony of witnesses. Ronald Bégué mentioned a case where a person alien to the Bégué family has

#### Reference 54 - 0.01% Coverage

At the closing date of 30th June 2010, the Truth and Justice Commission received some 230 files from claimants in Mauritius and 30 others from Rodrigues, to be analysed and assessed in order to find out how dispossession occurred. The background highlighted above gives an idea of how things happened at different periods of our history.

#### Reference 55 - 0.01% Coverage

“Slavery had an impact on us. This is the history of my ancestors, they were living in their country, they worked, risked their lives, fought, lost their loved ones. To be healed from that, it needs time. They liberated themselves, created their language, and invented their music to fight the harshness of life. Sega is the intelligence and sweat of our ancestors to regroup and express the hardships of life. Their descendants still suffer

#### Reference 56 - 0.01% Coverage

Commission is to investigate the history of slavery and indenture, its consequences and suggest reparations. It was clear that two years would not allow for the task of reviewing 350 years of history and consequently, the Commission focused on a number of topics for in-depth study. Assessing the consequences or even identifying descendants was less easy as the reports show, since so few Mauritians are aware of their history and still less of their family history. Consultants, scholars and researchers have expressed their personal views on issues, and it is clear that not all views converge. The Commission has studied and considered all views expressed and given its own views in its report in Volume 1. It is understood that the views expressed here are those of the writers themselves, and not those of the Commission. There are many myths and perceptions about Mauritian history that Mauritians have. This has

#### Reference 57 - 0.01% Coverage

There is a generational transmission of menial jobs, because as it is reflected by the life histories of the informants, they stopped schooling at a young age to start working. For example, R6 and R13 stopped schooling after Standard 6 and Form 2 respectively because of financial problems. They were poor and education was not free at that time.

#### Reference 58 - 0.01% Coverage

Interviews revealed that there has been either no or limited transmission of family origins. For many people recollections of family history were limited to their grandparents and sometimes to their great grandparents. The knowledge of family and its origins very often don't go beyond great grandfather (two generations). This is perhaps because, families have moved from one area to another resulting in a cut off from family ties and most probably because of absence or lack of oral transmission of family origins.

#### Reference 59 - 0.01% Coverage

Either no or limited transmission of knowledge of family origins. Generational transmission of family history was limited to one to two generations and hence for many people recollections of family history were limited to their grandparents and sometimes to their great grandparents. Although they did not know their origins they identified themselves as of slave descent because of their African phenotype. For example, Rosemay considers herself as being Mauritian of African descent because of her skin colour, she is Black and hair type is 'frizzy'. She does not know when her ancestors came to Mauritius but she thinks they came enchained as shown in films. Although the informants who did not know their origins mentioned that they would like to know about their family origins, some of them such as Joseph questioned what this knowledge will bring him?

#### Reference 60 - 0.01% Coverage

generations). This is perhaps because, families have moved from one area to another resulting in a cut off from family ties and most probably because of absence or lack of oral transmission of family origins. Interviews revealed that there has been either no or limited transmission of knowledge of family origins. Generational transmission of family history was limited to one to two generations and hence for many people recollections of family history were limited to their grandparents and sometimes to their great grandparents. Although they did not know their origins they identified themselves as of slave descent because of their African phenotype. For example, Rosemay considers herself as being Mauritian of African descent because of her skin colour, she is Black and hair type is 'frizzy'. For those who do not know their origins, most of them guessed about their family ancestry based on their physical appearance and what their parents told them. Their identification is not derived from knowledge of ancestral origins but rather on shared legacies of slavery such as social experiences and lack of education and opportunities. On the other hand, some informants' identification with the slaves descendant seems also to be founded on racial grounds. This biological identification associates the African phenotype, skin colour (being black) and hair style (frizzy hair) with slave ancestry.

#### Reference 61 - 0.01% Coverage

On one hand, based on interviewees' testimonies, it appears that their identification as descendant of slaves is based on their shared feelings and experiences of sufferings and oppression rooted in the belief that 'the others' and society keep them in oppression by refusing or repressing their social mobility and undermining their history and consequently the memory of the slaves. A collective memory of suffering and oppression is perpetuated with the generational transmission of suffering, misery and poverty that keep the descendants of slaves in the continuous cycle of deprivation. Their identification is not derived from knowledge of ancestral origins but rather on shared legacies of slavery such as social experiences and lack of education and opportunities.

#### Reference 62 - 0.01% Coverage

For everyone, with the exception of festivities, the government has done nothing for the descendant of slaves and they are still waiting for recognition. Children do not know the history

of slavery as it is not taught in schools. Hence, there is a need to correct this error and to include the history of slavery in the school curriculum.

#### Reference 63 - 0.01% Coverage

The way history has been presented does not help him. He is revolted and that does not help psychologically.

Creoles are born with many handicaps: they have no bank account, they are born in a small house, poor environment. They are ill at ease. Difficult to manage his life conditions as a Creole. Teaching of history must help him think of the future.

#### Reference 64 - 0.01% Coverage

R9 Slavery had an impact on us. This is the history of my ancestors, they were living in their country, they worked, risked their lives, fought, lost their loved ones. To be healed from that, it needs time. They liberated themselves, created their language, and invented their music to fight the harshness of life. Sega is the intelligence and sweat of our ancestors to regroup and express the hardships of life. Their descendants still suffer from these wounds. They had no one to advise them as indentured labourers had. The French colonists educated the children they had with slaves but there were barriers between those categories of descendants. They are not liberated at 100% today. There are not enough advisors today. I have three children. I want to advise them for a job. Who will I turn to to know about that? How to help orientate them professionally? Creoles that have succeeded don't help others. Other communities do that.

#### Reference 65 - 0.01% Coverage

There is a generational transmission of menial jobs because as reflected by the life histories of the informants, they stopped schooling at a young age to start working. For example, R6 and R13 stopped schooling after Standard 6 and Form 2 respectively because of financial problems. They were poor and education was not free at that time.

#### Reference 66 - 0.01% Coverage

The informants recognised the contribution of the slaves and their descendants to the development and to the future of the island. For example R1 mentioned that the slaves did not only contribute to the construction of churches but she also believes that they gave the land in Saint Croix for the grave of Father Laval. They were hard workers, carrying heavy loads in the sugar cane plantations. The informants pointed out that they were the ones who developed the sugar cane plantations in the country such as R3 stressed that the history of the sugar industry is closely related to the history of slavery:

#### Reference 67 - 0.01% Coverage

Family histories revealed that there is a transmission of menial jobs and blue-collar jobs to succeeding generations. They adopt a subservient and servile attitude towards the wealthier residents and new owners of the luxury residences.

#### Reference 68 - 0.01% Coverage

Family histories revealed changes in occupational choices after slavery. For example, Albain Michel Jean Pierre, grandfather of Dorisse Jean Pierre was a carpenter. Joseph Albert, the great grandfather of Louis Horace Albert was a blacksmith and Téfine Hanine, his great grandmother was a seamstress. (See Appendices 8 and 9)

#### Reference 69 - 0.01% Coverage

Family histories have uncovered an intergenerational transmission of academic underachievement in Cité La Mivoie in that few people have continued schooling until tertiary education and the children living in the Cité were identified as pupils at risk within the education system.

#### Reference 70 - 0.01% Coverage

Accordingly, we should not undermine differential history and cultural background of these children and the fact that the children residing in the Cité, since their birth, are disadvantaged in that they are born in an econo-ethno-stratified and unequal society.

#### Reference 71 - 0.01% Coverage

Reparation starts with work on the memory of slavery and of the slaves' history of abuse for psychological healing purposes. This healing process starts with a de-construction of the deep internalised sense of limitations and powerlessness. Furthermore, other social, cultural and psychological dynamics should take into consideration such as differential socialisation and enculturation processes to understand the Cité inner-structure, subculture and value system. It is only with time and sincere and genuine political will that we shall be able to break this deeply seated perception that their marginalisation and underprivileged situation are inherent to their being. The recommendations are all made to help address the plight of the residents of Cité La Mivoie and improve their social and economic situation. We should learn from past errors made during post-slavery whereby now there is no living memory of the slaves among the residents. Recommendations are also proposed for the preservation of the local tangible and intangible heritage to ensure that the history of the residents' ancestors do not go in oblivion and ensure that the memories of their ancestors remain alive.

#### Reference 72 - 0.01% Coverage

Furthermore, Mauritius is the first country in Africa and the world to have a Truth and Justice Commission investigating the history of slavery and its consequences and to accept the principle that reparations are required.

#### Reference 73 - 0.01% Coverage

Family histories revealed a generational transmission of occupations with the respondents and their elders (parents and grandparents) performing almost similar jobs. For generations, they were estate agricultural workers employed as labourer and/or Sirdar (Eng. trans. Overseer).

#### Reference 74 - 0.01% Coverage

Despite spending several pages describing the history of the use of manure as a fertilizing agent on Mauritian sugar estates over the past one hundred years, North-Coombes (1993:76-82) only writes one line on the Engrais system and the use of human manure to cultivate cane plants. “[H]uman excreta”, he says, “has ceased to be employed owing to the dissemination of Hook Worm”. Andrew Balfour’s (1921:87-88) report indicates that the practice was very widespread at the time he visited Mauritius, which is why he singled out its discontinuation as one of the most important ways to combat the spread of hookworm disease, also pointing out that these conditions “probably have not their parallel in any other part of the world. The main industry in Mauritius is sugar cane cultivation. The cane requires fertiliser and, as Victor Hugo said, possibly with some truth, “the most fertilising and effective of manures is human manure.” Unfortunately, in the Tropics it is also the most dangerous. This fact was not recognised.” 101

#### Reference 75 - 0.01% Coverage

‘Whites’ to property owned by the Gens de couleur in the late nineteenth century, and throughout the first half of the twentieth century, are at the core of Chapter 5. The Coloureds’ erroneously paranoid fear of Indo-Mauritians to their social and economic position, as well as to their newlyacquired political influence from the 1920s onwards, were to unify the ‘Coloured’ community under the leadership of Gaëtan Duval ‘The Creole King’, at the height of his campaigns against Independence in the 1960s. Clearly, the ‘Coloured Population’ has always been, and continues to be, divided in its allegiances; some were pro-British, others pro-French; some pro-d’Epinay and others anti-‘esclavagistes’; some sided with the Whites, others were anti-White. Herein lies their main weakness in social, cultural and political terms; not without justification, the community was said to bear the mark of Cain and Abel. Some of the Gens de couleur, especially in the first half of the twentieth century, despised the Ti-Créoles and would not stoop to certain types of work. Moreover, they would not contemplate marriage outside their community – hence, some sort of ‘caste system’ prevailed. But all this has changed recently; interviews with young ‘Creoles’ reveal that history matters less to them than to their elders, and that intermarrying is no longer a taboo for the ‘Coloured Population’. Being Mauritian matters more than ‘group belonging’.

#### Reference 76 - 0.01% Coverage

Rodrigues is disadvantaged because its people are largely ‘Creole’ – hence descendants of slaves. Would a predominantly Indo-Mauritian island be allowed to lack such basic educational resources and infrastructures? Some kind of reverse discrimination, or affirmative action, is therefore called for, if we are to give Rodriguan youths the same opportunities – educational, cultural, social and political – as Mauritian youths. Perhaps, therein lies a microcosmic image of a ‘Coloured’ and ‘Creole’ community through the ages; in Rodrigues, one finds the tangible impact of a society that can become neglected, because of its isolation, because of its origins and

because it does not clamour loudly enough. Hence, one of our recommendations, which should also be one of the most urgent pleas of the Truth and Justice Commission, is that Rodrigues should be made a special case for positive discrimination, in terms of funding for education (at primary, secondary and tertiary levels). In connection with Rodrigues, too, interviewees suggested that the island's history be reevaluated and re-written so that young people might be given a more authentic picture of their past, and that this be put in a truly culturally Creole context.

#### Reference 77 - 0.01% Coverage

excessively passionate and polemical history of this community, Evenor Hitié is quick to point the finger at the Colonial Authorities – perhaps too quick; after the British take-over, Hitié noted: “The ‘Coloured Population’, alone, remained downcast, sad, as if this population were treated as idiots, crushed under the yoke of prejudices that did not allow it to move upwards.” 64 And between 1790 and 1803, although officially they had rights, they received little respect, 65

#### Reference 78 - 0.01% Coverage

CHAPTER 3 - The Struggle for Education for the Coloured 3.1. The ‘Coloured people’ with few educational opportunities The team drafting the ‘Education Project’ has dealt at length with the history of Education

#### Reference 79 - 0.01% Coverage

coloured immigrants to the island. Moreover, this group is characterised by the fact that its members came to the island of their own accord or were brought to the colony under contract so as to practise a trade or craft for a specified period of time. However, it is also true that the ‘Coloured Population’ includes descendants of ‘Freed Slaves’ who married individuals from other groups. To this extent, they have a very complex history and identity as a community. Do presentday Gens de Couleur live with this complex identity and are they aware of it? Such are the questions we attempted to partly answer.

#### Reference 80 - 0.01% Coverage

The researcher also conducted fieldwork at Régis Chaperon School, in Rose Hill, where she interviewed the Headmaster and seven students. The all-boys school has gained a notorious reputation in the past decade and when the school was visited, it was in a terrible condition, with broken windows and a faulty sewerage system that left a pungent smell in the air. At the school, issues of discipline, parent-teacher cooperation, equality of Education in Mauritius, as well as the challenges of schooling in Mauritius's competitive school-ranking system, were discussed. Two days were spent at Port-Louis SSS, an all-girl College, which was newly-built. There, the researcher was able to conduct three life history interviews with girls from different socio-economic and racial backgrounds.

#### Reference 81 - 0.01% Coverage

At the beginning stage of my field work, the response that there is no racism in Mauritius made me feel that by talking about racism (not so much slavery and indenture ), I am bring forth divisions within a community living in harmony. By virtue of coming from a country with a history of institutionalized racism, I felt burden to explain how South Africa dealt with it or continuously deals with these issues. I psychologically had to remind myself and monitor my own responses. I therefore found myself using words such as discrimination, unfairness, emotional response to discriminations interchangeably, in an effort to conceal the nature of my enquiry.

#### Reference 82 - 0.01% Coverage

Professionals highlighted that when “you look at the history of slavery you understand impact of racism, you understand why they're that way, they got nothing to hang on to . . . The Hindus . . . could hold on to their tradition and their religion, that's why it's easier for them to go up the ladder, the cultural and social ladder and it's easy for them to have a culture of education that the Creole don't have. They don't have a base and you can't even blame them. That doesn't mean it's an excuse for what's not happening to them . . . But as a group, it's understandable that they're the ones who are poorer and ...it's been built-up from what had happened to the culture itself, their absence of culture”

#### Reference 83 - 0.01% Coverage

We must also bear in mind that lack of means (financial and social in terms of family or neighbourhood networks to look after ill persons) contributes for the most part to the referral of them to the public psychiatric hospital. A more precise study of the institutional processes from first visit to internment (episodic to permanent) as well as history of mental ill, treatment and support needs to be done.

#### Reference 84 - 0.01% Coverage

Absence of sense of belonging, sense of personal history as mentioned before, incapacity to think the future, induce life-styles, as for example, ways of spending and saving which penalise whole families. The possible shift from poverty to ordinariness, linked with change in lifestyle and mentalities, leading to empowerment in different sectors of life demands a reconstruction of self in a perspective of history.

#### Reference 85 - 0.01% Coverage

from a history which has been marked by deep divisions characterized by conflict, racism, untold suffering and injustice. But today, the Republic of Mauritius is relatively stable and peaceful although cohesion and reconciliation are not complete and can perhaps be never complete, since reconciliation can be both a goal and a process. However, whether it is a goal or process or both, it should be worked at, so that a more just society, for each and everyone, irrespective of creed, colour, ethnicity, race and gender be obtained.

Cohesion and reconciliation depend heavily on our ability to see and understand what is happening today, right now - more than 40 years after Independence with all the learning and

consequences (some visible and others not so visible) that our slave and indentured history has left us with. The legacy of the unequal power relations and deep divisions that existed between the haves and the have-nots, the White and the Non-White, the coloniser and the colonized, has taken many forms, and has had many consequences. Digging into the implications of this legacy, particularly as pertains to the educational arena, is a complex task since education in multiethnic Mauritius is often shaped and influenced by a number of forces with different vested interests. Several institutions have left their mark on education, some more positive than others. Education in Mauritius was, during the colonial period, a very rare commodity. When it did come on offer, it was for the privileged few. Enforced illiteracy had several consequences for the descendants of slaves and indentured labour, many of whom became assetless, powerless and voiceless as a result.

#### Reference 86 - 0.01% Coverage

injustices, experienced by the descendants of slaves and indentured labour, cannot be repaired through monetary means. It is essential not to attempt to commodify such a complex history which continues to inform the present. This chapter borrows heavily from hearings at the TJC to highlight the various discriminatory practices and prejudices which prevail in contemporary Mauritian society and argues for the urgent need for some form of reparations. Education which caters for mixed abilities and heterogeneous cultures and backgrounds, coupled with some kind of affirmative action, seems to provide part of the answer. The chapter examines the potential that education therefore holds as a tool for reparation.

#### Reference 87 - 0.01% Coverage

persecution and massacres in history. Regarding slavery as the starting traumatic experience, the “Post-Traumatic Slave Syndrome” captures its devastating effects that have been internalized from generation to generation and continuously reinforced by systemic racism and discrimination on the social level. It means that slavery has consequences for all parties and for the whole of society sharing that history.

#### Reference 88 - 0.01% Coverage

economic construct in the power sharing and making in Mauritian history. Between 1980 and 1990, there were rapid changes in Mauritian economy and society which have led to substantial improvement in the life conditions and education from which Creoles have been excluded. R. Cerveaux, a Catholic priest, denounced the fact that Creoles were poor and marginalized in society and in the Church. According to Cerveaux, Creoles have been victims of slavery, of their own intelligentsia, of the alienating culture of the Church and of politicians pursuing their own interests. The ‘malaise créole’ was the result of a concentration of problems and an accumulation of hurdles to be overcome: a mix of cultural oppression and identity problems, prejudice and stigmatization which are sequels of slavery and its subsequent history, as well as socioeconomic difficulties, precarious employment, low wages, housing problems: “Education in the broad sense was considered a key issue in reducing inequalities and repairing injustices towards Creoles’ situation” (Romaine, 2010).

#### Reference 89 - 0.01% Coverage

seventies, eighties and nineties. Their invaluable contribution to the economic and cultural development of the country was silenced, their history ignored and prejudices and unjust treatments inflicted to them. There was the Creole taboo before the 'malaise créole'. The 1999 February riots came as a climax to a long history of oppression and injustice

#### Reference 90 - 0.01% Coverage

Several distinct phases in the history of health development are discernable in Mauritius. The period up to the 1850s was characterized by a minimalist health care system during slavery and indenture. Between 1850s and the end of the century the colonial government started, a gradual introduction of a system of health services modelled on the pattern in Britain. Dreadful damages caused by episodes of epidemics in the first half of the 20th century saw an acceleration of public health measures and the creation of health infrastructures in terms of hospitals and dispensaries until the time of Independence in 1968. The new post-independence government, in parallel with the private sector, invested heavily in infrastructure, personnel, medical and paramedical training institutions and a regionalized outreach system (Map 1 at annex). To-day, it is viewed as a 'medical hub' and an envy of countries in the region. In a welfare state where health services are free for primary, secondary and tertiary care, high expectations for a modern health service with state-of-the-art cutting edge technologies are creating qualitative and quantitative 'medical system stress' for the future.

#### Reference 91 - 0.01% Coverage

One of the objectives of the Commission is to enquire into the history of slavery and indenture and to uncover truths hitherto hidden, ignored, falsified or simply forgotten. Focus has been on those parts of history that might have an impact on society and economy today. Recommendations for the direction of further study are given as well as institutional support for these studies recommended to achieve a more complete picture of the history of slavery and indenture.

The Commission, having noted that so few Mauritians know their history, have adopted the approach of providing as large a spectrum of Mauritians with the information and tools to study Mauritian history and especially the history of slavery and indenture. The Commission believes that 'knowledge is power' and empowering Mauritians to guard against the forces of reaction is the safest way to ensure that systems such as indenture and slavery do not repeat themselves on Mauritian soil. Mauritians must have the tools as well as the information to research their own history in a scientific manner. Although much research has been undertaken in Mauritius and overseas on slavery and the slave trade, it is nevertheless true that many of these searches reflect personal academic interests and opinions, often based outside Mauritius and do not address the concerns of Mauritians. The Commission has been privileged to have the support of many historians in Mauritians and overseas who have understood the need of Mauritians and responded to its work positively.

There has also been a historic reluctance to address or confront problematic issues of Mauritian society. Perhaps the belief was that these concerns would go away with time. But the enduring legacies of slavery, emancipation and indenture have ensured that the debate never really goes

away and, in fact, resurfaces from time to time. It has become all too common, in order to present to foreigners the image of an idyllic Mauritius, to hide our history of inequality, injustice, racism, casteism, communalism and prejudice. Despite the fact that Mauritians continue to endure these experiences daily, few institutions, public and private, admit this publicly or even attempt to deal with it. Those who perpetrate injustice are guilty, but those who stay silent in the face of injustice, are equally guilty.

#### Reference 92 - 0.01% Coverage

things more complicated and a dehumanising experience for a considerable time in the history of indenture. Many of their children were denied inheritances and admissions to schools because they could not prove their legitimate parentage, merely because their parents' marriages have not been registered.

#### Reference 93 - 0.01% Coverage

The Chagos Archipelago was part of the outer islands of the Colony of Mauritius. However, in the wake of an independent Mauritius, the British, contrary to U.N resolution regarding the dismantling of territories of any future State, decided to separate the Chagos Archipelago as part and parcel of the Colony of Mauritius. The Chagos Archipelago, very much like Rodrigues, Agalega, was inhabited by people of slave descent who laboured in the Coconut and Fishing industry in extremities conditions. The decision of the then Colonial Office to sever connections with the Mauritius mainland is a dark spot in Colonial History of the British Empire. As a consequence of the British decision, in 1970, thousands of them were deported to Seychelles and to Mauritius. They were uprooted from their motherland Peros Bahnos and Salomon Islands in the Chagos Archipelago, Diego Garcia. Following an agreement between USA and UK, shortly afterwards, Diego Garcia was ceded to USA for the establishment of a military base with sophisticated armaments. In 1972, the British Government paid a sum of 650,000 pounds sterling to the Mauritian Government destined for the displaced Chagossians. In 1982, the UK Government paid a further sum of Rs. 100 million to the Chagossians.

#### Reference 94 - 0.01% Coverage

The Malaise Creole had also to do with the history of the Creoles: the dispossession and suffering associated with slavery and the aftermath of it, the consequences of which can be seen in the persistence of poverty, social problems and political marginalization.

#### Reference 95 - 0.01% Coverage

From the available historical literature on the History of Rodrigues, it is thus crystal clear that the education of the inhabitants of remote Rodrigues seemed not to have been a major concern to the rulers of Mauritius in the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century.

#### Reference 96 - 0.01% Coverage

The historical events associated with Independence are still alive in the Rodriguan collective memory. The local population irrespective of the religio-ethnic affiliation identify with their local History. This shared History is the founding-stone of this strong and deeply rooted Rodriguan consciousness. The testimonies uncovered a common perception and feeling that Rodriguans have historically been ostracised and that their island has been neglected, marginalised and kept in an underdeveloped State by the British Colonial Government and, subsequently by the various Mauritian Governments.

#### Reference 97 - 0.01% Coverage

Rodriguans still bear the weight of their Colonial History and of their past historical development, and especially their Political History. The present socio-economic situation is the result of years of repression and ostracism from the preceding Governments that maintained the island in a State of underdevelopment. The local population is currently experiencing the triple burden of their past (slave ancestry, Colonial and Post-colonial political orientation and socio-economic poverty) and the current social and economic crisis exacerbates their already vulnerable state.

#### Reference 98 - 0.01% Coverage

Gradually, the Chagossian people evolved their own culture in terms of food, music and religion and their own distinctive Creole language, based on a French-based Creole dialect. The social system was matriarchal. The majority of the islanders were Christian. With the inevitable growth of the population, some of the other islands like Peros Banhos and the Salomon islands were also settled. Throughout their recorded history, the plantations in the Archipelago had a population of approximately 1,000 individuals, two-thirds of whom lived in Diego Garcia. A peak of 1,142 persons was recorded in 1953. Those workers, born in the Archipelago, were referred as 'Ilois', a French word meaning 'Islanders' but, in the 1990s, they adopted the name 'Chagossians'. Visits from Diego Garcia to the islands were not easy as Diego Garcia was some 100 miles away. But it was thousands of miles away, in the metropolitan capital, that an unexpected and tragic decision was taken. The unique and peaceful way of life of the Chagossian community came to a dramatic end, following a decision taken in London in 8th November 1965 for the excision of Chagos Archipelago from Mauritius. That decision has had tremendous and serious consequences for the Chagossian community and these far-reaching consequences are still being felt today.

#### Reference 99 - 0.01% Coverage

The projection of the nation in the future raises a number of questions relevant to our knowledge of what really defines the nation and what constitutes its identity so that it may evolve in a sustainable manner. In this instance, the statement of Melville Herskovits that "a people without past is a people that nothing anchors in the present"<sup>1</sup> can probably explain why for the last thirty years, research in Mauritian history has developed and also led to a focus on heritage to establish national symbols representing the roots of the nation.

The focus on heritage is particularly significant since the inscription of two Mauritian sites on UNESCO World Heritage List. This can only bring to our attention the shift in the way heritage was considered prior to the 2000s. Heritage was mostly the legacy of the Colonial

Administration and heritage was mostly focusing on the history of the former colons. However, the heritage process turned to an under-researched part of Mauritian history, with the project of recognition of Le Morne and Aapravasi Ghat both referring to two traditionally silent episodes of Mauritian history: slavery and indenture.

These two episodes of Mauritian history are not only a subject of concern established by the Truth and Justice Commission Act of 2008, but they are also two historical facts that led to the migration of the ancestors of more than 90% of the present-day Mauritian population on the island. Through coerced migrations, these immigrants suffered inhuman treatments, annihilation of their identity and also, all were unrooted to settle in a new land where their cultural referential were not present. Encouraged by the colonial policy aiming at securing available workforce Mauritian society slowly took shape to become one of the most dynamic nation of the African continent. At the turn of the 21st century, it is thus not surprising to see Mauritian society engaging to question its past when most of the past evocative of the population has almost never been the subject of recognition and is now facing disappearance, for the benefit of modernity.

#### Reference 100 - 0.01% Coverage

The History Section called “A l'ombre de la cheminée” is introduced by a statement indicating that sugar, as a product and exported good, is a fundamental theme to explain the History of Mauritius. According to L’Aventure du Sucre, the exploitation of sugar is central to the formation of the Mauritian society:

#### Reference 101 - 0.01% Coverage

formulation of a traumatic experience. This is particularly important as the discourse on slavery refers to the inhuman conditions of the slaves and may give raise to emotional considerations, leading to contemporary demands. The scientific discourse is thus instrumental in formulating slavery as a historical fact. This stand discards personal misleading appreciations of slavery. In this respect, the scientific discourse recreates a clear link with the past. It helps to consider slavery with objectivity and sets a basis for the process of acceptance of slavery as a historical fact and as forming part of the nation's past. The trauma would need to be formulated to offer the opportunity to contemporary generations to accept and appropriate in a positive manner this part of their History.

#### Reference 102 - 0.01% Coverage

This is further supported by the intention to situate the Mauritian experience within international historical context. It certainly helps a better appreciation of the local history within the broader 18th and 19th century context and ultimately places the Mauritian experience as a consequence of worldwide phenomenon. This helps to minimize the focus on the “negative” past that could lead to social divisions and offers a perspective to better appreciate the local past. This process is particularly important since the recognition of a “negative” past is instrumental in allowing the evolution of mentalities and serves the development of a national history that can ultimately receive general acceptance.

There is in the undertaking of L’Aventure du Sucre a process of recognition that never took place before. The Aventure du Sucre is the first museum to devote a full space to the experience of

slavery and indenture in the perspective of the evolution of Mauritian society. This helps to provide references for the memoration process by expressing the untold and accepting the “dark side” of the sugar industry. In this respect, the museum is a place of reference serving a vision of unity. This is attested by the conclusion part of the section on history entitled “Et tous forment un peuple”.

## *Medicine and Disease*

References or discussions of disease, medicine or treatment of the sick

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC\_.Report-FULL> - § 15 references coded [0.04% Coverage]

### Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

should be introduced and assessed. Citizenship Education should consist of 3 core parts - one on Political Literacy and History, one on Intercultural Education and one on Family Life and Sex Education, incorporating the specific implications of associated problems such as HIV AIDS and teenage pregnancies. Assessment modes should therefore change to something more rigorous and regular but in the overall context of the abolition of the C.P.E.

### Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

late 1990s. All components of the Mauritian society were affected. Throughout history, lepers were ostracized by their communities and families.

### Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

College Oxford writing on Social History of Medicine has made the following observations on the attitude adopted by the colonists “Eighteenth-century colonial medicine was largely geared to keeping the bodies of slaves and workers productive and useful, but formal medicine never had a monopoly. Slaves on Isle de France brought with them a rich array of medical beliefs and practices from Africa, India, and Madagascar. We have little direct historical evidence for these, but we do know that many slaves came from areas in which forms of smallpox inoculation were known and practised.”

### Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

outbreaks of Malaria occurred in 1856 - 1859, 1862 and 1865. But the first serious epidemic struck the Island in 1867. It was a major calamity causing 40, 000 deaths in a population of 333, 000. Ronald Ross qualified the epidemic as the greatest disaster in Mauritian history.

### Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

Diphtheria was present in Mauritius since the earliest period of its history, with sporadic

### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

And yet, the history of human civilization on health and living conditions as far as slavery and indentured labour are concerned is a dark spot carved on stone. Historians, writing about the health of slaves and indentured labour in the 18-19th century Mauritius, have portrayed a picture that has left an impression of ‘quasi torture’ and an extremely harsh life with death as liberation from persecution (Teelock 1998, Barker 1996, Nwulia 1981). The general consensus is that these

labour constituted an asset for the planter owners and a necessity for the colonial powers for the exploitation of land in pre-industrial times. Slave labour was so essential to the economy that the French colonists defied all attempts of the authorities to enforce abolition of slavery. If the human labour force was a critical factor for the colonial administrations, inevitably the health of the slaves and the indentured labour should have been paramount to promote their interests. Was it so?

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

1665 is the earliest record in the history of Mauritius of the presence of a ‘chirurgien’ and a chest of medicines.

#### Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

The history of slavery is the history of inhuman treatment, misery, exploitation and violation of human rights scarring the dignity and self-esteem of individuals in the innermost sanctum of their body. Historians concur on this thread of slaves’ life-course journey.

#### Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

Vijaya Teelock in Mauritian History quotes: ‘And Mauritius was the first of the colonies in which this great Experiment was attempted... although at first there was much concern over the protection of immigrants’ rights, and a desire to strike a balance between planters’ wishes and immigrants’ rights, these rights were later abandoned.’

#### Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

Several distinct phases in the history of health development are discernable in Mauritius. The period up to the 1850s was characterized by a minimalist health care system during slavery and indenture. Between 1850s and the end of the century the colonial government started, a gradual introduction of a system of health services modelled on the pattern in Britain. Dreadful damages caused by episodes of epidemics in the first half of the 20th century saw an acceleration of public health measures and the creation of health infrastructures in terms of hospitals and dispensaries until the time of Independence in 1968. The new post-independence government, in parallel with the private sector, invested heavily in infrastructure, personnel, medical and paramedical training institutions and a regionalized outreach system (Map 1 at annex). To-day, it is viewed as a ‘medical hub’ and an envy of countries in the region. In a welfare state where health services are free for primary, secondary and tertiary care, high expectations for a modern health service with state-of-the-art cutting edge technologies are creating qualitative and quantitative ‘medical system stress’ for the future.

#### Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

divergent beliefs, culture and practices contributed to folk medicine. New settlers re-invented or improvised new medication using their own knowledge and skills of plants and materials available and their understanding of the diseases, often attributed to the invisible in the first

place. Recourse to the natural and supernatural elements for explanations and means of dealing with health problems was the only choice as shown by oral history and tradition. Scientific explanations and remedies gradually unveiled new methods of healing and medications for diseases. However, folk medicine continued and continues to be used either as complementary or alternative means of treatment.

#### Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

Work on Electroencephalography started that year and some interesting results had been obtained. The introduction of this new important diagnostic method marked a great step forward in the medical history of the colony.

#### Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

Drug use has been closely associated with our immigration history. Illicit rum production by slaves under the French colonization (1715-1810). After the abolition of slavery in 1834, the then British Administration brought Indian indentured labourers who came with their culture and traditions. They introduced cannabis, known as gandia, while the Chinese immigrants, who came during the same period, introduced opium to the colony. However, these drugs, gandia and opium and illicit rum, were traditionally used in a controlled socio-cultural context in certain localized areas. They were mostly consumed by adults without much serious public concern.

#### Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

The Medine Camp de Masque Cooperative Credit Society had a long history in the traditional sugar sector. It was formed in February 15, 1914. Its members are mainly small-scale, part-time planters with less than one hectare (i.e. about 2.3 arpents) of land and its main activities are loans, procurement and marketing. The society gets involved in the community and further helps its own members by contributing to the setting up of an Information and Technology Centre as well as a cooperative store. Moreover, strong family ties tend to influence the choice of people to occupy certain key positions like the post of Secretary. Thus, it is written that “for example, the secretary of the cooperative is the third generation cooperative member (his grandfather was one of the founding members and his father was a secretary for years as well) and remembers growing up in the cooperative.” Whilst “growing up in the cooperative” certainly helps, on the other hand, family ties have been found to be a threat to proper functioning of cooperative societies in the past.

#### Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

Although Roussety writes mainly about the past and his account may be tinged with subjectivity. As a Rodriguan, he writes on the basis of lived experiences and close interactions with fellow countrymen. His ‘temoignages’ contain the social history of Rodrigues. However, the use of traditional medicine should also be seen from the cultural point of view. North-Coombes<sup>5</sup> writing on Citrons, says: “Furthermore, the native Rodriguans developed a natural urge to consume the fruit, whose dietetic properties he had discovered in the course of time.” (p. 208) He

quotes Balfour<sup>6</sup> who calls the fruit *Citrus medica*, “the leaves and the rind of the fruit are used in preparing tisanes for various maladies”.

## *Nation*

References or discussions of the nation, nations, national unity or nationalism

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC\_.Report-FULL> - § 36 references coded [0.22% Coverage]

### Reference 1 - 0.02% Coverage

“This Commission will pave the way to reconciliation, social justice and national unity through the process of re-establishing the historical truth. It is the legitimate expectation of everyone to know our true history. It is only after we have been faced with this reality that we can consolidate unity in our country. It is important therefore that we recognise our past history and lay that past to rest so that we can move on to reconciliation, justice and national unity.” In passing the Truth and Justice Commission into law, the Assembly has followed in the footsteps of a number of diverse countries around the world which have conducted Truth Commissions over the past 25 years. In total, there have been 40 such Commissions, with several more in the offing. Without fail, all stressed the importance of dealing with the past and the moral duty to assist those who had suffered through policies and actions in the past. There is no one size that fits all. Each country is unique in its history, its political systems and its culture. Nevertheless, there are striking similarities in each country’s search for Truth and Justice. There is always violence present in the histories of all of these countries, and there are always victims who have suffered from this violence. There is also always denial. There are many in each of these countries who have sought to deal with the past, as well as people who opposed it and who favoured amnesia rather than remembering. They argued that it was better to turn the page, not to disturb the past, but to move forward. Fortunately, there have also always been those who believe that it is impossible to build a democracy and a human rights culture in any country without taking seriously the past of that country. As George Santana put it, “Those who forget the past are condemned to repeat it”. Thus, it is possible to learn from the experiences of widely differing Commissions without duplicating their journey.

The Mauritian Commission is unique in its focus. Mauritius is the only country in the world to have succeeded in establishing a Truth Commission relating to Slavery and Indenture. It is the only Commission which has investigated the history and consequences of Slavery and Indenture. There are many countries in Africa, such as Liberia, Senegal, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sierra Leone, who have never addressed the grotesque acts of forcing people into slavery. Certainly, those Arab countries which, hundreds of years ago, traded in slavery have never come to terms with that evil either. It is well known that the United States of America has never ever attempted to deal concretely with the consequences of slavery in that country. This is true also of the Caribbean. Hopefully, these countries, and many others, more especially Madagascar and Mozambique, will learn from the Mauritian experience. Mauritius has indeed set an example to the world.

### Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission thus recommends measures that encourages the holders of economic and political power to morally and materially repair the harms and injustices of the past in order that

will benefit not only the presumed descendants of slavery and indenture but the Mauritian nation as a whole so that Mauritius can be finally at peace with its history.

#### Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

Although the 1970s are considered as glorious years of Trade Union activity, there is another history yet to be written concerning the emergence of communalism and division among the working classes, which emerges ironically at the same time. According to Fortune, a full historical investigation is required into the political movement of the 1970s and 1980s and whether it was responsible, among other things, for the propaganda concerning race and the supposed 'labour aristocracy' status of port workers. Was it done as a deliberate move to curtail the port workers' political strength in Mauritian society? Fortune questions how a political movement as such which gathered itself under the slogan 'One People, One Nation' and was sustained entirely upon working class efforts would create racially charged dissension as a means of political strategy.

In this propaganda, race and the supposed wealth of Creole port workers, mostly urban dwellers, was pitched against the much documented stark poverty of rural field labourers, rekindling old tension between these two communities. The propaganda worked well, according to Fortune, in the already racially charged atmosphere of Mauritius of late 1970s and early 1980s, with the riots of 1965 and 1968 only a decade or so ago. The racial discourse concerning the riots of 1965 between Hindus and Creoles, and 1968 between Creoles and Muslims, the strikes of 1971 and the elections of 1982 and how the subject of race was addressed or excluded in the political discourse are part of the history of neglect of port workers. This deserves further study.

Furthermore, the ethnic composition of the population working in the port was used to justify the supposed racial homogeneity that the Trade Unions of the 1970s and the elections of the 1980s had brought back to the surface. The historical literature available, however, paints a picture of the port as a racially diverse sector since the early days of the Colony. To think therefore, that in the 1970s and 1980s, the port suddenly became racially homogenous is rather hard to believe. The Trade Union leader of the port workers in 1938 was no less than Sandivi, of Indian origin as were many port workers and in his grandson's words, a 'Creole Malbar'.<sup>444</sup>

#### Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

7. Actions towards national unity and reconciliation to include joint collaborative events where descendants of slave owners and of slaves can interact and share histories, such as that carried

#### Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

38. Promote history and other disciplines involved in heritage documentation and research to provide the nation with scientific vision of the past thus allowing the dissemination of knowledge.

#### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

There are many groups, linguistic and cultural who are neglected in official national events and who also deserve to have their history and contribution to Mauritius recognized. These include,

for example, the Gens de Couleur, tribal groups from India, Indo-Christians, Agaleans, Rodriguans, and so on.

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

recommendations emerge that would impinge directly on the 'Coloured Population' in the future. Notably, they need to be reassured that they will never have to fight once more for their political, educational, employment and cultural rights. The study opens out on the concept that métissage is, not only inevitable in the global village, but something to be aimed at, since it is the true mark of an intercultural nation. Overcoming the social and cultural barriers between communities will result in an increasing brassage through intermarrying and socializing between communities. But for this to happen, the leaders of our 'Rainbow Nation' must give an example and stop fostering communalism for the sake of personal and party advancement. Numbers of votes matter less, in the end, than people, and duty to oneself even less than the national good. The history and development of the 'Coloured population' may be a microcosm of the Mauritian people, and many lessons may be drawn from it. Indeed, as Lord Bolingbroke once stated, "History is philosophy teaching by examples."

#### Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

as a nation; smaller communities, such as the 'General Population', and the 'Coloured people' within it, and Sino-Mauritians, may not have the numbers. However, the Mauritian people must recognise the fact that all communities have made a vital contribution to our history, irrespective of their origins.

"History is philosophy teaching by examples," declared Lord Bolingbroke.

Perhaps, educating the young through the teaching of a balanced history of Mauritius, rather than a revisionist history, is the way forward. Only then, can cultural memory take on its true significance for young Mauritians – seeing the present through the past and envisioning the future through the present. Otherwise, old clichés will persist, and the dawning of the Justice and Truth era will be a forlorn hope.

#### Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

Karl Marx argued that slavery involved the 'primitive accumulation of capital' (Marx 1906:738)<sup>4</sup> and that 'the veiled slavery of the wage earners in Europe needed for its pedestal, slavery pure and simple in the New World' (Marx 1906:833).<sup>5</sup> Thus and as argued previously, slavery was necessary to the establishment of the industrial revolution in Europe and for the enrichment of those countries and of Europeans in the colonies. The investments made at the time continue to benefit those countries. It is our hope that the project on the Economics of Slavery initiated in the TJC, will reveal the exact or approximate fiscal benefits gained from the slave system. It is also our hope that in considering the process of reparations, that the government will turn to this time in history to enter into a dialogue with 'developed' nations such as Britain, France and the Netherland in order

#### Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

In the 1980s, there was a concerted effort in Mauritius to promote a national identity, one based on 'Mauricianisme'. This ideal was not readily embraced by everyone, partly (we argue), because the movement and ideal were associated with the working class and the politics of Creoles via the MMM political party. The following extract from one of the individual reports generated by a researcher, part of this project, offers more detail on this particular period in history and the identity issues at stake:

#### Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

The above extracts suggest that socioeconomic mobility can encourage dissociation from one's economic and cultural roots. Among Creoles, this dissociation is perceived as a betrayal of the group in favour of a lifestyle and the social world in which the 'real' Creoles are excluded. Dissociation is also contrived as a form of aversive racism because dissociation implies disdain for, and a rejection of, a former lifestyle and of former associates. However, those leaving their 'old' world behind do not consciously leave but are doing so unconsciously and under pressure from the demands of the new social and economic situation. It is also noted by one of our researchers however that '...people's knowledge of their origins is limited to their grandparents and most of those interviewed did not have exact information about their origins but guessed their family ancestry based on their phenotype and on what they have learned or read on Mauritian history.' This means that informants may argue that their ancestors came from Africa or Madagascar because of their perceived physical traits but also because the story of slavery has become an integral part of the nationalist discourse:

#### Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

- Contrary to the Indian caste system that can still be described as mainly religious, the caste system in Mauritius appears essentially political. It is one in many identity criteria that can be mobilized to claim recognition, national resources or separation from a "national" history.

#### Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

Mauritius is a pluri-confessional nation, mainly populated by Hindus. And so is India. India has a longer history of dealing with such identity stakes, first as a colony to be managed, then as a nation to be built. Surely some lessons can be drawn from the comparison.

#### Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

We are at a period of history where, everywhere, people renegotiate their multiple identities, at loss for new references. This process is transnational. What is specific in our case is that in addition to structural factors that compel to reassess ourselves, Creole communities feel somehow abandoned by the very institutions which represented and still represent their way out of despair. Institutional mediations are thought to be too complex. In a world of disruptions at all levels, a more simple approach to religion and taking on board traditional beliefs captures the minds, affects and souls of new converts, disillusioned by traditional faith. The often utilitarian role of religion as provider of identity, social promotion and protection from the "mal", in spite

of shifts in the religious institutions, remains unchanged. We assist at the same overpowering influence of fear in the psyche of slave descendants.

#### Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

essential component and sets considerable knowledge of, and respect for, the cultures and spiritual values of different civilizations as a much-needed counterweight to a globalization of the world. If this is not urgently done, globalisation will reveal even more dramatically the inequalities of Mauritian society and paralyse it, as worldwide changes require new competencies and polyvalence on the labour market. This can polarize Mauritian society further and ethnic turmoil cannot be excluded. It is only through education, encompassed within a large vision of Mauritianness, that slave and indentured labour, descendants can finally unite within one Mauritian nation and make history.

#### Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

The Conservatoire defeat in the 1948 elections was a clear signal of popular support for the Labour Party. The Parti Mauricien, later on Parti Mauricien Social Democrate, used a political strategy by branding the whole Hindu population as communalists and, at the same time, asking all non-Hindus to unite. The political awakening of the Indo-Mauritians was interpreted as the rise of Indian Nationalism. The opposition expected the Indo-Mauritians to join them in a common front against what was termed as a Hindu-dominated Labour Party, the aim being to create a rift between Guy Rozemont and Dr. Ramgoolam. The PMSD thus weakened the Labour Party, by using the communal argument, and it championed the cause of all minorities, including the Muslims. This part of the history of Mauritius is perhaps the darkest in terms of national unity and nation-building.

#### Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

The present report, done by a group of Rodriguans, aims at presenting, in an objective way, how the population of Rodrigues sees their past traumatic history, how they are coping with the present and how they envisage the future of the next generations. It is, indeed, an attempt to revisit the history of the island from the days of slavery to present time from a Rodriguan perspective. It is hoped that the recommendations of this report will be integrated in the National Policy and implemented as soon as possible so that in 2030, every single person born in Rodrigues in 2011(18 – 19 yrs old by then) is able to benefit from the plethora of opportunities offered by his/her fatherland to develop to his/her full potential in a totally liberalised world.

#### Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

It inevitable and intellectually dishonest to make abstraction of the question: Is Rodrigues part of Mauritius? Comparing the level of development in all economic and social spheres on mainland Mauritius with that in Rodrigues, one is bound to conclude there is a great disparity. Being citizens of the same Republic, Mauritians born in Rodrigues do not enjoy equal opportunities as their fellow countrymen born in Mauritius. This is not just a matter of perception, but a stark

reality. All through this document, it has been made clear that Rodrigues, throughout its human history, has been either neglected or totally forgotten by the powers that be in Mauritius.

#### Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

Excluded from the Elite's consideration, representations of slavery and indenture did not form part of the memorial process before the years 2000. These years mark a shift in the memorial process: memory expanded to include the experiences of the formerly dominated population. Our research in museums specifically showed the development of representations during this period. As part of its reorganisation in 2000, the National History Museum in Mahébourg presents indenture as an experience leading to a positive evolution in the society. However, representations of slavery imply that ex-slaves were victims of an inhuman system and consequently, were not given the opportunity to become actors in the society. At l'Aventure du Sucre created in 2003 by a consortium of sugar companies, the museum discourse provides positive accounts of local history in the perspective of international context. This provides an account of the "negative" events beyond the local context and helps to conciliate a national vision of the past. In addition, it also states that the descendants of the former Elite generate a vision of the past that accepts the colonial undertakings which affected the population. In this sense, the acceptance of the past acts towards the evolution of the memorial process in museums and serves the contemporary dynamics of nation building. Ultimately, this process of conciliation leads to remember why the Mauritian society took shape and evolved to form a nation. It was interesting to compare L'Aventure du Sucre, a private museum, with the Musée du Peuplement created by the State in 2010. The Musée du Peuplement interprets the past to remember the positive accounts: its dynamics are very similar to those of Aventure du Sucre activating the positive memory to establish a new approach to the past. This approach results in the recognition of a common heritage: it is the first instance in which the heritage deriving from the population's interactions is represented. Although we may question the quality of the display, the Musée du peuplement is marking a major shift in the memory process: it formulates the existence of a common heritage shaped by the various groups in action.

#### Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

The projection of the nation in the future raises a number of questions relevant to our knowledge of what really defines the nation and what constitutes its identity so that it may evolve in a sustainable manner. In this instance, the statement of Melville Herskovits that "a people without past is a people that nothing anchors in the present"<sup>1</sup> can probably explain why for the last thirty years, research in Mauritian history has developed and also led to a focus on heritage to establish national symbols representing the roots of the nation.

The focus on heritage is particularly significant since the inscription of two Mauritian sites on UNESCO World Heritage List. This can only bring to our attention the shift in the way heritage was considered prior to the 2000s. Heritage was mostly the legacy of the Colonial Administration and heritage was mostly focusing on the history of the former colons. However, the heritage process turned to an under-researched part of Mauritian history, with the project of recognition of Le Morne and Aapravasi Ghat both referring to two traditionally silent episodes of Mauritian history: slavery and indenture.

These two episodes of Mauritian history are not only a subject of concern established by the Truth and Justice Commission Act of 2008, but they are also two historical facts that led to the migration of the ancestors of more than 90% of the present-day Mauritian population on the island. Through coerced migrations, these immigrants suffered inhuman treatments, annihilation of their identity and also, all were unrooted to settle in a new land where their cultural referential were not present. Encouraged by the colonial policy aiming at securing available workforce Mauritian society slowly took shape to become one of the most dynamic nation of the African continent. At the turn of the 21th century, it is thus not surprising to see Mauritian society engaging to question its past when most of the past evocative of the population has almost never been the subject of recognition and is now facing disappearance, for the benefit of modernity.

#### Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

This also included heritage sites where much development is noted these last few years and, in particular, at Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage Site inscribed in 2006 and also directly referring to the history of indenture. The analysis of its recognition process showed an evolution in the representation of indenture that deserved specific focus and that also speak to the change in the way the past is perceived after the inscription of the Site on the World Heritage List. studying the expressions in the public space Museums and historic sites were the two main areas of focus, since it seemed essential to address the question of representations in the public space. This would allow for possible actions proposed through the recommendations after the completion of the Commission. In this respect, museums were particularly important as a place contributing to the national memory process, by establishing official and non-official representations of national history and take part, as public institutions, in the national construction of the past. To orientate our research towards the study of museums, our focus was on internationally recognized notion of museum as defined by the International Council of Museums (ICOM):

#### Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

During the same session, the HRC indicated that the listing did not imply specific measures nor impacted on the owners as the listing consisted in posting a plaque on the building “recalling the history of the building, of the Church or the place” and that the Government “would not take at its charge the maintenance of all the buildings or monuments that could be listed as historical”. The objective was thus to indicate the historical importance to the public for the purpose of remembrance and raise consciousness. It was, therefore, an act of memory and did not aim at integrating a wider heritage framework that would serve the aim to restore or preserve the heritage for the nation, as per today's conception. The HRC undertakings focused on the commemoration of people and events.

#### Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

The Mauritius Institute was established according to the European model of Natural History Museum: the Institute adopted the same functioning system by assembling the local scientific competences, the same categories of classifications and the European conservation norms and presents Natural History Collections from the local fauna and flora, from Madagascar, from the

South of Africa and the neighbouring islands (Cheke, 2003). This Corpus of collections indicated the intention to document the local and regional environment and to make of the Museum, a place of exception. This national project absorbed the resources of the Royal Society of Arts and Sciences

#### Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

### 5. REPRESENTING NATIONAL HISTORY IN THE PUBLIC SPACE: THE NATIONAL HISTORY MUSEUM – MAHÉBOURG

By the second half of the twentieth century, the setting up of the naval museum and later, the National History museum shows a specific object of concern: there is a need to portray the national history at national and international level. The establishment of the Mahébourg museum appears as an outcome of the memorial process taking shape with the SRAS and HRC. The memorial process is evolving to organise isolated events into a national representation of the past. As such, it confirms primarily the omnipresence of the Elite in the colony. Ultimately, it shows how the colonial State visualizes its past.

The museum takes shape as the combination of a major place of heritage where a depiction of the life of the colons is presented. The Elite create a link with the past by the evocation of its own experience. The museum institutes a national vision of history seen by western eyes. Only recently, the museography evolved to integrate more information on slavery and indenture and enabled an analysis of how the Museums Council perceives the experience of the former “dominated” population.

The study of Mahébourg museum offers an interesting insight as the first museum depicting the National History. Considering this, our purpose was to explore how the representations of slavery and indenture were integrated and how they were portrayed. In this undertaking, it seemed important to initiate our research by a short evolution of the museum to better appreciate the current vision of the National History elaborated upon the legacy of the colonial perception of the past.

#### Reference 25 - 0.01% Coverage

The representation of National History is based on the evocation of the colonial experience through the collections. The social time – that we define as the recognition in the public sphere of the articulation of the national history – focuses on the life of the colons in the colony and related events. Other segments of the population are hardly represented. A rough estimation shows that 75% of the displays – excluding the temporary exhibition space- deal with the white elite's experience in Mauritius, while 25% present information concerns the former dominated population's past.

The main reason for this unbalanced representation probably lies in the fact that the Museum evolved as a result of the desire to present events that marked the lives of the colons on the island. The Museum was instigated by the white elite wishing to present, in a symbolic location, most objects saved from destruction by Mr. Austen. The Museum thus became a place devoted to the actions of the white elite which led the colony: their position of power enabled them to set up a public institution that transcribed their vision of the history of the island. The Museum is therefore a continuation of the concept of museum initiated with the Mauritius Institute, where the European vision supersedes.

The Museum of National History responds to the objective of a traditional museum of history highlighting the main battles and events induced by the ruling segment of the population. It is thus a good example of how the people in power engaged in the creation of museums and indirectly, legitimated their position at the head of the State. It is only after the year 2000 that the display was reviewed to integrate representations of slavery and indenture to allow a better appreciation of the Mauritian history.

#### Reference 26 - 0.01% Coverage

In this section, the role of the sugar aristocracy is also implicitly referred to as a binding element for the society. The plantocracy is referred to as a group wishing to offer protection. This vision discards the main objectives of the planters to recruit cheap labour to respond to industrial requirements. The discourse here focuses on an ideal interpretation of history where the sugar industry is central to the constitution of the nation. According to this vision, it has thus contributed to federate the different components of the society to constitute a nation. This introduction thus highlights the intention of the museum to retain positive accounts of the past: the main one being that the sugar industry was a federative element in the constitution of Mauritian society.

Slavery and indenture are referred to in the last part of the introduction entitled “À l'ombre de la cheminée” or “In the shade of the chimney”. The shade may indirectly refer to the difficulties encountered by the dominated population throughout the History of the Sugar Industry.

#### Reference 27 - 0.01% Coverage

formulation of a traumatic experience. This is particularly important as the discourse on slavery refers to the inhuman conditions of the slaves and may give raise to emotional considerations, leading to contemporary demands. The scientific discourse is thus instrumental in formulating slavery as a historical fact. This stand discards personal misleading appreciations of slavery. In this respect, the scientific discourse recreates a clear link with the past. It helps to consider slavery with objectivity and sets a basis for the process of acceptance of slavery as a historical fact and as forming part of the nation's past. The trauma would need to be formulated to offer the opportunity to contemporary generations to accept and appropriate in a positive manner this part of their History.

#### Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

The example of L'Aventure du Sucre shows how the descendants of the former oligarchy choose to formulate the past. Their stand is to provide positive accounts of local history in the perspective of international context. This provides an account of the “negative” events outside the local context that helps to conciliate a national vision of the past. Ultimately, this process of conciliation leads to remember why the Mauritian society took shape and evolved to form a nation.

#### Reference 29 - 0.02% Coverage

Similarly, it was interesting to consider how the descendants of the former dominated population appropriated the past to shape a memorial framework. Our research showed the emergence of a new conception of the past in the 2000s with the creation or reorganisation of museums. It is precisely in these years that the Mahébourg Museum was renamed National History Museum and that L'Aventure du Sucre was created.

To this analysis, it seemed important to add the contribution of the Musée du Peuplement. The museum is located in Mahébourg, at Pointe Canon. It is the most recent expression of a vision of National History. It was set up as part of the celebration of the bicentenary of the battle of Grand Port in 2010. The museum was open as part of the celebration activities and generated a significant number of visitors making this undertaking a real success.

The museum is composed of two parts: a building houses a permanent exhibition presenting the history of Mauritius from the Dutch period to nowadays. This section is complemented by an outdoor section called “village historique” composed of reconstitutions featuring human figures providing several tableaux of past Mauritian life.

The organisation of the display in the permanent exhibition is problematic on various accounts. The presentation of Mauritian history is elaborated upon the combination of several panels prepared for former temporary exhibitions. It also includes exhibits acquired from Mauritian Heritage, a private exhibition space formerly located in La Gaulette that no longer exists. In addition to this, large paintings depicting sceneries are displayed to create cohesion between the exhibition panels and exhibits. The panels, exhibits and large paintings are combined and displayed in the various sections composing the museum. The main impression when entering the exhibition is an overwhelming availability of information not necessarily related to one another.

The relation between the exhibits is problematic: they were all initially conceived to address the core line of specific temporary exhibitions. All the display elements were assembled to form the Musée du peuplement. The current presentation relies on elements not originally elaborated to address the purpose of the museum and consequently, fails to respect an overall coherence. The reorganisation of exhibits from three different exhibitions assembled together impacts on the quality. It results in the perception of a scattered presentation of national history where a core line of discourse would have ensured coherence and conveyed clear messages.

Slavery and indenture are illustrated through the evocation of Le Morne Cultural Landscape and Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage Sites. The presentation highlights positive contributions: it shows how the slaves resisted their condition and how indentured labourers engaged in plantation work to later evolve in society. These representations are associated to general information on slavery and indenture formerly presented in Mauritian Heritage. It provides a general account on slavery and indenture systems. However, each event is presented in dedicated sections which are not related to one another by a transition. Each section thus provides an insight on a specific aspect of Mauritian history. The flow of information is therefore not elaborated according to a core line of evolution but rather offers insights on the experiences of the various cultural groups. The lack of transitions between each part is detrimental to an overall understanding of how the various groups interacted to shape the Mauritian nation.

The “ethnic” segmentation in the display questions the notion of national history. Traditionally, the Mauritian society is divided in segments. This was the policy of the colonial authorities who

differentiated the various cultural segments in distinct categories. This supported the policy of representativeness which is still in force today. However, we may wonder if this approach serves favourably a national vision of Mauritius; especially in this instance where the display focuses specifically on national history seen through the representations of each segment of the population.

National history is represented through panels and contemporary paintings that do not present an authentic account of Mauritian history. The various large size paintings depict various sceneries portraying a contemporary vision of the past but are not actually productions of the past: they are as such an interpretation and not an objective account of the past. This questions the notion of authenticity as the permanent exhibition area is a contemporary creation. The information provided on panels is counterbalanced by the various interpretations of the past. In this respect, it is subject to subjective appreciations of what the past may have been. It is further complemented by the village historique sceneries which are an interpretation of how the slaves or indentured labourers may have lived. In this sense, it may be misleading as it does not rely on authentic evidence of the past but rather on a subjective interpretation. This is the reason why we may want to call the Musée du peuplement, a cultural park, as it is not in line with the traditional definition of museum:

#### Reference 31 - 0.01% Coverage

The need for a national history: the emergence of a new memorial framework representative of the majority

Through tangible representations of the past, the Musée du peuplement establishes roots for Mauritian culture: in the Village historique, representations identify a clear legacy, from the origins of heritage to its contemporary expressions. This link allows the population to relate to the past and activate a process leading to the legitimation of their past experiences. This process probably explains the significant success of the Musée du peuplement as part of the celebration of the battle of Grand Port: the audience was provided with tools empowering the appropriation of the past. This marks a shift in the memorial process and shows that the appropriation of national history is in process.

The memorial framework in museums was inherited from the colonial Elite thus discarded the former dominated population and did not speak to the majority's aspirations. The memorial process is now taking place through new actors who are descendants of the lower classes of the society. The memorial framework undertakes a complete redefinition. The portrayal of National History now intends to include the memory of the majority of the population and not just a small segment of the Mauritian population. In this undertaking, the representations of slavery and indenture hold a major place as the experiences of more than 90% of the current day population.

#### Reference 32 - 0.01% Coverage

The Government has taken action to recognize the silent past of the nation. Heritage projects initiated in recent years are an interesting indicator to appreciate how the shift in the memorial process has operated. This shift may be explained by the need to preserve the past disappearing with the fast growing development but also, raises the concern to situate Mauritian culture facing globalization. Mauritius as many other countries expresses its concern to retain its cultural roots

and specificity. In part, it results in turning to the documentation of under researched aspects of Mauritian history to better appreciate Mauritian culture.

#### Reference 33 - 0.01% Coverage

We may also argue that both sites can be perceived as an “ethnic” heritage: slavery is associated with the Creole segment of the population while indenture refers to the Mauritians of Indian origin. Opting for World Heritage Status allows recognition by an external apparatus and supports the legitimization of this national heritage outside the national boundaries. The recognition generated by an international body thus reinforces the importance of this heritage and ultimately encourages the adhesion of the entire population. The presence of two World Heritage Sites on the national territory establishes an emblem of what constitutes the Mauritian history and identity. Their authenticity or meaning may be contested but still their status as emblem of Mauritian society is not challenged.<sup>56</sup>

#### Reference 34 - 0.01% Coverage

Considerations on national history in museums Our research revealed that the appropriation of the past by the population is in process. However, this process takes place if the population is provided with tools allowing their appropriation of the past. The appropriation of the population cannot be considered as an isolated process but as a mechanism forming part of a memory process activated by actions of the State or private entities.

#### Reference 35 - 0.01% Coverage

We also noticed that there is a national history of Mauritius but it is immersed in other display objectives. This is detrimental to the quality of the past reconstructed. Messages are superimposed and do not focus on a deep reflection on how to best reconstruct a national history. The National History museum in Mahébourg is the remnant part of the colonial past and as such, presents the contribution of the colonial Elite to the national history. Le Musée du peuplement is an interesting initiative as it produces contemporary depictions of the past that leads to the recognition of intangible heritage. However, it fails to represent the interactions that led to the formation of a unified society. L'Aventure du Sucre was also presented an interesting account of national history but it was merged with the history of sugar as a central theme and largely expanded the scope of national history to details creating a confusing environment for non-experimmented visitors.

These initiatives clearly showed that there was a need for National History in which the representations of slavery and indenture play a central role as the evocation of the majority of the population's past. Throughout our research, we noted that representations of slavery and indenture only represent a small portion of the total of public space available in Mauritian Museums. The list of museums visited and considered within this report is as follows:

□ The ‘Postal Museum’; □ The ‘Blue Penny Museum’; □ L'Aventure du Sucre; □ The ‘Mauritius Institute’; □ The ‘National History Museum’;

#### Reference 36 - 0.01% Coverage

museums demonstrated that there is an ambition to depict national history but core questions are not necessarily addressed. One main question would be how to represent national history? And for whom?

## *Politics*

References or discussions of politics, political parties or sitting or past governments

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC\_.Report-FULL> - § 33 references coded [0.14% Coverage]

### Reference 1 - 0.02% Coverage

1. Establishing the ‘Truth’ about History is not an easy task. Firstly, there is the professional historians’ point of view that there is no such thing as ‘permanent truth’, since new research will change what has been accepted. There is also ‘public history’ which often contains ‘perceptions of truth’. This is the truth that the TJC has attempted to deal with. In addition to this mandate, the TJC also had an underlying mandate which was to promote reconciliation. In Mauritius, reconciliation was seen by many as being possible, only if one did not talk about one’s history. This was no longer possible in contemporary Mauritius. Although some institutions and individual Mauritians have understood this, the TJC did clash with several institutions that possessed important repositories of documents but did not wish to open them to the TJC or to the public. Summons were issued and, in some cases, the access issues were resolved. Whether the access to the public will continue, is a matter which the TJC has, no control over. The TJC is, at least, sure that the public is fully aware that these archives exist, the Mauritian public has every right to access them, and that the State has the responsibility of preserving these documents and not allowing private appropriation of these documents. Opening access and a more forceful policy of encouraging historical research and an open debate, rather than engaging in parallel debates, will lead further to national reconciliation in the future.

2. The TJC has held 212 hearings at its offices and outside Port Louis. These also constitute the TJC archives as they show clearly public perceptions about Mauritian History and lives of Mauritians. They are, however, representative of the most vocal sections of Mauritians, rather than the voiceless. The TJC endeavoured to collect the views of Mauritians whose voices had no chance of being heard in Port Louis, and it embarked on a massive oral history collection exercise. The TJC feels that we have reached a wide cross-section of the Mauritian community and covered a variety of historical experiences of Mauritians living in the 20th century. These are personal experiences of contemporary Mauritians and reveal their personal interpretations of their history. The statements, when taken together, are amazingly similar, and a full study was undertaken by a multidisciplinary team of Historians, Anthropologists, Sociologists and Ethnographers. The results are presented in the technical papers in Volumes 3 and 4 of the Report. The evidence shows even more clearly how many Mauritians know so little about Mauritian history and their family history. What Mauritians have preserved about their own history is limited, although this is to some extent understandable, because most Mauritians have led difficult lives. However, it is clear that their approach to life differs considerably, depending on their culture, religion (or absence of it), class and economic status in life.

The TJC cannot claim to have rewritten the whole history of slavery and indenture, but it has, at least, given a conceptual and structural version of Mauritian history free from political and racial agendas. It is now incumbent on future scholars and community groups to reflect and build on this and continue the work accomplished. The TJC has provided the tools and the sources where the historical material may be found, and civil society must now take this further. TJC’s version of history cannot be considered as the ‘official’ history, but the beginning of a new ‘national’

history, in the sense that TJC recognises the fact that there are different perspectives and approaches.

#### Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

history and their past but to do this, they need not to be harassed by religious, political, social and cultural 'leaders' giving instructions on how they should behave, talk, dress because this is how certain communities are 'supposed to behave'. In other words, identities should not be imposed upon them. The variety of our origins is omnipresent in our identity, and there is not one, two or three groups (as defined by the existing Constitution), but many more.

#### Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

From the much quoted figure of 453,000 believed to have come to Mauritius, about one-third returned to India, while another 1/3 did not survive their indenture and did not leave any descendants. This makes the request by the Mahatma Gandhi Institute, which houses the Immigration Archives even more ridiculous, when they ask researchers to 'get the permission' of descendants, before embarking on tracing family histories. It appears they are not aware that the bulk of immigrants never left descendants and are now consigned to oblivion in Mauritian History books, because of uninformed and unscientific based policies.

Mauritians, thus, still needs, to do justice to the history of these immigrants. Truth and Justice Commission 154

#### Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission thus recommends measures that encourages the holders of economic and political power to morally and materially repair the harms and injustices of the past in order that will benefit not only the presumed descendants of slavery and indenture but the Mauritian nation as a whole so that Mauritius can be finally at peace with its history.

#### Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

Port activities today represent a vital economic sector because of the insularity of Mauritius and the fact that all imports and exports transit through Port Louis, making it into a strategic activity. Any disruption in its running undeniably affects the economy of the island. The port is a place of business and all its activities revolve around it; without the port, the city is in peril. In Mauritian History, the contribution of the port workers to the history, political life and economy of Mauritius has not been recognized. They are the builders of Modern Mauritius alongside slaves and indentured labourers. To date only a short history has been produced by the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund, extracts of which are reproduced here. The Commission is not aware of any other study on the history of port workers.

Work in the port was, and still is, male-centered. It was not until the 1990s that the port authorities hired women in administration. This section was written based on interviews of port workers and represents their thoughts about their lives.<sup>441</sup> This is as yet the unwritten history of the port.

#### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

The Malaise Créole had also to do with the history of the Creoles: the dispossession and suffering associated with slavery and its aftermath, the consequences of which can be seen in the persistence of poverty, social problems and political marginalization.

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

Land tenure system and landownership have been the most important components that have shaped the political, social and economic history of Mauritius since the Portuguese first put the Island on the world map in 1505.

#### Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

For everyone, with the exception of festivities, the government has done nothing for the descendant of slaves and they are still waiting for recognition. Children do not know the history of slavery as it is not taught in schools. Hence, there is a need to correct this error and to include the history of slavery in the school curriculum.

#### Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

Hennessy, were a turning-point in the history of hard-fought political representation for the Gens de couleur. The new wave of 'Coloured' politicians could look forward, as well as back to the steep ascent achieved by their forbears. They subsequently fought to preserve their hard-earned social, political and economic, as well as educational and cultural, rights. The Laurent brothers, Raoul Rivet, Dr. Maurice Curé, the founder of the Labour Party, and other successors of Rémy Ollier, never forgot the high price which their community had paid, in terms of indignities and sufferings, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In effect, the 'Coloured Population' appears to have maintained its close affinities throughout with French culture, as they sought to forge an identity through being Francophone and Francophile, this despite the failure of the Retrocessionist Movement in the 1921 elections.

#### Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

'Whites' to property owned by the Gens de couleur in the late nineteenth century, and throughout the first half of the twentieth century, are at the core of Chapter 5. The Coloureds' erroneously paranoid fear of Indo-Mauritians to their social and economic position, as well as to their newlyacquired political influence from the 1920s onwards, were to unify the 'Coloured' community under the leadership of Gaëtan Duval 'The Creole King', at the height of his campaigns against Independence in the 1960s. Clearly, the 'Coloured Population' has always been, and continues to be, divided in its allegiances; some were pro-British, others pro-French; some pro-d'Epinay and others anti-'esclavagistes'; some sided with the Whites, others were anti-White. Herein lies their main weakness in social, cultural and political terms; not without justification, the community was said to bear the mark of Cain and Abel. Some of the Gens de couleur, especially in the first half of the twentieth century, despised the Ti-Créoles and would not stoop to certain types of work. Moreover, they would not contemplate marriage outside their

community – hence, some sort of ‘caste system’ prevailed. But all this has changed recently; interviews with young ‘Creoles’ reveal that history matters less to them than to their elders, and that intermarrying is no longer a taboo for the ‘Coloured Population’. Being Mauritian matters more than ‘group belonging’.

#### Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

who worked as a clerk at the ‘Greffé au Tribunal de première instance’, worked on the case of several ‘Coloured people’ who had been refused entry to the Theatre’s Café, owned by M. Coignet. Resigning his job at the Greffe, Bruils took up the challenge in court, but it is unlikely that he won at this stage of the history of ‘Coloured people’. Only with the arrival on the scene of Rémy Ollier, and other Coloured champions in the 1840s, were the rights of ‘Coloured people’ more fully vindicated, as explained in the section ‘Political Representations’ below.

#### Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

Coriolis on the Council, and was later a member of the Executive Council from 1906 to 1911. A statue at the Place d’Armes, inaugurated in 1992, commemorates this Coloured man’s contribution to the political history of Mauritius, at a time when only 12,000 men voted out of 220,000 adults. Only ten members were elected, while 8 were to be ex-officio members, and 9 nominated. The truth is that mainly the Whites and a few Coloured individuals were eligible to vote because of the high franchise, high literacy criteria and property qualifications. 150 The Coloured élite also clearly feared the rise of the Indo-Mauritian community. 151 In the first Legislative Elections in Mauritius (1886), the Democrats, de Coriolis, Célicourt Antelme and Dr. O. Beugeard, another Coloured man, 152 a laureate of the Royal College in 1850, were carried in triumph through the streets. They had advocated a high franchise and had criticized openly the Governor, which led to his recall. After Pope-Hennessy’s return in 1889, Beugeard resigned from the Council, although he became a nominated member in 1893. The Democrats won an emphatic victory over Newton’s party which lost every seat.

#### Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

In the 1980s, there was a concerted effort in Mauritius to promote a national identity, one based on ‘Mauricianisme’. This ideal was not readily embraced by everyone, partly (we argue), because the movement and ideal were associated with the working class and the politics of Creoles via the MMM political party. The following extract from one of the individual reports generated by a researcher, part of this project, offers more detail on this particular period in history and the identity issues at stake:

#### Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

Even if the informants denied being racist or communal, they all showed to some degree preconceived racial/communal prejudices and perceptions when talking of people from other ethnic groups. These racial/communal tensions especially between the Indo-Mauritians and Creoles might stem from, firstly, the fact that they are the two main ethnic groups in the country with the former and especially the Hindu Mauritians openly claiming their majority and

superiority; and secondly from Mauritius' historical path with the Indo-Mauritians and Creoles having different past history and life experiences. This racial/communal antagonism seems to date back to colonial times and is rooted in the country's past development strategies, policies and political history.

#### Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

True enough, all the implications of the Mauritian caste system must definitely be understood and considered a product of the specific Mauritian history, and of what is at stake locally when it comes to identity and political claims. In the same way, any discriminative process observed must be understood in the very Mauritian context. From this perspective, castes as they have been experienced by Mauritian Hindus during indenture and afterwards, are at least partially the product of the very process of indenture.

#### Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

- Contrary to the Indian caste system that can still be described as mainly religious, the caste system in Mauritius appears essentially political. It is one in many identity criteria that can be mobilized to claim recognition, national resources or separation from a “national” history.

#### Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

Chagossians, Agaleans as well as Rodriguans identify themselves above all to specific cultural capitals linked to the characteristics of their islands. A distinct homeland district history and tradition as cultural capital is produced, reinforced by perceptions of ostracism by Mauritians i.e. people born on Mauritius island, feelings of resentment at being left out of mainstream development “Parent Pauvre de la République”. As in any identity choice and alignment, partners and stakes determine the positioning of all parties.

In the case of Chagossians, Agaleans and Rodriguans, the common denominator is the struggle against what is perceived as structural domination to obtain access for better economic, social and political recognition. This is especially true in the case of the forced exile of Chagossians. In fighting exists but the sense of belonging, especially among uprooted or migrant communities on the island of Mauritius, helps to reduce cognitive dissonance and enables inner energies to focus on structural issues. Ilois and Rodriguan cultures present a positive rural identity as response to negative stereotyping (rural upbringing, social conservatism, traditional behaviours and attitudes, authentic values, alternative way of living and healing). Even if poverty exists and may be more vicious than on Mauritius, descendants refer less to the traumatic past of slavery. Theirs are histories with less social rivalry, negative discrimination, social comparisons pertaining to leadership, collective resources and upward social mobility

#### Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

Today, there could be new opportunities for the people of Mauritius and for the Creoles, especially those of the working-class or lumpen proletariat. Education must be approached in a humanistic perspective in which the history and culture of all groups are taken into consideration. Education policy should be placed within its broader social, cultural, political and

economic context, as an integral part of a human development strategy that places the people at the heart of the whole process. Education must help to engender a new Humanism, one that contains an

#### Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

History of Mauritius shows the great struggle that went on starting well before the setting up of the Labour Party in 1936. Political pressure began to build up and the silent murmur became louder and louder. The press, such as L'oeuvre, Arya Patrika, Arya Vir and Advance helped to arouse the consciousness of the people until Government had to give in by setting up the Public Service Commission in the late forties of the last Century.

#### Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

The exclusion of the ex-apprentices from the mainstream economy and the fragmentation of labour would have an impact even on modern Mauritius. Admittedly, in the history of Mauritius, political leadership has now and then used that historical state of affairs in defence of their interests.

#### Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

The Franco-Mauritians remained a strong interest group throughout the island's history. The Sugar Industry was their power base. The decline of the Sugar Industry in the 1960s weakened their ascendancy over the island's affairs. When their political power, dwindled their economic power declined considerably. In the new Constitution of Mauritius, which was promulgated in 1948 and with the extension of the franchise culminating, ten years later, in universal suffrage, we can trace the early ominous signs of the irreversible decline of the Sugar Industry and the Franco-Mauritian community in local affairs.<sup>192</sup>

#### Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

class, the new elite and the new business community. Today, this bourgeoisie controls State power. Further, the country is 'imprisoned' to a certain extent by its history. The sugar oligarchy still controls the Sugar Industry and has extended its control to some extent to the tourist sector, export-oriented industries and financial services.

#### Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

This period in the history of Mauritius witnessed a drastic change in the way the British Government viewed its colonies and their inhabitants. Following the publication of the Hooper Report in 1938 and the passing of the Colonial and Development Welfare Act 1940, major changes took place in the field of education, housing, and healthcare. These decisions also laid down the foundations of the Mauritian Welfare State.

Following the cyclone of 1892, the Sugar Industry was seriously hit and in need of capital for reconsolidation and expansion. Request for assistance from the United Kingdom met with reticence. In 1909, however, the Colonial Office appointed a three man Commission headed by

Sir Frank Swettenham to enquire into the financial situation of the country and all problems connected with labour and immigration. The Commission submitted various recommendations and showed its apprehension concerning the idea that in spite of the overwhelming majority of people of Indian origin in the colony. These were not represented in the legislature. It is the Royal Commission of 1909 which recommended the cessation of labour recruitment from India. This marked a new era in Mauritian history. The First World War (1914-1918) did not slow down the fighting spirit of the emerging class of politicians which, hitherto, comprised the Indian elite.

#### Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

Measures taken by the State in the area of health, housing, education, social security and employment have been great landmarks in Mauritian History. What is remarkable is that all successive Governments which have been in office since Independence, while striving hard towards economic consolidation and expansion, have at the same time never relegated the poor and the vulnerable to the periphery of society. This philosophy has contributed tremendously to Social Justice and improved the overall quality of life of the people.

#### Reference 25 - 0.01% Coverage

The Conservatoire defeat in the 1948 elections was a clear signal of popular support for the Labour Party. The Parti Mauricien, later on Parti Mauricien Social Democrate, used a political strategy by branding the whole Hindu population as communalists and, at the same time, asking all non-Hindus to unite. The political awakening of the Indo-Mauritians was interpreted as the rise of Indian Nationalism. The opposition expected the Indo-Mauritians to join them in a common front against what was termed as a Hindu-dominated Labour Party, the aim being to create a rift between Guy Rozemont and Dr. Ramgoolam. The PMSD thus weakened the Labour Party, by using the communal argument, and it championed the cause of all minorities, including the Muslims. This part of the history of Mauritius is perhaps the darkest in terms of national unity and nation-building.

#### Reference 26 - 0.01% Coverage

The Malaise Creole had also to do with the history of the Creoles: the dispossession and suffering associated with slavery and the aftermath of it, the consequences of which can be seen in the persistence of poverty, social problems and political marginalization.

#### Reference 27 - 0.01% Coverage

The Colony of Mauritius made history when it extended voting rights to women in 1948, at that time when such rights were not even in force in many Western democracies. Over the years, women were empowered; as legal persons, they can act independently of their spouses in matter concerning business, property acquisition, child custody, following Ordinance 50 of 1949 which provides for separate regime of goods and property. Men and women enjoy the same rights under the Constitution and the Law; and the Ministry of Gender Equality, Child Development and Family Welfare promote the rights of women. We can also appreciate the efforts made to change

patriarchal attitudes and stereotypes regarding the roles and responsibilities of women and men both in the family unit and in society; and to empower women and promote gender equality and equity.

#### Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

In its human history, the first popular consultation was in 1967 compared to Mauritius where a Legislative Council, with an elected minority, was set up in 1885. As early as 1915, a serious representation was made by Rodriguans by sending a memorial to H. M. the King of England. The memorial pointed out that Rodrigues had not been included as an Electoral District in the 1885 Constitution, although it had a population larger than that of the Black River District in Mauritius, which had one. It was unfortunate that no decision was ever taken on this issue due to the lack of consideration or, more to the point, the lie of Sir John Chancellor to the Secretary of State. In fact, the King was never

#### Reference 29 - 0.01% Coverage

The historical events associated with Independence are still alive in the Rodriguan collective memory. The local population irrespective of the religio-ethnic affiliation identify with their local History. This shared History is the founding-stone of this strong and deeply rooted Rodriguan consciousness. The testimonies uncovered a common perception and feeling that Rodriguans have historically been ostracised and that their island has been neglected, marginalised and kept in an underdeveloped State by the British Colonial Government and, subsequently by the various Mauritian Governments.

#### Reference 30 - 0.01% Coverage

Rodriguans still bear the weight of their Colonial History and of their past historical development, and especially their Political History. The present socio-economic situation is the result of years of repression and ostracism from the preceding Governments that maintained the island in a State of underdevelopment. The local population is currently experiencing the triple burden of their past (slave ancestry, Colonial and Post-colonial political orientation and socio-economic poverty) and the current social and economic crisis exacerbates their already vulnerable state.

#### Reference 31 - 0.01% Coverage

During the same session, the HRC indicated that the listing did not imply specific measures nor impacted on the owners as the listing consisted in posting a plaque on the building “recalling the history of the building, of the Church or the place” and that the Government “would not take at its charge the maintenance of all the buildings or monuments that could be listed as historical”. The objective was thus to indicate the historical importance to the public for the purpose of remembrance and raise consciousness. It was, therefore, an act of memory and did not aim at integrating a wider heritage framework that would serve the aim to restore or preserve the heritage for the nation, as per today's conception. The HRC undertakings focused on the commemoration of people and events.

#### Reference 32 - 0.01% Coverage

The promotion of culture is presented as a main priority and the Government takes initiatives aiming at fostering the image of a national unity. This objective materialises through the renaming of Mahébourg Museum as the National History Museum. This marks the appropriation and the recognition of colonial history together with the intention to establish cultural references for all. The shift in the memorial process is in action. It is marked by significant initiatives such as declaring 1st February as a public holiday “to commemorate the abolition of slavery” and 2nd November as “the termination of indentured labour”<sup>55</sup>. The President further mentions that “a programme of activities will be elaborated to highlight the maximised through the promotion of local folklore, traditions and theatrical performances”.

#### Reference 33 - 0.01% Coverage

The Government has taken action to recognize the silent past of the nation. Heritage projects initiated in recent years are an interesting indicator to appreciate how the shift in the memorial process has operated. This shift may be explained by the need to preserve the past disappearing with the fast growing development but also, raises the concern to situate Mauritian culture facing globalization. Mauritius as many other countries expresses its concern to retain its cultural roots and specificity. In part, it results in turning to the documentation of under researched aspects of Mauritian history to better appreciate Mauritian culture.

## *Professional vs Public History*

References or discussions of professional historian's vs public history and family vs academic histories

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC\_.Report-FULL> - § 35 references coded [0.18% Coverage]

### Reference 1 - 0.02% Coverage

1. Establishing the 'Truth' about History is not an easy task. Firstly, there is the professional historians' point of view that there is no such thing as 'permanent truth', since new research will change what has been accepted. There is also 'public history' which often contains 'perceptions of truth'. This is the truth that the TJC has attempted to deal with. In addition to this mandate, the TJC also had an underlying mandate which was to promote reconciliation. In Mauritius, reconciliation was seen by many as being possible, only if one did not talk about one's history. This was no longer possible in contemporary Mauritius. Although some institutions and individual Mauritians have understood this, the TJC did clash with several institutions that possessed important repositories of documents but did not wish to open them to the TJC or to the public. Summons were issued and, in some cases, the access issues were resolved. Whether the access to the public will continue, is a matter which the TJC has, no control over. The TJC is, at least, sure that the public is fully aware that these archives exist, the Mauritian public has every right to access them, and that the State has the responsibility of preserving these documents and not allowing private appropriation of these documents. Opening access and a more forceful policy of encouraging historical research and an open debate, rather than engaging in parallel debates, will lead further to national reconciliation in the future.

2. The TJC has held 212 hearings at its offices and outside Port Louis. These also constitute the TJC archives as they show clearly public perceptions about Mauritian History and lives of Mauritians. They are, however, representative of the most vocal sections of Mauritians, rather than the voiceless. The TJC endeavoured to collect the views of Mauritians whose voices had no chance of being heard in Port Louis, and it embarked on a massive oral history collection exercise. The TJC feels that we have reached a wide cross-section of the Mauritian community and covered a variety of historical experiences of Mauritians living in the 20th century. These are personal experiences of contemporary Mauritians and reveal their personal interpretations of their history. The statements, when taken together, are amazingly similar, and a full study was undertaken by a multidisciplinary team of Historians, Anthropologists, Sociologists and Ethnographers. The results are presented in the technical papers in Volumes 3 and 4 of the Report. The evidence shows even more clearly how many Mauritians know so little about Mauritian history and their family history. What Mauritians have preserved about their own history is limited, although this is to some extent understandable, because most Mauritians have led difficult lives. However, it is clear that their approach to life differs considerably, depending on their culture, religion (or absence of it), class and economic status in life.

The TJC cannot claim to have rewritten the whole history of slavery and indenture, but it has, at least, given a conceptual and structural version of Mauritian history free from political and racial agendas. It is now incumbent on future scholars and community groups to reflect and build on this and continue the work accomplished. The TJC has provided the tools and the sources where the historical material may be found, and civil society must now take this further. TJC's version

of history cannot be considered as the 'official' history, but the beginning of a new 'national' history, in the sense that TJC recognises the fact that there are different perspectives and approaches.

#### Reference 2 - 0.02% Coverage

3. A third issue that the TJC has dealt with, has been the suspicion and concern expressed in many quarters about academic history not reaching the local population. The TJC attempted, therefore, to bring together, through its historical projects, scholars, community groups and the local population. There was, we believe, frank discussions where community views were able to feed on the work of scholars, (local and foreign) who were able to voice their views, share their knowledge and arrive at a consensus. The TJC feels it was the start of a new historical 'adventure' and hopes that this approach will be continued in the future. It is hoped that the historians involved, have recognized the value of this work. TJC thus avoided what has become common elsewhere, where Western academic scholarship has clashed with community-based' histories. TJC has also ensured that other forms of historical research have been used, in particular oral history and that archaeological and ethnographic research has been used and promoted in the various studies. Such studies finally aroused a great deal of public attention, and this is indeed very encouraging for the future. It is clear, however, that the gap between academic history and communities being researched needs to be narrowed even further. TJC has devised a policy that will guarantee access to most of the data collected (archival, oral, ethnographic, and archaeological) to the public as well as the academic community.

Knowledge production is still an issue as people from particular ethnic groups tend to read what historians from their own ethnic groups write, even though it may not be completely objective and scientific in its approach. The class, caste and gender approaches need also to be incorporated into Mauritian History. These historians and communities would benefit from sharing their perspectives, and this would go a long way towards a shared history and a shared heritage in the future. Academic historians need, therefore, to popularize their writings. They also need to relate their findings to the contemporary situation.

4. How one faces the past was another area of concern. Will apologies and forgiveness heal the wounds of the past? Some believe so. TJC believes it is not enough and that public institutions must ensure that the debate about our history never ends, because history is always being written and rewritten. Although many wish to close the book, this will not be possible. Rather, TJC invites Mauritians to continue uncovering the Truth, and not to forget that Injustice can always recur and that Mauritians must be vigilant.

#### Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

In terms of language those who came from the North of India and from Bhojpuri regions, spoke Bhojpuri and many, especially of those of a higher status, could also speak and write Urdu. With 'Islamisation', many have rejected this Bhojpuri/Indian culture and it is mainly the elderly alone in rural areas who continue to speak it. Many have opted for a more 'Arab-style' culture. The celebration of the Muharram festival, called in Mauritius the Ghoon or Yamse, which has existed in Mauritius since 1790s and where many Calcuttiya Muslims has joined in the 19th century, is also frowned upon today as being 'unIslamic'. However, among the younger generation of historians, there are interesting studies being carried out on family histories and their evolution

as Mauritians. These studies deserve to be incorporated into a larger study and published.<sup>271</sup> The Bengali language also spoken among those originating from district located around Calcutta are unknown to descendants interviewed.

#### Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

During the period of indentured immigration, children were also brought either accompanying their parents or came alone. There are many ways in which a child could have ended up on a ship alone. A parent may have died in the Depot or abandoned children being an easy prey for unscrupulous recruiters would be enticed into the ship. Their stories will probably never get into the History books as so little written evidence has survived. What we do have today are the few descendants who have kept alive their family history and recounted how their ancestors arrived as children.

#### Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

History has its part to play in this state of affairs. The History of slavery which has been repressed does not ‘disappear’; it forms part of the subconscious. Absence of a sense of belonging and a sense of personal history induce life-styles and ways of spending which penalise whole families. Living on credit and overspending on occasions of celebrations (weddings and first communion) are ways of positioning self and the family, acquiring respect and dignity, whatever the price to pay.

#### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

Moreover, the relationship to space and time has to be structured since early childhood and is due to many socialisation processes, which are transmitted from generation to generation. But when the past does not form part of History, when “lineage” cannot exist, projection into the future is blocked and the present overwhelms all perceptions. Strategies cannot be set up, specially in the absence of assets, financial and cultural; hope does not exist.

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

In order to achieve control or maintain hegemony, dominant groups construct fictions and homogeneity relating to various intra community group. Myth, legend and history as fictions against others enable the crafting and reinforcement of power. Struggle between the desire to obtain an “essential” identity that makes for political currency among the dominant groups, and the experience of new cultural values, transiting in all ethnic communities, has been and is still a main issue for power relationships.

#### Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

3. More openness is needed in reflections on History to loosen existing controls over meaning and identity.

#### Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

For those who stayed in Mauritius and who are the focus of this Commission's study, general histories have been written which have become stereotypical: labourer becomes sirdar or recruiter, saves money and purchases a plot of land. Children become educated, are employed as civil servants or professionals and are considered a success. This picture of the supposed typical 'experience' of the trajectory of the indentured labourer is reproduced regularly by those of nonindentured ancestry, by those who create the myths of the success story etc.

However, it ignores the other reality: those who never obtained land, those who were never highly educated, those who never became urbanized, and were still working on sugar estates until a decade ago. The Commission has investigated both of these sets of experiences through detailed family histories, life histories and in-depth interviews. Hundreds of descendants have been consulted and the results published in Volumes 3 and 4.

#### Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

However, while looking forward to the younger generations moving up the social ladder, the community has been faced with a loss of memory, relegating its past sufferings and conditions. To some extent, the community preserves only the legendary hardworking capacities of the Chinese people. History itself has played a role in this parody of a depiction of this community which has often been limited to hard labour or to distinctive figure of the Chinese and their astonishing economic development over the last two centuries. These people fled their countries to form new communities all over the world. Most of them would not return to China after the Communist takeover and found no other solution, but to stay, and secure their future, in their adopted countries.

Nowadays, after an incredible economic success, the Chinese seem to witness a decline in their community due to various factors. Many young Sino-Mauritians are looking for better prospects elsewhere in the world; turning a blind eye to what their parents and grandparents had built through will-power and hard work. There is an outcry in the community that they should be given due recognition for their contribution to the overall development of the country; a recognition by all Mauritians for their history and past sufferings in the hope that they may revive the community, by convincing younger generations to stay and build a bright future for this country, to which they now belong.

#### Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

Retracing one's family history in Mauritius required, in addition to papers, research using Oral History as knowledge about families has been transmitted orally. The University of Mauritius' oral History Project shows clearly that many more families than those who submitted land claims at the Commission have knowledge of their family's past ownership of land. Today, it is virtually impossible to obtain lost land without a genealogical tree. This section, therefore, provides a survey of how genealogical research has been conducted in Mauritius through the experiences and difficulties encountered by deponents coming to the TJC. For most retracing their family is nothing less than an immense hurdle compounded by inadequate and antiquated laws and bored and petty-minded Officers.

#### Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

Historians, researchers, Land surveyors, Attorneys, Notaries, Barristers cannot research properly land transactions which may have occurred at different periods of history because of the absence or bad state of these documents. It is also common knowledge that most people are unable to easily access all the Archives relating principally to land transactions. This situation must change. Furthermore, the practice of acquiring, exchanging or selling plots of land through private signature (“sous seing privé”) has, in many cases, deprived researchers of opportunities to explain the state of affairs prevailing at that time. The layman, being ignorant of the Law, might have seen in this practice an easy way to undertake land transactions without having recourse to the service of a Notary Public.

#### Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

In the same line of thought, Paul mentioned that he feels that ‘the others’ do not want the descendant of slaves to succeed and that is why they (‘the others’) are not willing to recognise the history of slaves. When talking of the history of slaves, we should distinguish between the history of slavery which is rather the history of the slave system whereas the history of the slaves refer to the history of the people who were slaves such as their life histories. Based on the information gathered, what people are claiming is the recognition of the history of the slaves which implies looking at their experiences of slavery and subsequently of the slave system from the perspective of the slaves.

#### Reference 14 - 0.02% Coverage

The aim of this section devoted to descendants of Indian immigrants aims to highlight, as for slave populations the necessity of every family knowing and understanding his or her family origins. In the very delicate fabric that Mauritian society is made up of and being a newly emerging society, it has become abundantly clear that this type of knowledge makes Mauritians feel more ‘Mauritian’ and at the same time distinguished Mauritians from other nationalities. There are inherent difficulties however in tracing one’s history: documents since the French and British period have not been well kept and even today numerous problems face the family historian.

These family histories and life histories are compiled by a group of young Mauritians trained in history who were the given the task of finding and confronting their own family’s past. It has not only proved to be a rich personal experience for them but has also provided the Commission with the justification for proposing a more vigorous campaign to collect all available documentary sources about Mauritians and make it accessible to the public. In the course of the research, the conservative approach adopted by some institutions towards releasing immigrant data must be unequivocally condemned. Judging by the numerous correspondence and discussions after the controversy concerning access of public Immigration archives currently housed at the Mahatma Gandhi Institute, it is clear that not all Mauritians feel the need to hide their truth about their family or caste origins and indeed they welcome openness and progressive attitudes. It is recommended that the MGI and all those other institutions and individuals rethink this policy of blocking public access to this section of the National Archives. A public campaign to explain the nature of the sources and why discrepancies and errors exist in the sources needs to accompany this open policy, as is the practice in other National Archives found overseas.

The metissage in terms of not only ethnic groups and but among Indian immigrants of various linguistic, regional and caste backgrounds leads one also to recommend that all copies of genealogical and family data be regrouped in one institution to make the task of reconstructing genealogies and family histories easier for the Mauritian population. Many Mauritians are descended from Indian, African and European origins and this currently means that a 'multi-racial' Mauritian has to visit no less than 5 different institutions over many years to compile his/her family history. In the digital age this is an unnecessary burden to place on Mauritians.

#### Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

VOL 3: PART I - INDENTURE - SEARCHING FOR OUR ORIGINS - A HISTORY OF MUNISAMI FAMILY "THEY ARE NEVER REALLY GONE IF THEY ARE REMEMBERED." Russian Proverb

The very purpose of this research was to allow this researcher to take a personal look into her family history. She traced her family history because for her, this process brings her ancestors back to life. They were once real people, alive with all the joys and pains of daily life. What she gained from researching her family history is a greater knowledge of the lives of the ones who came before her. Indeed, this research process was a challenge that made her dig through birth, death and marriage certificates, photographs and oral histories. She found that a whole nuclear family had come to Mauritius: The PANDIAN Family.

#### Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

VOL 3: PART I - INDENTURE - SEARCHING FOR OUR ORIGINS - A HISTORY OF THE PEERTHUM FAMILY

[...] all human ancestry goes back to some place, and some time, where there was no writing. Then, the memories and the mouths of ancient elders was the only way that early histories of mankind got passed along [...] for all of us today know who we are." Extract from the Acknowledgement Section of Alex Haley's 'Roots' (1976)

Research into one's family history is a difficult and complicated task, but a rewarding experience, since it allows a person to discover his/her roots or where we come from and who we are. The story of my family starts during the mid-19th century, with the arrival of Peerthum, my great greatgrandfather, an Indian non-indentured immigrant and day labourer, bearing the passenger list number 5750 (bis). He arrived in Mauritius from Calcutta, India, some time between the late 1860s and early 1870s.

#### Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

Oral history provided me with the first inroad into my family history. It was my grandfather; Chandraduth Peerthum, who told my father, Satteeanund Peerthum, many years ago, that his mother, Sookbasseea Peerthum, recounted to him the story of Peerthum, her father-in-law, who had come to Mauritius at the age of 14. This claim has not been supported so far by any type of archival document.

#### Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

underestimated in the history of my family because Seesurrun and Sookbassea Peerthum became staunch Arya Samajis all their lives. Their children, grandchildren and great grandchildren also became followers of the Arya Samaj movement. They helped in the establishment and consolidation of the Arya Sabha in the island.

Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

VOL 3: PART I - INDENTURE - SEARCHING FOR OUR ORIGINS – A HISTORY OF THE RAMCHURN FAMILY

“History turning a blind eye bore him not witness History standing mute told not his full story

Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

VOL 3: PART I - INDENTURE - SEARCHING FOR OUR ORIGINS – A HISTORY OF THE RAMCHURN FAMILY

I have chosen to write my Family History because while working in the MGI Archives, I observed every day people coming to conduct research on their origins with great enthusiasm. This inspired me and I decided to do the same. I also wanted to know why, although we live on the same island, our way of living is so different from others? After questioning my relatives, I obtained my answer.

Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

VOL 3: PART I - INDENTURE - SEARCHING FOR OUR ORIGINS – A HISTORY OF THE CAHOOLESSUR FAMILY

Although the family of Coowaloosur is today considered a ‘Bihari’ family, during the course of its family history search, it found it had origins in Orissa. Orissa is located West of the State of Bengal. The family history was reconstructed with the help of the family, especially Mr. Tarkaswar Coowaloosur. Today the family lives in Mare D’Albert. Mr. Tarkaswar Coowalusur is fifty five years old and was born at Mare D’Albert.

Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

It is ironic that we seem to know so much about the fate of indentured labourers in Mauritius and know so little about the experiences of workers in the sugar industry after the end of indenture. A cursory review of the literature on the history of employer and employee relations in the Mauritian sugar industry reveals that a majority of studies have focused overwhelmingly on the indentured labour period (e.g. Bissoondoyal 1984, 1986; Carter 1995; Allen 1999). That is not to say that no studies have focused on the working and living conditions of sugar estate workers after the end of indenture. For instance, the historian Daniel North-Coombes (1987) has provided us with a compelling account of the 1937 and 1943 strikes in the Mauritian sugar industry and what working conditions were generally like in the first half of the twentieth century. And the anthropologist Burton Benedict (1961), who conducted fieldwork in Mauritius in the 1950s, has provided us with a detailed study of the living conditions of Indo-Mauritians in villages and to a lesser extent in estate camps, a majority of whom were still reliant upon work in the sugar industry during this period. Nevertheless, one struggles to find any studies that address both the

working and living conditions of sugar estate workers in Mauritius since the end of the indentured labour period. The following study represents a modest attempt at redressing this gap in the literature.

#### Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

The main benefit that stems from using oral interviews as a source of information to reconstruct the past is that it allows informants to express in their own words what life was like in Mauritius in the earlier part of the twentieth century. That the views of ordinary Mauritians was not adequately reflected in the decisions that were made by the social, political and economic elites that ran the colony prior to it becoming an independent nation should not surprise us. However, an inevitable ramification of this power imbalance is that we know very little about how ordinary Mauritians felt about the various kind of issues that were the order of the day in the fledgling colony's history at

#### Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

the onset of the twentieth century. As a method of research, then, oral history can help us to redress some of these imbalances in the historical record and it can shed new light on old debates as I hope shall become evident in the course of this study. The type of people interviewed by the AGTF's research assistants and their community facilitators includes the views of field labourers, skilled artisans, sirdars, job-contractors, markers and other estate personnel. This study does not pretend to be able to encompass the views of all of these informants. Given that field labourers are the most numerous employees in the Mauritian sugar industry, it is inevitable that their views will receive more consideration than others. But this should not be taken to mean that the views presented in this report have been accepted uncritically, or without being exposed to some form of critical scrutiny.

#### Reference 25 - 0.01% Coverage

There is another reason why this assumption is problematic. As I pointed out in a subsequent review of the various memoranda that were written detailing how to initiate the AGTF's oral history project, it is problematic to refer to estate camp residents as the "descendents of indentured labourers" without mentioning the thousands of time-expired and non-expired

#### Reference 26 - 0.01% Coverage

Their knowledge of family history remained restricted to one or two generations because of limited genealogical memory. In addition, some did not know their grandparents who died before their birth or when they were underage. They did not know if their ancestors came as indentured labourers or free passengers, and when and why they migrated to Mauritius.

#### Reference 27 - 0.01% Coverage

Family histories revealed a generational transmission of occupations with the respondents and their elders (parents and grandparents) performing almost similar jobs. For generations, they were estate agricultural workers employed as labourer and/or Sirdar (Eng. trans. Overseer).

#### Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

In the following extracts we note the reconstruction of Creole identity via the discourse of victimhood in the story of slavery. It is our view that this is happening because there is a ‘need’ to reassert boundaries around the Creole community and to give it value (by establishing a definitive source of identity and history of Creoles) in the culture-conscious space of Mauritius. It is possible, however, to also cynically argue that some Creoles have appropriated and transformed the discourse of victimisation and suffering apparent in the story of slavery and that they are now reinterpreting the story to argue that their ancestors were resilient and that this resilience is now helping them to confront the legacy of slavery. The discourse of resilience and freedom have now replaced the historical discourse on slavery as an experienced marked by humiliation and suffering. Those intent on using the transformed discourse for political purposes are now doing so, as a way of gaining leverage and support from the slave descendant population. It is also our view that the transformation of the discourse of slavery is not the sole project of selected Creole politicians but rather the work of politicians and scholars who actively search for, and promote, narratives of resilience in the history of slavery.

#### Reference 29 - 0.01% Coverage

Reading through the current Form 4 History book, it was astounding to note the invisibility of Creole history in the text books and the negative presentation of African slaves. In the history book one of the first passages recounting African presence on the island is rather telling of the racial discourse around slavery in secondary education. The passage is of an account of a slave rebellion where slaves burnt down a field. Using the passage as a reference, two questions are posed to the students asking “what were the problems created by slaves” and “what were the activities carried out by the Dutch”.

#### Reference 30 - 0.01% Coverage

As Marina Carter (1995) explains, sordid realism (describing indenture as just another Slave Trade) or, on the contrary, revisionist temptations (as colonists), have blurred historical visions. The first important point lies in the evolution of indenture during the whole period. Indenture in the 1830s was radically different from indenture twenty years later, not to mention the last decades, of the beginning of the 20th century. One must also remember that, as is the case for slavery, there is no such thing as a unique history and experience of indenture.

#### Reference 31 - 0.01% Coverage

In this recent article, Abhimanyu Unnuth points out the real issues. One cannot help remembering that the same author has himself been active in promoting the fantasy Indo-Mauritian identity founding narrative. The first pages of his major literary production, *Sueurs de Sang* (Lal Pasina, 1977), may be read as a picture of Indians as eternally linked to Mauritius:

they are described as discovering it, fighting for it and they are its legitimate owners (Claveyrolas 2012). Time has passed since the 1970's in Mauritius, and probably the legitimate goodwill to rehabilitate Indo-Mauritians' history was not possible without paving the way for the current "collective and historical fantasies" Mauritius now faces. Communalism and fantasies go hand in hand. Fantasies, particularly those founding so-called Indian rooted communities or identities, do need to be corrected in Mauritius. And this is deeply linked with caste consciousness.

#### Reference 32 - 0.01% Coverage

their failures and to believe that something is wrong with them, when actually it is the nature of the curriculum content, the pedagogy and the culture of the school – often with all of those forming part of a dominant culture - there is an urgent need to rethink, revisit and repair all the wrong, much of which has been largely informed by the colonial history of the island. The next chapter in fact addresses the question of reparations.

#### Reference 33 - 0.01% Coverage

And yet, the history of human civilization on health and living conditions as far as slavery and indentured labour are concerned is a dark spot carved on stone. Historians, writing about the health of slaves and indentured labour in the 18-19th century Mauritius, have portrayed a picture that has left an impression of 'quasi torture' and an extremely harsh life with death as liberation from persecution (Teelock 1998, Barker 1996, Nwulia 1981). The general consensus is that these labour constituted an asset for the planter owners and a necessity for the colonial powers for the exploitation of land in pre-industrial times. Slave labour was so essential to the economy that the French colonists defied all attempts of the authorities to enforce abolition of slavery. If the human labour force was a critical factor for the colonial administrations, inevitably the health of the slaves and the indentured labour should have been paramount to promote their interests. Was it so?

#### Reference 34 - 0.01% Coverage

self-laudatory approach ignores, however, the fact that economic historians can only study what is quantifiable, such as trade statistics, prices, tonnage, numbers, heights and weights of slaves, rather than deal with 'intangible' issues of history such as identity or culture loss, mental and physical stress, mobility, laws, consequences on family life or the sense of loss felt as a result of being removed from one's homeland.

#### Reference 35 - 0.01% Coverage

Rodrigues suffered an abject neglect for most of its known history. It came under consideration only at the whim and will of the masters of the time. Having suffered terrible losses by the French stationed at Isle de France, the British decided to use Rodrigues as an assembly point for its Navy in 1809 to conquer Isle de France and Isle Bourbon. Even though Rodrigues played such a critical role in the Anglo-French struggles for supremacy in the Indian Ocean during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, between 1793 and 1811, Rodrigues was forgotten shortly

afterwards and never got any recognition. The slaves, brought in by the French and the British, were left stranded on the island, with no basic support whatsoever for their livelihood. Naturally located right in the track of tropical cyclones and also prone to long periods of drought, the population of Rodrigues have experienced serious times of famine in its very short human history.

## *Recommendations*

References or discussions of report recommendations that involve history

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC\_.Report-FULL> - § 30 references coded [0.10% Coverage]

### Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

1.2. A website to be designed to include the following:-the Act, Members of the Commission with their CVs, a bibliography of slavery and indentured labourers, a chronology of Mauritian History and links to other institutions.

### Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission also recommends the continuation of an inventory of documents found in France and elsewhere and the continuation of input into the Slave Trade Database. The aim is to establish a list of all ships and their cargo in order to better document the slave trade and arrive at an improved assessment of the volume of the slave trade to Mauritius, and the actual number of slaves having been disembarked in Mauritius. It is also necessary to include in calculations, those ships/persons/slaves destined for Mauritius but who never arrived, due to revolts, shipwrecks, diseased etc. This information will be inserted in the database. Scholars from overseas working on the slave trade to Mauritius, in their respective countries, need to be included in this project, such as Thomas Vernet and Benigna Zimba. It is further recommended that this database work be continued by the University of Mauritius in partnership with other institutions with an interest in the slave trade and slavery. The University possesses both history and computer science departments who can collaborate with minimal cost with each other to maintain the database. It also has a pool of students every year who can be initiated and trained in historical research and data entry. However, appropriate funding must be provided and this work is to be shared with the public through an online database.

The Commission recommends the establishment of an Intercontinental Slavery Museum on the Port Louis Waterfront as a permanent reminder of the existence of slavery and the contribution of slaves to the history of Mauritius. We recommend that the Project be initiated and supervised by the Prime Minister's Office in collaboration with related institutions. Being located in the capital city Port Louis will ensure the history of slavery is given its due importance and also to ensure financial sustainability for the Museum once it is opened.

Finally the Commission recommends a NATIONAL GENEALOGY CENTRE, which will help numerous Mauritians, many of whom of African and Malagasy descent, who faced enormous difficulties in tracing their family history and genealogy. This has also caused much distress in families, and some believed they had lost property as a result. These families were unable to furnish basic information on their ancestors to the TJC. Consequently, the TJC helped a large number of families in recreating their genealogical trees and, during this process, it was able to verify for itself the difficulties mentioned by these families.

### Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

2. The Commission recommends that the Ministry of Arts and Culture reclaim all historical documents given to Mahatma Gandhi Institute concerning Liberated Africans and currently incorrectly labelled 'Indian Immigration Archives', so that the descendants, professional researchers and others may research their history in full freedom without the administrative and political constraints imposed on them at this institution.

#### Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission believes a fairer form of compensation would have been to take into account the historic rights of the métayers and the years of labour spent working the cane fields, clearing, weeding and maintaining it for the owners. The métayers deserve an apology from the State, for not having defended them appropriately and for the callous manner in which they were convened. The TJC's recommendations, therefore, go in this direction. Little can be done for those who were forced to leave before the new laws were introduced, and who left without any form of compensation. This history must, however, be documented and enter the History books.

#### Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission, therefore, supports the recommendation of creating a Conservation Institute or a 'Cultural heritage Institute', to be placed under the aegis of the University of Mauritius where young persons of all disciplines can be trained in the interdisciplinary framework which is so essential in cultural heritage preservation (Engineering, Computer Science, History, Chemistry and Natural Sciences) rather than at the Ministry of Arts and Culture, heavily staffed by administrators and only a few specialists in cultural fields. Scientific disciplines are represented in even less numbers.

#### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

This mandate has also been read in conjunction with other clauses in the Act relating to the history of slavery and indenture and its consequences. Hence, it could not adopt a purely technical or legal approach and has considered the land dispossession issue in a more holistic manner than has been attempted so far in Mauritius. However, the time-frame proposed (two years) is much too short to be able to produce a comprehensive report as many documents are not available easily and extensive and in-depth searches were required. Recommendations for additional work on the cases are made towards the setting up of institutions to democratise access to technical persons and professionals, so that the members of the public not in possession of vast reserves of cash can fight, on a more equal basis, the holders of economic power who take them to Court.

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

20. Recognition of the following sites and histories as National heritage:

#### Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

□ Trou Chenille - home of ex-slave population forcibly removed. The Le Morne Trust Fund must document and publish this history.

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

23. Introduction of Mauritian history at all levels in the School Curriculum and for all categories of Mauritians.

Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

27. State funding for further scientific research into slavery and indenture and Mauritian history in general.

Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

38. Promote history and other disciplines involved in heritage documentation and research to provide the nation with scientific vision of the past thus allowing the dissemination of knowledge.

Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

□ To introduce “socio-biography” of groups and life histories of individuals, with particular emphasis on History and the forging of patterns in values, attitudes and behaviours. This is also a form of narrative therapy.

Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

□ That many Mauritians feel an emotional need to search for their origins and in multicultural Mauritius, this should be possible for all groups in Mauritius. When persons of Afro-Malagasy descent see others being able to trace their family origins going far back several generations and even to the original family in Asia or Europe, and try to reconstruct their own history, this is far less easier.

Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

□ Children, victims of abuse (sexual/physical/gross neglect/ill-treatment) and who are placed at shelters (NGOs) are at times placed at the RYC at a very young age, given their behavioural problems – there is a need for proper assessment and psychological intervention and close follow-up at such cases so that they get the necessary caring and supportive environment to help them grow and deal with their past history.

Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

164. Education for a shared history, identity and culture in the school system and media □ That long-term education programs be introduced to promote the shared dimension of all Mauritians’ history and identity.

□ That the school system (via text books and national programs) should be revised to incorporate more recent approaches of the Mauritian History.

#### Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

176. The Commission further recommends that their history be written before it is forgotten and the oral testimonies of those who lived there be recorded and made available in a public Oral Archive without any time restrictions.

#### Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

Similarly, at the Ministry of Arts and Culture under which, specialists in slavery, indenture and in heritage management, Archaeology, History and Anthropology must be appointed to better monitor these institutions.

#### Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

- ii. History of Agalega should be taught from Primary level onwards. The book of Father Dussercle Agaléga Petite Île is an excellent manual for secondary students.
- iii. A museum, with what is left of the ancient establishment and families, will be a living memory of traditions and culture, and an open book of history.

#### Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

Reparation starts with work on the memory of slavery and of the slaves' history of abuse for psychological healing purposes. This healing process starts with a de-construction of the deep internalised sense of limitations and powerlessness. Furthermore, other social, cultural and psychological dynamics should take into consideration such as differential socialisation and enculturation processes to understand the Cité inner-structure, subculture and value system. It is only with time and sincere and genuine political will that we shall be able to break this deeply seated perception that their marginalisation and underprivileged situation are inherent to their being. The recommendations are all made to help address the plight of the residents of Cité La Mivoie and improve their social and economic situation. We should learn from past errors made during post-slavery whereby now there is no living memory of the slaves among the residents. Recommendations are also proposed for the preservation of the local tangible and intangible heritage to ensure that the history of the residents' ancestors do not go in oblivion and ensure that the memories of their ancestors remain alive.

#### Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

6. That the area known as Trou Chenille be officially recognised as site of former settlement by inhabitants many of whom are descendants of slaves having lived there for generations (and not as squatters) and that their removal be recognised as 'forced removal'. Commission recommends they be compensated accordingly for loss of home, revenue and inability to continue their occupations and traditions. The Commission further recommends that their history be written

before it is forgotten and the oral testimonies of those who lived there be recorded and made available in a public oral archive.

#### Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

9. Ministry of Arts and Culture: Similarly at the Ministry of Arts and Culture under whom, specialists in slavery, indenture and in heritage management archaeology history and anthropology must be appointed to better monitor these institutions. Currently to our knowledge, there are none.

#### Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

The proposers of this Project recommend that the Museum be located in the capital city Port Louis. Apart from giving the history of slavery its due importance it is also appropriate that it should be placed in a location that is reminiscent of slavery and related to slavery. Furthermore as the historic parts of the city are frequently visited by tourists and Mauritians alike, this will ensure financial sustainability for the Museum once it is opened.

#### Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

recommendations emerge that would impinge directly on the ‘Coloured Population’ in the future. Notably, they need to be reassured that they will never have to fight once more for their political, educational, employment and cultural rights. The study opens out on the concept that métissage is, not only inevitable in the global village, but something to be aimed at, since it is the true mark of an intercultural nation. Overcoming the social and cultural barriers between communities will result in an increasing brassage through intermarrying and socializing between communities. But for this to happen, the leaders of our ‘Rainbow Nation’ must give an example and stop fostering communalism for the sake of personal and party advancement. Numbers of votes matter less, in the end, than people, and duty to oneself even less than the national good. The history and development of the ‘Coloured population’ may be a microcosm of the Mauritian people, and many lessons may be drawn from it. Indeed, as Lord Bolingbroke once stated, “History is philosophy teaching by examples.”

#### Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

Rodrigues is disadvantaged because its people are largely ‘Creole’ – hence descendants of slaves. Would a predominantly Indo-Mauritian island be allowed to lack such basic educational resources and infrastructures? Some kind of reverse discrimination, or affirmative action, is therefore called for, if we are to give Rodriguan youths the same opportunities – educational, cultural, social and political – as Mauritian youths. Perhaps, therein lies a microcosmic image of a ‘Coloured’ and ‘Creole’ community through the ages; in Rodrigues, one finds the tangible impact of a society that can become neglected, because of its isolation, because of its origins and because it does not clamour loudly enough. Hence, one of our recommendations, which should also be one of the most urgent pleas of the Truth and Justice Commission, is that Rodrigues should be made a special case for positive discrimination, in terms of funding for education (at primary, secondary and tertiary levels). In connection with Rodrigues, too, interviewees

suggested that the island's history be reevaluated and re-written so that young people might be given a more authentic picture of their past, and that this be put in a truly culturally Creole context.

#### Reference 25 - 0.01% Coverage

- Educating towards a shared history and identity (school system and media awareness campaigns)

The most important recommendation proposed would be to implement serious and long-term educating programs valorizing the shared dimensions of all Mauritians' history and identity.

Fighting communalism in Mauritius has a direct and long-term impact on casteism. If the quest for roots is respectable, it should be contextualized in a definitely Mauritian identity.

The school system (via text books and national programs) should be revised to incorporate more recent approaches of the Mauritian history. The need is 1/ to break the global division line between indenture and slavery in such a way that descendants of both slaves and indentured labourers realize their common historical fate in Mauritius, and their effectively shared living and working conditions in the estate system that resulted in common representations and practices that ought to be valorized whereas they are denied and forgotten. 2/ to promote the shared popular culture of indentured and slaves descendants. This popular culture needs to be valorized against current temptations to promote an invented root in Sanskrit elitist and orthodox Indian culture. The more people will be conscious and proud of their truly popular roots, the more they will realize their shared past and roots with all Mauritians.

#### Reference 26 - 0.01% Coverage

One of the objectives of the Commission is to enquire into the history of slavery and indenture and to uncover truths hitherto hidden, ignored, falsified or simply forgotten. Focus has been on those parts of history that might have an impact on society and economy today.

Recommendations for the direction of further study are given as well as institutional support for these studies recommended to achieve a more complete picture of the history of slavery and indenture.

The Commission, having noted that so few Mauritians know their history, have adopted the approach of providing as large a spectrum of Mauritians with the information and tools to study Mauritian history and especially the history of slavery and indenture. The Commission believes that 'knowledge is power' and empowering Mauritians to guard against the forces of reaction is the safest way to ensure that systems such as indenture and slavery do not repeat themselves on Mauritian soil. Mauritians must have the tools as well as the information to research their own history in a scientific manner. Although much research has been undertaken in Mauritius and overseas on slavery and the slave trade, it is nevertheless true that many of these searches reflect personal academic interests and opinions, often based outside Mauritius and do not address the concerns of Mauritians. The Commission has been privileged to have the support of many historians in Mauritians and overseas who have understood the need of Mauritians and responded to its work positively.

There has also been a historic reluctance to address or confront problematic issues of Mauritian society. Perhaps the belief was that these concerns would go away with time. But the enduring legacies of slavery, emancipation and indenture have ensured that the debate never really goes

away and, in fact, resurfaces from time to time. It has become all too common, in order to present to foreigners the image of an idyllic Mauritius, to hide our history of inequality, injustice, racism, casteism, communalism and prejudice. Despite the fact that Mauritians continue to endure these experiences daily, few institutions, public and private, admit this publicly or even attempt to deal with it. Those who perpetrate injustice are guilty, but those who stay silent in the face of injustice, are equally guilty.

#### Reference 27 - 0.01% Coverage

- ☐ encourage the Church in being more open about its history and allowing access to its archives to researchers before these disappear forever. This can only be achieved by providing assistance in the conservation of church repositories<sup>83</sup>;
- ☐ commission a new history of the Mauritius that is not compartmentalized by ethnic considerations to replace the currently available text, which makes virtually no reference to role (both positive and negative) played by the Church in the forging of Mauritian society;

#### Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

1. Encourage Research Fellows from Rodrigues and Mauritius to relook at the way Mauritius and Rodrigues history was written.

#### Reference 29 - 0.01% Coverage

- ☐ Promote history and other disciplines involved in heritage documentation and research to provide the nation with scientific vision of the past thus allowing the dissemination of knowledge.

#### Reference 30 - 0.01% Coverage

- ☐ Engage a reflection on the notion of national history. This could lead to consider the establishment of the following exhibition spaces to support the restitution of the national past to the population:

## *Reconciliation*

References or discussions of reconciliation

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC\_.Report-FULL> - § 7 references coded [0.04% Coverage]

### Reference 1 - 0.02% Coverage

“This Commission will pave the way to reconciliation, social justice and national unity through the process of re-establishing the historical truth. It is the legitimate expectation of everyone to know our true history. It is only after we have been faced with this reality that we can consolidate unity in our country. It is important therefore that we recognise our past history and lay that past to rest so that we can move on to reconciliation, justice and national unity.” In passing the Truth and Justice Commission into law, the Assembly has followed in the footsteps of a number of diverse countries around the world which have conducted Truth Commissions over the past 25 years. In total, there have been 40 such Commissions, with several more in the offing. Without fail, all stressed the importance of dealing with the past and the moral duty to assist those who had suffered through policies and actions in the past. There is no one size that fits all. Each country is unique in its history, its political systems and its culture. Nevertheless, there are striking similarities in each country’s search for Truth and Justice. There is always violence present in the histories of all of these countries, and there are always victims who have suffered from this violence. There is also always denial. There are many in each of these countries who have sought to deal with the past, as well as people who opposed it and who favoured amnesia rather than remembering. They argued that it was better to turn the page, not to disturb the past, but to move forward. Fortunately, there have also always been those who believe that it is impossible to build a democracy and a human rights culture in any country without taking seriously the past of that country. As George Santana put it, “Those who forget the past are condemned to repeat it”. Thus, it is possible to learn from the experiences of widely differing Commissions without duplicating their journey.

The Mauritian Commission is unique in its focus. Mauritius is the only country in the world to have succeeded in establishing a Truth Commission relating to Slavery and Indenture. It is the only Commission which has investigated the history and consequences of Slavery and Indenture. There are many countries in Africa, such as Liberia, Senegal, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sierra Leone, who have never addressed the grotesque acts of forcing people into slavery. Certainly, those Arab countries which, hundreds of years ago, traded in slavery have never come to terms with that evil either. It is well known that the United States of America has never ever attempted to deal concretely with the consequences of slavery in that country. This is true also of the Caribbean. Hopefully, these countries, and many others, more especially Madagascar and Mozambique, will learn from the Mauritian experience. Mauritius has indeed set an example to the world.

### Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

7. Actions towards national unity and reconciliation to include joint collaborative events where descendants of slave owners and of slaves can interact and share histories, such as that carried

#### Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

mobility, a tool for peace and reconciliation, but when education fails to do the above, social cohesion is threatened and instabilities of diverse kinds are bound to arise. Multicultural Mauritius, whilst peaceful on the surface, has all the ingredients necessary for a social explosion, but only if managed carefully and if its education system is organised and delivered in a manner that permits and ensures genuine equal and equitable chances/opportunities for the children of the descendants of slaves and indenture, it would go a long way towards the creation of durable peace in the country. Peace, as Martin Luther King notes, is not about the absence of conflicts but the presence of justice. Can Mauritian education ensure social cohesion and justice? Education in the postIndependence period has no doubt been informed by the history of the country, and this history has had ramifications for the different segments and communities of Mauritian society.

#### Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

from a history which has been marked by deep divisions characterized by conflict, racism, untold suffering and injustice. But today, the Republic of Mauritius is relatively stable and peaceful although cohesion and reconciliation are not complete and can perhaps be never complete, since reconciliation can be both a goal and a process. However, whether it is a goal or process or both, it should be worked at, so that a more just society, for each and everyone, irrespective of creed, colour, ethnicity, race and gender be obtained.

Cohesion and reconciliation depend heavily on our ability to see and understand what is happening today, right now - more than 40 years after Independence with all the learning and consequences (some visible and others not so visible) that our slave and indentured history has left us with. The legacy of the unequal power relations and deep divisions that existed between the haves and the have-nots, the White and the Non-White, the coloniser and the colonized, has taken many forms, and has had many consequences. Digging into the implications of this legacy, particularly as pertains to the educational arena, is a complex task since education in multiethnic Mauritius is often shaped and influenced by a number of forces with different vested interests. Several institutions have left their mark on education, some more positive than others. Education in Mauritius was, during the colonial period, a very rare commodity. When it did come on offer, it was for the privileged few. Enforced illiteracy had several consequences for the descendants of slaves and indentured labour, many of whom became assetless, powerless and voiceless as a result.

#### Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

Forgiveness and Reconciliation Deconstructing the history and memory of certain people and places can assist in

#### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

The present report, done by a group of Rodriguans, aims at presenting, in an objective way, how the population of Rodrigues sees their past traumatic history, how they are coping with the present and how they envisage the future of the next generations. It is, indeed, an attempt to

revisit the history of the island from the days of slavery to present time from a Rodriguan perspective. It is hoped that the recommendations of this report will be integrated in the National Policy and implemented as soon as possible so that in 2030, every single person born in Rodrigues in 2011(18 – 19 yrs old by then) is able to benefit from the plethora of opportunities offered by his/her fatherland to develop to his/her full potential in a totally liberalised world.

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

3. The way forward is encourage research fellows from Rodrigues & Mauritius to relook into the way Mauritian and Rodriguans History have been written so far.

## *Social Justice*

References or discussions of social justice

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC\_.Report-FULL> - § 9 references coded [0.04% Coverage]

### Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

“The history of our country is based on a continuous quest for freedom and social justice. Our past has been marked by the forcible removal of thousands of people from the mainland of Africa, Madagascar and Asia. These are the darkest and most shameful pages of our history. The introduction of indentured labour under slavish conditions was no less shameful and evil.”

### Reference 2 - 0.02% Coverage

“This Commission will pave the way to reconciliation, social justice and national unity through the process of re-establishing the historical truth. It is the legitimate expectation of everyone to know our true history. It is only after we have been faced with this reality that we can consolidate unity in our country. It is important therefore that we recognise our past history and lay that past to rest so that we can move on to reconciliation, justice and national unity.” In passing the Truth and Justice Commission into law, the Assembly has followed in the footsteps of a number of diverse countries around the world which have conducted Truth Commissions over the past 25 years. In total, there have been 40 such Commissions, with several more in the offing. Without fail, all stressed the importance of dealing with the past and the moral duty to assist those who had suffered through policies and actions in the past. There is no one size that fits all. Each country is unique in its history, its political systems and its culture. Nevertheless, there are striking similarities in each country’s search for Truth and Justice. There is always violence present in the histories of all of these countries, and there are always victims who have suffered from this violence. There is also always denial. There are many in each of these countries who have sought to deal with the past, as well as people who opposed it and who favoured amnesia rather than remembering. They argued that it was better to turn the page, not to disturb the past, but to move forward. Fortunately, there have also always been those who believe that it is impossible to build a democracy and a human rights culture in any country without taking seriously the past of that country. As George Santana put it, “Those who forget the past are condemned to repeat it”. Thus, it is possible to learn from the experiences of widely differing Commissions without duplicating their journey.

The Mauritian Commission is unique in its focus. Mauritius is the only country in the world to have succeeded in establishing a Truth Commission relating to Slavery and Indenture. It is the only Commission which has investigated the history and consequences of Slavery and Indenture. There are many countries in Africa, such as Liberia, Senegal, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sierra Leone, who have never addressed the grotesque acts of forcing people into slavery. Certainly, those Arab countries which, hundreds of years ago, traded in slavery have never come to terms with that evil either. It is well known that the United States of America has never ever attempted to deal concretely with the consequences of slavery in that country. This is true also of the Caribbean. Hopefully, these countries, and many others, more especially Madagascar and

Mozambique, will learn from the Mauritian experience. Mauritius has indeed set an example to the world.

#### Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

In its short 400-year-old history, Mauritius has known one of the worst forms of injustice, marked by the establishment of slavery and a not-so-perfect post-emancipation period where indentured labour was brought in. Today, Mauritius is now considered as one of the most avant-gardiste in the field of Social Justice. Yet a Truth and Justice Commission was set up, indicating that all was not well.

#### Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission's mandate was to look at the consequences, if any, of this history of slavery and indenture and make recommendations to this effect to increase social justice. While the history of slavery and indenture, the post-emancipation period has been examined and continuities and consequences outlined, the question remains: how does one increase social justice? It is important to first examine briefly the philosophical precepts underlying the task before the Commission in order to provide a basis for understanding what needs to be done and, above all, enable the Mauritian public to understand what, and why, particular recommendations are being made.

#### Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

For the first time in the history of the island, elections were held in 1959 on the basis of universal suffrage. This marked an era of emancipation of the whole population in its fight for social justice.

#### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

8. Jimmy Harmon Jimmy Harmon is an academic and claims to be a militant engaged in the promotion of the Creole community. He has indeed devoted his life to the study of the behavioral attitude of Creoles towards education and their relations with the Catholic Church and Government. His interest in the history of Mauritius has enlightened him on the circumstances which have led to the 'marginalization' of the Creole community to which he claims to belong. His struggle in favour of the rehabilitation of the Creoles during his 22year career as an educationist has led him to conclude that racism and the worst method of discrimination are the root causes for the situation in which the descendents of slaves find themselves today. He is fully conscious that the struggle for restorative justice is not an easy one, but he believes that the Truth and Justice Commission has a sacrosanct task to make major recommendations to bring about a drastic change of policy by government to better the fate of the Creole community in Mauritius. He also stated:

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

promote transparency and accountability, have the potential to heal past wounds, to provide a platform for citizens to engage with their fears and expectations, social justice. For this to happen, there needs to be reparations. Some of the hearings that have been done in Truth and Justice Commissions, inclusive that of Mauritius, have actually spoken of reparations and others have pointed towards the need for it. While historical periods and contexts are very different, many of the hearings across the board point to the need for healing, the need for forgiveness, the need for greater accountability and the urgent need of redress. The Mauritian Truth and Justice Commission which is digging in the consequences of a relatively distant history cannot, unlike many other Truth and Justice Commissions, bring the actual perpetrators of the violence to the platform but several voices emerging from the hearings speak of the violence perpetrated in the world of Education as well as the present-day prejudices and discriminatory practices that children of slave and indenture descent are having to experience. The former are much more pronounced amongst children of slave descent.

#### Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

Social justice is a concept which is quite new in the history of mankind. Before the beginning of the 19th century, much of Mankind lived in what Charles Darwin termed as the rule of the survival of the fittest. The poor and the weak had to fend for themselves in a hostile world, just as in the animal kingdom. It was the world of kings and princes and chieftains who had the Divine Rights to treat their subjects according to their whims. People were deemed to have no rights but obligations. Obligations to produce one's own food, and other necessities to wage war, and to pay taxes.

#### Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

For the first time in the history of the island, elections were held in 1959 on the basis of universal suffrage. This marked an era of emancipation of the whole population in the fight for social justice.

## *True or Accurate*

References or discussions of true, accurate, genuine or revised history

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC\_.Report-FULL> - § 19 references coded [0.10% Coverage]

### Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

For long, there has been a dearth of literature on the real history of slavery in Mauritius. The history of the colony of Mauritius was first viewed as the history of the ruling class consisting of French colons and their descendants. Most of the descendants of ex-slaves live in such total ignorance of the history of their ancestors, that an attempt to unveil their history is very recent. Further, it is not easy to assess the exact number of citizens who claim ancestry of slaves of African

### Reference 2 - 0.02% Coverage

“This Commission will pave the way to reconciliation, social justice and national unity through the process of re-establishing the historical truth. It is the legitimate expectation of everyone to know our true history. It is only after we have been faced with this reality that we can consolidate unity in our country. It is important therefore that we recognise our past history and lay that past to rest so that we can move on to reconciliation, justice and national unity.”

In passing the Truth and Justice Commission into law, the Assembly has followed in the footsteps of a number of diverse countries around the world which have conducted Truth Commissions over the past 25 years. In total, there have been 40 such Commissions, with several more in the offing. Without fail, all stressed the importance of dealing with the past and the moral duty to assist those who had suffered through policies and actions in the past. There is no one size that fits all. Each country is unique in its history, its political systems and its culture. Nevertheless, there are striking similarities in each country’s search for Truth and Justice. There is always violence present in the histories of all of these countries, and there are always victims who have suffered from this violence. There is also always denial. There are many in each of these countries who have sought to deal with the past, as well as people who opposed it and who favoured amnesia rather than remembering. They argued that it was better to turn the page, not to disturb the past, but to move forward. Fortunately, there have also always been those who believe that it is impossible to build a democracy and a human rights culture in any country without taking seriously the past of that country. As George Santana put it, “Those who forget the past are condemned to repeat it”. Thus, it is possible to learn from the experiences of widely differing Commissions without duplicating their journey.

The Mauritian Commission is unique in its focus. Mauritius is the only country in the world to have succeeded in establishing a Truth Commission relating to Slavery and Indenture. It is the only Commission which has investigated the history and consequences of Slavery and Indenture. There are many countries in Africa, such as Liberia, Senegal, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sierra Leone, who have never addressed the grotesque acts of forcing people into slavery. Certainly, those Arab countries which, hundreds of years ago, traded in slavery have never come to terms with that evil either. It is well known that the United States of America has never ever attempted to deal concretely with the consequences of slavery in that country. This is true also of

the Caribbean. Hopefully, these countries, and many others, more especially Madagascar and Mozambique, will learn from the Mauritian experience. Mauritius has indeed set an example to the world.

#### Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

It was further decided that there would be three broad areas of research; firstly, the revision of History from 1723 to 2009 (slavery, indentured labourers and identification of elements of History which have not been studied yet or hidden or not known, i.e., the caste system, post-1835 situation of ex-slaves, etc); secondly, the consequences of slavery and indentured labour on society. Thirdly, measures to achieve Social Justice. In addition, a number of critical specialist studies were undertaken on land, reparations, the role of religion and the collecting of views of people who are not so visible or vocal through Oral History.

There were a number of project teams established. These included Slave Trade and Slavery; the Indentured Experience; Mauritian Economic History; Culture, Ethnicity, Memory and Identity; Health; Education; Towards a Just Society; Rodrigues, Agalega, Chagos and St. Brandon Islands; Recommendations.

#### Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

ii. Provide Mauritians with all the data required, free of charge, to reconstruct this family tree in recognition of the numerous difficulties faced by ordinary Mauritians to collect relevant and accurate data concerning their family history.

#### Reference 5 - 0.02% Coverage

1. Establishing the 'Truth' about History is not an easy task. Firstly, there is the professional historians' point of view that there is no such thing as 'permanent truth', since new research will change what has been accepted. There is also 'public history' which often contains 'perceptions of truth'. This is the truth that the TJC has attempted to deal with. In addition to this mandate, the TJC also had an underlying mandate which was to promote reconciliation. In Mauritius, reconciliation was seen by many as being possible, only if one did not talk about one's history. This was no longer possible in contemporary Mauritius. Although some institutions and individual Mauritians have understood this, the TJC did clash with several institutions that possessed important repositories of documents but did not wish to open them to the TJC or to the public. Summons were issued and, in some cases, the access issues were resolved. Whether the access to the public will continue, is a matter which the TJC has, no control over. The TJC is, at least, sure that the public is fully aware that these archives exist, the Mauritian public has every right to access them, and that the State has the responsibility of preserving these documents and not allowing private appropriation of these documents. Opening access and a more forceful policy of encouraging historical research and an open debate, rather than engaging in parallel debates, will lead further to national reconciliation in the future.

2. The TJC has held 212 hearings at its offices and outside Port Louis. These also constitute the TJC archives as they show clearly public perceptions about Mauritian History and lives of Mauritians. They are, however, representative of the most vocal sections of Mauritians, rather than the voiceless. The TJC endeavoured to collect the views of Mauritians whose voices had no

chance of being heard in Port Louis, and it embarked on a massive oral history collection exercise. The TJC feels that we have reached a wide cross-section of the Mauritian community and covered a variety of historical experiences of Mauritians living in the 20th century. These are personal experiences of contemporary Mauritians and reveal their personal interpretations of their history. The statements, when taken together, are amazingly similar, and a full study was undertaken by a multidisciplinary team of Historians, Anthropologists, Sociologists and Ethnographers. The results are presented in the technical papers in Volumes 3 and 4 of the Report. The evidence shows even more clearly how many Mauritians know so little about Mauritian history and their family history. What Mauritians have preserved about their own history is limited, although this is to some extent understandable, because most Mauritians have led difficult lives. However, it is clear that their approach to life differs considerably, depending on their culture, religion (or absence of it), class and economic status in life.

The TJC cannot claim to have rewritten the whole history of slavery and indenture, but it has, at least, given a conceptual and structural version of Mauritian history free from political and racial agendas. It is now incumbent on future scholars and community groups to reflect and build on this and continue the work accomplished. The TJC has provided the tools and the sources where the historical material may be found, and civil society must now take this further. TJC's version of history cannot be considered as the 'official' history, but the beginning of a new 'national' history, in the sense that TJC recognises the fact that there are different perspectives and approaches.

#### Reference 6 - 0.02% Coverage

3. A third issue that the TJC has dealt with, has been the suspicion and concern expressed in many quarters about academic history not reaching the local population. The TJC attempted, therefore, to bring together, through its historical projects, scholars, community groups and the local population. There was, we believe, frank discussions where community views were able to feed on the work of scholars, (local and foreign) who were able to voice their views, share their knowledge and arrive at a consensus. The TJC feels it was the start of a new historical 'adventure' and hopes that this approach will be continued in the future. It is hoped that the historians involved, have recognized the value of this work. TJC thus avoided what has become common elsewhere, where Western academic scholarship has clashed with community-based' histories. TJC has also ensured that other forms of historical research have been used, in particular oral history and that archaeological and ethnographic research has been used and promoted in the various studies. Such studies finally aroused a great deal of public attention, and this is indeed very encouraging for the future. It is clear, however, that the gap between academic history and communities being researched needs to be narrowed even further. TJC has devised a policy that will guarantee access to most of the data collected (archival, oral, ethnographic, and archaeological) to the public as well as the academic community.

Knowledge production is still an issue as people from particular ethnic groups tend to read what historians from their own ethnic groups write, even though it may not be completely objective and scientific in its approach. The class, caste and gender approaches need also to be incorporated into Mauritian History. These historians and communities would benefit from sharing their perspectives, and this would go a long way towards a shared history and a shared heritage in the future. Academic historians need, therefore, to popularize their writings. They also need to relate their findings to the contemporary situation.

4. How one faces the past was another area of concern. Will apologies and forgiveness heal the wounds of the past? Some believe so. TJC believes it is not enough and that public institutions must ensure that the debate about our history never ends, because history is always being written and rewritten. Although many wish to close the book, this will not be possible. Rather, TJC invites Mauritians to continue uncovering the Truth, and not to forget that Injustice can always recur and that Mauritians must be vigilant.

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

4. Collecting views of people who are not so visible or vocal through collection of Oral History.

#### Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

In order to achieve control or maintain hegemony, dominant groups construct fictions and homogeneity relating to various intra community group. Myth, legend and history as fictions against others enable the crafting and reinforcement of power. Struggle between the desire to obtain an “essential” identity that makes for political currency among the dominant groups, and the experience of new cultural values, transiting in all ethnic communities, has been and is still a main issue for power relationships.

#### Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

3. More openness is needed in reflections on History to loosen existing controls over meaning and identity.

#### Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

curriculum content, the pedagogy and the culture of the school – often with all of those forming part of a dominant culture - there is an urgent need to rethink, revisit and repair all the wrong, much of which has been largely informed by the Colonial History of the island.

#### Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

In its short 400-year-old history, Mauritius has known one of the worst forms of injustice, marked by the establishment of slavery and a not-so-perfect post-emancipation period where indentured labour was brought in. Today, Mauritius is now considered as one of the most avant-gardiste in the field of Social Justice. Yet a Truth and Justice Commission was set up, indicating that all was not well.

#### Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

the onset of the twentieth century. As a method of research, then, oral history can help us to redress some of these imbalances in the historical record and it can shed new light on old debates as I hope shall become evident in the course of this study. The type of people interviewed by the AGTF’s research assistants and their community facilitators includes the views of field labourers, skilled artisans, sirdars, job-contractors, markers and other estate personnel. This study

does not pretend to be able to encompass the views of all of these informants. Given that field labourers are the most numerous employees in the Mauritian sugar industry, it is inevitable that their views will receive more consideration than others. But this should not be taken to mean that the views presented in this report have been accepted uncritically, or without being exposed to some form of critical scrutiny.

#### Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

There is another reason why this assumption is problematic. As I pointed out in a subsequent review of the various memoranda that were written detailing how to initiate the AGTF's oral history project, it is problematic to refer to estate camp residents as the "descendents of indentured labourers" without mentioning the thousands of time-expired and non-expired

#### Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

4. That a new history of Mauritius be written by a research team, emerging from the Truth and Justice Commission, and using some of the ideas mooted by many communities. This history should emphasise the contribution of all A simplified version of the history of slavery and indentured labour, could communities/groups to the development of the Mauritian nation. A good example of this approach is Jean-Claude de l'Estrac's *L'île Maurice racontée à mes petits enfants*. On the other hand, histories based on one community – e.g. Sino-Mauritians, the 'Coloured Population' – should be actively discouraged.

#### Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

In order to achieve control or maintain hegemony, dominant groups construct fictions and homogeneity relating to various intra-community groups. Myth, legend and history as fictions against others enable the crafting and reinforcement of power. Struggle between the desire to obtain an "essential" identity that makes for political currency among the dominant groups and the experience of new cultural values, transiting in all ethnic communities has been and is still a main issue for power relationships. More openness is needed in reflections on history to loosen existing controls over meaning and identity, political will

#### Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

their failures and to believe that something is wrong with them, when actually it is the nature of the curriculum content, the pedagogy and the culture of the school – often with all of those forming part of a dominant culture - there is an urgent need to rethink, revisit and repair all the wrong, much of which has been largely informed by the colonial history of the island. The next chapter in fact addresses the question of reparations.

#### Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

We cannot change the past but we can reconcile ourselves with our past so as to have a better future. Every confrontation with historical injustice begins with establishing and upholding the Truth, against the inevitable tendencies to deny, extenuate, and forget. The appointment of the TJC and the various public programs it have organised has certainly done a great deal to create awareness of a history that had been largely erased from the collective memory of our country. Yet, there is more to be done.

#### Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

documentation including correspondence between the Governor of Mauritius and the Secretary of State for the Colonies pertaining to the period immediately preceding Independence.<sup>20</sup> It seems that this deliberate or unconscious act was part of the strategy of concealment to the detriment of the reconstruction of our history, leaving sections of past undocumented.

#### Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

The concern for legitimacy seemed omnipresent, when we note that the Société erected symbols through the construction of monuments that represented outstanding characters, historic figures or representatives of authority<sup>19</sup>. These three categories showed the need to anchor the position of the nineteenth-century elite and convey a concern for the past that focused on local realisations with reference to European markers. The memory process of the elite operated on the strength of Western references to identify local symbols. The elite developed a memory that negotiated its contribution to local history and affirmed its cultural belonging. Through this process, the elite created and instituted a local anchorage on the colonial territory.

## *Truth Commissions*

References or discussions of this truth commissions process, as well as past or other countries truth commissions

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC\_.Report-FULL> - § 42 references coded [0.19% Coverage]

### Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

The members shall be persons having wide experience in the field of history, anthropology, culture, economics or law and shall perform their functions independently of the control or authority of any person or body and in an impartial manner.

### Reference 2 - 0.02% Coverage

“This Commission will pave the way to reconciliation, social justice and national unity through the process of re-establishing the historical truth. It is the legitimate expectation of everyone to know our true history. It is only after we have been faced with this reality that we can consolidate unity in our country. It is important therefore that we recognise our past history and lay that past to rest so that we can move on to reconciliation, justice and national unity.” In passing the Truth and Justice Commission into law, the Assembly has followed in the footsteps of a number of diverse countries around the world which have conducted Truth Commissions over the past 25 years. In total, there have been 40 such Commissions, with several more in the offing. Without fail, all stressed the importance of dealing with the past and the moral duty to assist those who had suffered through policies and actions in the past. There is no one size that fits all. Each country is unique in its history, its political systems and its culture. Nevertheless, there are striking similarities in each country’s search for Truth and Justice. There is always violence present in the histories of all of these countries, and there are always victims who have suffered from this violence. There is also always denial. There are many in each of these countries who have sought to deal with the past, as well as people who opposed it and who favoured amnesia rather than remembering. They argued that it was better to turn the page, not to disturb the past, but to move forward. Fortunately, there have also always been those who believe that it is impossible to build a democracy and a human rights culture in any country without taking seriously the past of that country. As George Santana put it, “Those who forget the past are condemned to repeat it”. Thus, it is possible to learn from the experiences of widely differing Commissions without duplicating their journey.

The Mauritian Commission is unique in its focus. Mauritius is the only country in the world to have succeeded in establishing a Truth Commission relating to Slavery and Indenture. It is the only Commission which has investigated the history and consequences of Slavery and Indenture. There are many countries in Africa, such as Liberia, Senegal, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sierra Leone, who have never addressed the grotesque acts of forcing people into slavery. Certainly, those Arab countries which, hundreds of years ago, traded in slavery have never come to terms with that evil either. It is well known that the United States of America has never ever attempted to deal concretely with the consequences of slavery in that country. This is true also of the Caribbean. Hopefully, these countries, and many others, more especially Madagascar and

Mozambique, will learn from the Mauritian experience. Mauritius has indeed set an example to the world.

#### Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

As soon as the Truth and Justice Commission Act was promulgated, Professor Robert Shell was appointed as Chairman of the Commission and four additional Commissioners were appointed: Dr. Vijayalakshmi Teelock (Vice-Chairperson), Mr. Benjamin Moutou, Dr. Paramaseeven Veerapen, Mr. Lindsay Morvan. On 8th April 2010, Mr. Morvan resigned from the Commission and the President of the Republic appointed Mr. Jacques David on 1st July 2010 to fill the vacancy. Premises were obtained in the capital, Port Louis, and a plan of action was drawn up. This included a communications policy, a website, and a brochure in four languages, English, French, Creole and Bhojpuri (the text was drafted by Mr. Morvan and translated by Mr. Robert Furlong, Dr. PoliceMichel and Ms. Suchita Ramdin). There was also a logo competition and a workshop which focused on major themes such as Gaps and Silences in the History of Slavery and Indentured Labour, Methodology and Approaches, Achieving Justice and Equality. A notice was published, inviting the public to participate in the work of the Commission and to send in documents. Contact was made with the media, which resulted in extensive coverage on television, radio and in the print media.

#### Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

It was further decided that there would be three broad areas of research; firstly, the revision of History from 1723 to 2009 (slavery, indentured labourers and identification of elements of History which have not been studied yet or hidden or not known, i.e., the caste system, post-1835 situation of ex-slaves, etc); secondly, the consequences of slavery and indentured labour on society. Thirdly, measures to achieve Social Justice. In addition, a number of critical specialist studies were undertaken on land, reparations, the role of religion and the collecting of views of people who are not so visible or vocal through Oral History. There were a number of project teams established. These included Slave Trade and Slavery; the Indentured Experience; Mauritian Economic History; Culture, Ethnicity, Memory and Identity; Health; Education; Towards a Just Society; Rodrigues, Agalega, Chagos and St. Brandon Islands; Recommendations.

#### Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

Part of the Mandate of the Truth and Justice Commission requires the assessment of the consequences of slavery and indenture. The task of assessing these consequences entails, inter alia, a review of 350 years of Mauritian History. As pointed out by the Chairman in his introduction, the Commission has, therefore, focussed on three aspects: History; consequences, and how to achieve a more just society.

#### Reference 6 - 0.02% Coverage

1. Establishing the 'Truth' about History is not an easy task. Firstly, there is the professional historians' point of view that there is no such thing as 'permanent truth', since new research will

change what has been accepted. There is also ‘public history’ which often contains ‘perceptions of truth’. This is the truth that the TJC has attempted to deal with. In addition to this mandate, the TJC also had an underlying mandate which was to promote reconciliation. In Mauritius, reconciliation was seen by many as being possible, only if one did not talk about one’s history. This was no longer possible in contemporary Mauritius. Although some institutions and individual Mauritians have understood this, the TJC did clash with several institutions that possessed important repositories of documents but did not wish to open them to the TJC or to the public. Summons were issued and, in some cases, the access issues were resolved. Whether the access to the public will continue, is a matter which the TJC has, no control over. The TJC is, at least, sure that the public is fully aware that these archives exist, the Mauritian public has every right to access them, and that the State has the responsibility of preserving these documents and not allowing private appropriation of these documents. Opening access and a more forceful policy of encouraging historical research and an open debate, rather than engaging in parallel debates, will lead further to national reconciliation in the future.

2. The TJC has held 212 hearings at its offices and outside Port Louis. These also constitute the TJC archives as they show clearly public perceptions about Mauritian History and lives of Mauritians. They are, however, representative of the most vocal sections of Mauritians, rather than the voiceless. The TJC endeavoured to collect the views of Mauritians whose voices had no chance of being heard in Port Louis, and it embarked on a massive oral history collection exercise. The TJC feels that we have reached a wide cross-section of the Mauritian community and covered a variety of historical experiences of Mauritians living in the 20th century. These are personal experiences of contemporary Mauritians and reveal their personal interpretations of their history. The statements, when taken together, are amazingly similar, and a full study was undertaken by a multidisciplinary team of Historians, Anthropologists, Sociologists and Ethnographers. The results are presented in the technical papers in Volumes 3 and 4 of the Report. The evidence shows even more clearly how many Mauritians know so little about Mauritian history and their family history. What Mauritians have preserved about their own history is limited, although this is to some extent understandable, because most Mauritians have led difficult lives. However, it is clear that their approach to life differs considerably, depending on their culture, religion (or absence of it), class and economic status in life.

The TJC cannot claim to have rewritten the whole history of slavery and indenture, but it has, at least, given a conceptual and structural version of Mauritian history free from political and racial agendas. It is now incumbent on future scholars and community groups to reflect and build on this and continue the work accomplished. The TJC has provided the tools and the sources where the historical material may be found, and civil society must now take this further. TJC’s version of history cannot be considered as the ‘official’ history, but the beginning of a new ‘national’ history, in the sense that TJC recognises the fact that there are different perspectives and approaches.

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

To empower Mauritians to research their own History, the Commission has focussed on: 1. The collection of data with the aim of dissemination for future scholars and the public at large; 2. Pointing to new and innovative ways of looking at Mauritian History by some selective and indepth studies which will also guide future policies in History Education and Teaching; 3. Encouraging institutions to open up their collections rather than preserve it for the select few.

#### Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

Due to the volume of research being commissioned, it was necessary for the TJC to devise a policy, guidelines and framework for research projects. These were amended from time to time, as a result of various consultations with researchers, public and private institutions about confidential/personal/oral data. Two workshops were successfully held: one on Oral History and another on Data Protection. The Commission also decided to create Digital Archives, given the number of audio, film and other iconographic data collected. Conditions of access also needed to be specified for this for the future. This policy is to be found in Appendices One and Two.

#### Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

It was not understood by these institutions that the aim of collecting these documents was twofold: (a) to enable an objective and comprehensive study to be made, and (b) to make these documents available to the Mauritian public so they may study their own history and, in so doing, dispel the many myths and misconceptions that abound in Mauritian History. As stated above, it is a fact and this was confirmed during hearings held at the TJC, that most Mauritians are not familiar with basic facts about their own history. They must, in future, be given the tools with which to be able to judge the veracity and objectivity of what they hear and read which unfortunately, more often than not, is only partial information, often not objective and also ethnically-inspired.

#### Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

Volume I contains the Commission's report and covers all topics falling under the mandate of the Commission, namely the history of the slave trade, slavery and indenture; the economics of slavery and indenture; legacies, consequences and continuities; racism and casteism; education and health, land reform, social justice, ending with main findings and recommendations. The last part of the recommendations is a consolidated version with those considered high priority on top of the list. A time-frame for implementation is also included.

Volume Two consists of papers prepared by the Land Team on Land issues in Mauritius, as well as the results of the analysis by the same Team on the 340 claims concerning land dispossession. It is divided into a History of Land Tenure section, detailed studies on selected topics such as Lack of capital, prescription and a summary of each case and the main findings of the Land Team. As Commissioners were not Land experts, the Commission has borrowed heavily (but not exclusively) from the Report of the Land Team to make its general findings on cases being heard before the Commission.

Volumes Three and Four consist of technical papers, research reports and surveys conducted by a team of consultants, researchers and research assistants. It is divided thematically. Volume Three consists mainly of studies of contemporary Mauritius and surveys which Mauritians had expressed themselves or participated in. Volume Four consists mainly of studies by specialists in the field of History, Economics, Anthropology, Psychology, using an immense amount of archival material. Both volumes also contain the recommendations of the persons or teams undertaking the study and a substantial set of references.

Volume Five in digital format, is the collection of all audio and film material collected by the Commission and is divided into: a Hearings Section, where the audio and the transcriptions are included; the oral history interviews that were not confidential and their transcripts; a press cuttings database and photos and film strips covering the work of the Commission during field-trips, surveys and site visits.

#### Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

This has been one of the most intractable questions, given the lack of information. Here too, one must refrain from treating all ex-slaves as one uniform mass of persons. However, it is not so much how they travelled but where they ended up at different times in history, up to today. What was their trajectory? The TJC used the migration pattern of inhabitants of one village to attempt to reconstruct this history. More family histories need to be undertaken nationwide to assess the full extent of the mobility of ex-slaves and their families across Mauritius from 1835 to the 1940s. One must not forget, however, those who were free before that date and their trajectories in life.

#### Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

As stated, the aim is not to review the entire history of slavery, rather to look at lesser-known aspects which deserve to be better known.

#### Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

The cultural relationships including lineages, languages, and traditions, which, from the mideighteenth to the early twentieth centuries, emerged in the slave trade and slavery and after, in the region, need to be better known by Mauritians. The Commission has initiated this by undertaking a preliminary study of Mozambique-Mauritius slave trade to better understand the full extent of our cultural origins and our history. This must be continued.

#### Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

The TJC was immensely fortunate to obtain the advice and voluntary services of Mr. Patrick Drack, a French National of Mauritian ancestry who, through his personal search for his own family history, has digitized, in France and in Mauritius, many Civil Status documents and assisted Mauritian families abroad in their searches. Mr. Drack has prepared the project for such a Centre which the Commission was happy to endorse whilst respecting his wish that there be no compartmentalisation of the Mauritian population.

#### Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

Furthermore, Mauritius is the first country in Africa and the world to have a Truth and Justice Commission investigating the history of slavery and its consequences and to accept the principle that reparations are required.

#### Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

Considering the role of future generations in social and cultural development of the continent, the main goal of this Project, is to rescue the history of slavery and the slave traffic in southeastern Africa. In this context, the gathering, collection and preservation of oral traditions; as well as the promotion of cultural diversity and cultural tourism, and of a whole range of activities interconnected to this phenomenon, are crucial to this Project.

#### Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

The work undertaken by the Commission has been laborious, given the short span of time available to probe into more than 300 years of History since the first land grant (concession) was given officially in 1726 to Pierre Christophe Lenoir, a French colon, Director of Pondichéry. Moreover, the task was delicate as it concerned people who have a profound emotional attachment to land they believe they have lost. Working sessions with hundreds of persons from all walks of life, have aroused mixed feelings. People were led to believe that the Commission was a centre where they could be registered on a list to obtain compensation, either as descendants of slaves or indentured labourers; others firmly believed that the Commission was set up to help them recover plots of land which,

#### Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

At the closing date of 30th June 2010, the Truth and Justice Commission received some 230 files from claimants in Mauritius and 30 others from Rodrigues, to be analysed and assessed in order to find out how dispossession occurred. The background highlighted above gives an idea of how things happened at different periods of our history.

#### Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

The setting up of the Truth and Justice Commission has created high expectations within the Mauritian population at large. Different people had different interpretations of the true mandate of the Commission, particularly as far as land is concerned. Most of those who presented themselves before the Commission were of the opinion that the TJC would do the utmost to retrieve the land that their ancestors might have possessed at different periods of our history. While others thought that they would be compensated for the land they probably owned and which they have lost. This perception has, moreover, been emphasized from certain quarters who have led people to believe that the Commission has been created, first and foremost, to take back large portions of lands, especially from sugar estates, and to undertake an equitable redistribution among the less privileged and those lower on the economic and social ladder.

#### Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

The Oral History Project research (See ORAL HISTORY OF DESCENDANTS OF SLAVES Part 1, Volume 3), commissioned by the Truth and Justice Commission to document and preserve the memories and views of people who consider themselves as slave descendants, surveyed the collective memory of the people who have a particular knowledge of the history, culture, lifestyle, heritage and traditions of slaves, ex-slaves and their descendants. The survey,

which covered the islands of Mauritius and Rodrigues, Agaléga, Chagos aimed, amongst others, at uncovering the “Causes of landownership and causes for loss of land” by the descendants of ex-slaves.

#### Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

Commission is to investigate the history of slavery and indenture, its consequences and suggest reparations. It was clear that two years would not allow for the task of reviewing 350 years of history and consequently, the Commission focused on a number of topics for in-depth study. Assessing the consequences or even identifying descendants was less easy as the reports show, since so few Mauritians are aware of their history and still less of their family history. Consultants, scholars and researchers have expressed their personal views on issues, and it is clear that not all views converge. The Commission has studied and considered all views expressed and given its own views in its report in Volume 1. It is understood that the views expressed here are those of the writers themselves, and not those of the Commission. There are many myths and perceptions about Mauritian history that Mauritians have. This has

#### Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

### VOL 3: PART I – SLAVERY - ORAL HISTORY OF DESCENDANTS OF SLAVES INTRODUCTION

This oral history project research has been commissioned by the Truth and Justice Commission to document and preserve the memories and views of people who consider themselves as slave descendants. It surveys the collective memory of the people who have a particular knowledge of the history, culture, lifestyle, heritage and traditions of slaves, ex-slaves and their descendants. The survey covers the islands of Mauritius and Rodrigues, Agaléga, Chagos and aims at uncovering the following topics identified by the Truth and Justice Commission:

#### Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

(i) For the West and South-West (Black River and Savanne Districts) the investigator reported that the quality of the interviews was hampered because of constraints with respect to the quota of informants to be interviewed and the date of submission of the report. It was impossible for the researcher to conduct proper ethnographic fieldwork and oral history interviews because of time constraints.

#### Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

Furthermore, Mauritius is the first country in Africa and the world to have a Truth and Justice Commission investigating the history of slavery and its consequences and to accept the principle that reparations are required.

#### Reference 25 - 0.01% Coverage

Considering the role of future generations in social and cultural development of the continent, the main goal of this Project, is to rescue the history of slavery and the slave traffic in

southeastern Africa. In this context, the gathering, collection and preservation of oral traditions; as well as the promotion of cultural diversity and cultural tourism, and of a whole range of activities interconnected to this phenomenon, are crucial to this Project.

#### Reference 26 - 0.01% Coverage

These analyses of interviews with persons who had previously lived and worked on sugar estates was conducted in the 2007-2009 period, when the Voluntary Retirement Scheme was in progress. They were conducted by research staff of the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund and donated to the TJC who wished to know how Mauritians lived on those estates and what people felt about their lives there and what memories they had. Three themes suggested themselves: first, the life experiences of the people, and if and how have their lives changed over the years; secondly, for those with 'memories' of their parents' and grandparents' lives, to follow their evolution up to today and third, whether there were any variations regionally; fourth, how were Inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic interactions on estates, and lastly, what do they think of their history? The interviewees were between 65 and 70 years of age and their work-related memories were good: they provided factual information about their working lives. They talked little, however, about emotions, thoughts and more subjective issues. About 70% of interviewees were males and the ethnic /religious proportions reflected very roughly the religious/ethnic population of Mauritius still living on sugar estates in the regions studied today. The semi-structured interviews have been conducted by research assistants with interview sheets. All interviews were recorded on either audio or videotapes and an archival form created containing basic information about the informants. These 400 interviews were copied on CDs and donated to the Truth and Justice Commission. The Commission undertook to transcribe these interviews as a gesture of its appreciation for the donation. The methodology used in analyzing oral interviews continues to be discussed and debated in academic circles and interpretations of the same interview often vary among scholars. For this reason, the Commission requested scholars from varying disciplinary traditions and training to assess the consequences on indenture on descendants. This as the reports show, proved a very fruitful exercise. As much as there is variation in the views of informants, so is the situation in the interpretations of this experience by scholars possible. The objectives of the Commission are also to ensure the memory of Mauritians particularly of indentured and slave descent are not forgotten and thus the creation of Oral History database is considered absolutely essential for the preservation of the nation's memory.

#### Reference 27 - 0.01% Coverage

This report describes the living and working conditions of the sugar estate labourers in 21st century Mauritius. It is part of a research project entitled 'Oral History of Descendants of Indentured Labourers', whose objective is: to uncover the life experiences of the descendants of indentured labourers that were, or are still, living and working on sugar estates.

#### Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

As stated earlier, the above-mentioned oral history project aims at investigating the consequences of indentureship on the descendants of the Indian indentured labourers. It should be highlighted that this analysis is not representative of the life-experiences of the descendants of

the Indian immigrants that migrated to Mauritius under the indenture system, in that the sample of respondents was limited to former sugar estate workers who are assumed to be of Indian indentured descent. The white-collar and other blue-collar employees were not interviewed.

#### Reference 29 - 0.01% Coverage

### VOL 3: PART I - INDENTURE - LIFE HISTORIES OF DESCENDANTS - SELECTED HISTORIES INTRODUCTION

The aim of this report is to document the lives of people in 20th century Mauritius through the use of oral history. It does so through the following 10 life histories which provide an overview of the lives of several informants who were interviewed for the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund's Oral History Project. These subjects, seven men and three women, were chosen because they have either led extraordinary or unusual lives that set their experiences apart from most other Mauritians who come from a similar socio-cultural background. Or, alternatively, because their experiences shed light on the kind of experiences other Mauritians are just as likely to have experienced and which provides further insights into what life must have been like for a majority of Mauritians in the not so distant past.

Each of the life-histories are structured similarly and cover, firstly, the childhood memories and experiences of the informant, followed by their working life, then marriage and home life, and, where possible, some information about the present condition of the informants. Each life-history also has an introductory paragraph briefly summarising some of the most salient features that came out of the interviews with the informants.

#### 1.THE LIFE HISTORY OF BHEEM MOONEEAN 1.1 Introduction

#### Reference 30 - 0.01% Coverage

Even if these ten life histories portray the lives of Mauritians in the 20th century yet, they do not provide a full picture of Mauritian lives during the latter period. There are many other interesting aspects of Mauritian life in 20th century Mauritius which could not be explored due to time constraint and thus, which need to be explored by future researcher who should continue to work out the life history of the other informants who were interviewed for the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund's Oral History Project. For example, one can learn some new aspects of Mauritian life in 20th century Mauritius through the interviews of the following informants. M. Bisnauthsing Kewalparsad was 100 years old in 2009. He said that he used to go at his relatives' place by ox cart. Another informant, Mrs. Khaitoo Taramonee, aged 67 in 2009, worked on a Tobacco field for 1 year during her childhood. Mrs. Harradan Premnath who was 57 years old in 2009 worked as Pond-keeper and gardener for Fuel Sugar Estate before starting to work as a labourer on the latter Sugar Estate and being promoted to the position of sirdar. The last but not the least, Mr. Eustasie Joseph Ben who was 80 years old in 2009, studied up to standard VI and after five to six years of training, he worked as a tailor for several years at Grand-Gaube. At the age of 29 he went to live on the camp of Fuel

#### Reference 31 - 0.01% Coverage

The history of the inhabitants has been reconstructed mainly through oral interviews of former estate camp residents, supplemented by some archival research in immigration archives. All photos shown here were lent by the families mentioned in this chapter.

#### Reference 32 - 0.01% Coverage

promote transparency and accountability, have the potential to heal past wounds, to provide a platform for citizens to engage with their fears and expectations, social justice. For this to happen, there needs to be reparations. Some of the hearings that have been done in Truth and Justice Commissions, inclusive that of Mauritius, have actually spoken of reparations and others have pointed towards the need for it. While historical periods and contexts are very different, many of the hearings across the board point to the need for healing, the need for forgiveness, the need for greater accountability and the urgent need of redress. The Mauritian Truth and Justice Commission which is digging in the consequences of a relatively distant history cannot, unlike many other Truth and Justice Commissions, bring the actual perpetrators of the violence to the platform but several voices emerging from the hearings speak of the violence perpetrated in the world of Education as well as the present-day prejudices and discriminatory practices that children of slave and indenture descent are having to experience. The former are much more pronounced amongst children of slave descent.

#### Reference 33 - 0.01% Coverage

However, individual experiences of marriage are highly revealing and allow us to reconstruct in greater detail the social life of indentured immigrants. Marriage patterns among Indentured Immigrants in the early years of immigration are particularly interesting, since they allow us to see the impact of migration on the social life of immigrants. We can understand how far they were able to maintain the social organisation which they had brought with them. It was only possible to undertake a limited study for the purposes of the work of the Commission, but this shows that the process of uncovering the full extent of our history must continue.

#### Reference 34 - 0.01% Coverage

We cannot change the past but we can reconcile ourselves with our past so as to have a better future. Every confrontation with historical injustice begins with establishing and upholding the Truth, against the inevitable tendencies to deny, extenuate, and forget. The appointment of the TJC and the various public programs it has organised has certainly done a great deal to create awareness of a history that had been largely erased from the collective memory of our country. Yet, there is more to be done.

#### Reference 35 - 0.01% Coverage

This report is based essentially on the analysis of fieldnotes and oral interviews which were conducted during field research in Rodrigues in 2010. Fieldwork was carried out in the context of the Oral History of Descendants of Slaves Project commissioned by the TJC. This report should therefore be read in conjunction with the Oral History Project. This report is based on a judgement sample of eight respondents that is equivalent to half of the testimonies collected.

#### Reference 36 - 0.01% Coverage

The history of island remains unknown to many people (including Mauritians and Rodriguans), with Mauritian History taking precedence over that of Rodrigues. This report aims at adding to our knowledge of slavery, its sequels and legacies in contemporary Rodrigues.

#### Reference 37 - 0.01% Coverage

the interviews of the Chagossians, conducted in the context of the Oral History of the Descendants of Slaves, were not available at the time of data compilation. Consequently, the voices of the Chagos islanders are, unfortunately, not included in this document.

#### Reference 38 - 0.01% Coverage

information on their life-experiences, viewed from their own perspective and expressed in their own words. Moreover, their interviews would have provided insight into their feelings and perceptions of their life history and their experience of exile and resettlement.

#### Reference 39 - 0.01% Coverage

comprehensive picture of the impact of forced displacement and resettlement on the latter. Hence, it should be read in conjunction with the Oral History project and other TJC reports on the Chagos Archipelago, since topics covered in the these documents are not included in the present document.

2. BRIEF HISTORY OF THE CHAGOS ARCHIPELAGO The history of the Chagos Archipelago and the Mascarenes islands are interrelated.

In fact, their history forms an integral part of the history of colonialism. The geo-political history of the United States of America and of the United Kingdom greatly impacted on, and played a decisive role in, shaping the historical path of the Chagos and Mauritius as well. (For a historical account of French colonisation of the Chagos Archipelago, see other reports).

#### Reference 40 - 0.01% Coverage

medium of transmission of knowledge and as ‘a means of making history’<sup>13</sup>. It seems that the Chagossian society did not develop a structured written system, and thus oral narratives were a means of communication and transmission of their life-experiences and individual life histories.

#### Reference 41 - 0.01% Coverage

documentation including correspondence between the Governor of Mauritius and the Secretary of State for the Colonies pertaining to the period immediately preceding Independence.<sup>20</sup> It seems that this deliberate or unconscious act was part of the strategy of concealment to the detriment of the reconstruction of our history, leaving sections of past undocumented.

#### Reference 42 - 0.01% Coverage

In the course of our research, we attempted to find answers in a document stating a general policy for culture and heritage. The outcome was not successful. Intentions and objectives are formulated but are not inscribed in an overall policy ensuring an integrated approach to heritage. Considering that the memorial process was always established by the colonial Elite until recently, we believe that the Mauritians themselves hold the answers to what they believe are the common values of the Mauritian society. Our survey revealed that the perception of heritage does not necessarily meet the nature of heritage in place. Indeed, the highest rates defined Mauritian heritage as séga music (20%) and Mauritian cuisine (16%). Archaeological and World Heritage Sites come in third position and museums, next to last. Considering this, we may want to think that the Mauritian population still feels that their heritage – mainly intangible- is not represented in museums or in cultural spaces. For 42% of the people polled, Mauritian history was not well represented in museums. This tells us that the past reconstructed in museums may not meet the expectations of Mauritians and thus discards appropriation.

## *Victims*

References or discussions of victims of violent acts, racism, colonialism, etc.

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC\_.Report-FULL> - § 30 references coded [0.15% Coverage]

### Reference 1 - 0.02% Coverage

“This Commission will pave the way to reconciliation, social justice and national unity through the process of re-establishing the historical truth. It is the legitimate expectation of everyone to know our true history. It is only after we have been faced with this reality that we can consolidate unity in our country. It is important therefore that we recognise our past history and lay that past to rest so that we can move on to reconciliation, justice and national unity.” In passing the Truth and Justice Commission into law, the Assembly has followed in the footsteps of a number of diverse countries around the world which have conducted Truth Commissions over the past 25 years. In total, there have been 40 such Commissions, with several more in the offing. Without fail, all stressed the importance of dealing with the past and the moral duty to assist those who had suffered through policies and actions in the past. There is no one size that fits all. Each country is unique in its history, its political systems and its culture. Nevertheless, there are striking similarities in each country’s search for Truth and Justice. There is always violence present in the histories of all of these countries, and there are always victims who have suffered from this violence. There is also always denial. There are many in each of these countries who have sought to deal with the past, as well as people who opposed it and who favoured amnesia rather than remembering. They argued that it was better to turn the page, not to disturb the past, but to move forward. Fortunately, there have also always been those who believe that it is impossible to build a democracy and a human rights culture in any country without taking seriously the past of that country. As George Santana put it, “Those who forget the past are condemned to repeat it”. Thus, it is possible to learn from the experiences of widely differing Commissions without duplicating their journey. The Mauritian Commission is unique in its focus. Mauritius is the only country in the world to have succeeded in establishing a Truth Commission relating to Slavery and Indenture. It is the only Commission which has investigated the history and consequences of Slavery and Indenture. There are many countries in Africa, such as Liberia, Senegal, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sierra Leone, who have never addressed the grotesque acts of forcing people into slavery. Certainly, those Arab countries which, hundreds of years ago, traded in slavery have never come to terms with that evil either. It is well known that the United States of America has never ever attempted to deal concretely with the consequences of slavery in that country. This is true also of the Caribbean. Hopefully, these countries, and many others, more especially Madagascar and Mozambique, will learn from the Mauritian experience. Mauritius has indeed set an example to the world.

### Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

iii. Children, victims of abuse (sexual/physical/gross neglect/ill-treatment) and who are placed at shelters (NGOs) are at times placed at the RYC at a very young age, given their behavioural problems – there is a need for proper assessment and psychological intervention and close

follow-up at such cases so that they get the necessary caring and supportive environment to help them grow and deal with their past history.

#### Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission also recommends the continuation of an inventory of documents found in France and elsewhere and the continuation of input into the Slave Trade Database. The aim is to establish a list of all ships and their cargo in order to better document the slave trade and arrive at an improved assessment of the volume of the slave trade to Mauritius, and the actual number of slaves having been disembarked in Mauritius. It is also necessary to include in calculations, those ships/persons/slaves destined for Mauritius but who never arrived, due to revolts, shipwrecks, diseases etc. This information will be inserted in the database. Scholars from overseas working on the slave trade to Mauritius, in their respective countries, need to be included in this project, such as Thomas Vernet and Benigna Zimba. It is further recommended that this database work be continued by the University of Mauritius in partnership with other institutions with an interest in the slave trade and slavery. The University possesses both history and computer science departments who can collaborate with minimal cost with each other to maintain the database. It also has a pool of students every year who can be initiated and trained in historical research and data entry. However, appropriate funding must be provided and this work is to be shared with the public through an online database.

The Commission recommends the establishment of an Intercontinental Slavery Museum on the Port Louis Waterfront as a permanent reminder of the existence of slavery and the contribution of slaves to the history of Mauritius. We recommend that the Project be initiated and supervised by the Prime Minister's Office in collaboration with related institutions. Being located in the capital city Port Louis will ensure the history of slavery is given its due importance and also to ensure financial sustainability for the Museum once it is opened.

Finally the Commission recommends a NATIONAL GENEALOGY CENTRE, which will help numerous Mauritians, many of whom of African and Malagasy descent, who faced enormous difficulties in tracing their family history and genealogy. This has also caused much distress in families, and some believed they had lost property as a result. These families were unable to furnish basic information on their ancestors to the TJC. Consequently, the TJC helped a large number of families in recreating their genealogical trees and, during this process, it was able to verify for itself the difficulties mentioned by these families.

#### Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

The Gens de Couleur are part of the intermediate and unique categories that emerged from slavery and indenture but have been forgotten by History because they do not fit into the all-encompassing categories that officials and scholars alike, and Mauritians in general, have created throughout Mauritian History in order to classify Mauritians. As a 'minority within a minority', and because of their higher social position, they have been ignored, if not undermined at times, for their association with the elite. As stated above, however, as a group which emerged directly from slavery and indentured immigration, it was felt they deserved the attention of the Commission.

Several terms have been used throughout Mauritian History to describe this group: 'Coloured Population', 'Libres de Couleur', 'Gens de Couleur', 'Free Population', 'Creoles Ferblan',

‘Mulatres’ etc. We have chosen the term Gens de Couleur as it implies a certain social status whether neither of the other terms do. Their ethnic and social composition was varied: European, Indian, Malagasy, African, Chinese as well as having slave, free and indentured origins. However, not all these origins have been recognized equally by them and the tendency has been to be Westernised and reject the non-European ancestry. In the 18th, 19th and part of the 20th centuries, when relationships between different groups were forbidden or frowned upon, their relationships were not hidden from public view. However, painful this is for the population to admit, it must also be stated that some were the product of sexual exploitation and rape of slave and indentured women on plantations and in urban areas by owners and employers and heads of establishments. They occupied a unique social and economic status which, only in the past few years, is being uncovered, as more and more family histories are brought to light.

#### Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

them. Greater care must be taken in the use of particular category names. Race is not fixed among Mauritians although there is agreement that certain phenotype or physical markers clearly indicate an individual’s racial identity. The history of slavery, indenture and Colonialism has been significant in the classification of individuals in Mauritius, creating enduring categories of ‘oppressors’ and ‘victims’, whose connotations have endured in contemporary society, due to enduring social stratification

#### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

In 1924, the 27 Leprosy patients from St. Lazare were transferred to the Powder Mills which became the Leper Hospital. In 1970, it was integrated into the Skin Disease Unit of the Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam National Hospital with 40 beds and an average of 34 occupied throughout the year. The responsibility for medical care was taken over by specialist dermatologists. Throughout history, lepers were ostracized by their communities and families. This age-old stigma associated with the disease, was an obstacle to self-reporting and early treatment. The final assault on Mycobacterium Leprae was made in 1980s and the multidrug therapy was the key element in the strategy to eliminate leprosy as a public health problem in the Republic of Mauritius. The leper hospital was closed in 2006.

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

8. Jimmy Harmon Jimmy Harmon is an academic and claims to be a militant engaged in the promotion of the Creole community. He has indeed devoted his life to the study of the behavioral attitude of Creoles towards education and their relations with the Catholic Church and Government. His interest in the history of Mauritius has enlightened him on the circumstances which have led to the ‘marginalization’ of the Creole community to which he claims to belong. His struggle in favour of the rehabilitation of the Creoles during his 22year career as an educationist has led him to conclude that racism and the worst method of discrimination are the root causes for the situation in which the descendents of slaves find themselves today. He is fully conscious that the struggle for restorative justice is not an easy one, but he believes that the Truth and Justice Commission has a sacrosanct task to make major recommendations to bring about a

drastic change of policy by government to better the fate of the Creole community in Mauritius. He also stated:

#### Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

10. Jose Rose of the Rastafari movement The Rastafari movement, constitutes a small group of Afro-Malagasy Mauritians established in Chamarel. They have been victims of racial prejudice in their history, because of their lifestyle. They feel they are not lesser citizens of the country. They have been dispossessed of their ancestral land and claim to be the poorest among the poorest class of descendants of former slaves.

#### Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

□ Children, victims of abuse (sexual/physical/gross neglect/ill-treatment) and who are placed at shelters (NGOs) are at times placed at the RYC at a very young age, given their behavioural problems – there is a need for proper assessment and psychological intervention and close follow-up at such cases so that they get the necessary caring and supportive environment to help them grow and deal with their past history.

#### Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

information or a total lack of financial means on the part of complainants to attain their ultimate objective of proving their ownership of land. People relied mostly on their memory, focusing on the oral history transmitted by past generations, but many were unable to explain the mechanism that led to the dispossession of their lands.

#### Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

On one hand, based on interviewees' testimonies, it appears that their identification as descendant of slaves is based on their shared feelings and experiences of sufferings and oppression rooted in the belief that 'the others' and society keep them in oppression by refusing or repressing their social mobility and undermining their history and consequently the memory of the slaves. A collective memory of suffering and oppression is perpetuated with the generational transmission of suffering, misery and poverty that keep the descendants of slaves in the continuous cycle of deprivation. Their identification is not derived from knowledge of ancestral origins but rather on shared legacies of slavery such as social experiences and lack of education and opportunities.

#### Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

For everyone, with the exception of festivities, the government has done nothing for the descendant of slaves and they are still waiting for recognition. Children do not know the history of slavery as it is not taught in schools. Hence, there is a need to correct this error and to include the history of slavery in the school curriculum.

#### Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

The way history has been presented does not help him. He is revolted and that does not help psychologically.

Creoles are born with many handicaps: they have no bank account, they are born in a small house, poor environment. They are ill at ease. Difficult to manage his life conditions as a Creole. Teaching of history must help him think of the future.

#### Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

Oral history uncovered that the settlement of the Cité can be divided into two waves. The first settlement dates back to around 1962-1963 when the victims of Cyclone Carol took possession of their houses.

#### Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

some deeper issues within Mauritian society as a whole. Creoles however do not need a government sponsored study to tell them that they suffer from racial discrimination and before that study was ever undertaken; the first person to publicly declare that there is a problem with Mauritian society concerning the treatment of descendants of slaves is Father Roger Cerveaux, a Catholic priest who coined the term “Malaise Creole”. The ensuing public outcry felt more like a denial than applause or outrage at the situation. Cerveaux expounded his theory on Malaise Creole in the course of a Mass sermon; he declared that Creoles did not enjoy equal economic opportunities as the rest of the population based on their ancestry. In the sermon Cerveaux did not blame Creoles for their own problems per se; he saw them as victims of history who have trouble adjusting to the twenty first century due to ongoing racial discrimination. Ideas such as Cerveaux’s “Malaise Creole” belongs to the school of thought called Mechanism as opposed to Humanism proposed by Prof. Adelbert Jenkins.<sup>7</sup> Jenkins following the humanistic perspective focuses on people as being agents of their own destiny, capable to shape their lives through choices of their own. In so doing, Jenkins makes a clear distinction between the terms humanistic and humanitarian; the former refers to a philosophical stance that puts individuals and their choices as central, determining factors in their fate. While the latter refers to an attitude of compassion or benevolence towards humankind or a philosophical position which strives to attain the highest level of personal (sometimes spiritual) development for all humans. These factors are determinants in the individual’s freedom and responsibility; humanists may or may not be concerned with the welfare of the humankind in general as opposed to humanitarians. Jenkins’ humanistic position is drawn into sharp contrast to the Mechanists’ philosophical approach which sees human beings as constantly shaped by external circumstances with little input of their own.<sup>8</sup>

#### Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

Seeing that our past is still with us, which is true in the United States and Mauritius; a Commission for Truth is an opportunity to heal the damages done to Mauritians through slavery and the indenture system as Randall Robinson says in his book, The debt that America owes to Blacks that “no nation can enslave a race of people for hundreds of years, set them free bedraggled and penniless, pit them, without assistance in a hostile environment, against

privileged victimizers, and then reasonably expect the gap between the heirs of the two groups to narrow. Lines, begun parallel and left alone, can never touch.”<sup>12</sup> Reparations through the Truth and Justice Commission are a means of democratizing history, it gives a voice to those who are seldom heard; silenced by a society founded on slavery.

#### Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

In the following extracts we note the reconstruction of Creole identity via the discourse of victimhood in the story of slavery. It is our view that this is happening because there is a ‘need’ to reassert boundaries around the Creole community and to give it value (by establishing a definitive source of identity and history of Creoles) in the culture-conscious space of Mauritius. It is possible, however, to also cynically argue that some Creoles have appropriated and transformed the discourse of victimisation and suffering apparent in the story of slavery and that they are now reinterpreting the story to argue that their ancestors were resilient and that this resilience is now helping them to confront the legacy of slavery. The discourse of resilience and freedom have now replaced the historical discourse on slavery as an experience marked by humiliation and suffering. Those intent on using the transformed discourse for political purposes are now doing so, as a way of gaining leverage and support from the slave descendant population. It is also our view that the transformation of the discourse of slavery is not the sole project of selected Creole politicians but rather the work of politicians and scholars who actively search for, and promote, narratives of resilience in the history of slavery.

#### Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

persecution and massacres in history. Regarding slavery as the starting traumatic experience, the “Post-Traumatic Slave Syndrome” captures its devastating effects that have been internalized from generation to generation and continuously reinforced by systemic racism and discrimination on the social level. It means that slavery has consequences for all parties and for the whole of society sharing that history.

#### Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

economic construct in the power sharing and making in Mauritian history. Between 1980 and 1990, there were rapid changes in Mauritian economy and society which have led to substantial improvement in the life conditions and education from which Creoles have been excluded. R. Cerveaux, a Catholic priest, denounced the fact that Creoles were poor and marginalized in society and in the Church. According to Cerveaux, Creoles have been victims of slavery, of their own intelligentsia, of the alienating culture of the Church and of politicians pursuing their own interests. The ‘malaise créole’ was the result of a concentration of problems and an accumulation of hurdles to be overcome: a mix of cultural oppression and identity problems, prejudice and stigmatization which are sequels of slavery and its subsequent history, as well as socioeconomic difficulties, precarious employment, low wages, housing problems: “Education in the broad sense was considered a key issue in reducing inequalities and repairing injustices towards Creoles’ situation” (Romaine, 2010).

#### Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

late 1990s. All components of the Mauritian society were affected. Throughout history, lepers were ostracized by their communities and families.

#### Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

The history of slavery is the history of inhuman treatment, misery, exploitation and violation of human rights scarring the dignity and self-esteem of individuals in the innermost sanctum of their body. Historians concur on this thread of slaves' life-course journey.

#### Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

While tracing the history of slavery and the slave trade, it is difficult to know the slaves' original African names or surnames. This situation applies particularly to the case of slaves exported from Inhambane and Ilha de Moçambique under the Portuguese administration. Because they travelled abroad already baptized, from the 1760s onwards, Inhambane slaves became known as the best of the Colony, and were sold in large numbers.<sup>11</sup> Through baptism, slaves received European names, which are those in the Registers of Export and Immigration. In a number of cases, baptized slaves did not know their birth names. Despite this situation, we should mention that according to Mozambican tradition, the names of the regions were also very often the same as those of people. In other words, it helps to emphasize that the names in Tables 3, 4, and 5, for example, were certainly the original names of a number of slaves exported specifically from the ports of Inhambane, Delagoa Bay and also Ilha de Moçambique.

#### Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

However, while looking forward to the younger generations moving up the social ladder, the community has been faced with relegating their past sufferings and conditions to a loss of memory. To some extent the community preserves only the legendary hardworking capacities of the Chinese people. History itself has played a role in this parody depiction of this community which has often been limited to hard labour or to distinctive figure of the Chinese and their astonishing economic development through over the last two centuries. These people fled their countries to form new communities all across the world. Most of them would not return to China after the Communist take-over and found no other solution but to stay and secure their future in their adopted countries.

Today, after an incredible economic success, the Chinese seem to face their decline due to various factors. Many young Sino-Mauritians are looking for better prospects elsewhere in the world; turning a blind eye to what their parents and grandparents had built through will power and hard work. There is an outcry of the community that they should be given due recognition of their contribution to the overall development of the country; a recognition for their history and past sufferings by all Mauritians in the hopes that they may revive the community, by attracting younger generations to stay and build their future in this country to which they now belong.

#### Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

business, and societies and institutions that undertake it should do so with humility and a clear-eyed recognition of the inadequacy of any reparative program to restore what was taken away. Yet, looking at the experience of other societies that have confronted (or failed to confront) legacies of historical injustice – at the contrasting experiences of West Germany, East Germany, and Japan following World War II; at the operation of Truth Commissions in South Africa and elsewhere; at the bitter controversies generated by the Turkish Government's denial of the Armenian genocide or by the Australian Government's refusal to apologize to Aboriginal children for being abducted from their families as part of a State-sponsored forced assimilation policy – there seems good reason to believe that communities that face their histories tend to emerge stronger than those that choose the path of denial and evasion.

#### Reference 25 - 0.01% Coverage

Fortunately, the Indian immigrant found in Alphonse Von De Plevitz a friend who showed marked sympathy to their cause. He was appalled by the treatment meted out to Indian labourers. Although married to a Franco-Mauritian girl, whose parents own an estate at Nouvelle Découverte, he encouraged them to put up a petition to Queen Victoria to redress the wrong done to them. The petition received 9401 signatures. The British Government reacted positively and appointed a Royal Commission to inquire into their complaints and to make appropriate recommendations. This was the first quest for Justice in Mauritian history. The findings and recommendations which ensued went a long way to put a stop to the inhuman treatment meted out to a community of individuals.

#### Reference 26 - 0.01% Coverage

The French colonial period is undoubtedly the darkest period in Mauritian history, when it comes to the ill-treatment inflicted on human beings, to keep the slave population at bay. All rights conferred on slave-masters under the Code as enacted by the Letters Patents in 1723 were fully implemented; corporal punishment, mutilations for the slightest offences and the death penalty were the rule. Over the years, several clauses of the Code Noir were amended to reinforce control on slave labour and to act as deterrent against marooning which has always been a scourge for the authorities.<sup>10</sup>

#### Reference 27 - 0.01% Coverage

harshly right through its history. There are too many people, I believe, who still think that the Rodriguan cannot be taken much above the level of a primitive society.”

#### Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

After the advent of the Independence of Mauritius and the de-facto integration of Rodrigues, the island did not know the same developmental strength as its sister but experienced some timid progress, namely in the commercial sector, where history details inhuman exploitations through trade, especially the barter system and the education sector undertaken mainly by the Catholic Church. The infrastructural development remained merely non-existent.

#### Reference 29 - 0.01% Coverage

In times of scarcity, the Rodriguans eat anything available that can be consumed, wild fruit, and even snails. In the old days, when latanier palms were still plentiful, the cabbage was eaten. Lataniers became scarce after the prolonged drought of 1928. In the pre-ETC1 days, it could be weeks before a ship would bring an emergency supply of rice, and the inhabitants often had nothing at all to eat; fortunately, the resources of the sea helped out. In the course of their history, Rodriguans have often endured famine conditions, under which any other people would have rebelled (North-Coombes 1971).

#### Reference 30 - 0.01% Coverage

formulation of a traumatic experience. This is particularly important as the discourse on slavery refers to the inhuman conditions of the slaves and may give raise to emotional considerations, leading to contemporary demands. The scientific discourse is thus instrumental in formulating slavery as a historical fact. This stand discards personal misleading appreciations of slavery. In this respect, the scientific discourse recreates a clear link with the past. It helps to consider slavery with objectivity and sets a basis for the process of acceptation of slavery as a historical fact and as forming part of the nation's past. The trauma would need to be formulated to offer the opportunity to contemporary generations to accept and appropriate in a positive manner this part of their History.

## *Violence*

References or discussions of violence or violent acts

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC\_.Report-FULL> - § 21 references coded [0.14% Coverage]

### Reference 1 - 0.02% Coverage

“This Commission will pave the way to reconciliation, social justice and national unity through the process of re-establishing the historical truth. It is the legitimate expectation of everyone to know our true history. It is only after we have been faced with this reality that we can consolidate unity in our country. It is important therefore that we recognise our past history and lay that past to rest so that we can move on to reconciliation, justice and national unity.” In passing the Truth and Justice Commission into law, the Assembly has followed in the footsteps of a number of diverse countries around the world which have conducted Truth Commissions over the past 25 years. In total, there have been 40 such Commissions, with several more in the offing. Without fail, all stressed the importance of dealing with the past and the moral duty to assist those who had suffered through policies and actions in the past. There is no one size that fits all. Each country is unique in its history, its political systems and its culture. Nevertheless, there are striking similarities in each country’s search for Truth and Justice. There is always violence present in the histories of all of these countries, and there are always victims who have suffered from this violence. There is also always denial. There are many in each of these countries who have sought to deal with the past, as well as people who opposed it and who favoured amnesia rather than remembering. They argued that it was better to turn the page, not to disturb the past, but to move forward. Fortunately, there have also always been those who believe that it is impossible to build a democracy and a human rights culture in any country without taking seriously the past of that country. As George Santana put it, “Those who forget the past are condemned to repeat it”. Thus, it is possible to learn from the experiences of widely differing Commissions without duplicating their journey. The Mauritian Commission is unique in its focus. Mauritius is the only country in the world to have succeeded in establishing a Truth Commission relating to Slavery and Indenture. It is the only Commission which has investigated the history and consequences of Slavery and Indenture. There are many countries in Africa, such as Liberia, Senegal, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sierra Leone, who have never addressed the grotesque acts of forcing people into slavery. Certainly, those Arab countries which, hundreds of years ago, traded in slavery have never come to terms with that evil either. It is well known that the United States of America has never ever attempted to deal concretely with the consequences of slavery in that country. This is true also of the Caribbean. Hopefully, these countries, and many others, more especially Madagascar and Mozambique, will learn from the Mauritian experience. Mauritius has indeed set an example to the world.

### Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

Those events of 1937 are landmarks in the History of Mauritius. Further, in 1938, there were strikes in Port Louis by the dockers and in 1943, Sugar Industry labourers in the North, with three of them shot dead by the police. This unprecedented wave of protests and resistance by the

laboring classes forced the Colonial Government to shake off its lethargy and indifference with regard to the laboring classes.

#### Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission also recommends the continuation of an inventory of documents found in France and elsewhere and the continuation of input into the Slave Trade Database. The aim is to establish a list of all ships and their cargo in order to better document the slave trade and arrive at an improved assessment of the volume of the slave trade to Mauritius, and the actual number of slaves having been disembarked in Mauritius. It is also necessary to include in calculations, those ships/persons/slaves destined for Mauritius but who never arrived, due to revolts, shipwrecks, diseases etc. This information will be inserted in the database. Scholars from overseas working on the slave trade to Mauritius, in their respective countries, need to be included in this project, such as Thomas Vernet and Benigna Zimba. It is further recommended that this database work be continued by the University of Mauritius in partnership with other institutions with an interest in the slave trade and slavery. The University possesses both history and computer science departments who can collaborate with minimal cost with each other to maintain the database. It also has a pool of students every year who can be initiated and trained in historical research and data entry. However, appropriate funding must be provided and this work is to be shared with the public through an online database.

The Commission recommends the establishment of an Intercontinental Slavery Museum on the Port Louis Waterfront as a permanent reminder of the existence of slavery and the contribution of slaves to the history of Mauritius. We recommend that the Project be initiated and supervised by the Prime Minister's Office in collaboration with related institutions. Being located in the capital city Port Louis will ensure the history of slavery is given its due importance and also to ensure financial sustainability for the Museum once it is opened.

Finally the Commission recommends a NATIONAL GENEALOGY CENTRE, which will help numerous Mauritians, many of whom of African and Malagasy descent, who faced enormous difficulties in tracing their family history and genealogy. This has also caused much distress in families, and some believed they had lost property as a result. These families were unable to furnish basic information on their ancestors to the TJC. Consequently, the TJC helped a large number of families in recreating their genealogical trees and, during this process, it was able to verify for itself the difficulties mentioned by these families.

#### Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

The Gens de Couleur are part of the intermediate and unique categories that emerged from slavery and indenture but have been forgotten by History because they do not fit into the all-encompassing categories that officials and scholars alike, and Mauritians in general, have created throughout Mauritian History in order to classify Mauritians. As a 'minority within a minority', and because of their higher social position, they have been ignored, if not undermined at times, for their association with the elite. As stated above, however, as a group which emerged directly from slavery and indentured immigration, it was felt they deserved the attention of the Commission.

Several terms have been used throughout Mauritian History to describe this group: 'Coloured Population', 'Libres de Couleur', 'Gens de Couleur', 'Free Population', 'Creoles Ferblan',

‘Mulatres’ etc. We have chosen the term Gens de Couleur as it implies a certain social status whether neither of the other terms do. Their ethnic and social composition was varied: European, Indian, Malagasy, African, Chinese as well as having slave, free and indentured origins. However, not all these origins have been recognized equally by them and the tendency has been to be Westernised and reject the non-European ancestry. In the 18th, 19th and part of the 20th centuries, when relationships between different groups were forbidden or frowned upon, their relationships were not hidden from public view. However, painful this is for the population to admit, it must also be stated that some were the product of sexual exploitation and rape of slave and indentured women on plantations and in urban areas by owners and employers and heads of establishments. They occupied a unique social and economic status which, only in the past few years, is being uncovered, as more and more family histories are brought to light.

#### Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

Although the 1970s are considered as glorious years of Trade Union activity, there is another history yet to be written concerning the emergence of communalism and division among the working classes, which emerges ironically at the same time. According to Fortune, a full historical investigation is required into the political movement of the 1970s and 1980s and whether it was responsible, among other things, for the propaganda concerning race and the supposed ‘labour aristocracy’ status of port workers. Was it done as a deliberate move to curtail the port workers’ political strength in Mauritian society? Fortune questions how a political movement as such which gathered itself under the slogan ‘One People, One Nation’ and was sustained entirely upon working class efforts would create racially charged dissension as a means of political strategy.

In this propaganda, race and the supposed wealth of Creole port workers, mostly urban dwellers, was pitched against the much documented stark poverty of rural field labourers, rekindling old tension between these two communities. The propaganda worked well, according to Fortune, in the already racially charged atmosphere of Mauritius of late 1970s and early 1980s, with the riots of 1965 and 1968 only a decade or so ago. The racial discourse concerning the riots of 1965 between Hindus and Creoles, and 1968 between Creoles and Muslims, the strikes of 1971 and the elections of 1982 and how the subject of race was addressed or excluded in the political discourse are part of the history of neglect of port workers. This deserves further study. Furthermore, the ethnic composition of the population working in the port was used to justify the supposed racial homogeneity that the Trade Unions of the 1970s and the elections of the 1980s had brought back to the surface. The historical literature available, however, paints a picture of the port as a racially diverse sector since the early days of the Colony. To think therefore, that in the 1970s and 1980s, the port suddenly became racially homogenous is rather hard to believe. The Trade Union leader of the port workers in 1938 was no less than Sandivi, of Indian origin as were many port workers and in his grandson’s words, a ‘Creole Malbar’.<sup>444</sup>

#### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

Mortality rates are no longer due to communicable diseases but to NCDs There is a five-fold increase in deaths caused by Diabetes mellitus. This is caused by an increase in rise in standard of living, consumption of high glycaemic index food, leading a more stressful life and less daily physical activities. There is no relation with the history of slavery, indenture or colonialism. The

prevalence of hypertension has also increased from 30.2 % in 1987 to 37.9 % in 2009. This is due partly to modern lifestyle with stress at work and on the road or because financial and social tensions, again little to do with the history of slavery or indenture.

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

10. Jose Rose of the Rastafari movement The Rastafari movement, constitutes a small group of Afro-Malagasy Mauritians established in Chamarel. They have been victims of racial prejudice in their history, because of their lifestyle. They feel they are not lesser citizens of the country. They have been dispossessed of their ancestral land and claim to be the poorest among the poorest class of descendants of former slaves.

#### Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

some deeper issues within Mauritian society as a whole. Creoles however do not need a government sponsored study to tell them that they suffer from racial discrimination and before that study was ever undertaken; the first person to publicly declare that there is a problem with Mauritian society concerning the treatment of descendants of slaves is Father Roger Cerveaux, a Catholic priest who coined the term “Malaise Creole”. The ensuing public outcry felt more like a denial than applause or outrage at the situation. Cerveaux expounded his theory on Malaise Creole in the course of a Mass sermon; he declared that Creoles did not enjoy equal economic opportunities as the rest of the population based on their ancestry. In the sermon Cerveaux did not blame Creoles for their own problems per se; he saw them as victims of history who have trouble adjusting to the twenty first century due to ongoing racial discrimination. Ideas such as Cerveaux’s “Malaise Creole” belongs to the school of thought called Mechanism as opposed to Humanism proposed by Prof. Adelbert Jenkins.<sup>7</sup> Jenkins following the humanistic perspective focuses on people as being agents of their own destiny, capable to shape their lives through choices of their own. In so doing, Jenkins makes a clear distinction between the terms humanistic and humanitarian; the former refers to a philosophical stance that puts individuals and their choices as central, determining factors in their fate. While the latter refers to an attitude of compassion or benevolence towards humankind or a philosophical position which strives to attain the highest level of personal (sometimes spiritual) development for all humans. These factors are determinants in the individual’s freedom and responsibility; humanists may or may not be concerned with the welfare of the humankind in general as opposed to humanitarians. Jenkins’ humanistic position is drawn into sharp contrast to the Mechanists’ philosophical approach which sees human beings as constantly shaped by external circumstances with little input of their own.<sup>8</sup>

#### Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

At the beginning stage of my field work, the response that there is no racism in Mauritius made me feel that by talking about racism (not so much slavery and indenture ), I am bring forth divisions within a community living in harmony. By virtue of coming from a country with a history of institutionalized racism, I felt burden to explain how South Africa dealt with it or continuously deals with these issues. I psychologically had to remind myself and monitor my own responses. I therefore found myself using words such as discrimination, unfairness,

emotional response to discriminations interchangeably, in an effort to conceal the nature of my enquiry.

#### Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

The second one, more specific to slave descendants, lies in the interplay of six factors: 1) A history of enslavement, servitude and oppression; 2) Demographic composition; 3) Economic positioning and intensifying competition with other communities; 4) Racial prejudice and discrimination; 5) Resources, internal structure, dynamics and leadership of the community itself, and 6) Capacity for self-determination and self-empowerment.

#### Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

from a history which has been marked by deep divisions characterized by conflict, racism, untold suffering and injustice. But today, the Republic of Mauritius is relatively stable and peaceful although cohesion and reconciliation are not complete and can perhaps be never complete, since reconciliation can be both a goal and a process. However, whether it is a goal or process or both, it should be worked at, so that a more just society, for each and everyone, irrespective of creed, colour, ethnicity, race and gender be obtained.

Cohesion and reconciliation depend heavily on our ability to see and understand what is happening today, right now - more than 40 years after Independence with all the learning and consequences (some visible and others not so visible) that our slave and indentured history has left us with. The legacy of the unequal power relations and deep divisions that existed between the haves and the have-nots, the White and the Non-White, the coloniser and the colonized, has taken many forms, and has had many consequences. Digging into the implications of this legacy, particularly as pertains to the educational arena, is a complex task since education in multiethnic Mauritius is often shaped and influenced by a number of forces with different vested interests. Several institutions have left their mark on education, some more positive than others. Education in Mauritius was, during the colonial period, a very rare commodity. When it did come on offer, it was for the privileged few. Enforced illiteracy had several consequences for the descendants of slaves and indentured labour, many of whom became assetless, powerless and voiceless as a result.

#### Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

persecution and massacres in history. Regarding slavery as the starting traumatic experience, the “Post-Traumatic Slave Syndrome” captures its devastating effects that have been internalized from generation to generation and continuously reinforced by systemic racism and discrimination on the social level. It means that slavery has consequences for all parties and for the whole of society sharing that history.

#### Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

economic construct in the power sharing and making in Mauritian history. Between 1980 and 1990, there were rapid changes in Mauritian economy and society which have led to substantial improvement in the life conditions and education from which Creoles have been excluded. R.

Cerveaux, a Catholic priest, denounced the fact that Creoles were poor and marginalized in society and in the Church. According to Cerveaux, Creoles have been victims of slavery, of their own intelligentsia, of the alienating culture of the Church and of politicians pursuing their own interests. The 'malaise créole' was the result of a concentration of problems and an accumulation of hurdles to be overcome: a mix of cultural oppression and identity problems, prejudice and stigmatization which are sequels of slavery and its subsequent history, as well as socioeconomic difficulties, precarious employment, low wages, housing problems: "Education in the broad sense was considered a key issue in reducing inequalities and repairing injustices towards Creoles' situation" (Romaine, 2010).

#### Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

The history of slavery is the history of inhuman treatment, misery, exploitation and violation of human rights scarring the dignity and self-esteem of individuals in the innermost sanctum of their body. Historians concur on this thread of slaves' life-course journey.

#### Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

Fortunately, the Indian immigrant found in Alphonse Von De Plevitz a friend who showed marked sympathy to their cause. He was appalled by the treatment meted out to Indian labourers. Although married to a Franco-Mauritian girl, whose parents own an estate at Nouvelle Découverte, he encouraged them to put up a petition to Queen Victoria to redress the wrong done to them. The petition received 9401 signatures. The British Government reacted positively and appointed a Royal Commission to inquire into their complaints and to make appropriate recommendations. This was the first quest for Justice in Mauritian history. The findings and recommendations which ensued went a long way to put a stop to the inhuman treatment meted out to a community of individuals.

#### Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

Ironically it was not necessary in the wake of this new mindset that Europe embarked on the conquest of new lands and clashed with the indigenous people in the Americas, Africa and the Far East. These people according to Aimé Césaire who had the misfortune to be on their way, were considered as inferior beings. The history of emerging Colonial Powers is littered with genocides, atrocities and humiliation and remained unwritten for long. Voltaire in his *Essais sur les races* in 1756 describes the people of Black Africa as half savages and mentally deficient, in short of inferior beings. The Code Noir of 1685 under Colbert, Minister of Louis XIV, to manage slaves in the newlyacquired colonies is a typical case of the bias ideas of the black people generally. Slaves captured

#### Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

The French colonial period is undoubtedly the darkest period in Mauritian history, when it comes to the ill-treatment inflicted on human beings, to keep the slave population at bay. All rights conferred on slave-masters under the Code as enacted by the Letters Patents in 1723 were fully implemented; corporal punishment, mutilations for the slightest offences and the death penalty

were the rule. Over the years, several clauses of the Code Noir were amended to reinforce control on slave labour and to act as deterrent against marooning which has always been a scourge for the authorities.<sup>10</sup>

#### Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

After the advent of the Independence of Mauritius and the de-facto integration of Rodrigues, the island did not know the same developmental strength as its sister but experienced some timid progress, namely in the commercial sector, where history details inhuman exploitations through trade, especially the barter system and the education sector undertaken mainly by the Catholic Church. The infrastructural development remained merely non-existent.

#### Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

In times of scarcity, the Rodriguans eat anything available that can be consumed, wild fruit, and even snails. In the old days, when latanier palms were still plentiful, the cabbage was eaten. Lataniers became scarce after the prolonged drought of 1928. In the pre-ETC1 days, it could be weeks before a ship would bring an emergency supply of rice, and the inhabitants often had nothing at all to eat; fortunately, the resources of the sea helped out. In the course of their history, Rodriguans have often endured famine conditions, under which any other people would have rebelled (North-Coombes 1971).

#### Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

The projection of the nation in the future raises a number of questions relevant to our knowledge of what really defines the nation and what constitutes its identity so that it may evolve in a sustainable manner. In this instance, the statement of Melville Herskovits that “a people without past is a people that nothing anchors in the present”<sup>1</sup> can probably explain why for the last thirty years, research in Mauritian history has developed and also led to a focus on heritage to establish national symbols representing the roots of the nation.

The focus on heritage is particularly significant since the inscription of two Mauritian sites on UNESCO World Heritage List. This can only bring to our attention the shift in the way heritage was considered prior to the 2000s. Heritage was mostly the legacy of the Colonial Administration and heritage was mostly focusing on the history of the former colons. However, the heritage process turned to an under-researched part of Mauritian history, with the project of recognition of Le Morne and Aapravasi Ghat both referring to two traditionally silent episodes of Mauritian history: slavery and indenture.

These two episodes of Mauritian history are not only a subject of concern established by the Truth and Justice Commission Act of 2008, but they are also two historical facts that led to the migration of the ancestors of more than 90% of the present-day Mauritian population on the island. Through coerced migrations, these immigrants suffered inhuman treatments, annihilation of their identity and also, all were unrooted to settle in a new land where their cultural referential were not present. Encouraged by the colonial policy aiming at securing available workforce Mauritian society slowly took shape to become one of the most dynamic nation of the African continent. At the turn of the 21st century, it is thus not surprising to see Mauritian society

engaging to question its past when most of the past evocative of the population has almost never been the subject of recognition and is now facing disappearance, for the benefit of modernity.

#### Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

formulation of a traumatic experience. This is particularly important as the discourse on slavery refers to the inhuman conditions of the slaves and may give rise to emotional considerations, leading to contemporary demands. The scientific discourse is thus instrumental in formulating slavery as a historical fact. This stand discards personal misleading appreciations of slavery. In this respect, the scientific discourse recreates a clear link with the past. It helps to consider slavery with objectivity and sets a basis for the process of acceptance of slavery as a historical fact and as forming part of the nation's past. The trauma would need to be formulated to offer the opportunity to contemporary generations to accept and appropriate in a positive manner this part of their History.

## *Women*

References or discussions of women

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC\_.Report-FULL> - § 8 references coded [0.04% Coverage]

### Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

If slavery and indenture as economic systems have received due attention on the part of scholars, the lesser-known aspects deserve also mention. Indentured labourers like slaves, brought with them their cultures, life-styles which they were in varying degrees able to keep. In the case of Indian labourers, how were their cultures and social life transformed by indenture? In other words, what was the impact on their non-working lives? Women have been recognised in Mauritian history as having kept the traditions brought from India. This was possibly because they stayed at home, unlike other labour immigrants and so were able to provide the nurturing roles. The absence of women, for example, in the early years deserve mention, as this was a matter of concern for authorities.

### Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

Suspicion on the part of immigrants towards schools also existed, as these were seen as sites of proselytisation missions. This situation continued long after indenture and lasted well into the 20th century as the numerous oral histories conducted with elderly Mauritians show, with girls suffering the most from this exclusion.

### Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

History has repeated itself. About one hundred and thirty years ago, the plantocracy recruited indentured labourers from a vast reservoir of cheap labour found in British India. As a result, the plantocracy accumulated capital which was partly siphoned off to financiers/ investors abroad (Britain and France mainly) and partly reinvested in modernising the sugar factories. The new dimension, this time, lies in the fact that the reservoir of cheap labour came from within Mauritius: women and the unemployed. Unemployment and poverty were the direct consequences of policies of free trade by British Imperial Government and of cheap labour policy of the Colonial Government and the plantocracy.

### Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

The apprenticeship system has been researched in some depth in Mauritian Historiography, as well as the opposition to it coming from abolitionists who saw it as not being much different from slavery. The complicity of the local Government in creating a system that was no different from slavery and ensured that labour stayed on estates until contract labour system was established, while owners enjoyed the compensation money and invested in their sugar estates. Apprentices were quick to see they had been duped of their freedom. They expressed this disapproval of this 'new system of slavery' in several forms. Some marooned and were hunted in exactly the same manner as they had been under slavery. When caught they were flogged in the

same manner. Others chose to withdraw from plantation labour (but not from agriculture), knowing full well that this is what would strike at the heart of plantation's operation. Others still bought their freedom from apprenticeship, just as, when slaves, they had bought their manumission. They were still advertised as slaves for hire, even though slavery had been abolished. While the stereotype of women is that they were downtrodden people, the number of applications for freedom from apprenticeship are very revealing. These women's history must not be forgotten and deserves further study.

#### Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

The Gens de Couleur are part of the intermediate and unique categories that emerged from slavery and indenture but have been forgotten by History because they do not fit into the all-encompassing categories that officials and scholars alike, and Mauritians in general, have created throughout Mauritian History in order to classify Mauritians. As a 'minority within a minority', and because of their higher social position, they have been ignored, if not undermined at times, for their association with the elite. As stated above, however, as a group which emerged directly from slavery and indentured immigration, it was felt they deserved the attention of the Commission.

Several terms have been used throughout Mauritian History to describe this group: 'Coloured Population', 'Libres de Couleur', 'Gens de Couleur', 'Free Population', 'Creoles Ferblan', 'Mulatres' etc. We have chosen the term Gens de Couleur as it implies a certain social status whether neither of the other terms do. Their ethnic and social composition was varied: European, Indian, Malagasy, African, Chinese as well as having slave, free and indentured origins. However, not all these origins have been recognized equally by them and the tendency has been to be Westernised and reject the non-European ancestry. In the 18th, 19th and part of the 20th centuries, when relationships between different groups were forbidden or frowned upon, their relationships were not hidden from public view. However, painful this is for the population to admit, it must also be stated that some were the product of sexual exploitation and rape of slave and indentured women on plantations and in urban areas by owners and employers and heads of establishments. They occupied a unique social and economic status which, only in the past few years, is being uncovered, as more and more family histories are brought to light.

#### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

construction that was introduced by the feminists who were exposed to European values (many went to study in Europe and came back to Mauritians). Even if gender struggle is inherent in the history of society, in Mauritius gender issues, and especially women/girls issues took on a greater visibility in the 21st century.

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

to the family, since whether they worked or not, they have contributed to the well-being of the members of their families. Their ability to cope with work as well as with domestic tasks is clearly revealed by the interviews together with their determination to head the family in case of the death of their husband, leaving a household with small children to look after and a living to gain through hard work. Far from being a story, the role of women in the families' history, as

well as at present, leads us to conclude that the stability of the family depends on the way they handle current and daily situations as well as taking important decisions, such as the type of education to be given to children and grandchildren, one of our interviewees points out.

#### Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

The Colony of Mauritius made history when it extended voting rights to women in 1948, at that time when such rights were not even in force in many Western democracies. Over the years, women were empowered; as legal persons, they can act independently of their spouses in matter concerning business, property acquisition, child custody, following Ordinance 50 of 1949 which provides for separate regime of goods and property. Men and women enjoy the same rights under the Constitution and the Law; and the Ministry of Gender Equality, Child Development and Family Welfare promote the rights of women. We can also appreciate the efforts made to change patriarchal attitudes and stereotypes regarding the roles and responsibilities of women and men both in the family unit and in society; and to empower women and promote gender equality and equity.