REFERENCES TO COLONIALISM, COLONIAL, AND IMPERIALISM

Mauritius Truth Commission

Abstract

A list of references to colonialism, colonial, and imperialism in the Mauritius Truth Commission.

Chelsea Barranger

Links to Data Visualization

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

Comparison Charts

- References to Colonialism, Colonial, and Imperialism chart
- References to Colonialism, Colonial, and Imperialism excel list

Word Trees

- Colonial
- Colonialism
- Imperialism

References to Colonialism, Colonial, and Imperialism

This section contains all references to colonialism, colonial, and imperialism from the Mauritius report.

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC_.Report-FULL> - § 942 references coded [3.69% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

a)
(b) (c) (d) (e)
make an assessment of the consequences of slavery and indentured labour during the colonial period up to the present;
conduct inquiries into slavery and indentured labour in Mauritius during the colonial period and, for that purpose, gather information and receive evidence from any person;
determine appropriate reparative measures to

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

its observations, findings and recommendations.
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.
We shall elaborate on our

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

live up to this day.
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
Truth and Justice Commission 1

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

THE TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION
and Malagasy origins, as these are lumped in the group of ‘General Population’. The Housing and Population Census of 2000, however, indicates that this group of citizens should number well above 250,000. Our historical research has demonstrated convincingly that the process of exclusion of descendants of slaves, prevailing today, originated at the time of abolition of slavery. The cheap labour policy adopted then by the plantocracy and the Colonial State, contributed into their leaving the plantations. Further development in the 19th and 20th
centuries would confirm this trend

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

Chairperson.
Truth and Justice Commission
The President shall establish a Truth and Justice Commission whose objects shall be to make an assessment of the consequences of slavery and indentured labour during the colonial period up to the present.
The Commission shall make recommendations

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

shall – (a)
(b) (c)
(d)
conduct inquiries into slavery and indentured labour in Mauritius during the colonial period and, may, for that purpose, gather information and receive evidence from any person;
determine appropriate measures to be

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

THE TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION
Specific areas of study were outlined by this committee, much more specific than the present Commission. These were the capture and procurement of slaves, the transport of slaves to Mauritius, the sale and acquisition of slaves as chattel, the treatment of slaves and a demographic, historical and sociological study of slaves and their descendants. It was also meant to examine the extent to which private and public bodies and Colonial Authorities supported slavery and its continuation, and how far the same restricted efforts of freed slaves went to rediscover their roots. It was also asked to consider whether any form of compensation should be granted, and who should be the beneficiaries.
In 2002, another attempt was

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

THE TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION
The Commission is aware that however substantial our Recommendations are, they cannot adequately respond to the hurt, the suffering and loss of dignity which many Mauritians have experienced in the past. We cannot bring back the dead, but if the measures we propose are implemented, it will markedly improve the quality of life for descendants of both slaves and indentured labourers who have suffered during the colonial period.
I now submit our recommendations

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

and creation of new institutions.
Mauritians have come from different corners of the world to settle, many forcibly. Each wave of migration has been characterised by specific linguistic cultural and religious traditions. All these groups,

in one way or another, have serviced the colonial economy and continue to do so in modern Mauritius. The outstanding question to be dealt with is how to best address the fundamental class, ethnic and gender divisions that still exist in Mauritian society today. The question remains: what are the forces that benefit from divisions? Who works against national unity? In this, the Mauritian economic elite is joined by the intellectual community and the established political class.
The Commission has found that

Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

between the two groups since.
The strategy of 'divide and rule' has not, however, been always been successful. The period leading to independence provides a good example of this situation. Before the 1960s, there is no evidence that there were 'divisions' between the working classes. The decades of the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s were years of intense class battles between the British colonial authorities, the local economic elite and the working classes.
With moves being made for independence -government, the traditional fear of the economic elite of the working classes uniting against it, was shared by the British colonial government. The fear was now that Mauritian working classes would unite and fight for independence and introduce a more democratic society and economy. The work of division takes on a new turn.
Not all Whites and not

Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

with increasing vigour and intensity
by African people around the world; and by African people, I mean people of African descent, wherever they live, whether in Africa itself, in the United States, in Great Britain or in former British Colonies".
"The issue is this. The

Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

is debt to the West".
"On the other side of the Atlantic, the African captives were cut off from their families, their land and their language. They were forced to be owned as chattels and to work as beasts of burden. When finally, emancipation day came – in the British colonies, in 1838 – the ex-slaves received nothing. It was the ex-slave owners who were compensated for the loss of their property".
"The slavery experience has left

Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

MAURITIUS-THE SLAVE LEGACY, 2010)
The Commission strongly supports the undisputable truths, as stated so powerfully by Lord Gifford. In particular, the Commission underlines the need for former Colonial Powers to accept responsibility for the wretched system of slave trade in Mauritius. Further, the Commission endorses Lord Gifford's statement that "the inhuman philosophy of white supremacy and black inferiority was incalculated into European peoples to justify the atrocities which were being committed by a Christian people upon fellow human beings. That philosophy continues to poison our society today."

We therefore recommend, in this spirit, that the Government of Mauritius approaches the former Colonial Powers, Holland, France and the United Kingdom, to accept their several responsibilities for the slave trade, slavery and its consequences still experienced today in Mauritius.
Although the conditions were not the same, the Commission further recommends that the Mauritius Government approach the former Colonial Power, the United Kingdom, to accept its responsibility for indentured immigration after the abolition of slavery.
The recommendations made by the

Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

existence going into the future.
28. THAT A SYSTEM AND POLICY OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION be implemented in Mauritius to address the social and economic imbalances created and fostered under Slavery, Indenture and Colonialism.
29. DISCRIMINATION AT ANY LEVEL

Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 58
VOLUME 1: REPORT OF THE TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION 1.COLONIALISM AND MAURITIUS
The emergence of Capitalism as an economic system in Britain and in other European countries created the conditions for the development of Colonialism. Colonial expansion and colonial wars were essentially economic in character: the spice trade with Asia, the quest for markets for the industrial produce of the Colonial Powers, the development of plantation economies and societies in the colonies to produce cheap goods for European countries, the resulting demand for unwaged labour of enslaved people and, later, for cheap labour of indentured labourers, and finally the demand for raw materials. Underlying these historical processes was the insatiable pursuit of profits and capital accumulation by the Colonial Powers, in particular the traders, the emerging mercantile and industrial bourgeoisie and later by the financial bourgeoisie, of the European Colonial Powers.
Under these circumstances, Colonial Powers developed labour systems in the colonies most appropriate for their interests: the enslavement of peoples across the world, especially of the African peoples and, thereafter, indentured labour. But slavery was more than a labour system: it was the most exploitative and socially and culturally oppressive of all economic and social systems. Indentured labour imported from British India and elsewhere was part and parcel of the transformation of the slave system into the new emerging capitalist system: still exploitative and oppressive, though to a lesser extent than slavery, and with wages, albeit very minimal.
Dutch Period (1598–1710)
In

Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

the Dutch settlements, whenever necessary.
French Colonial Period (1715–1810)
In 1715, the French took possession of Mauritius and renamed it Isle de France, thus following in the footsteps of Dutch Colonialism. There was no settlement until 1721, and up to 1735, Isle de France was administered from Réunion Island, then known as Bourbon.1 The island was also ceded to the French East India Company.2 By 1726, land grants were made to the colonists; the upper classes

(i.e., l'état major de

Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

THE TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION
days described the harbour as being crowded with ships of every nation lined, with holds filled with provisions and merchandise from various countries, and with colonial produce, with a general appearance of abundance and prosperity.8
This state of affairs also

Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

and the Gens de couleur.
Colonial rivalries between the two dominant Colonial Powers, Britain and France, was particularly intense in the latter part of the 18th century and culminated in the defeat of France in 1810, when Britain took possession of Isle de France. France lost territories in India but was allowed to keep its outposts like Pondicherry, following the Treaty of Paris of 1814.
Truth and Justice Commission 61

Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 61
VOLUME 1: REPORT OF THE TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION British Colonial Period (1810-1968)
British Colonialism was the most powerful economic, military and naval force in the 19th century. It pursued the same path of economic exploitation undertaken by both Dutch and French Colonial Powers. As the most advanced capitalist society, it decided to bring about certain changes to the prevailing colonial system during the 19th century. For a better understanding of the role of British Colonialism in Mauritius and in the Indian Ocean, it is necessary to have a brief overview of the different phases of British Colonialism worldwide.
The first wave of British Colonialism took place when Britain undertook the colonization of North America and the Caribbean Islands in the 16th century. But labour supply was a major issue. For various reasons, native Americans could never be incorporated in the colonists' plan. European indentured labour and convict labour from England were brought to work on the plantations and to provide for badly-needed specialized craftsmanship, such as those of the carpenter, tinsmith, etc.
In the Caribbean, the British

Reference 20 - 0.02% Coverage

this measure was not sustainable.
The solution to what appeared as the intractable problem of labour shortage was found: coerced African unpaid slave labour. Gradually, Africans were enslaved and replaced European indentured labour on plantations, producing sugar, cotton, tobacco, coffee, amongst other crops. It was the triumph of the 'most powerful driving force' of Colonization, that of the pursuit of profit. This driving force underpinned the intense intercolonial rivalry and colonial wars in the Americas and the outrageous economic and social exploitation of the enslaved African peoples. In Mauritius, this motive is hardly mentioned and the major

contribution of the enslaved African peoples to the creation of wealth has been conveniently ignored, both during the French and British periods of Colonisation.
But British Colonialism, having triumphed over its various rival Colonial Powers, was defeated by its own colonists in the American War of Independence. This defeat created the conditions necessary for a second wave of British Colonialism: Asia (especially India and China), Australia and hence, the Indian Ocean and the Cape of Good Hope became the new targets of expansionism, trade and investments. The sea routes to Asia acquired major significance and Mauritius turned out to be of major strategic importance to Britain. Anglo-French rivalry dominated the struggle for the control of sea routes to India, Asia and Australia, and thus for the control of the Indian Ocean. This culminated in the British conquest of Mauritius in 1810 and also of Cape of Good Hope.
For the sake of completeness, it is worth noting that the third wave of British Colonialism reflected the changes happening in the industrial and financial developments of the European Colonial Powers. The demand for raw materials, labour and land became more and more important, leading to a scramble for Africa.
In the 19th century, Britain brought changes to the colonial system, made possible by various factors, the main one being the consolidation of Britain as an advanced economic, industrial and financial power in the world. Slavery was abolished in most possessions of the British Empire in the 1830s. But the plantocracy needed labour and, where necessary, it looked elsewhere for cheap labour. Thus, cheap indentured labour on a massive scale progressively replaced the labour of the enslaved peoples so that the maximization of profits and capital accumulation might be perpetuated. The solution, then, was to turn to those vast reservoirs of cheap labour, India and China, respectively a colony and semi-colony of Britain. Slavery and indentured labour were, amongst other things, labour systems created and nurtured by French and British Colonialisms in Mauritius to serve their economic interests. For an understanding

Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

of these two systems and their consequences on contemporary Mauritius, it is necessary to investigate how they developed and evolved under colonialism.
The economic system developed by the Colonial Powers necessitated, for its sustainability, an oppressive social and political system, a biased institutional and legal system, and an ideology with racism as one of its pillars. Whilst the Colonial State succeeded in preserving the status quo for most of the 18th and 19th centuries, resistance to the system prevailed and cracks in the system occurred. A rigid class and racial hierarchy was sustained rather successfully during French Colonialism. During British Colonialism, major changes like the abolition of slavery were initiated but resistance and the internal dynamics of the system, together with an imperial strategy of the British State and of the industrial/commercial bourgeoisie, and the fast-developing financial bourgeoisie, caused the system to evolve differently.
Conclusion
Colonialism, whether Dutch, French

Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

system to evolve differently.
Conclusion
Colonialism, whether Dutch, French and British, was never interested in the development of the enslaved peoples, the indentured labourers and other forms of labour. The quest for profit and capital accumulation brought them to Mauritius and led them to wage colonial wars among themselves and against indigenous peoples across the world for centuries until the 20th century. This quest has been systematically and

conveniently underplayed. The Colonial Powers developed societies which were characterized by extreme economic exploitation and by unparalleled social and cultural oppression. Economic and social structures and corresponding policies were developed to ensure that their objectives were met. There has been a striking continuity underlying these historical processes: development for the Colonial Powers and the colonists but underdevelopment for the colonized peoples and, in particular, for labour. Inclusion and material wealth for them, as opposed to exclusion and minimal welfare to ensure the reproduction of labour, if not outright poverty, for others.
In fact, the economy grew, from the very beginning, as part of the overall Colonial Empire, the centre of which was Europe. An extreme international specialization within the Colonial Empire had produced a vulnerable, fragile export-oriented economy. The consequences are still felt more than forty years after Independence in Mauritius.
Truth and Justice Commission 63

Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 63
VOLUME 1: REPORT OF THE TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION 2.THE SLAVE SYSTEM AND THE SUGAR INDUSTRY 1.2.1 The Slave System under French Colonialism
French Colonialism in Isle de France was characterized by major fluctuations in the economic ‘development’ of the island. International trade, with the slave trade (both legal and illegal) as one of its main aspects, was the driving force of the economy. Agriculture was developed to some extent, together with an emerging Sugar Industry. A merchant class and a planter class dominated the economic, social and political life of Isle de France.
The labour system that prevailed

Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

for the export of wood.
The Colonial State in Isle de France used the Code Noir and other legislative measures to exclude the non-Whites from mainstream economic, social and political life, with a particularly oppressive system for the enslaved population.
1.2.2 Slavery and

Reference 25 - 0.01% Coverage

1835): Value of Slave Labour
Following the British conquest of Mauritius in 1810, Mauritius became a Crown colony in 1815 and had access to the British market for its sugar. However, the sugar planters in Mauritius had to pay an additional 10 shillings per cost duty for their sugar compared to the planters from the British Caribbeans. By 1825, there was the equalization of tariffs which gave a major boost to the sugar production. The land under sugarcane cultivation more than doubled for the period 1821 to 1830, from 10,504 hectares (26,000 arpents) to 24,038 hectares (59,500 arpents) between 1844 to 1850. Sugar production doubled from 10.9 metric tons in 1825 to 21.2 metric tons in 1826 and reached 41 metric tons in 1840.
It was the beginning of

Reference 26 - 0.01% Coverage

half of the 20th century.
The sugar planters developed into an active force in local politics, in high finance and the Judiciary. The political influence lay in the hands of the social and economic elite and contributed to the emergence of the Sugar Industry oligarchy which consolidated its hold over Mauritian society. British Governors were reluctant to challenge this new oligarchy and its entrenched, local economic interests. On the contrary, the Colonial State turned a blind eye to the illegal slave trade, with the Government officials sometimes involved in that trade. The sugar oligarchy felt strong enough to challenge the amelioration measures in favour of the enslaved population.
By 1832, they confronted British

Reference 27 - 0.01% Coverage

77.6 in the sample.
The results give the aggregate value of slave labour for the slave population as a whole. Moreover, the modeling exercise took into consideration the fact that certain key events had an impact on slave prices and on the value of slave labour. When tariffs were equalised in 1825, this provided a major boost to the expansion of the Sugar Industry and, hence, on slave prices and the value of slave labour. In the early 1830s, there was much public debate on the forthcoming abolition of slavery, which, in turn, had an impact on slave prices and on the value of slave labour. Hence, the value of slave labour is estimated for three different periods as given above. For the period 1823 to 1825, the value of slave labour, as a whole for each year, is estimated at £1.0 million; similarly for periods 1826 to 1830 and 1831 to 1835, that value is respectively £3.0 million and £2.0 million. (See Volume 4 Part VIII of TJC Report: The Economics of Colonialism, Slavery and Indenture for more details).
1.2.3 The Economics

Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

Politics of Abolition of Slavery
On 28th August 1833, the House of Commons passed ‘An Act for the Abolition of slavery throughout the British colonies; for promoting the industry of the manumitted slaves, and for compensating the persons hitherto entitled to the services of such slaves.’ Nevertheless, the title of this Act is very misleading in one respect in particular; this twenty-three pages Act states on the last page, as per Clause LXIV, the following: “And be it further enacted, that nothing in this Act contained doth or shall extend to any of the Territories in the possession of the East India Company, or to the island of Ceylon, or to the island of St Helena.”
Truth and Justice Commission 65

Reference 29 - 0.01% Coverage

THE TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION
This Clause clearly contradicts the title which refers to abolition “throughout the British colonies”. British companies had major economic interests both in India and Ceylon, India being one territory in the possession of the East India Company. Slavery was only abolished in India, 10 years later in 1843. This matter reflects clearly the duplicity of the British Imperial Government in its policy on the abolition of slavery; the non-abolition of slavery in India may have had a bearing on the development of the situation in Mauritius.
From the mid-1830s onwards

Reference 30 - 0.01% Coverage

to accept very low wages.
Thus, the following question arises: By not abolishing slavery in India, did the British Imperial Government, possibly indirectly, contribute to the refusal of planters in Mauritius to pay decent wages to the emancipated enslaved people and, hence, contribute to the latter having to leave the plantations "en masse?"
Moreover, in the end, the British Imperial Government decided to provide £20 million as compensation to the slave owners together with a so-called apprenticeship of six years for praedial slaves. That apprenticeship turned out to be very similar to slavery with the emancipated enslaved labourers working for no wages during their normal working hours. They were subject to very harsh conditions and heavy penalties for non-performance or ill-performance of their duties.17 The slave owners, and in particular the plantocracy in Mauritius, both British and French, together with the British credit houses, obtained £ 2.1 million.
There is no doubt that

Reference 31 - 0.01% Coverage

of the planter Henry Barkly.
Secondly, the emancipated enslaved people perceived their freedom in terms of retaining their rights to free housing and to cultivating plots of land allocated to them during the days of slavery for years. The abolition of slavery could only mean a betterment of their living conditions, together with reasonable wages. Instead, they were asked to surrender these rights in the name of freedom. In his paper, Douglas Hall reproduced the following statement by H. Barkly, in response to a question from Mr. G. Berkeley, a member of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, on the West India Colonies in 1842:
"I was told by the

Reference 32 - 0.01% Coverage

up the houses and grounds."
In Mauritius, attention has been given to the notion of freedom of slaves as defined by the owners and Imperial Britain; the notion of freedom by the ex-enslaved peoples has been given very little attention. It is appropriate that the notion of freedom of the enslaved peoples by those very peoples be given due consideration in the light of the views and feelings of the enslaved peoples themselves. Is it not legitimate and logical that the emancipated enslaved peoples wanted not only freedom, but the minimum conditions necessary to make that freedom effective? They made it clear that shelter in the form of a house and food in the form of a piece of land, which they could cultivate, were those minimum conditions. Yet, they contributed significantly to wealth creation for the slave-owners and for the British Empire. Indeed, they were ahead of their time in terms of economic and social rights of peoples across the world and across time, duly recognised today.
In Mauritius, the planters paid

Reference 33 - 0.01% Coverage

single apprentice on the establishment."
Even the British Imperial Government found the wages for extra-service as "mesquin", i.e., as petty. The following article from Le Mauricien of 12 February 1838 gives the details:

"[…] Chez nous on a mieux

Reference 34 - 0.01% Coverage

natural one on most estates.»)
But the British Imperial Government, having itself allowed the continuation of slavery in India, did not take any measures to remedy the situation. Thus, the British Imperial Government, the Colonial

Reference 35 - 0.01% Coverage

labourers had been brought in.
The emancipated slaves were logically bargaining for reasonable wages for extra service during the apprenticeship period. But the planters, who were always aiming at maximising their profits, developed strategies to counter that bargaining of the emancipated slaves. In 1834, one plan submitted to the Mauritian Chamber of Commerce demonstrated the cheapness of Indian labour over local labour.19 In 1993, the historian, Marina Carter, expressed the opinion that the planters' decision and both the Imperial and Colonial governments' approval to import several thousand of Indian indentured labourers as from 1834, prior to the abolition of slavery, effectively drove the emancipated slaves away from the plantations. She wrote "Whilst the continuous labour which the migrant under contract was obliged to undertake, the cheapness of importation and the dependency of the new arrivals provided the preconditions for the adoption of the immigration strategy, it was the arrival of several thousand Indians during the 1830s which sealed the fate of the local workforce."20
It is of importance to

Reference 36 - 0.01% Coverage

to India for labourers."21
Moreover, opposite views were expressed in the written press and by other authors. But, the article of Le Mauricien of 12th February 1838 refered to above, revealed an optimistic view of the future with regards to the transition from slavery to indentured labour and some self-satisfaction in the policies adopted in spite of criticisms from the Imperial Government:
"Nous pouvons donc en conclure

Reference 37 - 0.01% Coverage

n'est guère possible d'en douter.
[…] Ceci nous explique une demande qui a été faite dernièrement par le Gouverneur aux Juges spéciaux de la colonie, au sujet du prix de l'extra service. La métropole trouvait le salaire de l'extra service un peu mesquin: nous comprenons son scrupule si elle avait les états de la Jamaïque sous les yeux."

Reference 38 - 0.01% Coverage

However, the planters and other European observers at that time were projecting a negative image, if not a racist image, of the apprentices, alleging that they refused to work and were lazy. This representation of the apprentices' reaction to the planters' cheap labour strategy serves to cover up the true motives of the planters as well as of the Colonial government. Further, from the Colonial office, the reactions were not better, except from James Stephen who
"warned in vain that the

Reference 39 - 0.01% Coverage

1.2.5 Labour Systems
In both French and British periods of colonization, colonies could not survive without labour and, in particular, without a continuous supply of plentiful unpaid labour.
Several types of labour co

Reference 40 - 0.01% Coverage

THE TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION
'benevolent' attitudes/policies of British Colonial Authorities towards the 'recaptive' Africans as a disguised slave trade and as a pool of cheap labour readily available, as and when required.
The different forms of labour used by the Colonial powers and the corresponding legislations developed to control the different forms of labour were essential ingredients for the success of colonisation. The consequences for the labouring classes were not given due consideration.
1.2.6 Other aspects

Reference 41 - 0.01% Coverage

forces for a balanced perspective.
Moreover, the Capitulation Treaty underlying the British conquest of Mauritius in 1810, created the conditions, not only for the continuation of slavery until 1835, but also for extensive corruption of the State apparatus. With an illegal slave trade, the British Colonial State was in connivance with the planters and merchants of both French and British origin. The civil servants, whether of British or of French origin, were generally biased in favour of the planters/slave-owners. The Judiciary was not spared. The various institutions served the interests of the planters and merchants class.
There prevailed an ideology to

Reference 42 - 0.01% Coverage

some form of innate insufficiency.
The foundations of a resulting fragile economy and racist ideology were set up during the period of slavery and the early years of British Colonialism.
Truth and Justice Commission 70

Reference 43 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 70

VOLUME 1: REPORT OF THE TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION 3.INDENTURED LABOUR AND BRITISH COLONIALISM 1.3.1 The International Context

Post-slavery Mauritius witnessed the development of the capitalist economy based on cheap indentured labour from British India on the one hand, and on the free trade policy of the British Imperial State on the other hand. During the 19th century, with the defeats of the French in the Anglo-French colonial wars, Britain emerged as the most powerful economic, industrial, financial and military power in the world. The internal economic and political development of Britain interacted intimately with the international interests of the British Empire, in such a manner that the interests of the British Imperial State and of its varied economic and financial forces were safeguarded. The British colonies were marginalized as and when those interests needed them to be safeguarded; the British Caribbean Islands and Mauritius would be among such marginalized colonies. The British Colonial Business Community adapted and moved around within the British Empire: some British sugar companies left the Caribbean region to invest in the fast-developing Sugar Industry in British India during the latter half of the 19th century. Structurally, the economic system in these colonies would be geared towards British interests, with a dominant export orientation, and the labouring classes would face unemployment and increasing poverty. The Colonial State in these colonies developed strategies to control the population at large and the labouring classes in particular: a mix of political institutions, social and economic measures/policies, repressive policies and educational policies. Thomas B. Macaulay's 'Minute on Indian Education of 1835, is very revealing indeed, as it applies to the British Empire as a whole:

"We must do our best

Reference 44 - 0.01% Coverage

felt in the 20th century.

During the 19th century, there were intense debates in Britain between those defending free trade and the supporters of protective tariffs. As the first Industrial Power in the world and as the most advanced economic country, free trade would benefit Britain in its broad interests in trade and finance. In particular, by 1846, the Anti-Corn Law League brought the Government of the day to repeal the Corn Laws, that is trade in barley, wheat, oats etc. were open to foreign competition. Later in the same year, the Sugar Duties Act of 1846 was passed, thereby doing away with preferential tariffs for colonial sugar and 'non-slave' sugar. The free traders, in alliance with the Agro-Industry (involved in the production of jam, marmalade, confectionery), defended "a cheap breakfast table" for the British population and cheap raw material for the Agro-Industry.

However, following the economic crisis of 1847, there was a brief revival of an imperial preference for colonial sugar, but by 1874, all sugar tariffs were dismantled. Mauritius then went through some very tough times from the 1880s till the 1940s. On top of low sugar prices, stiff international competition demanded that costs of production should be reduced. German subsidies depressed world prices which applied to transactions in all markets. Competition from Java, and even Germany and Austria, in the main markets of Mauritius required a significant lowering of costs of production. This meant capital investment in the modernisation of factories and an improvement in terms of sugar-cane cultivation. In the latter case, very cheap labour was of great help to the plantocracy. In the former case, there was the 'grand morcellement', whereby the plantocracy mobilised funds by selling land to traders, middlemen, sirdars and ex-indentured labourers. Further, there was the merger of factories which had already started since the 1860s; this process is typical of the Capitalist System, as highlighted at the Mauritius Sugar Industry Conference of 1927 by the following statement:

"In relation to the reduction

Reference 45 - 0.01% Coverage

form ever bigger sugar companies.

Moreover, in the 1870s, Europe was in the grip of a depression in Europe, with prices of commodities in general going down. But the main threat to sugar came from the producers of beet sugar in Europe. Wheat from the USA and Russia was invading Europe as a result of free trade, and European farmers found in beet root production a convenient way to face this threat. Germany emerged with a very 'low cost of production', thanks to various types of subsidies, in spite of free trade. In fact, British free trade accommodated slave-produced sugar as well as sugar subsidised by other exchequers. The cost of delivery of beet sugar from Germany to Britain was somewhat less than that of cane sugar from the British colonies. Further, the factory performance of Germany was much better than that of Mauritius for both output and sugar recovery.

Britain, the great Colonial Power, gave first consideration to its own economic interests, rather than to those of its colonies; free trade meant cheap essential commodities for her, and she did not apply countervailing duties against beet sugar bounties from Germany. The Caribbean Islands, particularly, found themselves in a very difficult situation; Mauritius managed to adapt to the situation thanks to new destinations, such as British India, Australia and South Africa, which provided markets for Mauritian sugar. Mauritian sugar exports to Britain decreased from 70,000 tons in 1870-74 to 14,000 tons in 1895-1899, and to 17,000 tons in 1900-1904. On the other hand, Germany and Austria-Hungary supplied Britain with 4 % of its sugar in 1870-74, and then 58 % in the early years of 1900 and 70 % just before World War I.

Moreover, Mauritian exports to British India were made sustainable, when the Government of British India imposed countervailing duties on beet sugar to protect its traditional suppliers, including Mauritius, which the Imperial Government had previously chosen not to do. The pattern of sugar exports from Mauritius at the end of the nineteenth century, showed clearly the decrease of exports to Britain and the considerable increase to India. But the Caribbean Islands did not enjoy the relationship/proximity which Mauritius had with British India, and a Royal Commission of Enquiry was appointed in 1896 in the Caribbean Islands.

1.3.2 Indentured Labour

Reference 46 - 0.01% Coverage

which was very repressive indeed.

Thus, Ordinance 40 of 1844, approved by Governor Gomm, made provision for powers to be given to planters to imprison labourers, without going through magistrates. This piece of legislation was disallowed by the British Imperial Government. However, in June 1844, Ordinance 42 of 1844, a new Vagrancy Law, was enacted whereby indolence by itself was made a criminal offence. It meant that a man who had no permanent home or visible means of support, and who could not explain how he lived, was liable to be apprehended as a vagabond and sentenced to hard labour for twenty-eight days. Further legislation, like extending one-year contract to three years and finally to five years, meant that the indentured labourer could not sell his labour to the highest bidder. The planters, on the other hand, wanted to keep their right to sell their sugar on the London market to the highest bidder.

The overall consequence of the

Reference 47 - 0.01% Coverage

British Imperial Government policy of free trade meant that sugar producers had to reduce their costs of production and, in particular, their labour costs, while optimizing their respective benefits. Hence, the labourers were paid the price financially and lost their various 'freedoms', whilst both the British State

and the planters respectively enjoyed free trade and the freedom to maximize their profits by selling their sugar to the highest bidder.
This policy of double standards would characterize the British Imperial Government, the Colonial State in Mauritius and the plantocracy.
1.3.3 Transformation of

Reference 48 - 0.01% Coverage

whilst others settled in Mauritius.
However, labourers on the sugar estates faced harsh conditions, so much so that now and then, they reacted. In particular, in the 1870s, with the help of the planter A. de Plevitz, they sent a petition to the Governor, expressing their discontent. Thereafter, the British Colonial Government brought some improvements in their working conditions, following the recommendations of a Commission of Enquiry set up to look into their discontent. But, in practice, new legislations were not being implemented as expected. Moreover, wages of sugar estate labourers were generally low during the 1870s and well until the 1930s. In terms of paid wages, the Sirdars earned about three to four times the wages of labourers.
(See Volume 4 Part VIII

Reference 49 - 0.01% Coverage

great depression of the 1930s.
Moreover, the sustained Free Trade Policy by the British Imperial Government and the cheap labour policy of the plantocracy contributed to depress the wages of the labourers of the Sugar Industry. In particular, the continuation of the importation of Indian labourers, though on a small scale, by the turn of the 20th century created unemployment and allowed the plantocracy to make profits and to sustain their way of life.
Yet, the Colonial State caused the further impoverishment of the labouring classes through a taxation system which made these same labouring classes contribute more than other social classes in terms of the proportion of their wages and salaries. Thus, for the period 1905-1908, out of an average total revenue of Rs. 9,780,055, the excise duty on rum for home consumption was Rs. 1.67 per litre, bringing the sum of Rs. 1,169,464 to Government revenue, the third biggest contribution after customs duties and the revenue from Government railways. Spirits carried the same level of import duty of Rs. 1.67 per litre. The labouring classes and the poor were the main consumers of rum, whilst the middle and upper classes were the main consumers of spirits. Similarly, the import duty on tea was 60 cents per kilo, whilst that on coffee was only 8 cents per kilo. Again, tea was consumed mainly by the labouring classes, whilst the other classes consumed coffee.
Both the Colonial State and the plantocracy converged in their policies of extracting as much as possible from the labouring classes, whether in the sugar cane fields or in the form of taxes. By the beginning of the 20th century, unemployment and poverty were on the increase and there were a large number of applicants for Poor Law relief. The estate owners wanted, at all costs, an abundant supply of cheap labour during harvest time so that the price of labour, that is, mainly wages, could be kept down. In turn, wages outside the plantation were equally depressed. Unemployment and poverty were engineered and sustained by the plantocracy and the Colonial State to ensure the availability of cheap labour.
This is well illustrated by

Reference 50 - 0.01% Coverage

at present at any rate."

The Colonial State maintained this state of affairs, as this in turn contributed to keeping the price of sugar low on the international sugar market. In fact, the Royal Commission of 1909 provided support to the plantocracy by recommending that loans should be granted for the rehabilitation of Government railways and for the improvement of cultivation, factory machinery or mechanical tractions and for a remunerative irrigation scheme. There was no recommendation for labour per

Reference 51 - 0.01% Coverage

to recoup the investments made.

It is of interest to note that by the early 20th century, Britain was relying mainly on Germany and Austria for its supply of sugar. Its sugar colonies had their sugar exports to Britain drastically reduced. Moreover, during the First World War, the two abovementioned countries were its enemies. After the war, Britain had to review its policy, and she introduced a preferential system of tariffs for her colonies, a system linked to world sugar prices and its Free Trade Policy started collapsing. But still, Britain did not find it appropriate then to have a comprehensive policy on sugar prices and markets which would involve its colonies in some meaningful manner. Unemployment and poverty in her colonies did not mean much to her. The colonized peoples were under control; there was no need to bring changes. On the other hand, the new élite was accommodating and adapted to the colonial set-up.

The Royal Commission did not

Reference 52 - 0.01% Coverage

the end of the 1920s.

The British Imperial Government once more came to the rescue of the plantocracy. In 1926, they obtained a loan of Rs. 6 million from the Colonial Government; in 1927, they obtained a loan of £200,000 from the British Imperial Government and Rs. 3 million from the Colonial Government. Further, in 1930, the Colonial Government lent Rs. 3 million to the plantocracy; and finally, in 1931, following a severe cyclone, another loan of £500,000 was granted by the British Imperial Government to make good the loss of property and crop. Thus, by 1931, the plantocracy had accumulated loans amounting to Rs. 20 million. Moreover, there was no relief in sight to small planters or to the labouring classes.

In 1929, the British Government

Reference 53 - 0.01% Coverage

wrote in their report that:

“A considerable part of the profits is said to have disappeared in purely private expenditure and some of it to have found investment outside the colony”25.

Concurrently, the wages of the

Reference 54 - 0.02% Coverage

3 Labour, Poverty and Resistance

The reduced wages of Sugar Industry labourers, together with heavy taxation raised by the Colonial Government, made their lives very difficult indeed. The depression had a general effect of increasing unemployment and depressing wages, thus causing an increase in the level of poverty among the laboring classes and the poor. This resulted in the impoverishment of the labouring classes in the 1930s on the one

hand, and in the emergence of the Labour Party, through its public meetings, on the other hand. All this created conditions for the development of resistance by these classes. In effect, the 15 per cent decrease in the prices of the Uba cane variety by some sugar estates in 1937 triggered off protests, processions, strikes, marches and generally demands for better wages and against unemployment. In the process, shots were fired by the management of the Union – Flacq Sugar Estate, owned by the Gujadhur family, new sugar magnates of Indian origin, killing four labourers/small planters.

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.

The Colonial State reacted by means of a mix of approaches. There was a policy of severe repression of workers and their leaders on the one hand and of control of the labouring classes through legislation and through the setting up of the Labour Department and other institutions, including some to address the problems of small planters. The founder and leader of the Labour Party, Dr M. Curé was placed under house arrest, whilst, the trade unionsist E. Anquetil, a close collaborator of Dr M. Curé, was deported to Rodrigues. Some strikers were imprisoned. For the dockers' strikes of 1938 in Port Louis, the Colonial State used 'black legs' to break the strike in close collaboration with the Mauritius Sugar Syndicate. In fact, the Governor, Sir Bede Clifford asked Mr Jules Leclezio of the Mauritius Sugar Syndicate "to arrange for the sugar syndicate to get into immediate touch with a selected number of estates to collect all the suitable labour required for unloading the trains and loading the lighters....."26

Two Commissons of Enquiry were instituted; they made recommendations which the Colonial Government implemented to a large extent. Moreover, in the "Report of the Commission of Enquiry on the disturbances which occurred in the North of Mauritius in 1943", criticisms of the estate owners and their quest for cheap labour were voiced. In particular, the Commissioners wrote:

"Some employers failed to appreciate

Reference 55 - 0.01% Coverage

of the problems of industry".

Nevertheless, there were some initiatives by the Colonial State to satisfy the demands of the small planters community; for example, the setting up of 'The Sugar Millers and Planters' Central Arbitration and Control Board', which dealt with the apportionment of sugar to the small planters when they sent their canes to the sugar millers. Furthermore, there was the Land Settlement Scheme in the 1940s; the cooperative movement was enhanced as from the late 1940s.

As far as the labourers

Reference 56 - 0.01% Coverage

fundamental cooperative principles and values.

Overall, the economy grew from the very beginning of the colonial era as part of the Colonial Empire, whether French or British, the centre of which was Europe. An extreme international specialization within the British Empire had produced a vulnerable, fragile economy. The plantation economy gave rise to a very rigid hierarchical, racialised and class-ridden society, which would dominate the future of independent Mauritius.

Truth and Justice Commission 77

Reference 57 - 0.01% Coverage

and what happened to them.
What was the importance of the slave trade and slavery for, and in, Mauritius? What was the contribution of slaves to the economy and society of Mauritius? Slavery is often considered in Mauritius to be a separate institution from whatever else was going on in Mauritius; it is rarely seen as a product of colonial society and economy nor are slaves seen an intrinsic part of Mauritian society in the 18th and 19th centuries. How important was slavery to the economy of Mauritius and what was the value of slave labour? What was the extent of their participation in the economy? What ideology did slavery create in Mauritius? Why was there so much opposition to the abolition of the slave trade? Who benefited from the slave trade? What was the extent of Government participation in the slave trade? Why was there such a big increase in the slave trade in the 1770s?
What kind of society and

Reference 58 - 0.01% Coverage

difference between racism and communalism?
Racism existed before colonial slavery, became amplified during colonial slavery and has continued after the abolition of slavery.
Organisation of Report
As stated

Reference 59 - 0.01% Coverage

European slave trade.
century the
Some of the differences need to be highlighted before looking at Mauritius proper. In the Atlantic, Britain was the largest trading power, while in the Southwestern Indian Ocean, the French dominated the slave trade. The Mascarene Islands were used as a base to engage in the slave trade, with slaves being taken from Madagascar, India and Eastern Africa to the Mascarene Islands, but also to South Africa, South East Asia and the Caribbean.27 France was without question the largest slave trading nation in the Indian Ocean at the end of the 1780s. According to Daudin, the total value of its long-distance trade — trade with Africa, Asia, America and re-exports to the rest of Europe — was equal to £25 million. The total value of British long-distance trade was only £20 million. The growth of French long-distance trade from the 1710s had been faster than the growth of English trade.28 It is also contended by some historians that the main support to long-distance trade, the plantation system, was larger and more efficient in the French colonies than in the British ones.
In past research, the methodology

Reference 60 - 0.01% Coverage

THE TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION
an extremely lucrative trade which included slaves. This had been the case since the period of Labourdonnais. Frauds were also known, but not suppressed nor investigated fully. Thus, despite the official relations that may have existed between European countries and their desire to separate their trading spheres, ship Captains, slave traders, merchants did not care too much for these imperial ambitions and carried on contraband trade, whenever possible.
According to Roman, the system

Reference 61 - 0.01% Coverage

their slaves on time.43
The slave trade could never be profitable for the King, unless France had a monopoly over the slave trade with the Madagascar. There were too many people bringing in slaves illegally. If this had been stopped, profits would have been greater. A letter of 3 September 1771 outlines this problem clearly: Governor "Desroches n'a pas signé une instruction pour la flûte du Roy La Normandie que M. Poivre m'adressa pour le Capitaine de recevoir 8000 piastres à bord et d'en acheter des noirs pour le compte des particuliers nommément du Sr. Amat qui était dès lors parti pour Batavia […] concurrence des particuliers qui font la fraude" […] "qui ne paient ni frais d'armement, ni les autres charges des vaisseaux équipés aux frais et risques des particuliers" […] "le commerce a procuré 7,000 noirs à la Colonie depuis mai 1770 jusqu'à mai 1771. En cette année si la fraude reprend, on n'en traittera peut-être pas 700."44
Apart from the fact that

Reference 62 - 0.01% Coverage

illicit trade.
Corsairs cum traders
Another feature of the colonial slave trade in the Indian Ocean was that those practising it did not engage solely in it. They transported other goods as well and, according to Villiers, they very easily shifted from one kind of trade to another. Corsairs turned slave traders when the need arose, and then became planters and merchants, the most famous example being Robert Surcouf. The reconversion course-traite-commerce could be practised in the Indian Ocean. Corsair activity became prevalent when regular trading was no longer possible. That there was a human cargo was
immaterial to the traders. The

Reference 63 - 0.01% Coverage

authorization of slave trade.53
On the 20th June 1802, the Colonial Assembly of Isle de France legalized the slave trade; the same decision was taken by the Colonial Assembly of Bourbon Island on September 28.54 This period was marked by a fierce revival of the French slave trade activities in Mozambique. Eric Saugera55 states that: "La fièvre négrière échauffa les esprits: on arma partout en quelques mois des dizaines de navires pour la Côte d'Afrique. Ce retour à la légalisation du trafic négrier comble les vœux du négoce métropolitain qui souhaitait sa reprise officielle, pour l'humanité, même la morale, et pour nos colonies qui la réclament indispensablement."
Saugera has outlined the slaving

Reference 64 - 0.01% Coverage

Indian Ocean a triangular trade?
It is clear that for the Indian Ocean, the classic picture presented of the slave trade and for the Atlantic, of a 'triangular' slave trade is not quite accurate. It was traditionally believed that ships left France laden with European goods, went to Africa to exchange them for slaves and then on to the Americas to sell the slaves for colonial goods which were then taken back to Europe. Even for the Atlantic Ocean, this classic picture has its flaws. The reality, as Pétré-Grenouilleau has shown, is that they did not simply import slaves; they also exported them. The same situation existed for the Indian Ocean, as Richard Allen has recently clearly demonstrated.

Historians have concluded that to

Reference 65 - 0.01% Coverage

selling them for 1600 livres.
A word about currency is necessary here. ‘Livres’ were used in public offices since the foundation of the island. The Livre was a ‘nominal coin value of about one-fifth to about one-tenth of the value of the Spanish dollar and doublons (the latter being legally current at 16 Spanish dollars). However, individuals and companies and Customs kept accounts and subscribed engagements in Spanish dollars. One livre was about $10 (Spanish) in the 1790s. With the Imperial Government Rule, the currency used was francs, at the rate of five francs 50 centimes for the Spanish dollar. By 1810, 200 hundred sous, ten livres or two rupees of colonial money made one dollar.69
Where did the funding come

Reference 66 - 0.01% Coverage

Mediterranean countries for so long.
On Toussaint’s list was the Felicité on 9 July 1793. Although trade resumed after 1803, only a few ships made it to Mauritius from Marseilles; the last ship was the Paquebot de Marseilles whose Captain was Chauvin in 20 September 1805. But the main reason for the rise of Marseilles in the slave trade was the prime offered in colonies for every head of slave brought as from 1784.
St. Malo
In the French

Reference 67 - 0.01% Coverage

10. Memory, Identity and Representation
The slave traders: The slave trade involved slaves and their buyers and sellers but in Mauritius it is only the slaves that are mentioned and rarely the traders, who are represented in their other roles rather than than their slave trading roles. According to Daudin, there was a relatively closed network of people involved in it. The merchants and traders did not seek external funds; hence it was a ‘close circuit’ network. This was corroborated by Meyer’s analysis: “L’examen des parts de navires nous conduit à admettre une circulation des capitaux en vase clos.”122 Often friends or family were recruited in these trading ventures. Most agree that the family connections were important in the slave trade, being the business of fathers, sons, uncles etc., as well as relatives by marriage. However, this appears to be less so in the late 18th century.123 The fact that, by then, there was already a member of the family settled in the colonies was an added factor in facilitating the slave trade.
The ownership of many sugar

Reference 68 - 0.01% Coverage

double entries and indexes”.124
There has also been some work on the origins of the families involved. As in La Rochelle and Bordeaux, there was a large number of Protestants, and many slave traders consequently were Protestant. In other ports, such as St. Malo, they were all Catholic. The slave trade would also appear to involve a family network, which linked the port to colonial-based companies. In Marseilles, 15% of merchants were

Protestants, most of whom intermarried. The Swiss connection meant that financing was more readily secured for their ventures than others..125
We have few detailed individual

Reference 69 - 0.01% Coverage

to his traditional tribal marks
would be part of his identity. The religion of the slave was also another marker. These two ‘actions’ branding and baptism marked the formal ‘entry’ of the slave into the colonial slave world. Branding was the seal of his status as a ‘good’, as property, while the baptism signified that entry of the slave into the Christian kingdom. According to Filliot, slaves in Madagascar were branded at the site of trading itself, or if they had been purchased in the name of the King, they bore the mark of the King. This was usually the letter ‘R’ for ‘Roi’. Those being sold to private individuals had the initials of the patronyms of the future owner. Drawings of many of these initials have been found in the slave registration returns and deserve to be studied.
In addition to the branding of initials of the owner, slaves in Mauritius were also found to have scarification patterns on them. Preliminary analysis reveals that some appear to be colonial scars, while others were traditional scarification marks. Further research is required on this and would link these scars to particular ethno-linguistic groups. The slave registration returns of 1826 indicate that many slaves from Eastern Africa were listed as having tattoo marks. According to information obtained from Benigna Zimba, the Makonde were the ones who performed extensive tattooing on their faces and bodies. Makonde were the group that practised scarification rather than other groups in Mozambique.
There are visible common traits

Reference 70 - 0.01% Coverage

se croient tout permis.’135
But in 1775, an insightful comment made by Governor Ternay showed the inherent difficulties of maintaining a colony based on slavery. It was an expensive venture and he felt that a nation of small cultivators should instead have been promoted rather than have a small number of colonists and masses of slaves:
1 Aout 1775 Lettre du

Reference 71 - 0.01% Coverage

Ternay Concernant le Commerce particulier
Elle [isle de france] ne sera jamais une colonie de commerce.. L’introduction des noirs est peut être un des plus grands fautes qu’ait jamais fait la Compagnie; il ne fallait que pour son service...il ne fallait que de petits habitants cultivateurs comme je l’ai souvent répété’.
L’Isle de France se soutient

Reference 72 - 0.01% Coverage

et Bourbon, 20 Août 1766
 Adopter les mêmes dispositions que pour les colonies françaises de l’Amérique Article 1re: une permission d’affranchir doit être obtenue préalablement auprès du Gouverneur, Lieutenant général et de l’Intendant

 Article 2: tout affranchissement sans

Reference 73 - 0.01% Coverage

be made here.
 Categorising women
The same criteria used by colonial society to differentiate between male slaves applied in the case of female slaves: females were categorised according to their capacity for various occupations, based on presumed ethnic traits. Officials also continually complained about women who did not want to bear children and about Malagasy women, in particular, who used traditional medicine to abort. Indian and Guinean slaves were considered better breeders. By the sheer fact of mentioning the reproductive capacity of women slaves, it was clear that officials saw high birth rate as being beneficial since it would reduce the need to obtain more slaves through slave trading. 149
 Maternal and child health
Despite

Reference 74 - 0.01% Coverage

149
 Maternal and child health
Despite the wish to populate the island naturally, maternal and child health, on the other hand, did not appear to be of great concern to individual owners or to much of colonial society. High infant mortality was the norm among slaves, whether they were privately-owned or owned by the Royal Government.
According to reports found in

Reference 75 - 0.01% Coverage

smallpox.
Agriculture and food supplies
In an attempt to make the colony self-sufficient in food supplies and protect the inhabitants from famine, Labourdonnais introduced manioc or cassava (from Brazil and the Island of St. Jago) as a strategic staple food: cheap, abundant, and relatively secure from destruction by cyclones, as well as from the risk of capture in transit. He promoted the expansion of agriculture by the introduction of other products (rice, wheat, beans, oats and many other plants) from every known region of the tropical world. Salted beef, rice and other grains were imported from Madagascar.
By 1766, less than 200

Reference 76 - 0.01% Coverage

not allowed to eat bread.
Dazille linked the poor health of slaves to the tasteless, monotonous and hard to digest diet based on manioc (often poorly cooked) and brèdes, and only a few could afford a curry of some animal and vegetable products with chillies. The Indian culinary was introduced early into the colony, as early in the 18th century. The Island then housed many Indian, as well as African, Malagasy and Malayan slaves. About 10% of the colony's slaves were of Indian origin, although there was also a community of Indian merchants, artisans and craftsmen.
British Slavery 1810-1835 Truth

Reference 77 - 0.01% Coverage

11 Connaissance des produits naturelles
J'ai trouvé les deux colonies dans l'ignorance la plus profonde sur toutes les productions naturelles de leur sol'[...] les mèdecins eux-mêmes, au milieu des plantes les plus salutaires n'employaient pour le traitement des malades que des herbes, des racines, des écorces dessechées, transportés de France et qui avaient perdu toute propriété par un si long transport'[…] les Colons voyaient périr sous leurs yeux, faute de remède, de malheureux esclaves."158
Thus, although owners were bound

Reference 78 - 0.01% Coverage

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 form 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." By September 1792, the death toll from the smallpox epidemic had risen to 4,000 in a total population of 98, 000. The authorities were alarmed with this turn of events and decided on the inoculation of all the slaves. By January 1793, the epidemic was finally brought under control."
Alcohol Consumption and Slaves Truth

Reference 79 - 0.01% Coverage

OF SLAVES TO MAURITIUS
INTRODUCTION
It is to be regretted that the economic contribution of slaves to the establishment and success of the French colony between 1721 and 1810 is so little known and so little publicised in public representations of slavery.
Despite being visible everyday around

Reference 80 - 0.01% Coverage

land for settlement and agriculture
Without clearance of land, there would have been no colonial settlement. Land needed to be cleared to build the first houses and offices, cultivate the land and build roads and bridges. Slaves were given to colonists to undertake this 'colonization' of the land. In the 1730s, the first land was cleared by 12 to 15 slaves using axes to cut down the forest which covered the whole island at that time. Genicourt recommended using Malagasy slaves who were 'better workers' because 'Guinean' slaves had a tendency to maroon. Later, however, this view of Malagasy slaves changed drastically. There was also dissatisfaction that the Company was keeping the best slaves for itself.169
No better direct evidence of the crucial importance of slave labour for the expansion of the colonial economy is available than the report based on the census carried out in 1763. The relationships between land, labour and capital is clearly shown (Table 2). Distribution of slaves, after a slaving voyage, was not

carried out efficiently with the result that many large estates with potential for cultivation could not do work to maximum capacity because they received an
Truth and Justice Commission 119

Reference 81 - 0.01% Coverage

Agricultural: 6,312 31,908
The census revealed that of the 67,389 arpents of land granted, 3,708 were uncultivated due to the absence of slaves. Since the establishment of the colony, it was found that those who had the most slaves were not those who were contributing to expanding the stock of food on the island. Some slave-owners did not even own any land.
In Plaines Wilhems, for example

Reference 82 - 0.01% Coverage

as there are conflicting reports.
7. Security and defence of the colony
A very large number of slaves were also needed for the security and defence of the islands. Although there were qualms about using and arming slaves to defend the colonies, there was not much choice, given the shortage of free European labour and soldiers.
Truth and Justice Commission 124

Reference 83 - 0.01% Coverage

engaged in hard manual labour."
Slaves were also used in other activities relating to the defence of the colony, such as manning military posts. Instead of bringing in 700 to 800 French troops, slaves were introduced. It was, however, quite expensive to procure slaves, but as it was considered absolutely necessary to defend the colony, Malagasy slaves were brought because they cost the least.197
However, manning posts was not

Reference 84 - 0.01% Coverage

A UNIQUE GROUP: GOVERNMENT SLAVES
Although we are aware of the existence of slaves belonging to Government, not much is known about them and how their situation differed from other privately-owned slaves. Megan Vaughan and Corinne Masson have both written on these, Megan Vaughan as part of a general study of French slavery in Isle de France, while Corinne Masson focussed on the British Imperial period (1803-1810). Satyendra Peerthum has dwelt on the slaves owned by the Government during the British period of administration. Here, an overview of the French period is given as it is less known and understood in Mauritius. Why was there a need for the Government to maintain slaves? Who were they? How many were there? What did they do? What was their status, compared to that of private slaves? What happened to them? These are some of the basic and fundamental questions one must try to answer.
1721-1767
Although it is

Reference 85 - 0.01% Coverage

try to answer.
1721-1767
Although it is believed that slaves were only ‘owned’ by Government after 1767, this is not strictly true. When the French East India Company traded in slaves, it was not only to supply inhabitants, but to use a number of slaves to its own ends. This, as stated before, was not to the liking of some inhabitants who felt the Company was keeping the best slaves for itself: “Il faut empêcher la Compagnie de garder les meilleurs noirs au détriment des habitants de la colonie” (Eng, summary: We must stop the Company from keeping the best slaves).204
Slaves could also become the

Reference 86 - 0.01% Coverage

envisaged to bring in convicts.
By the 1770s the Colonial Government was confronted with the same difficulty as the Company previously, concerning the upkeep of Government slaves and of European workers. The workshops absorbed a huge amount of the revenue in terms of provision of food, clothing etc. Poivre even observed that it might have been cheaper to recruit 100 French workers than maintain slaves, since according to his calculations, each slave cost 1000 écus and not 20 sols per day, as was claimed.216He envisaged selling all Government Slaves, to reduce government expenses.217
Labour required by Government was

Reference 87 - 0.01% Coverage

Decaen to the French laws.
A full study of the revoking of manumissions and land transactions by non-Whites, through the implementation of the Colonial Civil Code of Napoleon, needs urgently to be undertaken. This Code was promulgated in Mauritius on 3 September 1805. Another supplement, on 23 October 1805, was specially designed for the colonies and made provisions for exceptions and additions.229
For the first time, the

Reference 88 - 0.01% Coverage

section on Findings and Recommendations.
As it is impossible to ascertain, with exact figures, how many endured colonial slavery and the slave trade and even more impossible to capture what slaves felt, thought and lived through from 1721 until 1839, no amount of reparation will ever repair the damage done to those who endured slavery and the slave trade. What modern society can do is to ensure that such actions never occur again in whatever form and the justifications (philosophical, religious, ideological, economic, biological etc.) that were used to establish colonial slavery and the slave trade are not used to institute new forms of servitude. Modern society needs to honour the memory of all slaves destined for Mauritius, including those who never reached Mauritius.
Truth and Justice Commission 140

Reference 89 - 0.01% Coverage

TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION INTRODUCTION

Indenture cannot be studied in isolation from other systems of labour prevailing in Mauritius and the world and, consequently, it was considered important to look at the legacy of slavery in Mauritius and how it affected the situation of a new type of labour being brought in: indentured labour. We further observed how different labour systems (slavery, convict labour and contract system) coexisted between 1826 and 1839, leading one to conclude that the shortage of labour was felt long before abolition of slavery because the Sugar Industry had started expanding after 1815, when Mauritius became a Crown Colony. The colony also witnessed the ageing of the slave population, due to ending of the slave trade and no decrease in slave mortality rates. In Bitter Sugar, the huge workload physically imposed on slaves on plantations, the disruption in family life, caused by forced migration within Mauritius, have been documented. However, what needed to be further explored was the wishes, desires and attitudes of former plantation slaves. Did they or did they not wish to continue with plantation labour after abolition? Despite planters attempting to control the labour movement of ex-plantation slaves, on some plantations, there is evidence of slaves being chased away, as planters did not wish to maintain ex-slaves and their families on plantations and at higher wage rates, when they could recruit single male Indians and at lower wages. This part of the legacy of slavery in economic terms, as well as the economic situation of indentured, will be discussed in Part Two 'Legacies' which follows this chapter.
We believe the Commission's role

Reference 90 - 0.01% Coverage

University of Mauritius.
Brief History
The Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade in 1807 outlawed the importation of slaves into British slave colonies and set down regulations for slaves captured on high seas. In March 1808, an Orderin-Council was passed by King George III, which stipulated that Africans seized on slave ships by the British Royal Navy would be forfeited to the British Crown as 'prize negroes'. They were also given other appellations such as: 'Liberated Africans', 'Government Apprentices', 'Government Blacks',
'African Recaptives' and 'Prize Slaves'

Reference 91 - 0.01% Coverage

obtain for illegally-landed slaves.
The purpose of this indenture was as expected always 'laudable': to 'train' the Liberated Africans or Prize Negroes for a specific employment, so that they would be able to support themselves in the future and eventually become free and productive members of colonial society. The employer was required to enter into contractual obligations or an 'indenture agreement', a process known as 'articling', with the Collector of Customs. The employer agreed to provide the apprentice with sufficient food, clothing, medical assistance and to instruct him or her in a trade or 'other useful employment.' The apprentice also was to be baptized and be instructed in the Christian religion.
Truth and Justice Commission 149

Reference 92 - 0.01% Coverage

than they received as salary:
'…the ordinary rate of colonial hire for the labour of a negro in one year, and considering the number of years these negroes have laboured, the severity of that labour, and the profits of the sugar plantations for some years past, a compensation might justly be due to the negro for past service rather than any claim of indemnification be asserted by the master for his present release.'

(Extract from Report of the

Reference 93 - 0.01% Coverage

The people with ‘no civilization’
One should also never forget that the colonial officials and planters did not have much respect for the ‘people’ they were bringing in. The first labourers to be recruited were described as such:
“The ‘Dhangars’ are always spoken

Reference 94 - 0.01% Coverage

have reached Maurtius by 1843.
However by this time, Mauritian planters represented in the Immigration Committee also wished to have permanent immigrants, and not temporary ones, as 6,000 immigrants had already left Mauritius by 1844. To do this, however, would have necessitated the introduction of a greater number of women and families.248 It was not thought necessary to import much more after that year. It was felt that to undertake Government-controlled recruitment and shipping, this could be more efficiently supervised by a Government Emigration Agent based in Calcutta. Furthermore, this was also where rice supply for Mauritius was procured. By October 1843, the Protector of Emigrants reported that the labour needs of the Colony had been met: about 29,000 labourers would have been introduced of whom 2,700 were women and 700, children.249
 Emigration of women
After 1842

Reference 95 - 0.01% Coverage

THE EARLY YEARS, 1825-1839
Although indenture is associated with the abolition of slavery and the year 1834, it is little known that Indian labourers were brought in as early as 1825 into Mauritius. A first batch was brought by no less a person than Adrien d'Epinay, the champion of slave compensation for slave owners, 10 years before slavery was abolished. On his estate at Haute-Rive in Rivière-du-Rempart District, it appears that Indian labourers worked side by side with slaves in the sugarcane fields. According to d'Epinay, he wanted to show his slaves that free men did not consider it a ‘dishonour’ to perform manual labour in the cane fields. This could be considered as the ‘first experiment’ with indentured Indian labour. The next recruitment came in 1828, when more labourers were brought in. The following year, the Commercial Agents of Gaillardon & Co., a Mauritian trading company, went to India with the objective of importing cheap Indian labour. They had the firm support of the British Colonial Government of Mauritius and so, on 21st September, the Albion dropped anchor in Port Louis harbour with 500 male labourers, 9 females, and one child on board. A further 600 labourers were brought in that year in smaller groups. By mid-October 1829, there were already over 1,100 Indian labourers in Mauritius.
These early experiments do not

Reference 96 - 0.01% Coverage

Australia. Further research is required.
On 10th September 1834, 36 ‘Hill Coolies’ of the Dhangar group (originally from the hills of Bihar in Eastern India who were then living in Calcutta) signed a five-year labour contract with Arbuthnot and Co.

Their labour contract was written in Bengali. The salary for the males was Rs. 5 per month, while for female labourers, it was Rs. 4 Rupees per month. The sirdar's salary was Rs. 10 per month and the assistant sirdar around Rs. 8 per month. They all received six months' pay in advance before boarding the Atlas. One rupee was deducted by Hunter Arbuthnot & Company to pay for the return passage to India. They had paid for the immigrants' journey from Calcutta to Port Louis. They were also to be provided with food, clothing, lodging and medical care. The ship also carried a large cargo of rice. On the 3rd November, Monday morning, Arbuthnot wrote to Governor Nicolay, requesting that: "they be allowed to land 36 Hill Coolies from the ship Atlas, whom they intend to employ on their Estate, under guarantee that they shall not become a charge on the Colony." Permission was granted. These first Indian labourers were, according to Brenda Howell, "the pioneers of a migration which was eventually to transform the character of Mauritian life and industry." Between November 1834 and April 1839, during the first wave of Indian immigration, around 25,468 Indians were introduced, amongst whom were around 23,281 males, 727 females and 175 children. Almost 15,000 came from Calcutta and Bombay and over 9,000 from Madras and modern-day Andhra Pradesh. More than half of these first Indian immigrants belonged to rural tribes, known as the Oraons, the Mundas, Bhumjis, and the Santals. In his report, Hugon categorised the 14,500 from Calcutta, but not from 'Hindostan', as follows:
Truth and Justice Commission 155

Reference 97 - 0.01% Coverage

in Mauritius.
The Recruitment process
Of all the countries importing Indian labour, Guyana (Demerara), Trinidad, Jamaica, Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Kitts, St. Vincent, Nevis, Natal, Fiji, Réunion, Cayenne, Guadeloupe, Martinique St. Croix Surinam, Mauritius was the only colony to recruit immigrants all the year round.
There were Central Depots in

Reference 98 - 0.01% Coverage

compiled.
Factors affecting numbers emigrating
1. Myths and taboos: The Mimiai ká tel myth: In some districts, where there was less emigration, rumours of horrendous treatment scared away people. For example, it was believed that in French colonies, labourers were hung upside dowm and oil extracted from their heads (mimiai ká tel). There was also the rumour that they would be forced to become Christians and eat beef.
Truth and Justice Commission 157

Reference 99 - 0.01% Coverage

THE TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION
Kala pani or tapu: In almost all districts, recruiters were asked not to refer to colonies as 'kala pani' (the black waters), but as Tápú in order not to dissuade potential migrants. Finally, another reason, noted by Grierson for reluctance to emigrate, was the 'longing for home' or janambhúmi.261
Over the years, it would

Reference 100 - 0.01% Coverage

July were recruiting seasons.263

4. The Indian Mutiny: Although not yet fully researched and perhaps, as hinted by Carter, purposefully ignored by local British officials in India and the sugar colonies, the emigration of sepoys who had taken part in the Indian Mutiny must also be considered for the period after 1857. According to Carter, the regional breakdown of the figures was striking: in 1857–58, of 9,864 adults who embarked for Mauritius, 2,229 came from Shahabad, and 1,658 from Ghazipur. In 1858–59, of 20,166 adults who emigrated, 5,522 came from Shahabad, and 2,921 from Ghazipur. The inference is clear: a region that was closely linked to heavy recruitment of sepoys was also sending emigrants in massive numbers to Mauritius. Yet it seems that no investigation was made at the time, either in Calcutta or in Mauritius, to check whether fugitive rebels were among the number. This was not for want of experienced colonial officials to undertake such enquiries. On the contrary, many of the senior police and magistrates serving in Mauritius at this time were former Indian army officers.76 Instead, it is noteworthy that high-ranking officials took steps to discredit any notion that sepoys might have had a commonality of interest with the legions of 'coolies' departing for or already settled in the sugar colonies. 264

Furthermore, in Mauritius, the 'greed of colonial capitalists [that] kept the existence of any itinerant sepoys carefully under wraps'. Emigration of sepoys and possible repercussions on Indian immigrants already in Mauritius was therefore avoided at the time. One has still to fully understand the huge rise in emigration from India for the period 1858 and 1859. However the role of the Mutiny must not be discounted. Further research in the UK, India and the colonies are required on this issue.

5. Reasons in Mauritius: The

Reference 101 - 0.01% Coverage

sugar estate workers themselves.

Wages

According to the 1875 Royal Commission, the non-payment of wages constituted one of the worst abuses of the indentured labour system, as reflected in the large number of complaints brought before the Courts by both Old and New Immigrants (Frere and Williamson 1875:582). Apart from keeping wages in arrears often for two to three months or more, the Royal Commissioners drew attention in particular to the "double-cut", a method used by planters to reduce the wages of labourers two days for every day on which they were recorded as being illegally absent. The Royal Commissioners pointed out that the "double-cut" was not in itself illegal, as originally viewed by the British Colonial Authorities with some degree of apprehension, when it was first proposed by the planter-dominated Legislative Council and then, eventually passed into law with the passing of Ordinance No. 16 of 1862.272 What was not legal was the manner in which the "double-cut" was

Reference 102 - 0.01% Coverage

complete a set task.273

The "double-cut" enabled planters to save enormous sums of money on wages,274 but worse was that immigrants, who went to lodge a complaint with the Authorities or were imprisoned for an offence, were fined a further two days of wages for everyday they were absent. In many cases, it was used as justification to prolong their contracts or to force them to re-indenture. This was exactly what happened to slaves when they had to complain to the Protector of Slaves: they were flogged for absenting themselves without permission of the owner. This illegal use of the "doublecut" had become customary amongst planters and encompassed a wide range of deductions ranging from fining labourers for the theft of thatch or the loss of tools and even for collecting grass or brèdes from rivers and streams without permission.275 But it was with respect to marking labourers as absent, when they did not complete set tasks and making

deductions from their wages, without recourse to the decision of a Magistrate, which the Royal Commissioners found particularly objectionable. This “fiction”, as it was described by one prominent Colonial Official who was interviewed by the Royal Comissioners, consisted of marking a labourer as “sick” for not completing a set task, even despite the fact that the labourer had, in fact, worked on that day:
“Regarding deductions for unfinished tasks

Reference 103 - 0.01% Coverage

more as they please.”283
The general view at the time, both amongst planters and British Colonial Officials, was that Indian immigrants cared little about hygiene and would have refused to re-engage if planters interfered and forced them to maintain cleaner dwellings. The Royal Commissioners seem to have seen through this ruse, however, and suggested it was more likely that planters used this reasoning as a convenient excuse to avoid having to pay the cost of improving sanitary conditions in estate camps.
Truth and Justice Commission 182

Reference 104 - 0.01% Coverage

later turn out to be.
In the early 1920s, J.F. Kendrick, a medical expert working for the International Health Board, a philanthropic organisation funded by the Rockefeller Foundation, came to Mauritius and wrote a report in which he urged the Colonial Government to tackle the hookworm epidemic gripping the colony. Until Kendrick’s Report, which was released in 1920, it was not generally known how many people suffered from hookworm disease; but according to Kendrick, as many as two-thirds of the population were suffering from this parasitic form of disease.286 Kendrick’s report left no doubt that failing to address the island’s sanitation problem, in particular the shortage of latrines in rural areas, would have disastrous long-term consequences for the health of the wider population. Yet in spite of these recommendations, sugar estates continually failed to tend to this problem well into the twentieth century.
Women under indenture
If slavery

Reference 105 - 0.01% Coverage

after 1842, it was the
“only [British] colony which failed to engage Indian women as indentured labourers. The numbers of women formally employed on estates was consequently never very high, even in the principal sugar-growing districts ... In 1846 9% of the total Indian female population was registered as part of the plantation labour force. At the time of the malaria epidemic in 1867, less than 100 women were reported as working on the sugar estates. By 1871, when the next census was taken, this figure had risen, even so, only 7% of women [or 1,808 Indian females out of a total estate population of 24,425] were officially employed as plantation workers.”287
Marriage patterns
One consequence of

Reference 106 - 0.01% Coverage

rather than being a celebration.
Another consequence of indenture was the non-respect of Indian marriage. The Indian Government was concerned that the cohabitation of the Indian population living in Mauritius was declared as immoral and illegal by the State, even though they had married according to religious rites. Thus, under existing Marriage Laws in Mauritius, most Indian children in the Colony were illegitimate.289 The figures spoke for themselves: there were relatively very few numbers of registered (legally recognised) marriages among Indians. In 1866, the Protector reported only 112 marriages and 166 marriages in 1867.290 By 1872, the situation had not improved. By 1893, Muir-Mackenzie, deputed by the Government of India to enquire into the conditions of the Indian population in Mauritius, was still concerned: "an unmerited stigma is cast on the morality of the Indians, and injury results to their self-respect and moral character." In 1909, in a representation to the Royal Commission of 1909, Manilal Doctor demanded the recognition of marriages performed among the Indian communities according to their religious rites. 291 Finally, the 'Civil Status (Indian Marriages) Amendment Ordinance, 1912' was passed, aimed at making better provision for the registration of Indian marriages, this Ordinance recognised the validity of marriages solemnised according to the religious traditions of immigrants and conducted by the Indian priests (both Hindu and Muslims).The effect was immediate: the rise in Indian marriages and for the first time, the Census of 1921 recorded religious marriages of Indians.
Instability of marriages was also

Reference 107 - 0.01% Coverage

instead of being in school.
Indian children particularly, also tended to be viewed by colonial society as persons who would
take over from their parents

Reference 108 - 0.01% Coverage

decolonisation, amongst other determining influences.
It is still not that clear whether it is Westernisation or indenture, whether it was self-change or imposed change, which modified/changed Indian traditions in Mauritius. Anthropologists have given their views but there has been little attempt to study the evolution diachronically, in other words over time, since the 19th century. The difficulty has been that, although much historical data is available on material consitions of immigrants, their cultural and social life remains largely unknown. Although in India, reformist movements were also advocating changes, in Mauritius it is not clear whether the changes that occurred were imposed by plantation conditions or Colonial Officials' intervention through laws or whether the immigrants themselves abandoned them. The practice of sati (widow burning) dowry were understandably no longer practicable in a period of shortage of women but for other practices, the situation is less clear: human sacrifice, polygyny, child marriage etc. There is no indication when these died out, if they ever existed at all. From interviews with elders, it is clear that child marriages existed, as did the heavy expenditure during marriage that parents endured.
At the end of the

Reference 109 - 0.01% Coverage

officiating as priests.
Before Indenture
Claveyrolas et al recommend examining the individual's perceptions, before they arrived in Mauritius. It is thus necessary to analyse them in the light of their Indian pre-indenture experience However, as there is

no one ‘typical’ indentured immigrant, but more a series of typologies: the Sepoys fleeing colonial repression, the indebted peasant and unemployed weaver, the son-in-law fleeing parents-in-laws, the migrant looking for a better future.
Our research, among mainly Bhojpuri

Reference 110 - 0.01% Coverage

down a proposal for quarantine.
Another example of maintenance of caste distinctions on board ships and at the Depot was the case of immigrants, reported in the letter of Emigration Agent Laird to Colonial Secretary of Mauritius. According to him, the Indian emigrants brought their own cooking utensils to cook their food on deck during the passage. Dholl, salt fish, curry for South Indians were provided by the Captain. The emigrants used to constitute themselves in groups. This started at the time of their departure from their villages to the depot at the port of embarkation. People from the same caste flocked together. Even the jahaji bhai system did not work, as again according to him, jahaji (or Zahazi) brotherhood did not cut across caste divisions. Groups continued being constituted at the depot, at
Truth and Justice Commission 187

Reference 111 - 0.01% Coverage

MNA: B6/Blue Book/1864
The life of the children there gives us a rare insight into colonial thinking about children, as information on non-orphaned children is scarce. They were all given a Christian education, many at their request. But there were different languages taught; so they did not lose touch altogether with their maternal language. Education involved the preparation of those orphans for their lives at a time when they would leave the GOA; they received tuition in English, Tamil or Hindustani, Arithmetic and Geography.298 Some even became teachers at the Asylum when they grew up. A gendered approach also existed in education, as all the boys and girls were ‘apprenticed to useful trades and occupations’.299 The tasks assigned went according to gender: boys were trained in manual work and could exhibit their work in workshops which were found at the GOA, and some of their products were sold. On the other hand, girls performed well in cooking, ironing and sewing. In both cases, the students were efficient. Just as for other girls, marriage was considered as an outlet for orphaned girls. When the girls were grown up, they were allowed to get married with the Reverend’s permission. Numbers at the asylum began to drop, but it is not clear why; was there stricter control of emigration and selection of immigrants? It is also possible that with opening up of other orphanages and school, numbers dwindled.
Education of the children of

Reference 112 - 0.01% Coverage

to teach in vernacular mediums.
As far as the colonial authorities were concerned, despite this awareness about the lack of education among the immigrants, the need to provide education to the labourers and their children did not fit into the scheme of things for planters, neither did it attract the attention of the administrators in the first few decades because, for Mauritian authorities, Indian indentured
Truth and Justice Commission 189

Reference 113 - 0.01% Coverage

qualify for it.305
HEALTH
Much is known about the health of immigrants due to the unhealthystate of the island and also because great care was taken to ensure that indenture was not compared to slavery. The colonial administration generated an innumerable amount of reports and correspondence on the issue of health and sanitation. Since then, numerous books and articles have also been written on colonial

Reference 114 - 0.01% Coverage

years need to be mentioned.
There were multiple causes why it dwindled to an end in Mauritius while immigration increased in other colonies. First, in 1909, the Council of Government of Mauritius requested for a Royal Commission of Inquiry in order to secure a loan for the revival of the local economy. The Royal

Reference 115 - 0.01% Coverage

the indentured labour immigration cease.
While focus has been on those who stayed in Mauritius, many decided not to. These figures need to be compiled. What prompted those who stayed to do so and those who left to do so will be for future historians to research. Available figures so far show that between 1906 and 1910, more than twice as many of those who arrived, left, either to go back to India or on to other colonies such as Natal, Guyana and Fiji. The movements of these last migrants show they were seasoned travellers, many of whom had been to other British colonies and were not ‘new’ migrants from India. This was the case for the period between 1923 and 1924 for some of the 1,395 labourers or so, most of whom decided to return to India.

Reference 116 - 0.01% Coverage

up to the present day.
The first Commission was in 1875, when a Royal Commission was convened by the Colonial Government after receiving several thousand petitions from Indian immigrants collected by Adolphe de Plevitz. The terms of the contract which they had signed were not being followed by their employers: basic wage, free housing, medical assistance and rations. Instead, withholding of wages in order to try and re-indenture them, less than adequate medical attention, and reduction of rations in addition to being forced to carry a ticket in order to allow them to travel beyond the radius of the sugar estate where they were housed and worked. Although the 1875 Royal Commission confirmed the existence of abuses and made a number of recommendations to rectify this situation, many sugar estates did not meet their legal responsibilities, even after the end of the indentured labour period.
Two subsequent Commissions in the 20th century were held: the Hooper and Moody Commissions. How far the official enquiries by the British Colonial Authorities were impartial or conducted as thoroughly as they might have been has been questioned (Vol 3, Part I). Discrepancies exist. Similar discrepancies have been noted in the reports of Labour Departments since 1938. The 1938 Hooper

Reference 117 - 0.02% Coverage

slaves almost a century before.
Secondly, the continuity arose from the fact that capital to finance economic activities was generated locally. This was not the case in the Caribbean, with a large presence of absentee labour, while the USA was similar to Mauritius. Of course, generous grants from Colonial Governments were forthcoming as well as relaxations in the duties and taxes relating to commodities and goods being exported and imported into the country. The original owners of the large tracts of land grants of the 18th century merged and intermarried with new arrivals from France during the 18th century and 19th centuries, and a gradual consolidation of ownership of land occurred during various phases of the economic development of the island. The trading and merchant community of the 18th century merged with rural owners of land over the course of the latter quarter of the 18th century and reinvented itself into a powerful force during the period of sugar expansion in the 19th century, owning land, influencing, if not controlling, political decisions and being the driving force to economic and social activities occurring on the island for most of the 19th century. When viewed with hindsight and from a distance, it is indeed remarkable how such a tiny community, this 'most refractory little community', as one British official described it, was able to control the destiny of so many people and even intimidate and dictate to the British Government represented by the Governor and a few British administrators.
Thirdly, there has been continuity in the laws, treaties and conventions adopted by the country which have served these economic interests so well. From the Code Noir in 1723, established to categorise one group of human beings as 'goods', in order for the owner of these goods to be able to obtain insurance money and compensation in case of loss of his 'goods', to the Capitulation Treaty of 1810 which guaranteed the protection of these 'goods, passing through the Civil Code of Decaen which once more not only reaffirmed that ownership of property would remain in the hands of this group, but, this time, clearly introducing a racial component in the Law concerning ownership of property. These amendments to the French Civil Code are described a 'unique' in French Law and reserved only for French colonies, in order to maintain the control of French inhabitants over property in the colonies. And what of the Compensation money, over £2.1 million to compensate owners for 'loss of property' but not the slaves for having sacrificed life, labour and freedom for Mauritius? Abolition of slavery, ironically, financially benefitted the owners of slaves rather than the slaves.
It is therefore ownership and

Reference 118 - 0.01% Coverage

1.1 The Sugar Industry
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 througout 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.
The Sugar Industry in 21st

Reference 119 - 0.01% Coverage

earnings into the firm's expansion."
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.
For this process of capital

Reference 120 - 0.01% Coverage

issues and to make recommendations.
The Colonial State was also however very repressive: trade union leaders were deported or placed under police surveillance and strikers were imprisoned. Nevertheless, a system of industrial relations was developed. It helped to control the situation on the one hand and to bring certain
Truth and Justice Commission 207

Reference 121 - 0.01% Coverage

THE TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION
reforms on the other hand. Moreover, the Colonial State used 'divide and rule' tactics, especially during the dockers' strike of 1938.
In the years following independence

Reference 122 - 0.01% Coverage

Labour Legislation and Labour System
The Labour Legislation and Labour System prevailing in the 1970s was that set up during the colonial period. During the 1950s and the 1960s, there were some positive developments in the enactment of some labour legislation. In particular, there were firstly the Trade Dispute Ordinance (GN 36) of 1954 which provided for the unrestricted right to strike, except for employees in essential services. Then, secondly, the Trade Union Ordinance of 1965 provided for the right to declare a strike if there is a deadlock at the level of negotiations/conciliation.
The enactment of the Industrial

Reference 123 - 0.01% Coverage

have been successes as well.

Following the recommendations of the Royal Commision of 1909, the Colonial Government appointed Mr S. Wilberforce, from the Indian Civil Service, equipped with the experience in setting up of Cooperative Credit Societies in India, to "investigate the possibilities of establishing cooperative banks in Mauritius"320, for the small planters. From the outset, Wilberforce wondered about the interest of the wealthy from among the planters' community in these cooperative banks. He found that "it is doubtful if any rich Indians – whose interests are mainly opposed to the movement – will assist the banks..... Moreover, few wealthy Indians will become members."321
There was some concern that

Reference 124 - 0.01% Coverage

to give them real freedom.
Local Colonial Officials, including the Governor and sugar planters, had no wish either to have exslaves free to roam around in Mauritius on to market their labour, and laws were enacted to severely curb the mobility of ex-slaves and any children they may have later. A Census was advocated only to obtain data on the working population, with a view to transforming the whole island into a labour force for the sugar pantations. This was the view of Lord Glenelg who disallowed two orders in Council, Ordinance 16, for example, in which the planters sought to define a 'vagabond' as simply someone with 'with no employment'. Thus, anyone found not working could be arrested and imprisoned.
The conclusion of the British

Reference 125 - 0.01% Coverage

has never aroused much interest.
In neighbouring Réunion island, this has attracted the attention of Law students and scholars alike, and it is worth examining their views on the compensation given to owners in French colonies.
Compensation in French colonies
When compensation was given, it

Reference 126 - 0.01% Coverage

THE TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION
As a result, the Act abolishing slavery in the French colonies in 1794 (the Decree of 16 pluviose), no compensation was envisaged.
A philosophical/legal question was

Reference 127 - 0.01% Coverage

and the State/colon relationship.
The first Decree proposed by the French Government on 23 August 1848 was founded on the principle that there was a droit: (a right), but not strong right to ownership of one human being over another ("pas de droit rigoureux pour une possession de l'homme par l'homme"), but a recognised right to an indemnity. 90 million francs was estimated to be the cost of compensation, for the benefits of not only the colons, but that of the whole colony and new citizens.
The problem, according to Bleriot

Reference 128 - 0.01% Coverage

would not be compensated for.
Thus, Réunion Island obtained 2, 055, 200 of the 6 million francs. One-eighth was allocated to set up a lending and savings bank. It represented, as in British colonies, 40 % of the total value of slaves.331
Truth and Justice Commission 216

Reference 129 - 0.01% Coverage

them. Desire for Autonomy (1839-)
Occupations, preferred by ex-slaves, were those which gave them autonomy and those which procured the basic necessities on the one hand, but also goods that they had been denied under slavery: shoes, jewellery and clothing. It would be wrong for us today to judge these actions. However, what was obvious was the lack of preparation provided to ex-slaves at the time of abolition by the Colonial Government. There was no willingness on the part of the British Government to address the wishes and interests of the slave population, although it must be recognized that a few officials did acknowledge this desire for autonomy.
Relationship with Indian indentured immigrants

Reference 130 - 0.01% Coverage

SITUATION OF DESCENDANTS OF INDENTURE
After indenture, many immigrants returned to India. Exact figures still need to be compiled. However, it is believed that about one-third returned to India, while another third did not survive their indenture. Some went elsewhere to British and other colonies.
For those who stayed in

Reference 131 - 0.01% Coverage

eat meat on special occasions
Andrew Balfour's report on medical and sanitation matters in Mauritius was printed in 1921; he read a report written only one year earlier by a medical expert working for the International Health Board, a philanthropic organisation funded by the Rockefeller Foundation, named J. F. Kendrick. Kendrick discovered that more than two-thirds of the colony's population was suffering from ankylostomiasis, or hookworm disease, as it is more commonly known as, and that the highest rates of infections were recorded amongst the labouring classes in the colony's rural areas (cited in Balfour 1921:18). Kendrick urged the Colonial Authorities in Mauritius to cooperate with the International Health Board in trying to eradicate the disease, and it appears that the British did not hesitate in taking up the generous offer of financial support from the Rockfeller Foundation, after being actively encouraged to do so by Balfour.
Hookworm disease seems to have

Reference 132 - 0.01% Coverage

abide by the Collective Agreement.
The Labour Laws that have been enacted over the course of the twentieth century have also affected female sugar estate workers. Until 1973, no law delineated what types of tasks female labourers were expected to perform.359 Although the Minimum Wage Ordinance of 1934 stipulated the rates of pay and

types of tasks to be done by both male and female labourers, the amendment the Colonial Government made to the Ordinance in 1944 was principally aimed at ensuring that sugar estates complied with the law and paid labourers the wages they were entitled to, as one of the main conclusions to stem from the 1943 Moody Commission Report was that the failure of the Industry to implement minimum wage rates was one of the chief causes of the 1943 strike.
Truth and Justice Commission 236

Reference 133 - 0.01% Coverage

l'Inde et en Angleterre (1825):
"I would divide them into three classes: firstly the Whites; secondly, the mulattoes and the freed slaves; thirdly, the mulattoes and the Black slaves […] The Coloured people may be divided into mulattoes, born of Black people and free Whites; freed slaves; and mulattoes or Coloured people from India […] The third class, or that of slaves, is very large and more varied than perhaps in any other colony." 372
The mixed traits which created

Reference 134 - 0.01% Coverage

to England and France […]373
Libertinage and concubinage are part of our heritage and shoud no longer be stigmatised or use in hushed tones. It was a fact of colonial life since the French period, and this perception of Libertinage inspired the repression of mixed unions, loose and represented young men from France being lured by easy access to female slaves.
Many French merchants, settling in

Reference 135 - 0.01% Coverage

study is required on this.
Creole or Coloured, thus, has, from the beginning, all cultural origins, and not just African and European origins. Embroiled in this, from mid-nineteenth century, was the struggle to prevent the Asiatification of Mauritius embarked upon by those of European origin. It was felt that as Indian labourers came to Mauritius and settled, the existing religions would be influenced by pagan religions. Evangelisation policy was implemented more fully, first against Malagasy religions, and later against Asian religions. Palmyre's statement that the "professionals of the middle class from towns in colonial Mauritius, were often the descendants of black female slaves and white masters, had pale skin, were free and educated, but did not possess land:" is therefore not correct.
Discrimination
Prejudices survived from the

Reference 136 - 0.01% Coverage

is therefore not correct.
Discrimination
Prejudices survived from the French colonial days during the British period; for example, an Ordinance of 1779 prohibited entry by the Whites into the 'Quartier des Libres' and punished any infringement by fines. 378 Yet, Indian women, not deterred by the coloured status of their children, had them baptized, without naming their fathers, according to Jumeer. 379 But, this did not secure access into 'good society';

in fact, these children were ostracized both by the Whites and the Indians. A similar story unfolded, when it came to Coloured children with freed slave mothers. Even though their numbers increased, hostility between the White and 'Coloured Population', as Rose de Freycinet noted, 380 increased in the early nineteenth century. The causes of this white antagonism was, partly, rivalry between the two groups of women, White and Coloured, but, above all, it can be explained by the abolition of the status description in the Ordinance of 1829.
The most shocking example of

Reference 137 - 0.01% Coverage

the Gens de Couleur.395
It was only in 1835 that Michel Severimoutou opened a Colonial Academy for boys and girls in Plaine-Verte.396 From 1818, the 'so-called' English scholarships were opened to white boys only
and allowed them to become

Reference 138 - 0.01% Coverage

open policy.
The Political Contribution
The Gens de Couleur have played a preponderant role in politics since the French period. For a short period following the abolition of slavery in 1793, the Colonial Assembly of Isles de France and Bourbon relaxed the laws concerning Gens de Couleur. In 1791, even before the first Abolition, the Assemblée Coloniale of 8 September had declared that: "Coloured people, born of free fathers and mothers, will be admitted to all future parish and colonial assemblies, if they have the required qualifications." 398 The same Assembly affirmed that Municipalities would register as electors "Coloured citizens born of free fathers and mothers, who meet all the criteria stipulated by the Constitution." It proclaimed: "All Citizens are equal in the eyes of the Law."399 However, under Napoleonic rule, these rights were removed. Even though many among them were landowners and possessed slaves, they retained an inferior status in French Mauritius.400
The British had abolished all

Reference 139 - 0.01% Coverage

from the incoming passenger train.
Surprisingly, after this episode of confrontation between the whites and the coloured creole, these two communities were to bury the hatchet and united their forces in the move for the Retrocession of the colony to France. This move foiled as the sugar barons, in spite of their profound attachment with France feared to lose all their privileges and the guaranteed price which they enjoyed under the British flag.
Education too was progressing among

Reference 140 - 0.01% Coverage

11,792 individuals left.
Landownership
The Gens de Couleur started to have access to land possession in the 1770s. Most of the 'Coloured' landowners were then persons with a privileged position within the Colonial Administration. Under the 'concession' system, the 'Libres de couleur' were allowed to buy their plots of land (while the Whites were

granted land for free). Freed slaves could also be granted a plot of land by their former owners. According to Richard Allen, the percentage of concessions granted to 'Libres de couleur' between 1770 and 1789 varied from 9 to 23%.411
Truth and Justice Commission 249

Reference 141 - 0.01% Coverage

not necessarily laid off.417
This is a testimony to their resilience in the face of colonial neglect and adversity and must be fully acknowledged by Mauritian society.
While the descendants of skilled

Reference 142 - 0.01% Coverage

Civil Service - Absence of Creoles
Enforced illiteracy during slavery and continued neglect of education by Colonial Authorities, has led to the undervaluing of education in the Creole community. Moreover, as has already been shown, economic activities with short-term financial gain has further encouraged this trend away from education, since these activities did not require any basic academic qualifications.
Many poor Creole parents found

Reference 143 - 0.01% Coverage

reasonable prices.
7. Pig-breeders
Pig-breeding is one of the oldest farm occupations in Mauritius. During the Dutch occupation, pig meat was one of the main sources of animal protein to the small colony of European and slaves. This activity was further intensified during the French occupation, as the population increased. Slaves were assigned the task of feeding the animals on sweepings, left-overs and root crops such as sweet potatoes, manioc etc. Livestock and goat-keeping were also undertaken by slaves. Pig back-yard rearing continued to be a common feature throughout the island without restriction. With the advent of the indentured labour immigration, Muslims and some Hindus being non-pork eaters, care was taken to restrict pig-breeding near them. Most sugar estates continued, however, to keep large sties, and this occupation was assigned to Creole workers. During the period covered by slavery, the noblest parts of pork carcasses were destined to the masters and the rest of the animal to the slaves who had the right to a diet consisting of meat once a week. Pig production and consumption are a tradition which has stood the test of time. Many slaves were initiated in the art of pig-processing by their French masters; many recipes originating from Britanny, were introduced by the French colons and are still in use to this day, both in Mauritius and Rodrigues.
After the abolition of slavery

Reference 144 - 0.01% Coverage

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'.444
Truth and Justice Commission 266

Reference 145 - 0.01% Coverage

of the Chinese in Mauritius
When the Dutch arrived, labour was brought from Batavia, which at the time was mostly composed of Chinese immigrants, traders and victims of kidnapping. 447 However "there are no known descendants on the island from this period."448 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." 449 Louis Vigoureux, a slave-owner manumitted two Chinese slaves, Gratia and Pauline from Canton, in 1745.450 The manumission of Chinese slaves created a free Chinese community in the Isle de France.451 "But they became gradually absorbed into the Creole population."452 Some other 300 Chinese slaves were also captured and brought to Mauritius.453
Chinese Coolies
There were several

Reference 146 - 0.01% Coverage

what it is today."475
The new generations, born in Mauritius, also bear traces of the colonial influences in their naming pattern. The Chinese, looking for social mobility, needed to be accepted by the rest of the population. They needed to gain access to education and other facilities for that to happen. In almost every facet of their lives, they had to "forget" their ancestral culture and adopt the norms of the Colonial Powers.
"Whenever they had to open

Reference 147 - 0.01% Coverage

still retain their souls."477
The willingness to change even their identity was influenced by the need to escape through education the form of "slavish" life they lived. Behind the doors of the lucrative Chinese shops hid unspoken sufferings. In colonial times, anyone other than the Europeans and their descendants was a victim of their domination and the Chinese felt they were prejudiced against in the same way as any member of the other communities. Most of them suffered the dominations of the sugar magnate.

“We suffer the same faith, we suffer the same destiny, we get the same destiny. The liberated slaves, indentured labour and the free immigrants shared the same common destiny. When the wipe of colonialism is slashed, no one was spared. Even the Chinese shopkeeper, he has to bear. Do you know what injustices the Chinese suffered when they run a shop? [...] you can’t collect your money at the end of the year, the sugar magnates, you have to provide them with gifts. You must provide them with “cadeau l’année”. The contribution of the shopkeepers cannot be underestimated. They have introduced the system of credit, “carnet la boutik”, to feed the descendants of slaves and indentured labourers”478
“The shopkeeper is a sort of adviser, banker, moral support to them. So they shared the same faith. The Chinese shopkeepers, they work day and night to feed the hungry population. It is not true to say that the Chinese have been privileged. It is not true because, they, too, were looked down upon by the colonial powers [...] today, if we have seen the disappearance of the Chinese shops in the villages, it is because they have considered it a sort/form of slavery. Life in the shop is a sort of slavery; day and night, he has to feed the whole village. He is the first to wake up and the last to go to bed.”479
Truth and Justice Commission 270

Reference 148 - 0.01% Coverage

a new class of people.
In the main, they settled on the Northern outskirts of Port Louis and developed the pattern of a south Indian village to the extent that it became known as Camp des Malabars where a place of worship was built in 1778. The free Christians from Pondichery won the appreciation of the Authorities and were granted concessions, not only in the Camp des Malabars, but in other districts as well. Soon, a new elite sprung among the educated and well-off among them. The Nalletamby family had a splendid colonial manor at Bourbon Street, which was requisitioned by Governor Isidore Decaen in 1806 to house the Commander of the French forces, General M. Vandermarsen.
For long, although Christians, the

Reference 149 - 0.01% Coverage

of indentured labour, 1829-1923
The British occupation, unlike the French, was to witness the surge of massive immigration from India, so much so that in less than three-fourths of a century, Indian immigrants and their descendants formed some 2/3 of the population of the colony. In fact, out of the 452,000 workers and their families, who came under the indentured immigration, only 167,000 left at the end of their contracts of service.496
One noticeable characteristic was that only a small minority among them were Christians, for most belonged to the Hindu faith, and some 14 % among them professed the Muslim faith. The fact that a majority of immigrants hailed from North-Eastern Provinces, where Christianity was not generally followed, explains this. According to the 1911 Census, only 3.1% of immigrants were registered as Christians, and most of these originated from Southern India. Although the British had conquered India, unlike the Portuguese, and later on the French, they did not have for set policy to convert the inhabitants to Christianity.497 This explains, according to historians, the success of the East India Company whose set objective was trade and commerce. 498 Officially, in the Colony of Mauritius, the British had the same policy. In 1837, Reverend Dean of the Anglican Church stated in the wake of steady arrival of Indian immigrants:
“Twelve thousand workers have arrived

Reference 150 - 0.01% Coverage

It is regrettable that other groups have also been treated in such a cavalier fashion. The plight of the original Riche Terre planters also comes to mind.525 In this case, they were sold land by a sugar estate which came soon after was compulsorily acquired by the colonial Government. A question could be posed: did the sugar estates know in advance that the land was to be compulsorily acquired? The small planters consider they were given a minimal compensation. They also stated to the Commission that they were verbally informed that they would be returned the land when the Government no longer needed it. Years later, this same plot of land was given to a group of planters and despite all their protests to the Ministry of Housing and Lands, their voices were ignored by the same Ministry. This same land now has been given to a Chinese business group. The new Riche Terre planters who were removed have since attracted much attention and been given land elsewhere, but the original Riche Terre planters have been totally ignored. Since the loss of their land, although some were able to continue on with their lives, others faced extreme financial difficulties. It appears that the 'verbal' commitment gioven by the Colonial Government was not considered at all by authorities.

1. A fairer and

Reference 151 - 0.01% Coverage

The term 'discourse' is used to describe ways of speaking which are commonly practised and specifically situated in a social environment. Identity construction, and especially the construction of racial identity, is very complex in Mauritius. Many racial identity labels have emerged from Colonialism and these continue to be used to the extent that they appear to be natural. Yet, race is a 'social construct'; it is not something conferred at birth or by religion and is affected by social, political and cultural practices.

Reference 152 - 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 153 - 0.01% Coverage

The problem of racism has not ended with the abolition of slavery, the achievement of Independence from Colonial Rule or even the various amendments to the Mauritian Constitution. The economic legacies of slavery (economic inequality, lack of access to the means of production and ownership), continue today. In fact, a worsening of the situation is occurring as Mauritius becomes a more economically liberal society in which maximum profits are to be made. It is our view that this rather uncontrolled accommodation of capitalism will have disastrous consequences for our country because we have not yet dealt with the legacy of inequality in our society and will be compounding our problems by making the society more hierarchical in class and monetary terms. The Tourism Industry, our third pillar of the

economy, has brought many benefits to Mauritius. However, we still feel that this sector needs careful monitoring by Government and civil society because it risks replicating the same structures of inequality present in the era of colonisation.
There appears to be social

Reference 154 - 0.01% Coverage

and whether it still exists.
In India, Capitalism has added a new dimension, the ‘class dimension’. Towards the end of the 19th century, an Indian elite appeared and became the core of the Independence and Nationalist movements. This elite has characteristics other than caste criteria. Education, jobs, and relationships with the Colonial Powers were important criteria required to be met to belong to this elite. Hence, the discourse by this elite that prevailed during Nationalist struggles against the Colonial Powers and then through the destiny of independent India, adopted a great part of the vision of a modern India that would leave behind the structure of castes, thought to be archaic and confined to village life. However, it is difficult to ignore the fact that many of this elite belonged to the higher castes.
Castes and classes thus present

Reference 155 - 0.01% Coverage

THE TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION
It can be said that political circumstances (Colonialism, vote-catching in modern democracy) have partly manipulated caste hierarchies in order to support identity claims or access to privileges. Thus, portraying castes as having a totally negative effect and highlighting their hierarchical function and freezing their inherent stability are proofs that the caste system and its logical tenets are still misunderstood in Western and Westernised circles.
We have to bear in

Reference 156 - 0.01% Coverage

THE TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION
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

Reference 157 - 0.01% Coverage

history of injustice and oppression.

Whilst post-colonial education has contributed to producing a greater pool of expertise and relevant manpower in the country, several types of injustices, such as curriculum injustice, linguistic injustice, socio-economic injustice have continued to mar the educational system. The greatest aberration of the system is that it makes demands of Mauritian children, are unable to meet - that which they based on, the cultural and linguistic capital, and remnants of a Eurocentric model of education. In short, the Mauritian school does not cater for the heterogeneous cultures, diverse talents and multiple intelligence of the country. The system has, for many years, been failing the disadvantaged children, particularly those of Creole background.
Whilst 'illiteracy' is no longer

Reference 158 - 0.01% Coverage

THE TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION
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.
Truth and Justice Commission 301

Reference 159 - 0.01% Coverage

HEALTH CARE IN MAURITIUS Introduction
In 18th and 19th centuries, ill-health took a heavy toll of lives of slaves and indentured immigrants. High mortality amongst slaves reflected their harsh living and working conditions, and they often did not live longer than middleage. Indentured labourers too were characterised as weak and subject to premature ageing as a result of hard work, poor nutrition and disease. Access to health services was not easily and adequately available. Often denied adequate food and a balanced diet, proper sanitation and shelter and harsh labour conditions caused undue harm to their physical and mental health. Some timid measures to improve living conditions were undertaken by the Colonial Administration in the 19th and 20th centuries, lagging behind on health services development in Britain.
1. Nutrition and Malnutrition
The

Reference 160 - 0.01% Coverage

Britain.
1. Nutrition and Malnutrition
The Committee on Nutrition in the Colonial Empire (1939) noted that malnutrition was one of the main cause of the excessive mortality in most Colonial territories and that the single most striking feature was the absence of milk and animal products from most tropical diets. In post-slavery and post-indenture Mauritius, too, infant mortality rates were very high (although they fell considerably after malaria was brought under control in the 1950s) and the main causes were malnutrition and repeated infectious diseases (including malaria and intestinal worm infestation). Inadequate infant feeding, especially weaning, was a cause of malnutrition and high infant mortality.
Apart from poor diet and the high prevalence of infectious diseases in Mauritius during the colonial period, the underlying causes of malnutrition were, most importantly, the low standard of living followed by lack of awareness, coupled with certain prejudices. The low standard of living of the labourers was the result of inadequate food rations, low wages insufficient to supplement their rations and too little food

provisions from family production or gathering in the wild. The economic policy prioritising the production of cash crop (sugar cane) for export further decreased available land for food production.
After the Second World War

Reference 161 - 0.01% Coverage

Alcohol Consumption, Production and import
Rum being derived from molasses existed as an industry wherever sugar was made. In Mauritius, prior to 1895, a distillery was attached to almost every sugar estate, and over 100,000 litres were produced per month, bringing a high amount of revenue to the Government. But with decreasing exports to Madagascar and East Africa, the revenue from the sale of rum fell significantly, and most of the distilleries closed their doors, thus greatly decreasing the level of alcohol consumption on the Island (Anderson 1918). In the early 20th century, liquor consumed in the colony was either imported or manufactured locally. Imported liquors included whisky, brandy, gin, vermouth, rum (in very small quantities), liqueurs and cordials, wine of every description, ale beer, porter and cider. The local product was rum, obtained by the distillation of sugar cane molasses. It was generally consumed as it came from the distillery, or after having been artificially coloured or flavoured,
Following the distillation (Rhum prepare

Reference 162 - 0.01% Coverage

the prevalence of infectious diseases.
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.
Obesity in adults and children

Reference 163 - 0.01% Coverage

500 YEARS OF POWER GAME
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 SaintBrandon 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 km2. 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.
Saint-Brandon, or the Cargados Carajos Group of Islands, situated at approximately 450 kms. to the North of Mauritius, was first chartered by the Portuguese in 1546 who regrouped the islets under the appellation of “Sao Brandao” and “Gados Charades”. In 1742, Mahé de Labourdonnais sent a ship to explore the islets and Abbé de Rochan mapped out the archipelago in 1769. These islets had been leased

to private companies since the colonial days, until 1901, for the exploitation of guano. The lease of 15 of the islets expired in May 1992 and has not been renewed since them, whilst the lease of the other 13 islets has come to an end in October 2000. However, the former lessee, namely Raphael Fishing Company Limited, has been authorized to continue its activities pending further negotiations.
According to the Domain of

Reference 164 - 0.01% Coverage

5,000 on Puits-àEaux.
An area of tension between France and Mauritius relates to the Mauritian's claim to Tromelin Island, some 550 kilometres Northwest of Mauritius, which France retained when Mauritius acceded to Independence. Tromelin had been governed by France from Mauritius during the colonial period, and for a number of years, Mauritius has raised the question of the return of the one-square kilometre island, where France has a meteorological observation station. When French President François Mitterrand visited Mauritius in 1990, the Government raised its claim; despite several subsequent discussions, the matter has not been resolved. In 2010, the issue was once more officially discussed between Prime Minister Navin Ramgoolam and the French President Nicolas Sarkozy. Both Mauritius and France agreed to "maintain the dialogue over a shared administration till a satisfactory conclusion is reached" between the two parties.
The Chagos Archipelago, subject to

Reference 165 - 0.01% Coverage

special asylums of persons affected:
"Those amongst the persons affected who shall be found to be incurable, shall, by the first opportunity, be sent to a place that shall be fixed, the colony shall see to their being settled, and to their keeping and maintenance during the period of six months". (Acticle VI of the Arrêté).
General Decaen thought that Rodrigues

Reference 166 - 0.01% Coverage

asylum for the lepers"530.
Thirty-eight years later, under British rule, the fate of the islands was to be once more decided. William Nicolay, through the then Colonial Secretary, Georges Dick, in a letter dated 13th June 1838, sent Special Magistrate Charles Anderson on a special assignment to the islands:
"Independently of your immediate duty

Reference 167 - 0.01% Coverage

observation applies specifically to Rodrigues.
The Governor would also wish particularly to know which would be likely the most eligible place for a modified Penal Settlement where prisoners could be sent to undergo their sentence of hard labour and confinement instead of in a goal in the Colony... a measure which, both in a moral and political view, His Excellency considers an object of great importance"531.
FRENCH AND BRITISH RIVALRY IN

Reference 168 - 0.01% Coverage

which was gathered and analyzed.
The British in the Indian Ocean were represented largely by two entities: the Royal Navy and the East India Company (EIC). The East India Company was far more than simply a business. Indeed, it operated a navy of its own. From its foundation in 1600, to its eventual demise in 1874, the EIC played a key role in the British presence in the Indian Ocean. At times, the Company served as the de facto government of India and held incredible influence over British Government's policy in the region. Service to the Company offered great opportunities. Even before the British settled in the Americas, and long after its colonies there had rebelled, the East India Company was a cornerstone of British Colonial strength.
The period of escalating British

Reference 169 - 0.01% Coverage

than suited for the task.
One continuing problem was that the owners of the plantations resided on Mauritius and saw Diego Garcia and the other Chagos Islands as little more than a source of easy income. There was a perennial shortage of capital for investment, and many ambitious plans for development were wrecked on the shoals of fiscal austerity. Mauritian Colonial Authorities felt that the owners should pay for required services and the upkeep, while the owners, in turn, felt that such costs were the responsibility of the Colonial Authorities. Compounding the geographic isolation of Diego Garcia was the complex social hierarchy of Mauritius.
In 1933, the John Murray

Reference 170 - 0.01% Coverage

to survey of the Archipelago.
In 1936, it was suggested to set up a wireless on the island, as a wireless would allow the islanders to hear emergency broadcasts from Nairobi, Bombay, and Colombo, but neither the owners, nor the Colonial Authorities accepted to foot the bill. The island got a radio only in 1941, when the Royal Air Force began using the island as a base. Suggestions for more significant reforms were shelved, as well. For example, in one message to the Colonial Office, it was suggested that the Chagos should be administered, not from Mauritius, but from the Seychelles islands and that goods for the islands should be shipped to Colombo instead of Mauritius. The British noted, however, that Diego Garcia and the Chagos were a Mauritian "family business" and that any attempt to change the status quo would be opposed.
During these decades, the Chagos

Reference 171 - 0.01% Coverage

from a U.S. ship.
In May 1960, the Director of the Long Range Objectives Group proposed that the British be asked to "detach" Diego Garcia from Mauritius, when that colony was given Independence.
In early 1959, the Liaison

Reference 172 - 0.01% Coverage

to the issue of independence.

On 8th November 1965, the British issued the BOIT order, establishing for the first time a political entity known as the British Indian Ocean Territory, comprising of Diego Garcia and the rest of the Chagos, as well as a few other Indian Ocean Islands, mainly the Aldabra and Farquhar Islands and Ile Desroches, excised from the British Crown Colony of the Seychelles. The BIOT order was issued by the Queen of England as an "Order in Council", under the authority of the Colonial Boundaries Act of 1895.
On 10th November 1965, the

Reference 173 - 0.01% Coverage

mass expulsion by surprise.538
But the British were caught in a self-inflicted legal and political trap. They had detached the BIOT from Mauritius and then given Mauritius its Independence. The British simply did not "resettle" the Ilois. They exiled them. As citizens of a British Colony, there was no legal means to force them to move to what was now another nation. In theory, if they could not remain on the islands, then they should have been allowed to settle elsewhere in Britain. The British Government clearly did not want that, for political as well as fiscal reasons.
On 15th December, 1970, the

Reference 174 - 0.01% Coverage

particular recommendations are being made.
What concepts of justice existed in colonial Mauritius? How did this conflict, or correlate with, and contradict, concepts of justice elsewhere? Debates among thinkers about the nature and types of justice continue today. The abolition of slavery and its replacement by wage labour, was considered by some political thinkers as a major landmark in advancement of social justice. But what was considered to be 'just'? Was there any social justice for the ex-slaves and indentured labourers? To answer this would require explanations of what the TJC's concept of justice is and where it stands in the debate. The following explanation must be based, not only in consideration of public global debate on social justice, but also on the situation existing in Mauritius.
The Commission has thus been

Reference 175 - 0.01% Coverage

Lallah in Savanne, were elected.
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.
2. Protest by artisans, labourers

Reference 176 - 0.01% Coverage

from the 1940s till Independence
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.
The laying of the Foundation

Reference 177 - 0.01% Coverage

Income Maintenance and Social Security
Social Security has its origins in the Poor Laws of Colonial Mauritius, all enacted under the guidance and approval of the Colonial Office. It was as a result of pressure from the Labour Party that much legislation came into force in the Colony in this field.
Although many measures were taken

Reference 178 - 0.01% Coverage

through the Trade Union Movement
At the very source of employment policy in Mauritius is the pressure put on the Colonial Government by the general working-class consciousness and the growth of Trade Unions, especially after the Second World War.
In 1965, there were about

Reference 179 - 0.01% Coverage

of Mauritius – The Chagos Saga
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.
The exiled Chagossians are today

Reference 180 - 0.01% Coverage

to reparations for slavery Introduction

The campaign to abolish colonial slavery started in the same countries that had started it, namely Britain and France. On the 4th of February 1794, the French National Convention set up in the wake of the French revolution (1789) abolished slavery in all French colonies under the sacrosanct republican principle that all men are born free and equal. All slaves were to become free citizens. But the French slave owners in isle de France had no intention of abolishing slavery and the authorities in Paris dispatched a regiment of 1200 soldiers under the command of Vice Admiral de Sercey and appointed two delegates namely Messrs. Baco de la Chapelle et Burnel to see that its resolution be enforced. But they underestimated the power of the French colons. The soldiers joined forces with the rebels, while the delegates of the Convention were compelled to quit the island manu militari.
The argument was that they were the owners of the slaves and that unless compensation was to be paid for the loss of their "property" they were not prepared to liberate them. The colons further held that slaves constituted the only source of labour on the island. Abolition would thus bring about the ruin of the colony and bring about all activities into a standstill. Hence the term "Sans esclaves point de colonie' (Eng. Trans, 'no slaves, no colony').
In Britain, the campaign against

Reference 181 - 0.01% Coverage

the 18th century and finally
culminated in 1807. However in Mauritius, it continued illegally and some 50,000 slaves or so are believed to have continued to be imported in the Mascarenes after 1807. When the British signed the Capitulation Treaty, they also sealed the fate of the slaves by guaranteeing to the slave-owners that their 'property' would be 'safe'. Abolition would not come until 1833 when the House of Commons passed an historic resolution to abolish slavery in all British colonies. The Act for the Abolition of Slavery became effective in Mauritius on the 1st of February 1835. This marked an end to 112 years of uninterrupted slavery regime on the Island (1723 -1835). The 67,500 slaves on the island thus became free citizens of the colony.
As a result of the abolition of slavery in its colonies, the British Government decided to compensate all slave owners in the colonies. A sum of £ 20,000,000 was thus voted. Most of the beneficiaries were British investors in the Caribbean. Mauritius however was the only colony where the most important beneficiaries were the descendants of French colons and owners of sugar estates and businesses. A sum of £ 2,112,642 was received as compensation for the loss of 67,500 slaves in Mauritius. Slaves received nothing for the loss of freedom and for having performed unpaid labour for centuries.
No action plan was put

Reference 182 - 0.01% Coverage

land but subsequently lost them.
What really took place after the proclamation of the order of liberation of slaves in Mauritius has not been fully researched. But one tactic of employers becomes clear and that was the need to depress wages as ex-slaves and quite rightly so, expected to be given decent employment and paid a decent wage. Depression of wages occurred by importing thousands of contract labourers from overseas. Ex-slaves continued to be employed however as mechanics, artisans and skilled workers in the sugar factories, a tradition which exists up to this day. In many places in rural Mauritius, certain localities still bear the name of 'Camp Creole' to remind us that these were the localities formerly inhabited by artisans and skilled and unskilled factory workers. There were also the port workers, many of whom were people of Afro-Malagasy origin. Thus the contribution of ex-slaves and their descendants to the sugar industry did not stop after the abolition of slavery. Despite this, they were stigmatized as being lazy and worthless individuals by employers and colonial officials.

For generations ex- slaves and

Reference 183 - 0.01% Coverage

day.
The time of consciousness
Despite the fact that many became educated in the first half of the 20th century, there was an absence of an educated class that was in tune with the needs and interests of mass of descendants of ex-slaves, who make up part of the working classes of Mauritius. A leadership and intellectual elite in tune with the masses only emerged after the 1950s, influenced by the wave of decolonisation sweeping British colonies. This was further strengthened in the 1980s when a wave of consciousness surged in their milieu of the descendants of ex slaves asking for justice and redress. However, the years 1960 to 1980 were marked by the debate about constitutional safeguards for minority groups. In the 1990s, the debate was launched by a new generation of Creole Catholic priests protesting at the 'marginalization' of the Creole population of Mauritius. The term malaise creole was coined by Roger Cerveaux, a Catholic priest on the occasion of the 157th anniversary of the abolition of slavery at the parish church in Grand Gaube.
For long, the Creole population

Reference 184 - 0.01% Coverage

stake holders identified.
i. ii.
Given that slavery was practiced during the Dutch, (1538-1710) French (1710-1810) and British occupation (1810-1835) these ex-colonial powers should be made to pay for the crime done to the slaves and their descendants,
The descendants of slave owners

Reference 185 - 0.01% Coverage

medium in the school curricula
4. Receive apologies from descendants of slave owners, institutions and ex-colonial powers having practiced slavery
5. Legislate in order to

Reference 186 - 0.01% Coverage

of citizens of this country.
4. The problems to which the Creole community is confronted to are historical, economic, social and cultural and must be the subject of a well knit plan involving the former colonial powers, the private sector, the religious authorities and the State
5. Towards that end, the

Reference 187 - 0.01% Coverage

hood up to tertiary level.

12.Yola Argot-Nayekoo of Le Morne VillageTrou Chenille A young University cadre, she claims ancestry from the first liberated slaves in the le Morne region. As a student in sociology/ and social anthropology, she made a strong plea for the recognition of Trou Chenille as a place of memory. The place covers an area of some 25 arpents located between a former concession and the pas geometriques. The first slaves settled there after abolition of slavery. Her contention is that this place is unique and has strong symbolic importance in that a colony of liberated slaves had set up a village of their own there and lived almost undisturbed until they were forcibly removed.
13.Alain Precieux - member of

Reference 188 - 0.01% Coverage

supported by all these groups.
 It is impossible to ascertain with exact figures how many endured colonial slavery and the slave trade. It is even more impossible to capture what slaves felt, thought and lived through from 1721 and 1839. No amount of reparations will ever repair the damage done to those who endured slavery and the slave trade.
 What modern society can do is to ensure that such actions never occur again in whatever form and the justifications (philosophical, religious, ideological, economic, biological etc.) that were used to establish colonial slavery and the slave trade are not used to institute new forms of servitude.
 Modern society needs to honour

Reference 189 - 0.01% Coverage

existence going into the future.
69. That a system and policy of affirmative action be implemented in Mauritius to address the social and economic imbalances created and fostered under Slavery, Indenture and Colonialism.
 This system and policy of

Reference 190 - 0.01% Coverage

or primordial difference between Mauritians.
 To this end (while recognising diversity), it needs to pay careful attention to primordial discourse. Any reference to the fundamental qualities of indentured descendants versus slave descendents vs colonial descendants should be avoided. Such primordial ‘talk’ emphasises racial distinctions and promotes discrimination.
73. Members of our political

Reference 191 - 0.01% Coverage

MID Policy and Action Plan.
Despite the fact that Mauritius boasts two World Heritage Sites, whose outstanding universal values are based on our colonial past, the MID cannot ignore culture and needs to work very closely with the Ministry of Culture and other stakeholders in ensuring the cultural aspects are not forgotten.
200. The people involved in

Reference 192 - 0.01% Coverage

20. ECONOMICS, LABOUR AND EMPLOYMENT

224. The Colonial Powers, Holland, France and Britain, must be asked by the Government of Mauritius to pay compensation for implementing the slave system, and later the indenture system, and thus bringing underdevelopment for the majority of the people of Mauritius.

225. The Creation of a

Reference 193 - 0.01% Coverage

any reconciliation to take place.

 Mauritians have come from different corners of the world to settle, many forcibly. Each wave of migration has been characterised by specific linguistic cultural and religious traditions. All these groups, in one way or another, have serviced the colonial economy and continue to do so in modern Mauritius.

 Fundamental class, ethnic, caste and

Reference 194 - 0.01% Coverage

OF TJC RESEARCH DATA INTRODUCTION

The Truth and Justice Commission came into operation since 20th March 2009. It aimed at assessing the consequences of slavery and indentured labour during the colonial period up to the present to make recommendations to the President of the Republic of Mauritius on measures to be taken to achieve social justice and national unity.

To achieve its objectives, the

Reference 195 - 0.01% Coverage

DATA MANAGEMENT AND STORAGE INTRODUCTION

The Truth and Justice Commission came into operation since 20th March 2009. It aimed at assessing the consequences of slavery and indentured labour during the colonial period up to the present to make recommendations to the President of the Republic of Mauritius on measures to be taken to achieve social justice and national unity.

To achieve its objectives, the

Reference 196 - 0.01% Coverage

in a more dynamic way/

Relationships between culture and management of resources were important to look at. How far were values determinant in the management of the economy? And of knowledge. It was clear that there were different systems of values operating, some more dominant than others. The role of freemasonry in early colonial days and its association with slavery needed to be examined. In particular the cultural values of descendants of slaves and why they cannot integrate in modern economy. Why has this not been discussed?

The short history of Mauritius

Reference 197 - 0.01% Coverage

needed to be examined.

Training
The training of those who teach needed to be looked into. What was the social mindset of teachers: is it a colonial mindset? Those who had experience in education stated that of those who failed school: 10% go into drugs, 10% in alcohol and 20% remained in trades. This had started affecting other ethnic groups as well.
Education and malnutrition
In some

Reference 198 - 0.01% Coverage

000 to 60,000 each.
Mozambique and Mauritius are, therefore, the two most appropriate places to host the Intercontinental Slavery Museum, and ideal places to give more visibility to the phenomenon of slavery and slave traffic in the Indian Ocean under colonial rule (Portuguese, French, British, Dutch).
Furthermore, Mauritius is the first

Reference 199 - 0.01% Coverage

OF THE INTERCONTINENTAL SLAVERY MUSEUM
The Intercontinental Slavery Museum will highlight the deep transformations that this tragedy caused at economic, social, political, cultural, and ideological levels in all continents, with particular emphasis to Africa and Africans. It will also create opportunities to conduct in-depth and extensive studies of the phenomenon of "slavery and slave trade" on a regional scale and global level. It will also promote investigations and studies en route for the thematic "slavery and slave trade" in Mauritius, Mozambique and Madagascar, in the region, and in the context of the former colonial empires.
Beneficiaries of the Slavery Museum

Reference 200 - 0.01% Coverage

given on lease to vryburghers.
French efforts to colonize the island were more successful than the Dutch. Around 1638, the French had already taken the island of Rodrigues. They had occupied Bourbon Island since 1642. Through this strategy, they increased their foothold in the Indian Ocean region and turned their attention to Mauritius. The French East India Company moved to occupy Mauritius in 1715. They sent some French planters from neighbouring Bourbon Island to Mauritius. The Company ruled the island until 1764, when, after a series of inept Governors and bankruptcy, Mauritius became a Crown colony. In less
than no time, the agents

Reference 201 - 0.01% Coverage

it as a simple "comptoir".
Despite instructions from the French East India Company to grow crops and to supply the Company with spices, De Nyon was unable to meet the demand on the island. "Sans nègres, point de colonies", had written the settlers. Many difficulties arose. Cyclones and rats ravaged Mauritius. In spite of strict orders to develop Port Louis, the Governor decided to set up his headquarters and port in Vieux Grand Port, which he named "Port Bourbon" (Mahébourg). Life proved so difficult that the settlers decided to leave the island and to draw back to Bourbon Island.

The development and production of

Reference 202 - 0.01% Coverage

woods and lived off hunting.
Isle de France experienced four different types of administration during the 95 years of French presence, between 1715 and 1810: the first administration of the East India Company as from 1720, then the second administration under the Royal Government (1764), followed by the Royal Administration as from 4th July 1767, until the establishment of the Revolutionary French Government from 1790 onwards. The imperial phase of the French administration was to last till 1810.
In November 1723, the country

Reference 203 - 0.01% Coverage

appointed to head the Judiciary.
The “Conseil Supérieur” granted land, money and tools to the settlers. As most of them were either sailors or military men - so, far from being “agriculteurs” - they continually complained of not getting enough goods in time, as well as about the low prices paid for their products to the French East India Company. The colony was always short of money.
The Royal Edict of 25th

Reference 204 - 0.01% Coverage

REFORM – LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE ASPECTS
On 14th July 1767, Isle de France became a Crown Colony of France. The island enjoyed the status of a French province situated overseas. It was given the same type of political and administrative structure which characterized the French colonies of the Ancien Régime. Supreme power rested in the person of the King at the Court of France. When power was delegated locally, it was distributed among the King's men. So, the two Administrators chosen from the King's appointees, Dumas and Pierre Poivre, became Governor and “Intendant” respectively. The relations between the two most important men to govern the island depended very much on their personalities. Dumas was recalled in less than no time and, even his successor, Governor Desroches, did not stay long in Mauritius. Neither Poivre, nor the two successive Governors could agree on most things, whether on the dossier of administration or the importance to be given to agriculture.
It was definitely Pierre Poivre

Reference 205 - 0.01% Coverage

did not please the British
Government which made it clear that the colony had to fend for itself and try to devise ways and means to create economic development. The leading inhabitants endeavoured to find a solution to the thorny problem of finance by founding the Bank of Mauritius, with 200 shares of £1000 each. Hence, planters and traders could be provided money by the bank. From this date, the Mauritian economy was to depend entirely on the development of the Sugar Industry. Under British rule, this progress was indeed a steady and uninterrupted one. The Sugar Industry was encouraged and the planters' work was greatly facilitated in every possible way. The conditions of naval struggle changed drastically when the British took over, the French incluenced having been annihilated.

Under Governor Farquhar, agriculture received

Reference 206 - 0.01% Coverage

Mauritian sugars: the rise in
production knew no bounds. From little over 9, 000 Arpents in 1810, the area put under cultivation reached 27,800 Arpents by 1825, to a total of some 51, 000 Arpents in 1830. Sugar production rose from 10, 870 tonnes in 1825 to reach 33, 960 tonnes in 1830. For the first time since the foundation of the colony, commerce became less important than agriculture. At the same time, the local planters had another stroke of good fortune. Prices of sugar rose substantially from 1823 to 1827.
EXPANSION OF SUGAR INDUSTRY
There

Reference 207 - 0.01% Coverage

the history of the country.
Apart from being a strong proponent of the expansion of French colonial power in the Indian Ocean, Mahé de Labourdonnais succeeded where others failed. He was the first Governor and colonial administrator to stimulate trade and industry. The Sugar Industry, indeed, flourished under his governorship. His first move was to promote Mauritius as the “headquarters of the French forces in the region”. As this coincided with the decline of the French influence in India, Isle de France became the base of the “Governor General of all French possessions beyond the Cape”. At the outset, Labourdonnais reviewed the whole situation. It was reported to him that there were no hospital, no store, no fortifications, no army or navy.
Historian Saint Elme Le Duc

Reference 208 - 0.01% Coverage

et revenir promptement en France”.
Mahé de Labourdonnais, therefore, took up the task of reorganizing the island and established what he believed to be a proper colony and settlement. Between 1735 and 1746, Mahé de Labourdonnais administered Mauritius in such a way that he was to imprint his vision of development. He cleared the way for his successors who built on these solid foundations and, thus, created a country.
Truth and Justice Commission 11

Reference 209 - 0.01% Coverage

and 19th centuries. Even if
Europeans and other settlers benefited largely from the policy of land grants and "concessions" so generously granted to them, the sale of public land by the Colonial Government was also exploited by Africans and Asians at that time.
persons of African and Asian origin and descent in colonial Mauritius”) can prove that slaves, manumitted slaves, ex-apprentices and “Gens de couleur” had a profound attachment to the cultivation and exploitation of land, as was the case in African societies before slavery, and as is still the case in Rodrigues.
Supporting documents (See R. Allen

Reference 210 - 0.01% Coverage

THE LAND TRIBUNAL (TRIBUNAL TERRIER)
In 1767, when Mauritius ceased to be a possession of the French East India Company to become a French Crown Colony, the powers of the Superior Council were modified and its responsibilities limited to those of a Court of Justice. The administrative powers it had hitherto exercised were transferred to the Governor and Intendant, while a new body known as Tribunal Terrier was appointed to deal with all questions pertaining to landed property.
The Judiciary Ordinance No. 96

Reference 211 - 0.01% Coverage

settled by the Land Tribunal.
As grants grew up in number, a need was felt to give more security and protection to land holdings. Surveyors were called from France to demarcate properties, by a method of metes and bounds. Properties were demarcated by fixing boundaries, and stones were correctly placed. The colonial Surveyors were bound to submit memoranda of survey, after duly assigning the neighboring owners
Truth and Justice Commission 28

Reference 212 - 0.01% Coverage

Survey Office became a branch.
There is no Land Department in Mauritius, or anything like the “Service de la Carte” in French Colonies. The nearest approach to such an organization is the Land Registry of the Archives Department which inherited, at the beginning of the British rule, all the papers and documents of the Land Tribunal and is also the repository of all memoranda drawn up, by sworn Land Surveyorsthe Survey Office being concerned with Crown Lands. This collection of memoranda of survey includes some 100,000 plans from about 1753 to date and can be classified as follows:
BOOK LA
LB LC
LD

Reference 213 - 0.01% Coverage

REFORM – LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE ASPECTS
of Mauritius, appointed Baron Marier d’Unienville to perform the duties of Colonial Archivist. Confusion prevailed when Heads
of Department were authorized to

Reference 214 - 0.01% Coverage

was not borne by anybody.
On the 31st January 1874, Mr. Henry Finiss was appointed “to be Custodian of the Archives and to perform the duties formerly entrusted to the Colonial Archivist”. Mr. H. Finiss submitted a report on the state of the Archives in which he dealt, at some length, with the unwise policy of allowing documents to be removed from the Office he had held before.

“The inevitable result was confusion

Reference 215 - 0.01% Coverage

and Mortgage Departments were that
economical to combine them under one Head of Department. The Colonial Secretary had this to say to the Colonial Archivist in his report:
“In his Excellency’s examination of

Reference 216 - 0.01% Coverage

map in 1505.
THE BACKGROUND
Discovered by the Portuguese in 1507, Mauritius was subsequently held by the Dutch and the French before becoming a British colony in 1810. Mauritius became an independent state within the Commonwealth in 1968 and a Republic in 1992.
When first discovered by the Portuguese the Island has no indigenous inhabitants. The Dutch were the first to exploit the Island’s resources but they did not plan to settle a colony, so they did not introduce any system of land tenure.
THE FRENCH (1715-1810) Five

Reference 217 - 0.01% Coverage

exciter à demeurer dans l’Ile.»
Denis Denyon, an Engineer from the French colony of Pondichéry, was the first Governor appointed to administer the Island. Denyon sailed for the Isle de France accompanied by 234 settlers landed in the island in April1722, where some officers of the ‘Compagnie’ and some settlers coming from Bourbon Island had preceded him.
The French decided to settle

Reference 218 - 0.01% Coverage

settlers were not officially registered.
The start was very difficult in as much as the administration had no sustained support from the ‘Compagnie’. The colony was always in short of
supply of all kinds of

Reference 219 - 0.01% Coverage

REFORM – LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE ASPECTS
condition, pests and attacks by maroon slaves left on the island since the departure of the Dutch did not forecast a promising future for the colony.
Those migrants brought to the

Reference 220 - 0.01% Coverage

1).
"LES SEIGNEURS FROM FRANCE"
"Concession" was a form of land distribution and occupation introduced by the French in their colonies, principally in the West Indies, in Louisiana and New France, the present Canada. It was inspired by the feudal system established in France and which has proved to functionadequately; it
involved the personal dependency of the tenant – called the 'habitant' in the colony - on the 'Seigneur', substituted in the colony by the 'Compagnie'. The colonial
imperative was to clear Truth

Reference 221 - 0.01% Coverage

no less than nine conditions.
The Grants System of Land Tenure was pivotal to the French colonisation policy. The institutional system has played a major role in shaping the colonial economy, exclusively agricultural, solidly anchored on cheap labour procured by slavery. The scheme opened the way to an agricultural society and established the regime of plantation economy.
The philosophy behind this was

Reference 222 - 0.01% Coverage

they occupied before the revolution.
In Mauritius however, the system of land tenure based on the concession system remained in force for a long time. Under the British Administration, the lands of the colony, unconceded as at 1810, together with the lands of the French establishment, were enlisted as Crown Land. Those colonists that cannot prove their ownership found their lands annexed to the Crown Domain.
During the period 1790 - 1814

Reference 223 - 0.01% Coverage

arpents 116.765 1/3
The nature of land tenure in Mauritius became a matter of concern to the Colonial Authorities, and a number of amendments and regulations were enacted from time to time.
Regulations of 26 January 1853

Reference 224 - 0.01% Coverage

terms of the original grant.
In a report dated 1st June 1863, the Surveyor General of Mauritius expressed concern to the Colonial Secretary on the unsatisfactory nature of the tenure of existing grants. He highlighted the great loss of revenue to the Colony consequent of poor tenure and the absolute necessity for reform.
Paragraph 30 invited "all persons

Reference 225 - 0.01% Coverage

reunited to the Crown domain".

By letter dated 12 July 1872, five Commissioners were appointed to make an enquiry into the extent, tenure and management of Crown Lands in the Colony, and their eventual Report constitutes Appendix No. 1 to Minutes No. 3 of 1874 of the Governor's Executive Council. Chapter II of the Report dealt with the then existing forms of tenure of Crown land and paragraph 3 of the Chapter with jouissances. After referring to the requirement in the 1864 Regulations for jouissances to be exchanged for grants in perpetuity or leases, the Commissioners commented that:
"…there are still in existence

Reference 226 - 0.01% Coverage

expressly repealed "all parts of Colonial Laws, Proclamations, Notices and Ordinances which may be contrary to or inconsistent with" its provisions, and so replaced the previous Regulations.
Section 1 says that "The

Reference 227 - 0.01% Coverage

of Ordinnance 28 of 1853.
The coming into force of Ordinance 21 of 1853 repealed Ordinance 57 of 1829 so that it was not after 18 years from the date of their liberation that the ex-slaves could acquire property, receive donation, accede to succession of natural parents and also be registered in the civil status as free citizens of the colony of Mauritius.

Reference 228 - 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
land to attract European settlers

Reference 229 - 0.01% Coverage

European settlers and encourage the
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.

The

Reference 230 - 0.01% Coverage

history.
FREE PERSONS OF COLOUR
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.
The origins of the Mauritian 'Gens de Couleur' of colour date to 1729 when the first of a small but steady stream of Indian immigrants, many of whom were skilled craftsmen and artisans recruited at Pondichéry on India's Coromandel Coast to work in the colony under contract for specified periods of time, reached the island. Exactly how many of these contractual workers arrived in the colony during the eighteenth century is unknown, but they continued to do so until at least the late 1790s. How many of these craftsmen and artisans chose to remain on the island following completion of their contracts is also unknown, but significant numbers appear to have done so. Small numbers of Indian banians or merchants also reportedly reached the island no later than the mid-eighteenth century.1 Freeborn Malagasy men and women, including individuals known as marmites who facilitated the rice, cattle, and slave trade from Madagascar
to Mauritius, likewise, took up residence in the colony.2 So did Lascar and "Malay" sailors who served on the numerous French and Truth and Justice Commission 46
VOLUME 2: LAND REFORM – LEGAL

Reference 231 - 0.01% Coverage

REFORM – LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE ASPECTS
other European ships that plied the Indian Ocean, as well as occasional free coloured immigrants from French colonies in the Americas such as Grenada and Saint-Domingue.
Manumitted slaves constituted the second major component of the island's free coloured population. These freedmen came from diverse ethnic or cultural backgrounds; those manumitted between 1768 and 1789, for example, included Guineans, Lascars, Malabars, Malagasies, Malays, Mozambicans, and a Canary Islander.3 Slaves manumitted between 1789 and 1810 came from equally diverse ethno-cultural backgrounds and included persons described as Chinese, Guinean, Indian, Malagasy, Malay, Mozambican, and Muslim, as well as Créole (i.e., Mauritian-born).4 Detailed data on the ethno-cultural origins of slaves manumitted between 1811 and 1835, when slavery was abolished in the colony, have yet to be developed. The archival records shed no light on what percentage of the colony's Gens de couleur were either manumitted slaves or of emancipated slave origin at various points in time. What is clear, however, is that by the mid1820s, three-fourths or more of the colony's Gens de couleur appear to have been Mauritian-born. These individuals, moreover, had developed a distinctive sense of corporate social identity as a
result of

Reference 232 - 0.01% Coverage

of the eighteenth century.5
In Mauritius, as in slave plantation colonies in the Americas, the acquisition of real property was crucial to free coloureds' attempts to establish a significant place for themselves in colonial society. Mauritian Gens de couleur acquired such property in various ways: through grants or purchases of public land, as gifts and bequests from family, friends, and former masters, and by private purchase. The total number of these transactions is impossible to determine, because many of them were handled privately (sous seing privé) and remain hidden from our view.
in part
Between 1748 and

Reference 233 - 0.01% Coverage

from our view.
in part
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.6 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.7
The number of grants made

Reference 234 - 0.01% Coverage

to increase significantly after the
establishment of royal rule in 1767. Like the Compagnie des Indes, the royal régime used land grants to create and maintain the support of some segments of the free coloured population. Onehalf of the land grants made to free men of colour during the 1770s, for example, were made to noirs de détachement charged with capturing fugitive slaves. Other recipients of such grants included interpreters, Government servants and Civil Servants, and important seamen. While many more such grants were made during the 1780s to persons with no apparent ties to the Colonial Government, at least one-fourth of the hommes de couleur who received grants during this decade were or had been in Government service.
While grants such as these

Reference 235 - 0.01% Coverage

be sold by the Colonial Government in the early 1790s. No more than 17 percent of all such sales between 1807 and 1810, for example, were made to free persons of colour. The arpentage in free coloured hands remained even less than these percentages might otherwise suggest. In 1788, Gens de couleur owned a mere 3.5 percent of all inventoried land in the colony; in 1806, after almost forty years of actively

acquiring real estate, free persons of colour held only 7.1 percent of all inventoried land (see Table 1). The size and location of these grants and sales underscore the fact that Mauritian Gens de couleur possessed only limited economic resources at the beginning of the nineteenth century. More than four-fifths of the properties in question encompassed less than one arpent. Approximately two-thirds of these properties were located in Port Louis or Mahébourg where most of these terrains covered no more than several hundred toises, an area large enough only for the erection of a house, workshop or store and the planting of a modest garden.
Mauritian Gens de couleur also

Reference 236 - 0.01% Coverage

sold buildings to white colonists.
While Gens de couleur occasionally purchased land on their own account during the mid-eighteenth century, the real beginnings of free coloured involvement in the local real estate market date to the 1770s. The notarial records indicate that the pattern of these private transactions was much the same as it had been for their acquisition of public land; transactions involving small plots in the colony's urban centres, and especially Port Louis, outnumbered those involving larger tracts in the rural districts by a substantial margin. This activity continued on a rather modest scale until the 1790s, when the number of private transactions involving free persons of colour began to increase dramatically. This
increase is not unexpected; between

Reference 237 - 0.01% Coverage

well
into the early nineteenth
century. Even when Gens de couleur managed to purchase large tracts of land, they were often unable to mobilize the funds they needed to clear their land and bring it fully into production. Their inability to do so stemmed in part from the fact that this population had to rely heavily on its own financial resources for developmental capital. The necessity of doing so is suggested by the fact that thirty-three of the fifty-seven loans involving Gens de couleur mentioned earlier entailed free coloured borrowers going to other Gens de couleur for the money they needed. However, even when Gens de couleur willing and able to loan money could be found, it is apparent that most of these persons had limited capital resources at their disposal. This state of affairs reflected the fact that a great majority of Mauritian Gens de couleur depended on the colony's service sector for their livelihood during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and that many, if not most, of these individuals possessed little or no property of consequence.
Census data from this era

Reference 238 - 0.01% Coverage

REFORM – LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE ASPECTS
persons of colour were farming more than 9 percent of all cultivated land in the colony. It is impossible to determine the value of free coloured possessions or economic activity at this point in time with any precision, but estimates of the value of the land, slaves, and livestock they owned and the value of their agricultural production suggests that Gens de couleur accounted for approximately 10 percent of the island's agricultural and related wealth in 1806.18
The 1810s and 1820s witnessed

Reference 239 - 0.01% Coverage

percent of all such land,
compared to 9.1 percent in 1809. These changes were linked closely to the development of the sugar industry. The transformation of white-owned estates into sugar plantations, especially after the 1825 equalization of the tariff on Mauritian and West Indian sugar entering Britain revolutionized the sugar industry, offered Gens de couleur an opportunity to become increasingly important as producers of basic foodstuffs needed in the colony. The only production figures we have from this era provide some sense of how important this activity had become by the late 1820s. In 1829, free coloured agriculturalists produced 36 percent of the island's maize, 23 percent of its potatoes, 19 percent of its manioc, 10 percent of its wheat, and 19.5 percent of its garden produce and miscellaneous grocery items.19 Gens de couleur also began to grow sugar cane; in 1825, they accounted for 4.1 percent of all land planted in cane, a figure that rose to 7.5 percent in 1830.20
By 1830, the last year

Reference 240 - 0.01% Coverage

comprehensive information about free coloured
economic activity exists, Gens de couleur controlled perhaps as much as one-fifth of the colony's agriculturally related wealth, including 13.4 percent of all inventoried land. The Commission of Eastern Enquiry, appointed in 1826 to investigate the colony's condition, would acknowledge the increasingly important role Gens de couleur played in shaping the contours of the colony's social and economic life, the importance of which would become even more apparent following the abolition of slavery in 1835 and the collapse of the apprenticeship system in 1839.
EX-APPRENTICES AND THE POST

Reference 241 - 0.01% Coverage

AND THE POST-EMANCIPATION ERA
According to the terms of the Act that abolished slavery in Mauritius in 1835, the colony's new freedmen were required to continue serving their former masters as "apprentices" for a period not to exceed six years. Termination of the apprenticeship system on 31 March 1839 removed the last legal impediments to the colony's former slaves' ability to reap the fruit of their own labor. As the archival records make clear, the economic fortunes of many of these new freedmen and women rested on their ability to mobilize capital, acquire land, and exploit the economic opportunities that existed during the late 1830s and 1840s. Contemporary sources indicate that the great majority of the colony's new freedmen left the estates on which they had lived and worked immediately after the end of the apprenticeship system. Surveyor General Captain J.A. Lloyd, for one, distinguished four "classes" of ex-apprentices in 1840: those wandering from one part of the island to another with no settled place of residence, those residing in Port Louis or Mahébourg and along the island's roads, those squatting on public lands near the seashore, and those who had migrated to the colony's lesser dependencies.21 Census data reveal that the propensity before 1839 for apprentices or freedmen to gravitate to Port Louis soon gave way to a movement away from Port Louis and heavily cultivated districts such as Pamplemousses and Rivière du Rempart to less developed districts on the island. According to the commissioners who conducted the 1851 census,
their reason for doing so

Reference 242 - 0.01% Coverage

during the early 1840s.28
If significant numbers of ex-apprentices squatted on vacant properties or leased plots of land, those described by contemporary observers of colonial
purchase tracts on which to

Reference 243 - 0.01% Coverage

33 Unfortunately, the archival records
contain few official references to this activity. In 1845, when the colony's Civil
Commissioners and Stipendiary Magistrates were

Reference 244 - 0.01% Coverage

owners decided to subdivide their
properties, it is clear that their decision to do so was a deliberate one. In some instances, some of the sales made to ex-apprentices were undoubtedly intended to formalize their ownership of land which they already claimed, or at least viewed, as their own. Historians have appreciated for some time that the struggle for control of slaves' provision grounds was an important factor that shaped life during the post-emancipation era in some colonies in the Caribbean.40 The extent to which Mauritian slaves had access to such grounds is unknown, but scattered references to slaves owning large numbers of pigs, goats, and chickens and trusted slaves being allowed to market fruits, vegetables, and other produce,41
suggest that substantial arpentage may

Reference 245 - 0.01% Coverage

possible magnitude is suggested by
information on slave production in the Caribbean at this time. Jamaican slaves, for example, not only dominated local food production on the island by 1832, generating 94 percent of the £900,000 realized by this sector of the colony's economy, but also accounted for more than one-fourth of the colony's gross domestic product of £5,500,000 sterling.47 Slaves in the Windward Islands, likewise, exercised a virtual monopoly over local food, fuel, and fodder markets, and may have held as much as one-half of all money in circulation.48
Truth and Justice Commission 54

Reference 246 - 0.01% Coverage

for their half-arpent.51
The colony's ex-apprentices were not the only participants in the petit morcellement. The countryside housed a large free coloured population by the 1830s, and the notarial records indicate that Gens de couleur also actively bought and sold land during this process. The full extent of this activity is difficult to gauge because notarial acts ceased specifying the socio-legal background or status of the persons involved after 1830. As such, Gens de couleur can often been distinguished from ex-apprentices only on the basis of problematic criteria such as surnames, occupations, places of residence, and details about the land in question. With this cautionary thought in mind, we may note that sixteen of the ninety-six subdivided properties in the sample under consideration, or approximately one-sixth of these properties, apparently belonged to free persons of colour. These properties varied greatly in size, from as few as four arpents to

almost ninety-two arpents, with more than two-thirds of them encompassing an area of twenty-five arpents or less.
Although local authorities observed that "many" former apprentices held land by the mid-1840s, any sense of the number who did so cannot be ascertained before 1846. The Census conducted that year reported 2,388 "independent proprietors" among the colony's ex-apprentices who accounted for 4.9 per cent of the total ex-apprentice population and 58 per cent of all such proprietors.52 Unfortunately, the criteria used to distinguish "independent" proprietors from other landowners were not reported; neither is the use to which these properties were put. The 1851 Census reported that the number of ex-apprentice independent proprietors had declined dramatically, to just 778 individuals who accounted for 1.6 per cent of all ex-apprentices and 24.8 per cent of all such proprietors.53 Contemporary sources are silent about the reasons for this decline, but there is good reason to believe that it was linked to the limited capital resources at the disposal of many former apprentices and to the severe economic crisis that afflicted the colony after four of the five London banking houses that financed the local sugar industry failed in 1848.54
Ex-apprentices disappear as a readily identifiable population in the archival records after 1851. Colonial officials, preoccupied with the tens of thousands of Indian immigrants arriving in the colony, paid less and less attention to this community. Annual reports on the colony during the

Reference 247 - 0.01% Coverage

early 1850s, for example, make no reference to free coloured land ownership or economic activity and usually do little more than note the number of ex-apprentice births and deaths; after 1857, even these data ceased being reported. By 1861, the difficulties of distinguishing ex-apprentices from the colony's other non-Indian residents led the Commissioners appointed to conduct the
Colonial Census that year to decide to count all remaining former apprentices as members of the "General Population."55 INDIAN IMMIGRANTS AND THEIR DESCENDANTS
Access to, and control of, land were as crucial to attempts by Indian immigrants to enhance their status and standing in Mauritian society and economy as it had been for the colony's Gens de couleur and ex-apprentices. The archival records reveal that former indentured immigrants numbered among the colony's landowners by the early 1840s. Because notaries did not regularly identify "Old Immigrants" (i.e. indentured immigrants who had completed the required five years of "industrial residence") as such until the mid-1850s, the point in time when former indentured Indian immigrants
first purchased land is difficult

Reference 248 - 0.01% Coverage

The grand morcellement began circa 1875. The notarial records reveal that Indian immigrants were actively involved in this process, not only as purchasers of the plots in question, but also as de facto agents for Franco-Mauritian estate owners and as large landowners in their own right. The notarial records, likewise, attest that careful thought and planning went into the subdivision of these properties. When Seewoodharry Bhaguth, an Old Immigrant who arrived in the colony in 1855, purchased a 312-arpent tract from Augustin Perrier in 1875, for example, he declared his intention of subdividing the land in question. Perrier agreed on condition that the land had to be sold for at least $50 an arpent.58 The sale of large properties to other Indian entrepreneurs at this time frequently contained similar declarations and terms.

The morcellement process steadily gained momentum during the 1880s and early 1890s. As early as 1881, the increasing number of transactions involving Indians led the Director of the Colonial Government's Registration and Mortgage Department to observe that his staff was having difficulty keeping up with the requisite paperwork; two years later, he reported that the increasing number of property transfers in which Indians were involved "will make it impossible for the present staff to keep up the work."59 By 1895, the scale of this activity was such that Acting Governor C.A. King Harman not only characterized its increasing pace as "inevitable," but also noted that the colony's sugar factories were being improved to handle the canes produced by the growing number of Indian small planters.60 In 1897, the President of the Chamber of Agriculture acknowledged that the parceling out of estates was proceeding on a large scale, an observation supported by a Protector of Immigrants' report that Indians had added 23,243 arpents worth more than Rs. 4,600,000 to their holdings between 1894 and 1896.61
The extent of this activity

Reference 249 - 0.01% Coverage

the 1920s (see Table 2).
Census data confirm these trends. The number of Indian "independent proprietors" in the colony climbed from 314 in 1871 to 701 in 1881 and then to 1,074, or almost one-half of all such persons, by 1891. As noted earlier, unfortunately the criteria used to distinguish these proprietors from other
landowners were not specified. The

Reference 250 - 0.01% Coverage

Rs. 1,220,000).65
Still other immigrants and their descendants gained access, albeit a highly circumscribed and problematic form of access, to land by means of métayage or sharecropping. Information on this activity remains limited. Colonial authorities first reported on métayage in 1887 and continued to do so only through 1918, and never included important information on this practice such as the number of persons who earned their living in this manner in their reports. The data at our disposal indicate that the arpentage being sharecropped increased steadily, rising from an annual average of 1,835 arpents from 1887-89 to 6,645 arpents from 1900-04 and then to 23,509 arpents from 1911-14 before peaking at 34,190 arpents from 1915-18.66
As had been the case

Reference 251 - 0.01% Coverage

1860s, 1870s, and 1880s.68
In other instances, the financing of these purchases depended on immigrants' ability to secure loans from local planters, financial institutions, and Indian businessmen who had established themselves in the colony. The extent to which planters underwrote such ventures is difficult to determine, but individual estate owners, such as André Bougault du Coudray, were not averse to doing so. On 9 January 1877, for instance, du Coudray loaned $4,000 to Indur, no. 203,901, a peddler, and his wife, Dowtuteea, no. 188,248, so they could pay off the balance due on fifteen arpents they had purchased a day earlier.69 Seven years later, Soobanah, no. 290,024, persuaded The Mauritius Fire Insurance Company to loan him Rs. 40,000 for various purposes. The following year, Soobanah and his partner, Adee Reddy, secured the loan of an additional Rs. 26,000 from Henry Smith, a Plaines Wilhems landowner.70 In other instances, Indian businessmen were the source of needed capital.
In an early example of

Reference 252 - 0.01% Coverage

OWNERSHIP IN CONTEXT AND PERSPECTIVE
Significant scholarly research in recent years has explored the nature, dynamics, and patterns of land ownership in colonial Mauritius. This research rests on extensive examination and careful analysis of archival materials in Mauritius (especially the exceptional collection of notarial acts held by the National Archives) and the United Kingdom (especially Colonial Office Records at The National Archives, Kew) and a broad range of other sources including: Colonial Censuses during the late eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries; the reports of royal commissions of inquiry appointed during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to investigate various aspects of colonial social and economic life; Governors' annual reports on the colony's social, economic, and financial condition and their accompanying Blue Books of
Departments including the Government Savings

Reference 253 - 0.01% Coverage

Reports of Government Immigrants/Immigration
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.
Truth and Justice Commission 59

Reference 254 - 0.01% Coverage

Southeast Asian, and other non-
European origin or descent actively bought, sold, and otherwise sought to gain access to, and control, land in colonial Mauritius. The first to do so were members of the colony's 'Gens de Couleur' of colour, composed of both freeborn persons of African, Malagasy, Indian, and Southeast Asian origin and manumitted slaves of equally diverse ethno-cultural origin, whose acquisition of ever greater arpentage was a major factor in their ability to play an increasingly important role in shaping social and economic life on the island during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Following the termination of the apprenticeship system in 1839, significant numbers of these former slaves also sought to acquire land by various means. Many Old Immigrants and their descendants followed in their footsteps.
These sources demonstrate the ability

Reference 255 - 0.02% Coverage

lease, land; the development and
maintenance of personal, business, and other socio-economic relationships with others of the island's inhabitants, both within and across different communities; their willingness to exploit economic opportunities; and the consequences of the island's dependency on sugar as the mainstay of its economy

from the mid-1820s until well into the twentieth century. The sugar industry's heavy reliance on domestically-generated capital not only played a crucial role in shaping major developments such as the grand morcellement,74 but also highlights the extent to which access to investment and working capital and financial services influenced the extent to which the colony's residents were able to acquire, and retain control of, land. Changes in the composition of the colony's "gardener" population during the late 1840s and 1850s illustrate the consequences that could flow from an inability to amass, or have access to, capital resources. More specifically, the notarial records indicate that many of the small plots sold during the petit morcellement remained undeveloped and were subsequently sold to Old Immigrants by their original purchasers because they possessed only limited financial resources, an economic fact of life that left many of these men and women struggling to hold their own during the increasingly difficult economic times that characterized the late 1840s and early 1850s.75 Access to working capital would be equally crucial to the success of the class of Indian/Indo-Mauritian small planters that came into existence during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as a result of the grand morcellement.76

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 géometriques, 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 géometriques; 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."77 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 256 - 0.01% Coverage

planters on the whole island.

On the other hand, the establishment of cooperatives in Mauritius was a boon for the small planters and allowed them to expand their agricultural lands and made their land more productive through soft loans. The presence of the cooperative movement has existed since 1913, with the setting up of Cooperative Credit Societies in the colony which funded small planters' agricultural needs. The major part of cooperative planters are said to be small planters. Yet, some constraints have halted the development and reform of the Cooperative Societies. As a matter of fact, the drop in sugar production in 1990 has brought a constant decline in the number of cooperative planters from 1990 to 2009 which, therefore, reduced sugar production to a large extent. (Appendix 1, Table 1). As a result, a decline was due to a drop in sugar prices and a rise in the cost of diversification to other crops and sectors, and other problems.

fertilizers,

However, the Sugar Industry

Reference 257 - 0.01% Coverage

PLANTERS FROM THE INDIAN COMMUNITY

Before the arrival of Indians in this country, lands were not easily valuable, since these were left uncultivated and deserted. Their landing in Mauritius and their hard work were symbolic and exemplary for the inhabitants of the Colony, in terms of respect for the land and the cultivation processes of sugarcane. This emotional attachment to land ultimately became their greatest strength, and they ceaselessly worked in the Sugar Industry. The salaries of

immigrants were

relatively low; however

Reference 258 - 0.01% Coverage

World Wars I and II)

During World War I, in the presence of Governor of the Colony of Mauritius, Mr. Heskell Bell, sugar was sold at five times its usual value to England for about Rs. 240 million or £20,000,000. There were great changes and a development in the social life of people. Many of them were suddenly rich; the labourers had a good earning and spent usefully, while other labourers spent their money on liquor, such as rum (A. Toussaint, p. 214). Extra money from wages was used to buy plots of lands and cattle to become independent farmers and have some savings for the future. In addition, some labourers went to settle in towns and villages. Thus, arose a class of small planters among the labourers and descendants of labourers. Shortly after World War I, sugar prices fell; this practically ruined small Indian planters who lost their lands and had to look for other jobs. Some had to return to their old jobs in the fields of sugar estates. A few Indians managed to continue as small planters, although they had sustained great losses. (M. Varma, p. 220)

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.

Labour Crisis in 1970s

The

Reference 259 - 0.01% Coverage

OF CENTRALISATION ON SMALL PLANTERS

The centralisation of sugar factories had begun in 1861, when 259 factories decreased gradually, over time, to 70 which were still operating around the country in 1921. The Chamber of Agriculture noticed that the main reasons for the closure of many factories were the damage caused by the spread of Malaria among Indian immigrants in 1866, as well as violent cyclones during the 1860s and 1870s. Consequently, the closure of factories led Indian immigrants to settle down in this colony and to purchase plots of lands from estate-owners during the Morcellement system. Small planters made use of ox-carts to transport their canes to the factory. With the closing down of factory units, they were compelled to send their canes even further than previously.

Centralisation was also intended to

Reference 260 - 0.01% Coverage

tenant farmer to the landowner.

83 Europe, as well as in British and French colonies of the Caribbean and Indian Ocean. 85

The term Métayage originates from

Reference 261 - 0.01% Coverage

were ten years ago."
87
In 1840, Governor Lionel Smith toured the island in order to gauge the social and economic impact of emancipation on the Colony. In August of the same year, he wrote to Lord John Russell, Secretary of State for Colonies:
it to a foreign clientele

Reference 262 - 0.01% Coverage

39,000 in 1843-1844,
the demand for increased […]." 90 There was thus also a good market skilled labour, for garden produce for vegetable produce. The Colonial
Government, however, viewed this system

Reference 263 - 0.01% Coverage

sugar cane, corn and roots.
The Colonial Office even suggested to the British
Governor to encourage the establishment

Reference 264 - 0.01% Coverage

apprentices on 19th April 1847.
Unfortunately, it was never implemented by Governor Gomm, the Council of Government or the planters, with the exception of Napoléon Savy. The case of Savy helps us to understand why Lord Glenelg's suggestion was never considered in Mauritius. Napoléon Savy was a Coloured sugar estate owner, a well-known barrister in the Colony and originally from the Seychelles. During the 1840s, he acquired Petite Rosalie Sugar Estate, as well as other properties in the Southern part of Pamplemousses District.
92
"I shall be happy

Reference 265 - 0.01% Coverage

opportunity of fulfilling them."
93
Within less than ten days of receiving this letter, Governor Gomm, through the Colonial Secretary, informed Savy in a very diplomatic manner that: "As the object which you have in view, can alone be brought about by the operation of a mutual confidence between the parties themselves, His Excellency does not consider that he can interfere in the manner you propose."
94
The Colonial Government was

Reference 266 - 0.01% Coverage

the manner you propose."
94
The Colonial Government was not happy either with the experiment in métayage being conducted on a sugar estate in the South. This estate was visited by two senior British Officials: Charles Anderson, Protector of Immigrants and George M. Elliot, Stipendiary Magistrate of Savanne.
95
Based on their reports

Reference 267 - 0.01% Coverage

ago which, once, was the
island's only commodity and one of the main export earners, generating millions of rupees, being the basis of the creation and modernization of the island, has turned sour. After the first sugar mill had been set up at Villebague in 1745, Colonial Powers, France and then Great Britain, used the slave trade and the indentured labour system to expand and consolidate the industry. At its peak, there were 259 sugar mills in 1838 in Mauritius. Sugar was traded under different Protocols, the main ones being the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement of 1951 and the Sugar Protocol of 1975. Mauritius made constant efforts to improve and maintain the economic viability of this industry which was the very lifeblood of the economy. The Cotonou Agreement was signed in 2000 for 20 years. For many years, the island benefited from a high price for sugar under the preferential trade arrangements with Europe. At one time, the price for Mauritian sugar was three times higher than the price of sugar on the world market. The revenue was used to diversify the Mauritian economy.
Truth and Justice Commission 84

Reference 268 - 0.01% Coverage

long, induced them to accept
matters as they are. For centuries, the Colonial Powers, having prevailed through appointed Magistrates, administrators, the all-powerful Forest Rangers, corrupt Civil servants, Land Surveyors, Notaries and Attorneys at Law visiting the island, have left in place a pernicious system whereby any Tom, Dick and Harry could help himself anytime and anywhere, whenever easy money could be had. The most disturbing factors concerning land issues brought before the Truth and Justice Commission were facilities with which anyone could appropriate State or private lands through either prescription - which is the most common - fraud and other illegal means.
This system still prevails to

Reference 269 - 0.01% Coverage

at some point in time.
In Mauritius, land was and is still considered in law as a form of property and during the colonial days as and economic resource. There was no indigenous settlement and so no traditional forms of ownership. Instead there existed ownership by individuals, ownerships by private estates, corporate ownership, by Chruch and ownership by the State.
Unrecognised in law was the

Reference 270 - 0.01% Coverage

as communal use of land.
However, in Mauritius, the extent of ownership is highly slewed in favour of large plantations owners. There has never been large-scale redistribution of lands either after abolition of slavery or identure 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.
Indeed, control of land has always been a key issue and a latent source of conflit. After abolition of slavery, the rights to obtain land were severely curtailed even though many ex-slaves did obtain tracts of land during the "petit morcellement". There was no large scale emergence of a peasantry due to colonial government support for the plantation and no encouragement for ex-slaves to become peasant proprietors. However, economic crisis have played their part in ensuring some redistribution took place. By the 1880s, a "grand morcellement" took place which changed the socio-economic landscape when small owners emerged en masse.
Topography has also influenced to

Reference 271 - 0.01% Coverage

may be a Black person.
An overview of the different changes which occurred over the years (since 1721 up to modern times) gives an idea of how land ownership evolves during the colonial times, up to Independence.
The Truth and Justice Commission

Reference 272 - 0.01% Coverage

their natural right to property.
After abolition of slavery, the colonial land policies were geared to ensuring that a sufficient pool of labour was available for sugar production. In his circular of 31st January 1836, to the Governors of the British Colony, Lord Glenelg underlined that "precautionary measures "were required " to prevent the occupation of any Crown lands by persons not possessing a proprietary title to them; and to fix such a price upon all Crown lands as may place them out of reach of persons without capital".
The need to produce exportable

Reference 273 - 0.01% Coverage

Mauritius Rebellion of 1832 and
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"2 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 ascendency,

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".
The 1920s witnessed the collapse

Reference 274 - 0.01% Coverage

reopen the road as appropriate.
Furthermore, she adds that according to her information, she has a right or a share in a portion of land of about 788 Arpents in the District of Savanne, more precisely at Ligne Bassin, Ruisseau Citron. However, there has been an exchange of land between the Colonial Government and one Adolphe Gébert, which brings the family inheritance to Mahébourg instead of Savanne. The minors Gébert and Masson Abraham were the heirs of that plot at Mahébourg. The deed witnessing the transaction was transcribed in Volume TV 55 No. 34 on 3rd September 1853. The applicant's father, Jules Marguerite, has been raised by Jules Masson who had two sisters.
Before his death, Jules
Masson

Reference 275 - 0.01% Coverage

ARLETTE great-grandfather, Yyempermal, from
Tanjavour, worked for the Ceylan Tea Limited Company during colonial times. While working for the company, he bought a plot of land of 10 Arpents at Beau-Songes for Rs. 7,000. In Document No.1 submitted, it is mentioned that the same plot of land was sold for Rs. 1,200. When applicant's great grandparent passed away, the land was left unoccupied and Médine Sugar Estate Company occupied less than 5 Arpents approximately. The company erected a building on that land. The rest of the land belonging to the applicant is still unoccupied, and she wants to get the plot of land back.
She called at the Office

Reference 276 - 0.01% Coverage

09/1820 enregistré le 23.
Le dit Lousteau en était propriétaire au moyen de la déclaration faite à son profit par Me. Sabrat avocat et avoue près les Tribunaux de cette Isle le 02/09/1819 qui s'en était rendu adjudicataire pour le dit sieur Lousteau suivant procès verbaux d'enchères et adjudication définitive tranchée au profit du dit Me. Sabrat à la barre du tribunal de première instance de cette colonie le premier du dit mois de septembre 1918 par suite déspropriation force poursuivie sur le sieur Jean Nicolas D'emmerez père habitant de cette colonie à la requête du sieur Philbert Perret ansent représentée en cette île par Mons. Jacques Francois Lefèvre président du Tribunal de première instance.
Et le dit Pierre Speville

Reference 277 - 0.01% Coverage

were being put under agriculture.

After 1810, the British Colonial Government had to take stock of Crown and privately-held lands. Three successive surveys were undertaken in 1814, 1816 and 1830.
1814
Conceded land (with title

Reference 278 - 0.01% Coverage

from Land Surveys, 1814-1830.
The Colonial Government initiated a series of small land acquisition in the capital mainly for the road network and construction. Apart from the Government's own uses, Crown land had been disposed of through private and auction sales, leases and free "concessions" (Grants) of small extents. Furthermore, in order to tighten control, the Colonial Government started to implement some of the provisions of the two "Arrêtés" of General Decaen - (Arrêté No. 83 of 1805 which was designed to act principally as a check on unrestrained land clearances) and (Arrêté of 5th May 1807, wherein are defined, amongst others, the inalienability of the Pas Géométriques and the prices to be put on land "concessions"). So the British decided, as from 1815, that land had to be granted by public auction only.
Nevertheless, this decision was not

Reference 279 - 0.01% Coverage

rendered by, the potential beneficiaries.
The take-over by the British Colonial Government was mostly characterized by the pattern of use of Truth and Justice Commission 337 116,765 arpents 1830 315,903 arpents
VOLUME 2: LAND REFORM – LEGAL

Reference 280 - 0.01% Coverage

population toward the Central Plateau.
The Colonial Government had to exercise stricter control over the utilization of Crown and forest lands. Ordinance No.18 of 1874 was amended by Ordinance No.15 of 1875 to make better provisions for the protection and disposal of Crown Lands and Pas Géométriques; free grants and private sales of Crown lands were therefrom prohibited and all sales had to be by public auction. The same Ordinance decreed that Crown lands became imprescriptible.
The 1880s saw the emergence

Reference 281 - 0.01% Coverage

a remarkable feat in itself.
Between 1881 and 1904, the Colonial Government was involved in a vast acquisition programme and purchased some 27,534 arpents of land, mainly in the watershed regions of Plaines Wilhems, Moka and Savanne. Following the recommendations of Gleadow in 1904, further acquisitions were made in other districts up to 1930, thus bringing some 12,597 arpents more under Government control. Gleadow reported that these acquisitions ended up at times in the Court, owing to either noncompliance of the former owner or dispute over valuation and compensation.
Other areas were acquired under

Reference 282 - 0.01% Coverage

leave no room for that.
The Catholic Church was a partner of the slave and colonial system.
Slavery as a holistic system

Reference 283 - 0.01% Coverage

HISTORY OF DESCENDANTS OF SLAVES
such as stone cutters, charcoal makers, sugar cane labourers and wood cutters. In people's collective memory, the architectural patrimony dating backing to the French and English colonial periods are legacies of the slaves as for them the legacy of slaves and of slavery are same.
'....Zot '....Zot inn travay bokou

Reference 284 - 0.01% Coverage

development of the tourism industry.
Another contribution of the slaves that the interviewees mentioned and that we did not think of initially was their struggle for our freedom and that this fight is wherefore we gained independence and our rights. As mentioned by R12 and R13, if they had not fought for their freedom and against the slave system we would still be a colony. By struggling for their emancipation they fought for our independence. The Whites' domination resulted in the descendants of slaves gaining consciousness that they had no rights and subsequently they lobbied for their rights and their identity as Creoles. In a certain way, the slaves are perceived as the precursor of independence. 11 TJC
Only a few interviewers considered

Reference 285 - 0.01% Coverage

HISTORY OF DESCENDANTS OF SLAVES
From the interviews we can say that the Capitalist system in Mauritius is a legacy of slavery with the colonial mentality that manual workers should be kept in underpaid jobs and the descendant of slaves constitute the main pool of menial low paid workers. The poor become poorer and the rich richer leading to a polarisation of society.
NORTH (PAMPLEMOUSSES AND RIVIÈRE DU

Reference 286 - 0.01% Coverage

MIVOIE 3. BRIEF HISTORICAL BACKGROUND
Black River was commonly perceived as being a land of predilection for the maroon slaves and as being inhabited by Mauritians of Afro-Malagasy origins that, subsequently, led to its exclusion and marginalisation by the colonial and postcolonial society. The socioeconomic conditions of northern and southern Black River differed and after emancipation the district experienced demographic changes:
The Northern part benefitting from

Reference 287 - 0.01% Coverage

under their mother's patronymic name.
It is worth noting that concubinage and serial monogamy are not modern forms of family patterns and they can be traced back to colonial times. For example the 1871 census reported that 'amongst Indians there was a large number of females who were living in concubinage and one of the causes of their doing so was that they were not allowed by the laws of the colony to marry before the age of 15 unless they obtained a special dispensation from the governor.51
Although Cité La Mivoie is

Reference 288 - 0.01% Coverage

practice disrupt contemporary family lineage.
This naming practice dates back to colonial times such as Arthur Towsend born in 1898, the son of Louis Malache, was declared under his mother's name Marie Elizabeth Townsend. This practice might stem from the fact that during slavery, maternity and the nurturing role of women were recognised whereas slave owners undermined paternity and hence only the mother's name was registered in the plantation records.52
and multi-partner relationships especially

Reference 289 - 0.01% Coverage

of having an uncontrollable sexuality.
This sexual stereotyping that was perpetuated in post-colonial times such as in the post-colonial literature, has impacted on the 'black female' psyche with women across generations internalising that their body and sexuality were just a 'bartering tool for love and affection' and social status.
In line with Burrell (2010

Reference 290 - 0.01% Coverage

limited or no spending power.
Such discriminatory practices are not contemporary practices and date back to colonial times when the colons were allocated large concessions that, were passed on to their descendants. It can be said that in post-colonial Mauritius and until now, discriminatory land practices are maintained and given the present local social, topographic and economic profile, such practices are deemed to be perpetuated.
Consequently, the latter are being

Reference 291 - 0.01% Coverage

sexual harassment at workplace.155
Indeed, the public perception of domestic work is often that it is undignified work, and the workers in this sector should be pitied because they are unqualified and unskilled156. This social representation of domestic labour is rooted on the colonial mentality whence domestic slaves and particularly slave women fulfilled such occupations. After the abolition of slavery, based on the 1871 Census, the 'Indian Population' outnumbered the 'General Population' in the domestic class and men preponderated over women as indicated in Chart 10 below
Table 13 Category
Poluation doing

Reference 292 - 0.01% Coverage

of the already vulnerable groups.
One alternative is the revalorisation of low tier jobs, particularly, paid domestic and manual labour that still bear negative stereotypes rooted in patriarchy and colonial times when slaves performed these types of jobs such as labourers, cattle-herder, fishermen, poultry-herders and many other skilled and unskilled work. The slaves were fieldworkers, domestic workers, and skilled traders and worked in the mills and at sea174.
Actually, the stigma does not

Reference 293 - 0.01% Coverage

still undermined and under-estimated.
Domestic and manual labour remains somewhat an invisible economy and informal sector. In other words, society and people devalue domestic and manual work and workers resulting from an imperialist and colonial mentality that is maintained.
Given that paid domestic labour

Reference 294 - 0.01% Coverage

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.
This labour profile inherent to

Reference 295 - 0.01% Coverage

W. Mills proposes that European
expansionism in its various forms such as expropriation, slavery, colonialism, settlement brought the concept of race into existence globally. According to Mills, those termed Whites are the bringers of civilization per se; they are the ones who built the legal system and the society from scratch in a land where according to their outlook was bare; which is a concept marvellously encapsulated in a book published in Mauritius entitled, "Les Défricheurs de L'île Maurice", meaning those who weeded Mauritius although there are some serious speculations as to whether the colonists actually did the weeding themselves.
Mills makes his point by

Reference 296 - 0.01% Coverage

date is not known and

existing records indicate the year to be between 1795 and 1800 on the Blow family's plantation. The Blow family was part of a long established, preeminent group of Virginia Planters whose roots reached the first days of the colony in the 1600s. Dred Scott's owner Peter Blow was an unsuccessful planter; he moved his family several times from Virginia to Alabama in 1818 and again in 1822 to Florence, Alabama where he established himself as an innkeeper. Business was good in bustling town of Florence, records show that Dred was employed as a hustler; he took care of the clients' horses.13
His physical appearance was listed

Reference 297 - 0.01% Coverage

in the plantations in Mauritius.
COMPENSATION IN COLONIAL MAURITIUS - THE MAURITIUS COMMERCIAL BANK Hylton recommends in order to potentially garner social gain for descendants of slaves,
reparationists in the United States

Reference 298 - 0.01% Coverage

took effect in all British
colonies in 1810 and nor was the Slave Trade Felony Act of 1813 ever enforced in Mauritius. It was rather hard to enforce the slave trade felony act since the high officials in the colony were all slave-owners themselves or sons of slave-owners. In a way, Farquhar conciliatory attitude towards the French colonists precluded him from enforcing British policies in the island. Farquhar's strategy in stopping slave trade was to be non-confrontational and instead of focusing on the slave-owners in the island, he shifted his attention to the sources of the slave supply, which was Madagascar and East Africa.
The slaveholders in Mauritius protested

Reference 299 - 0.01% Coverage

000 and 60,000 each.
Mozambique and Mauritius are, therefore, the two most appropriate places to host the Intercontinental Slavery Museum, and ideal places to give more visibility to the phenomenon of slavery and slave traffic in the Indian Ocean under colonial rule (Portuguese, French, British, Dutch).
Furthermore, Mauritius is the first

Reference 300 - 0.01% Coverage

OF THE INTERCONTINENTAL SLAVERY MUSEUM
The Intercontinental Slavery Museum will highlight the deep transformations that this tragedy caused at economic, social, political, cultural, and ideological levels in all continents, with particular emphasis to Africa and Africans. It will also create opportunities to conduct in-depth and extensive studies of the phenomenon of "slavery and slave trade" on a regional scale and global level. It will also promote investigations and studies en route for the thematic "slavery and slave trade" in Mauritius, Mozambique and Madagascar, in the region, and in the context of the former colonial empires.
Beneficiaries of the Slavery Museum

Reference 301 - 0.01% Coverage

date of his arrival elusive.
Therefore, it is presumed that he arrived as an adult at some stage between the late 1860s and early 1870s. Peerthum was born in 1846 and is believed to be from the South Western District of the Bengal Presidency to the East of Calcutta and to the South of city of Raniguni. (This region was not a traditional region for the recruitment of indentured labourers for British and European overseas plantation colonies like Mauritius). Furthermore, according to his passenger ticket, his father was Cartick and his mother was Dannoo.
When he reached his late

Reference 302 - 0.01% Coverage

own savings in the local
Colonial Bank and she was financially independent and did not always rely on her children. Within her lifetime, Sookbasseea was able to generate enough money to purchase three different small properties, and she ensured that her children received their inheritance. She was an independent and progressive woman who had a strong character and tried to forge a destiny for herself and her children.
Unfortunately, in 1959, hardly a

Reference 303 - 0.01% Coverage

TODAY Vijayalakshmi Teelock, Vice-Chairperson
The aims of the analysis of interviews of presumed descendants of indentured labourers are to uncover the world views, life styles, thoughts and perceptions of persons representing a sample of descendants of indentured labourers still living, working on sugar estates or in sugar industry. This is to facilitate further analysis and understanding of the situation of descendants of indentured labourers in accordance with the Act of the Truth and Justice Commission whose main objective is to "make an assessment of the consequences of slavery and indenture labour during the colonial period up to the present".
A chapter on what the

Reference 304 - 0.01% Coverage

and others still, Paul Berenger.
The employment card introduced after Independence was considered a very useful step taken by the post-colonial Government to ensure fair treatment for sugar estate workers and to entitle them to facilities such as equipment, uniform, leave, medical, although some of these facilities had existed for other categories of workers and their implementation always remained questionable.
Most interviewees did not like

Reference 305 - 0.01% Coverage

stereotyping has its roots in
the patriarchal discourse which does not find women capable of doing several things because of their relative physical 'weakness' compared to men. This was supported by the Colonial Administrators because it ensured relatively cheaper labour. We have several responses to support that women were doing almost the same work as male labourers, and yet they were being paid considerably lower.
Since the period of indentured

Reference 306 - 0.01% Coverage

this gap in the literature.
To rectify this imbalance in the literature, I will be relying to a significant extent upon the oral testimonies of elderly sugar estate workers, most of whom are between the ages of 60-80, and were interviewed by research assistants working for the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund (AGTF). In 2009, three research assistants, Stephan Karghoo, Christelle Miao Foh, and Dreesha Teelwah, along with the assistance of a number of community facilitators, interviewed over four hundred respondents from different parts of the island who had either worked on a sugar estate or had some form of association with the Mauritian sugar industry. The informants were asked to reflect upon not only what working conditions were like in the Mauritian sugar industry when they were younger, but also aspects of their private lives and cultural customs. For the purposes of this study, however, I will not be focusing on such things as wedding ceremonies, religious celebrations, rites of passage, inter-ethnic relations, or any other feature falling under the more general rubric of the cultural customs and practices of sugar estate workers in the earlier part of the twentieth century. To do so would take the study well beyond the scope of the mandate of the Truth and Justice Commission (TJC), one of the aims of which is to address the "consequences of slavery and indenture labour during the colonial period up to the present".49
Some might argue that to

Reference 307 - 0.01% Coverage

cease practicing their spiritual beliefs.
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
Truth and Justice Commission 339

Reference 308 - 0.01% Coverage

lives of sugar estate workers.
In addition to the oral testimonies of field labourers and other personnel involved in the Mauritian sugar industry, this study refers to a number of official enquiries commissioned by the British colonial authorities to investigate the working and living conditions of sugar estate workers both during and after the end of the indentured labour period. Towards the end of the indentured labour period, the British colonial authorities finally became more serious about tackling some of the injustices and abuses that had become a pervasive feature of the system at the end of the nineteenth century. In 1875, a Royal Commission was convened by the colonial government after being petitioned by a group of Indian immigrants who presented a list of grievances. When immigrants from India originally signed a contract agreeing to come and work in Mauritius they were promised they would be paid a basic wage and provided with free housing, medical assistance, and rations. However, many of the planters subsequently reneged on this agreement and either failed to pay indentured labourers the money they were owed for work they had completed or in many cases withheld their wages in order to try and re-indenture them. In addition to this, the medical attention they received was often less than satisfactory or their rations were

arbitrarily reduced and they were forced to carry a ticket in order to allow them to travel beyond the radius of the sugar estate where they were housed and worked. Yet despite the fact that the 1875 Royal Commission highlighted these irregularities and made a number of recommendations to rectify this situation, many sugar estates in Mauritius were still failing to meet their legal responsibilities even after the end of the indentured labour period.

Nor should one assume that the official enquiries commissioned by the British colonial authorities were completely impartial or conducted as thoroughly as they might have been. One notices not only obvious discrepancies between the 1938 Hooper Commission and a similar enquiry by the Moody Commission in 1943 for example, both of which were commissioned to investigate the machinations of the Mauritian sugar industry after strikes by small planters and monthly-paid workers. But even in the Annual Reports of the Labour Department, established in 1938 to ensure that employers and employees met their legal obligations and to appoint field inspectors to conduct regular inspections of sugar estates, one also notices discrepancies in the reports written by the

Reference 309 - 0.01% Coverage

by the AGTF's research assistants.

The crucial question put before us by the TJC is whether or not employers in the Mauritian sugar industry have been meeting their legal responsibilities since the end of indenture and how one should evaluate their actions in the broader context of what they have done or failed to do in the past. The answer to this question depends upon how one is to interpret the wording of the TJC Act, and one of its main criteria, which as I have already indicated, is to assess the "consequences of slavery and indenture labour during the colonial period up to the present". The meaning of this terminology is not as straight forward as it might seem. In the English language, the word "consequences" conjures up such commonplace meanings as "it

is a result of" or

Reference 310 - 0.03% Coverage

OF THE 1875 ROYAL COMMISSION

In order to make the case that the Mauritian sugar industry is culpable for its past actions, it is essential that we demonstrate that the industry has a poor track record when it comes to the way it has treated its workforce. One way of establishing this is to refer to the judgements that were handed down by the 1875 Royal Commission and to compare these findings to the industry's track record in the post-indenture period. The 1875 Royal Commission was convened by the British colonial authorities after being presented with a list of grievances by a group of Old Immigrants who principally complained about abuses relating to the ticket-pass system enshrined in the 1867 Labour Ordinance. Not being sufficiently conversant in English, their complaints were presented to the colonial government by Adolphe de Plevitz, a planter of German descent who offered a more comprehensive list of complaints of the injustices being committed by other planters under the indenture labour system in Mauritius. In their report, the Royal Commissioners sought to address both the petition of the Old Immigrants (or time-expired indentured labourers) and the various accusations outlined in Adolphe de Plevitz's pamphlet. The complaints outlined in de Plevitz's pamphlet were broader in scope and not only included criticisms of the behaviour of planters but also the failure of the colonial authorities to protect their British subjects. As part of their enquires conducted between 1872-1874, the Royal Commissioners interviewed various witnesses and visited 51 sugar estates and consulted the record books of estates to determine the validity of the accusations made by the petitioners and de Plevitz.

It is not the intention here to address all of the complaints pursued by the Royal Commissioners. Some of them, such as those pertaining to recruitment methods of immigrants from India, legality of contracts entered into in Mauritius as opposed to India, conduct of stipendiary magistrates empowered to pronounce verdicts on disputes between planters and labourers, ill-treatment of labourers by planters, or the abuse of the ticket-pass system, no longer seem to be relevant as they pertain more strictly to the indentured labour period. However, when it comes to complaints concerning the non-payment of wages and planters and sirdars or job-contractors making illegal deductions from the wages of labourers, or planters failing to provide adequate lodgings and sanitary conditions in estate camps, not only is it possible to demonstrate that these abuses continued after the end of the indentured labour period, but they are complaints that often appear in the oral testimonies of elderly sugar estate workers themselves. According to the 1875 Royal Commission, the non-payment of wages constituted one of the worst abuses of the indenture labour system as reflected in the large number of complaints brought before the courts by both Old and New Immigrants alike (Frere and Williamson 1875:582). Apart from keeping wages in arrears often for two to three months or more, the Royal Commissioners drew attention in particular to the "double-cut", a cunning method by which planters reduced the wages of labourers two days for every day they were recorded as being illegally absent. As the Royal Commissioners point out in their report, the double-cut was not in itself illegal, as what was originally viewed by the British colonial authorities with some degree of apprehension when it was first proposed by the planterdominated Legislative Council, eventually passed into law with the passing of Ordinance No. 16 of 1862 (cf. Frere and Williamson 1875:303-311). It was the actual manner in which the double-cut was used by planters, not to mention sirdars and job-contractors, to make deductions from wages by recording labourers as absent when they did not complete a set task that the Royal Commissioners deemed to be illegal.50
Not only did the double-cut enable planters to save enormous sums of money on wages,51 but even more remarkably, immigrants who sought to lodge a complaint with the authorities or were imprisoned for an offence were fined a further two days of wages everyday they were absent, and in many cases it was used as justification to prolong their contracts or to force them to reindenture. As the Royal Commissioners point out in their report, this illegal use of the double-cut had become customary amongst planters and encompassed a wide range of deductions ranging from fining labourers for the theft of thatch or the loss of tools and even collecting grass or brèdes from rivers and streams without permission (Frere and Williamson 1875:310-311). But it was with respect to marking labourers as absent when they did not complete set tasks and making deductions from their wages without recourse to the decision of a magistrate which the Royal Commissioners found particularly objectionable. This "fiction", as it was described by one prominent colonial official

Reference 311 - 0.01% Coverage

Frere and Williamson 1875:351).
The general view at the time, both amongst planters and British colonial officials, was that Indian immigrants cared little about hygiene and would have refused to re-engage if planters interfered and forced them to maintain cleaner dwellings. The Royal Commissioners seem to have seen through this ruse, however, and suggested it was more likely that planters used this reasoning as a convenient excuse to avoid having to pay the cost of improving sanitary conditions in estate camps. As the Commissioners point out in their report, they had evidence before them that Indian immigrants were willing to use latrines when planters made these available in estate camps (Frere and Williamson 1875:351). And upon asking a stipendiary magistrate who conducted half-yearly inspections of estates if he thought that sanitary conditions were worse in camps or the villages of Indian immigrants, they were told that conditions seemed more preferable in villages than estate camps (Frere and Williamson 1875:350).

Reference 312 - 0.01% Coverage

AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF DESCENDANTS
compliance with sanitary regulations and to penalise offending parties without the need to resort to police intervention.53 The Commissioners were no doubt unaware of how prescient their recommendations would later turn out to be. In the early 1920s, J.F. Kendrick, a medical expert working for the International Health Board, a philanthropic organisation funded by the Rockefeller Foundation, came to Mauritius and wrote a report in which he urged the colonial government to tackle the hookworm epidemic gripping the colony. Until Kendrick's report, which was released in 1920, it was not generally known how many people suffered from hookworm disease; but according to Kendrick, as many as two-thirds of the population were suffering from this parasitic form of disease (cited in Balfour 1921:15). Kendrick's report left no doubt that failing to address the island's sanitation problem, in particular the shortage of latrines in rural areas, would have disastrous long-term consequences for the health of the wider population. Yet in spite of these recommendations, sugar estates continually failed to tend to this problem well into the twentieth century.
WORKING CONDITIONS OF MAURITIAN SUGAR

Reference 313 - 0.01% Coverage

abide by the collective agreement.
Further light can be shed on these claims by referring to Labour Laws that have been enacted over the course of the twentieth century and how they have affected female sugar estate workers. It is of interest to note that until 1973, no law had been introduced delineating what types of tasks female labourers were expected to perform.55 Although the Minimum Wage Ordinance of 1934 stipulated the rates of pay and types of tasks to be done by both male and female labourers, the amendment the colonial government made to the ordinance in 1944 was principally aimed at ensuring that sugar estates complied with the law and paid labourers the wages they were entitled to, as one of the main conclusions to stem from the 1943 Moody Commission report was that the failure of the industry to implement minimum wage rates was one of the chief causes of the 1943 strike. This apparent neglect of the rights of female labourers, which probably goes some way towards explaining why they were paid less for doing some of the same types of tasks as men, may also reflect their marginal position in the Mauritian sugar industry since the days of indenture. As Marina Carter (1992:115-116) has pointed out, Mauritius was exceptional insofar as after 1842, it was the
only [British] colony which failed to engage Indian women as indentured labourers. The numbers of women formally employed on estates was consequently never very high, even in the principal sugar-growing districts ... In 1846 9% of the total Indian female population was registered as part of the plantation labour force. At the time of the malaria epidemic in 1867, less than 100 women were reported as working on the sugar estates. By 1871, when the next census was taken, this figure had risen, even so, only 7% of women [or 1,808 Indian females out of a total estate population of 24,425] were officially employed as plantation workers.56
With the end of indenture

Reference 314 - 0.03% Coverage

their heads from the sun.
One could argue the Mauritian sugar industry may not have seen why they had to provide their workforce with protective clothing when for a greater part of the twentieth century they went without footwear and worked in their everyday clothes. To do so though would be to invoke the same type of reasoning that

planters resorted to in the days of indenture to avoid incurring expenses on the grounds Indian immigrants faced worse conditions in their country of origin and there was no need to make any improvements. As the Royal Commissioners pointed out in their 1875 report, however, Mauritius was not India, and the planters bore a moral responsibility to ensure that they provided working and living conditions of benefit to the wider society (Frere and Williamson 1875:352). In any event, it is still odd that the colonial authorities themselves never seem to have recognized the importance of legislating for the provision of protective clothing for field labourers on sugar estates even though measures had been put in place to compensate workers for work-related injuries. The enactment of the 1931 Workmen's Compensation Ordinance covered workers who were incapacitated as a result of a work-related injury for a period of more than seven consecutive days. In addition to this, the Factories (Safety of Workers) Ordinance was enacted in 1939, but it principally applied to factory workers. Prior to 1960, the Annual Reports of the Labour Department do not provide details about the type of injuries that field labourers sustained on the job as they only focused on factory workers. In 1960, however, for the first time, the Labour Department provides a detailed breakdown of the type of injuries field labourers complained about to labour inspectors. Where the previous focus had been on factory workers, now the inspectors broadened their enquiry to include statistics of different industries, "cause of injury", "nature of injury", "location of injury", and "duration of incapacity". Of particular interest are their statistics for the sugar industry. As the statistics illustrate, out of a total of 3,152 work-related injuries recorded for the sugar industry in 1960, a majority of these injuries were of short duration, affected the upper and lower extremities, resulted in contusions, abrasions, and punctured wounds, and were caused by stepping on or striking against objects and the use of hand tools. In other words, the kind of injuries that field-labourers who are not provided with protective clothing are likely to sustain (ARLD 1960:53-57).62

But perhaps the most serious complaint that comes out of the interviews with elderly sugar estate workers are those pertaining to non-payment or under-payment of wages. It most clearly demonstrates a long-term pattern of exploitation by personnel in the Mauritian sugar industry going back to the early days of indenture. As I pointed out earlier, the 1875 Royal Commissioners concluded one of the worst abuses committed by planters were the illegal deductions they made from the wages of indentured labourers. It is highly disconcerting to learn, therefore, that these abuses appear to have continued well after the end of the indentured labour period. These abuses have not only been documented in the various enquiries convened by the colonial authorities into the machinations of the Mauritian sugar industry after the end of indenture, but are also underlined in more recent commissions of enquiry convened after Mauritius became a republic. More often than not, complaints pertaining to illegal deductions made from wages primarily apply to jobcontractors, but in the interviews collected by the AGTF's research assistants, there is also evidence that estate personnel and managers have been complicit in these abuses. A point not lost on the commissioners involved in both the Hooper and Balogh Commission enquiries (Hooper 1937:166-167; Balogh 1963:149-151), who noted that these abuses could not have continued without the tacit knowledge or cooperation of the managerial staff of the Mauritian sugar industry. The crucial question that remains, however, is how it is possible that these abuses were allowed to continue despite the fact that they have been extensively documented in the various commissions of inquiry into the Mauritian sugar industry convened since the end of the indenture labour period.

Reference 315 - 0.02% Coverage

vegetables (1961:15, 78, 81).

The poor health of the average sugar estate worker in Mauritius led Major Orde Browne to speculate on the presumed inefficiency of the industry's workforce. Major Orde Browne (1943:6164) drew attention to the limited hours of work that sugar estate workers completed in comparison to the descendents of Indian immigrants working in the plantation sectors of other British colonies. Yet although Major Orde Browne had some intimation as to how prevalent ankylostomiasis was amongst the Mauritian sugar industry's

workforce, he not only seems to have underestimated how debilitating the disease was in assessing the inefficiency of Mauritian sugar estate workers, but he also appears to have been ignorant of the efforts already made to combat this parasitic form of disease as a result of previous enquiries, and suggested the most effective solution lay in educating the population about improved sanitary habits. I myself only became aware of the true extent of this epidemic after reading Andrew Balfour's 1921 report on medical and sanitation matters in Mauritius. Balfour was commissioned by the British colonial authorities to conduct an enquiry into Port Louis's deteriorating sanitary conditions and to find a way to combat the malaria epidemic crippling the health of the colony's population. In the course of his enquiries, Balfour read a report written only one year earlier by a medical expert working for the International Health Board, a philanthropic organisation funded by the Rockefeller Foundation, named J. F. Kendrick. Kendrick discovered
that more than two-thirds of the colony's population was suffering from
ankylostomiasis, or hookworm disease as it is more commonly known as, and that the highest rates of infections were recorded amongst the labouring classes in the colony's rural areas (cited in Balfour 1921:18). Kendrick urged the colonial authorities in Mauritius to cooperate with the International Health Board in trying to eradicate the disease, and it appears the British did not hesitate in taking up the generous offer of financial support from the Rockerfeller Foundation after being actively encouraged to do so by Balfour.

While there was little doubt amongst the colonial authorities in Mauritius as to how debilitating malaria was, as it led to a noticeable increase in mortality rates, one of the reasons that hookworm disease seems to have escaped their attention is because its symptoms were not as readily discernible as malaria's. The number of deaths attributed to ankylostomiasis in Mauritius in the year 1920 was only 16, but Balfour (1921:15) questions the accuracy of these figures in his report, and suggests it was probably responsible for raising the island's death rate, due in part to the fact that it weakens "resistance to disease".97 Yet although hookworm disease may not lead to as many observable deaths as malaria, its affects have been shown to be just as lethal, as it not only leads to a higher incidence of foetal mortality rates, but has also been implicated in stunting growth and impairing cognitive development, as well as increasing susceptibility to other diseases. According to Kendrick's report, one of the primary causes of the spread of hookworm disease was poor sanitary conditions, and in particular the inadequate provision of latrine systems, indeed the very type of conditions that were noticeably deficient in estate camps and rural areas (cited in Balfour 1921:18).98 But in his report, Balfour also drew attention to the affect that the use of human manure as a fertilizer in the sugar industry, or the Engrais system as it was referred to in French, had in broadcasting the disease amongst the Mauritian population.99 Balfour made it quite clear in his report that the Mauritian sugar industry could no longer continue to use human manure in the cultivation of its cane fields. He even went so far as to say that those who continued to ignore the health of the population out of pecuniary considerations would not only be morally culpable, but should also be held legally accountable (Balfour 1921:81-89). It seems the sugar industry took

Reference 316 - 0.01% Coverage

improved in that time.101

The key point to underline here is that so long as sugar estates continued to neglect their responsibilities and failed to provide sanitary conditions in estate camps it is inevitable this would have encouraged labourers to use cane fields and contributed to the spread of hookworm disease amongst the Mauritian population. Hookworms are dependent on human hosts to reproduce which they do by passing from the intestine as eggs before being deposited in faecal matter where they grow into larvae and wait for their next hosts to mature into adults. Failing to provide hygienic or suitable latrines and in effect ensuring that labourers had little choice but to use cane field provides ideal conditions for hookworm parasites to thrive, as it is through soil contamination that the disease is spread. Of course, one cannot lay the blame

squarely on the shoulders of the sugar estates, as there is every reason to believe that villagers who lived within the vicinity of an estate would have used the cane fields if they did not have a system of conservancy in place in their own homes (cf. ARLD 1945:3). And things would not have been helped by the fact that most Mauritians went around barefooted for a greater part of the twentieth century, as hookworms find their way into the intestinal tracts of human hosts by penetrating either feet or hands before moving up through the body. In addition to this, the fact that many Mauritians had earthen floors in their homes would have provided ideal conditions for the larvae of the hookworm parasite to reproduce, as studies have shown that the disease is more prevalent in rural areas because housing in urban areas is more likely to have wooden or concrete floors (Desowitz et al. 1961; Hotez 2008).102 Yet the fact remains that most sugar estates would have been aware of the relationship between poor sanitation and the spread of hookworm disease as the colonial government made every effort to implement the recommendations of the International Health Board and launched a comprehensive education campaign to combat the disease. Therefore to flout these responsibilities, and which the Annual Reports of the Labour Department indicates was continuing up until at least 1953-1954, which is the last time the department's labour inspectors made a concerted effort of registering breaches of health regulations in estate camps,103 constitutes a reckless act that exemplifies a lack of respect for the health and well-being of others.

Reference 317 - 0.02% Coverage

AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF DESCENDANTS

The irony is that those sugar estates who neglected to abide by their legal responsibilities and to improve sanitary conditions in estate camps not only endangered the health of their workforce but also handicapped their own economic prosperity. As Major Orde Browne alludes to in his report, the combined effects of hookworm disease and malnutrition, and anaemia, the primary symptom of ankylostomiasis infection, which leads to depletion of iron levels as a result of internal bleeding, all conspired to lower the efficiency of the Mauritian sugar industry's workforce. A similar point has been made in a study investigating the debilitating effects of hookworm disease on Indian immigrants working on colonial plantations in Sri Lanka (Hewa 1994). The author suggests that the ineptitude of the colonial government and the derogation of responsibilities on the part of planters impeded attempts by the International Health Board to combat the disease. Hewa is particularly critical of the role of the colonial planters who she argues wantonly disregarded their legal obligation to introduce a more effective latrine system and to improve sanitary conditions in estate camps. As Hewa (1994:86-87) points out, the principal reason why planters sought to avoid their obligations, even though it would have lead to a vast improvement in the health and well-being of their workforce, and presumably their long-term profits, is because of the short-term financial outlay it would have required. She also suggests that the colonial government was complicit in these abuses because of the laissez-faire policy that they pursued in Ceylon. One cannot say the same thing, however, about the colonial government in Mauritius.

It is not possible to ascertain from the documents available, with certainty, that the colonial authorities in Mauritius fully cooperated with the International Health Board and implemented all of its recommendations. But it appears so. This not only included an initial three year campaign of medically treating patients in an attempt to reduce the disease over the short term but also a farreaching education campaign that targeted the broader Mauritian population. Lectures were organised and pamphlets distributed and notices pinned up to educate the public about the consequences of poor hygiene; and the colonial authorities even managed to procure a film from the International Health Board, named "Unhooking the Hookworm", which it showed in cinemas around the island. The Annual Reports of the Medical and Health Department also indicate that the colonial government made concerted efforts to eradicate the disease by constructing pit latrines in towns, villages and schools, and by replacing wooden buckets with metal buckets where the bucket system of conservancy was in use. In combination with on-

going medical treatment, these measures continued for a number of years after the International Health Board had completed their work in Mauritius, but after the Second World War, it seems that the Medical and Health Department no longer considered it necessary to report on the incidence of hookworm disease.104 One would assume that the only possible explanation for this about face is because ankylostomiasis rates of infection must have begun to decrease in the advent of the successful measures that had been introduced by the colonial government to combat the disease. However, the Annual Reports of the Medical and Health Department indicate that cases of hookworm disease were still being reported in hospitals and medical dispensaries after the Second World War. In any case, it is more than likely that as the island developed over the course of the twentieth century the attendant conditions that are associated with urbanisation eventually heralded the demise of hookworm disease in Mauritius.
The important question that remains

Reference 318 - 0.01% Coverage

SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF DESCENDANTS INTRODUCTION
Mauritius was a sugar plantation colony whose development relied essentially on the availability of plantation land, cheap labour and inflow of capital from metropolitan country.
During the 18th and 19th

Reference 319 - 0.01% Coverage

abolition of slavery in 1835.
Following the emancipation of the slaves in 1834/1835, the Royal Commissioners (1909), reported that the freed slaves were unwilling to work for their former masters who, thus, had recourse to Indian indentured immigrants as source of labour. Allen (1999, p.16) affirms that facing scarcity of agricultural labour estate owners with the support of the colonial governments of Mauritius had Indian opted for Indian immigrations as alternative source of cheap labour.
He published that approximately 9

Reference 320 - 0.01% Coverage

following historical events encouraged the
institutionalisation of the indenture system as ‘new labour regime’.106 Firstly, labour scarcity resulting from high mortality rates amongst the slave population before the abolition of slavery. Secondly, the labour crisis following the withdrawal of the ex-apprentices from the estates after the abolition of slavery and, thirdly, the expansion of sugar production as the economic mainstay of the colonial economy.
Mass unemployment in the labourers’

Reference 321 - 0.01% Coverage

and working on sugar estates.
This project aims at addressing one of the Truth and Justice Commission’s (TJC) missions to assess ‘the consequences of slavery and indentured labour during the colonial period up to the present’.
Truth and Justice Commission 367

Reference 322 - 0.01% Coverage

CONDITIONS OF DESCENDANTS Child Labour
Under colonial rules and in the post-Independence period, child labour was sanctioned and institutionalised. Chokras (Eng. trans. Child labourers) and women were a source of cheap labour for the estates.
Furthermore, child labour was a

Reference 323 - 0.01% Coverage

important section of the community.
The report went further, expounding that the colony's prosperity and progress relied on these small planters.
This semi self-sufficient lifestyle

Reference 324 - 0.01% Coverage

AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF DESCENDANTS
Academic education was not compulsory and for the Colonial Government, the formal education of the children of Indian immigrants was a priority. Even if legal provisions were made for the setting up of half-time schools for the formal education of Indian children, in the obligatory subjects of ordinary schools up to Standard 4, it seems that this initiative failed.
The obligatory academic subjects were

Reference 325 - 0.01% Coverage

as wives and mothers duties.
Women carried a disproportionate share of everyday-life burdens. They had to juggle household chores, child-rearing, social life and their work life. Hence, they faced, and continue to face, the triple burden of job, childcare, and housework with little and even no support, either from their partners or the Government especially since, long ago, the Colonial Government did not offer social welfare to ease their load.
For instance, Bhudyea started work

Reference 326 - 0.01% Coverage

SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF DESCENDANTS CONCLUSION
The aim of this Report was to uncover the working and living conditions of the former estate workers. After this brief analysis, we can conclude that the estate-workers whether they were living or not in the estate-camps, were 'poor' and led a deprived life. They faced discriminatory practices at work that were by the Colonial Government. They were exploited and oppressed.
When compared to those presently

Reference 327 - 0.01% Coverage

wholesome lodging according to the

usage of the colony" which, as the Commissioners pointed out, could have been interpreted any number of ways. 53
54
These recommendations were legally

Reference 328 - 0.01% Coverage

Gens de couleur (Coloured population)
in Mauritius, during the colonial period, under the French and British authorities, and since Independence, up to the present day. It seeks to establish that the 'Coloured Population', as 'Libres de couleur', was as much the victims of repressive measures and injustice during the French occupation (1715-1810) as descendants of slaves and, later in the nineteenth century, indentured labourers. After the capture of Isle de France by the British (1810), there ensued a long, hard fight by the 'Coloured people' for their Human Rights, as regards educational rights, the right to political representation and the right to land ownership, faced with increasing pressure to sell properties.
The origins of the 'Coloured

Reference 329 - 0.01% Coverage

Mauritius and its dependencies.
Detailed
data on the ethno-cultural backgrounds of Coloured families shed considerable light on the position of the Gens de couleur as an intermediate, and downtrodden, class and community in the colonial period.
The fight for political representation

Reference 330 - 0.01% Coverage

doors of the Royal College,
these were finally opened to Gens de couleur, and mulatto boys began to shine and win scholarships. 3 Lawyers and doctors, notaries and politicians, returned to reinforce this community in the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s, before their leaders, such as Sir Virgil Naz, Sir William Newton, Dr. O. Beaugeard, the last two being laureates of the Royal College, stamped their indelible mark on the colony's politics.
Despite a high franchise, the

Reference 331 - 0.01% Coverage

for their lack of morality:
Truth and Justice Commission 450 issues in former French colonies in the first half of the nineteenth century. Although it bears

Reference 332 - 0.01% Coverage

social classes on the island:
"I would divide them into three classes: firstly the Whites; secondly, the mulattoes and the freed slaves; thirdly, the mulattoes and the Black slaves […] The Coloured people may be divided into mulattoes, born

of Black people and free Whites; freed slaves; and mulattoes or Coloured people from India […] The third class, or that of slaves, is very large and more varied than perhaps in any other colony." 15
1.2.
Libertinage and concubinage

Reference 333 - 0.01% Coverage

of the origins of the
'Coloured Population' born during the French colonial period, and after the British occupation of 1810. However, it would be erroneous to claim that libertinage and 'concubinage' were the only sources of the emergence of the 'Coloured Population', which also arose from mixed marriages between Whites and men or women of Asian and African origins. Yet, libertinage was a fact of life in the 1830s and 1840s, when Mrs. Alfred Bantrum gave a colourful picture of 'Creole' ladies – in
Truth and Justice Commission 451

Reference 334 - 0.01% Coverage

category, the 'Gens de Couleur',
born of Whites and negresses, or Whites and Asiatic women, or White and freed slaves, had emerged. Nagapen, however, points out justifiably that the society of Isle de France/Ile Maurice was "imbued with pigmentocracy". 33 De l'Estrac is right to underline that the Blancs made "a clear distinction between 'mulattoes' and métis. According to this classification, mulattoes were of mixed blood but the products of Whites' relationships with African slaves, while the word métis designated the mixture of White and Indian bloods." 34 So, it is fair to say that, going back to the French colonial period, the very foundation of society in Isle de France, was racist. 35 There existed all nuances of colour, and a very heterogeneous group was born of illicit or unwanted unions.
Perhaps, this is why many

Reference 335 - 0.01% Coverage

Véder also rightly argues that,
rejected by other cultures and ignored in the nineteenth century for long spells, Creoles, including the 'Coloured people', rallied around the Church.49 Palmyre underlines the fact that, with few exceptions, "historically, the professionals of the middle class from towns in colonial Mauritius, were often the descendants of black female slaves and white masters, had pale skin, were free and educated, but did not possess land. Even if social mobility has spread, the colonial classification persists." 50 Indeed, the removal of whatever little land the Coloured descendants of white masters possessed during the nineteenth century, was to become a feature of the power play between Whites, Coloureds and wealthy Indians in the twentieth century (see later 'Land ownership among the Coloured people').
Truth and Justice Commission 455

Reference 336 - 0.01% Coverage

official nineteenth-century documents referred
to as 'Coloured population', did not attempt to acquire more land and often the failed to hold on to the few (156) arpents they were given as concessions. Prejudices survived from the French colonial days during the British period; for example, an Ordinance of 1779 prohibited entry by the Whites into the

‘Quartier des Libres’ and punished any infringement by fines.51 Yet, Indian women, not deterred by the coloured status of their children, had them baptized, without naming their fathers, according to Jumeer. 52 But, this did not secure access into ‘good society’; in fact, these children were ostracized both by the Whites and the Indians.
A similar story unfolded, when

Reference 337 - 0.01% Coverage

Representations’ below.
In his sometimes
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
‘Political Representations’. 2.2. The

Reference 338 - 0.01% Coverage

Cerveaux, a Roman Catholic priest,
on 1st February, 1993, and elaborated upon in an interview in the Week-End a week later, existed among the Coloured, even during the French colonial period and during the first half of the nineteenth century. And as if to further emphasize the loss of an identity that had been so hard to
Truth and Justice Commission 457

Reference 339 - 0.01% Coverage

definition of 68 according to
Chaudenson, then this term ‘General population’ was used by Colonial Authorities to create a new melting-pot that would deprive minorities, such as the Coloured, of their true identities. And, of course, the Ti-créoles were to remain throughout even more invisible. Chan Low and Reddi argued that “the overall impact of a century of racism, racialisation and cultural oppression was to further deprive the Creoles of a petty [petite] bourgeoisie capable of forging their emancipation […] In 1920, in a population of 75,000, 5,000 constituted a coloured élite, 20,000 a petty [petite]
bourgeoisie of dark colour, possibly

Reference 340 - 0.01% Coverage

et de France had imposed
the Catholic religion on the slaves ; Article 1 stipulated : “Tous les esclaves qui seront dans les Isles de Bourbon, de France, et autres Établissements voisins seront instruits dans la religion catholique apostolique et romaine, et baptisés […]” 77 In fact, this was a concession to the role of religious instruction, since in the Code des Antilles (1685), slaves were meant to be baptized first, before receiving instruction. Yet, it is clear that religion meant very little to the slaves or freed slaves. 78 The work, done by Lazaristes, in the early French colonial period, among slaves and freed slaves, was to have a long-lasting impact:
79 “Above all, they took

Reference 341 - 0.01% Coverage

British authorities, as demonstrated below.
During the French colonial occupation (1721-1810), Education for white children was
provided by private and fee

Reference 342 - 0.01% Coverage

priest and chaplain, who gave
the school the name Collège de l'Isle de France, where classes were held from 5 October, 1778 on. In recognition of this innovation, the French administrators applauded "a project formed to establish in this town [Port Louis] a College for the Creoles of the colony." 95 This school or college, however, appears to have been restricted to white children. A boarding school for girls was, likewise, founded in 1781 by Veuve Dufour and Marguerite Poupelain, who applied for permission on 16 February, 1781.
Since the fees for boarding

Reference 343 - 0.01% Coverage

earlier endeavours (1826).
They stressed
once more the vital need for a "Central College destined exclusively for the Coloured youths, a project submitted to your predecessor […] We long, indeed, for the realization of this project […] but since we had only obtained a personal subscription of 100 piastres from the Governor of the colony, it became impossible to envisage the completion of this project." 109 From 1830 on, Coloured leaders continued to plead for access to Education, while deploring the conditions in which their community laboured and the civil and political prejudices which confronted them. Despite the Ordinance of 1829 stipulating that in future, there would be only two categories of people, Free and Slaves, the Human Rights of the 'Coloured Population' continued to be ignored. The two petitions of 1826 and 1830 had been largely ignored by two unsympathetic Governors, Lowry Cole and Colville, who rejected the 1830 address, while showing his personal antipathy to the Coloured leaders. 110
Truth and Justice Commission 464

Reference 344 - 0.01% Coverage

on 27 January, 1811. The
'Education Project' has drawn attention to the necessary admission of Coloured boys for the first time in 1832. While a few private schools existed for Coloured children at primary level, it was only in 1835 that Michel Severimoutou opened a Colonial Academy for boys and girls in PlaineVerte.111 From 1818, the 'so-called' English scholarships were opened to white boys only and allowed them to become lawyers and doctors at U.K. Universities. Meanwhile, the enlightened Lord Glenelg, as Colonial Secretary, expressly ordered Governor Nicolay in 1836 to liberalize education.
For in 1836, he had

Reference 345 - 0.01% Coverage

force until the abolition of
slavery in Mauritius, consecrated first in the Code Delaleu (1767), and then in the Code Decaen (1804). Articles 5-9 of the Code Noir prohibited sexual relations between Whites and slaves; Articles 11-16 imposed strict restrictions on their movements; Articles 21 and 22 stipulated that the fruit of their labour belonged, not to slaves but to their masters, and the notorious Articles 39-47 proclaimed that slaves had no status (civil or political) and were reduced to the conditions of 'chattels' [meubles], which masters could sell, as they wished. 121 On 4 February, 1794, a Decree of the Convention abolished slavery in the French colonies, except for Martinique, but on 17 July, 1802, Napoleon Bonaparte was to restore it in all French colonies, in agreement with the legislation that preceded the Revolution of 1789. 122
During the French period, the

Reference 346 - 0.01% Coverage

of slavery in 1793, the
Colonial Assembly of Isles de France and Bourbon debated, and endeavoured to legalise, the human rights of slaves and 'Coloured people'. In 1791, even before the first Abolition, the Assemblée Coloniale of 8 September, decreed the necessity to uphold Justice and declared: "Coloured people, born of free fathers and mothers, will be admitted to all future parish and colonial assemblies, if they have the required qualifications." 124 The same Assembly affirmed that Municipalities would register as electors "Coloured citizens born of free fathers and mothers, who meet all the criteria stipulated by the Constitution." It proclaimed: "All Citizens are equal in the eyes of the Law." 125
However, at its sitting of

Reference 347 - 0.01% Coverage

while stressing the rights of
Coloured citizens, stated that foreigners and free Coloured individuals would only be declared French citizens after a period of five years as residents in the colony. The strongest support for Coloured citizens came in Article 15: "All Frenchmen, having rights as citizens, are eligible throughout the colony." 126 This clearly signifies that all 'free' citizens were equal and that "all posts, employment and other public functions" would be filled through a system of meritocracy, a belief reinforced by the Assembly on 3 December, 1793. 127
With the advent of the

Reference 348 - 0.01% Coverage

those nice sentiments were lost
sight of. The divisions among the Coloured leaders did not help their cause; Hitié argues rightly that in the 1820s and 1830s, many supported Adrien d'Epinay because they were themselves landowners and possessed slaves. 128 But the decisions of the Colonial Assembly, summarized above, rankled in the light of prejudices aimed at their community. Napoleon's decision arrested the progress of Human Rights for 'Coloured people' for thirty years; Hitié argued: "It is such a great monstrosity that it had the effect of a retrograde step of 30 years in terms of the rights of Coloured Population." 129 Throughout the 1820s, 1830s and 1840s, in their political representations to a succession of Governors, Coloured leaders were to come back again and again to the decrees of the Colonial Assembly (1791-1793).
Having received many written representations

Reference 349 - 0.01% Coverage

Coloured leaders in 1832, Lord
Gooderich, Secretary of State for the Colonies wrote an open letter to Sir William Nicolay, in defence of the rights of free slaves and 'Coloured people'. 130 Adrien d'Epinay, while publishing the letter in the Cernéen, which referred to the decisions of the Colonial Assembly discussed above, rebutted the Colonial Secretary's arguments.
The response, signed also by

Reference 350 - 0.01% Coverage

DE COULEUR – THE 'COLOURED POPULATION'
since the 1790s, and that the fiery language, used by Lord Gooderich, was potentially divisive and was likely to cause trouble in the colony. In any event, why had the British Government not
granted the 'Coloured Population' its

Reference 351 - 0.01% Coverage

was made to the French
decrees of May 1791, April 1792 and February 1794: "Coloured men, residing in French colonies, born of free parents, are entitled to enjoy the rights and privileges of French citizens; among others, the right to vote in the elections for their representatives and be eligible for parish and colonial assemblies […] The Act of 4 April, 1792 proclaims that free blacks in the colonies must enjoy the same benefits political rights as Whites." The signatories are unknown, but the published letter was addressed to Sir William Nicolay, Downing St., and dated the 28 October, 1832. 133 One sad, albeit, realistic footnote to this letter is an acknowledgement that not all 'Coloured people' were intent on vindicating their rights, and that many had even lost sight of them.
4.2. A Sustained fight

Reference 352 - 0.01% Coverage

Histoire de l'Église, justifiably remarks
about the 1830s: "Splits and divisions broke out in the colony, with a French party, an English party, a White party and a Coloured party." 137 And the 'Coloured Population' moved freely between all those interest groups.
"[After 1810] the free slaves

Reference 353 - 0.01% Coverage

the glorious involvement of Coloured
individuals in Mauritian politics on a grand scale. Le Mauricien, under a young, Raoul Rivet, who had replaced Eugène Henri, became, in Teelock's words, "the organ of a political movement," supporting, as it did the Revision Movement, led by Alfred Gellé, Gaston Gébert and Dr. Reynolds Laurent. They proposed a House of Representatives of 21 members, of whom 17 would come from the 'General Population' and 4 from Asian communities. The subsequent events are described in detail by Vijaya Teelock and need not detain us. 167 The contribution to Mauritian politics of Coloured individuals is well-known: Emmanuel Anquetil (1885–1946), Unionist and Politician; 168 Eugène Laurent, Lawyer and

Politician (1823-1901; D.M.B., pp. 921-922); 169 Dr. Maurice Curé (1886-1977, D.M.B., pp. 1969-1973; Doctor and politician and founder of the Labour Party); Guy Rozemont (1915-1956; D.M.B., p. 931; Secretary-General of the Labour Party in 1941; third President in 1947, an eloquent and charismatic orator, who was the first elected member for Port Louis at the General Elections of 1948 and was re-elected in 1953); Raoul Rivet (1896-1957), Journalist of international renown and Politician, who helped to set up the Union Mauricienne in 1924: “His ideal was to shake off the apathy of the thinking élite towards the Colonial Authorities” (D.M.B., p. 899). So many other notable members of the Coloured community come to mind, as regards their active role in politics. Perhaps a Ph.d thesis will one day be written on the subject. The culmination of waves of political action of this community was the arrival upon the scene of the ‘King of Creoles’, Gaëtan Duval, a lawyer with a silver tongue and a brilliant mind, totally devoted to the cause of his community, the greatest ‘Coloured tribune of them all’, Leader extraordinaire of the ‘Parti Mauricien’. The traditions of political activism have been taken over and upheld by his son, Xavier Luc Duval, now at the helm of the P.M.S.D. It is left to past and future biographers of Gaëtan Duval (e.g. Alain Gordon-Gentil) to describe at length, and in meticulous details, the achievements of the Champion of Creolité from the 1950s onwards.
From Sir William Newton in

Reference 354 - 0.01% Coverage

and indentured labourers from India.
While blood-mixing ('métissage') prevailed in the colony before 1766, the Code Noir
institutionalised a rigid colour bar

Reference 355 - 0.01% Coverage

persons with a privileged position
within 192 the Colonial
Administration. Under the 'concession' system

Reference 356 - 0.01% Coverage

204
5.4. Political representation
The beginnings of political representation in Mauritius dated back to the French Revolution. When the French Revolution reached Mauritius and the first Colonial Assemblies were set up in 1791, they were monopolized by the Whites, mostly planters and 'négociants'. As a result of this, the 'Coloured population' sought political citizenship and was initially opposed by the Colonial Assemblies. The reason was that the Whites feared that granting political citizenship to the 'Libres de couleur' would lead to the emancipation of the slaves.
205
But eventually, the 5th

Reference 357 - 0.01% Coverage

emancipation of the slaves.
205
But eventually, the 5th Colonial Assembly of 1794 granted the 'Libres de couleur' the right to 206

This increased liberal attitude of

Reference 358 - 0.01% Coverage

elite to the 'Libres de
participate in the political life of the colony, in accordance with the Decree of the 1789 Constituent Assembly.
couleur' was the result of

Reference 359 - 0.01% Coverage

Farquhar, allowed the White landowners
to set up the 'Conseils de Commune', which were local political assemblies inspired by the Colonial Assemblies of the Revolutionary period. The role of these 'Conseils de Commune' was to administer the local affairs, mainly on the issues of money, supplies and public health.
209 210 The criteria of

Reference 360 - 0.01% Coverage

the 'Coloured' population's political participation.
in 1821. The 1832 Constitution granted some political rights to the White elite in the Colony. The White planters obtained a political

Reference 361 - 0.01% Coverage

planters were denied political representation.
In 1846, the British Colonial Authorities gave the 'Coloured' planters access to the 211 Legislative Council as non-official

Reference 362 - 0.01% Coverage

Rodrigues sets it apart, and
highlights its differences, from Isle de France/Mauritius. Clearly, there were several aborted attempts by the French to colonise the island before 1750, when a “small permanent colony” was established. 221 During his well-documented visit, Abbé Pingré found 100 people living on Rodrigues, including about ten Frenchmen, although from those 100 must be deducted the two crews of small French ships. 222 In 1803, General Decaen ordered the few colonists and their salves to evacuate the island, for fear of a British invasion that subsequently took place in 1809, through a landing at Anse aux Anglais.
‘start-stop-start’ colonisation under

Reference 363 - 0.01% Coverage

discussed much. Freed slaves, who
came from Mauritius after Abolition in 1839, were fishermen. They lived or survived through work, even though their skills were limited: ‘Rouges’ later often referred to the work of descendants of slaves as

sloppy, and the phrase ‘travail Zhabitants’ has survived to designate ‘unsatisfactory work’. ‘Rouges’ were not just fishermen and pastoralists; a few were excellent carpenters, as for ‘Ton. Bébert Rose’, who built some excellent colonial homes at Port Mathurin. Other members of the Rose family had cattle at Baie du Nord or Baie aux Huîtres, while also repairing and building ‘pirogues’.
6.4.3. A Member

Reference 364 - 0.01% Coverage

a criticism that is frequently
voiced is: “If Rodrigues were a Hindu colony, the population would be taken better care of.” The amount of money spent on libraries by the Mauritian Government is ludicrous; the collections do not allow for project work or research by school children. Hence, Rodriguan adolescents struggle to reach the same standard as their Mauritian counterparts, through no fault of their dedicated teachers. The Kreol language is unanimously accepted by all communities; hence, the fight is won in this respect.
It is a strong unifying

Reference 365 - 0.01% Coverage

manumitted slaves and of free
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.
7.2. Methodology We have

Reference 366 - 0.01% Coverage

then slavery could be justified.
After the abolition of slavery and the achievement of independence from colonial rule, racist discourse was perpetuated to continue the social and economic oppression of slave descendants. The economic system of capitalism in these states (including Mauritius) needed an oppressed working class so that profits could be maximised.
system came from crude interpretations

Reference 367 - 0.01% Coverage

century. These individuals brought with
them the discourse of Enlightenment which promoted not only the pursuit of science and discovery but also the supposed ‘protection’ of lesser races from themselves. Thus at this early stage already (and with the reinstitution of the Code Noir in 1804, initially decreed by Louis XIV in 1685), there was a potent discourse of race that was being formed in the European colonies.
However, the story and discourse of racism predates this period. Briefly, while the first slaves arrived in Mauritius under Dutch colonial rule in 1638, slavery was already thriving or at least, gathering momentum among European powers. In 1452, Pope Nicholas V Papal Bull Dum Diversas empowered the King to enslave non-Christians. Although slavery was not legal in the Netherland but it was justified

outside of it. Thus between 1596 and 1829 hundreds of thousands of black Africans were sold in the Dutch territories of Guiana, the Caribbean and Brazil. From 1700 Britain joined France, Portugal and the Netherland as major slave traders. However, while there is a better sense of the experience of slavery (and ultimately of racism) under French rule in Mauritius, it is not exactly clear how the first Dutch settlement was managed. One does not obtain a sense of the specifics of social relations between those enslaved and their masters at that time. This is not helped much by the fact that the accounts of slaves themselves are scarce. As Sidney Mintz argues, we do not know enough about what the slaves thought of their experience and how they actually related to their masters (1992). It is therefore clear that more in-depth research is needed on social relations in the period of slavery. There were substantive responses to slavery and scientific racism from the mid 19th to the early 20th Centuries. A discussion of these however, is beyond the scope of this report. However, it is important to keep in mind that the race discourses generated during the years of slavery are still apparent in Mauritius today.
Class and Race
Karl Marx

Reference 368 - 0.01% Coverage

Mauritius today.
Class and Race
Karl Marx argued that slavery involved the 'primitive accumulation of capital' (Marx 1906:738)4 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).5 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
to discuss and seek ways

Reference 369 - 0.01% Coverage

DISCOURSE, POLICY, PRACTICE AND EXPERIENCE
Belonging to a community also correlates with a certain standard of living for elites. FrancoMauritian families were considered the wealthiest in Mauritius, in that they owned big houses or bungalows with electric gates, security guards and alarm system, complete with an expensive car, a big dog, a pool and large tended-to garden. They were the population group who owned a second [holiday] home on the coast. Franco-Mauritians have servants – a cook, a cleaner, a childminder and a gardener – who are often not paid well or treated with respect (Personal communication, FV, Black River, 5 June 2010). Franco-Mauritian families send their children to private schools and most Franco-Mauritian children have opportunities to study abroad once they have completed school. They indulge in leisure activities – such as going to the beach, hunting, horse-riding, water-sports and overseas vacations. They only travel by car, never by bus, and shop in expensive shops and boutiques (Observation, Tamarin). Such depictions suggest a flamboyant lifestyle, reminiscent of colonial living. These descriptions, used to name and explain the position of Franco-Mauritians say something about the creation and upkeep of a colonial discourse of Franco-Mauritian that no longer applies within independent and modern-day Mauritian society. We need to remember that FrancoMauritians cannot be characterized; their identity is not set in colonial stone.
Belonging is further maintained through

Reference 370 - 0.01% Coverage

a different way of behaving.
Yet, defining the Franco-Mauritian as an elite is too sweeping. Even during colonial settlement, the European whites were not all considered racially privileged, e.g. the poor whites were not afforded the highest status. The colonialists were a diverse group of Frenchmen, some escaping the economic depression in rural Brittany, looking for greener pastures and a new beginning. Their racial superiority and power, under the colonial system, was defined by their possession of slaves after 1780s. This was an important marker of wealth and status (Salverda, 2010:72). They maintained their superiority and racial solidarity through the whiteness of their skin, the land and slaves they owned, and the French culture and way of life. The consolidation of a Franco-Mauritian elite took place through family ties, and business networks and marriage alliances.
In 1928, the Colour Bar

Reference 371 - 0.01% Coverage

and as our researcher noted:
The Franco-Mauritian interviewed so far do not all consider themselves privileged of 'elite'. While their historical privileges construct Franco-Mauritians as a privileged and dominant minority, a look at contemporary Mauritius aids in conceptualising the Franco-Mauritians as not so privileged any longer. Such normalised depictions of the Franco-Mauritian lifestyle were sometimes evident in interviewees' discussions and by observing their homes and where they lived. But mostly, their spendthrift nature was not apparent. Franco-Mauritians nowadays no longer enjoy the wealth and prestige that their colonial ancestors once did and the modern realities of Franco-Mauritian identity show that their identities are in flux.
BLC speaks to many different

Reference 372 - 0.01% Coverage

DISCOURSE, POLICY, PRACTICE AND EXPERIENCE
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.
In an interview49 conducted by

Reference 373 - 0.01% Coverage

people.
The Continuing Economic Disparities
The problem of racism is that it did not end with the abolition of slavery, the abolition of the Colour Bar in 1928, the achievement of Independence from colonial rule or even the various amendments to the

Mauritian Constitution. Our research team found that the economic legacies of slavery (economic inequality, lack of access to the means of production and ownership), continue today.
In fact, the extracts noted

Reference 374 - 0.01% Coverage

knowledge to do the work…)
This tendency to prefer qualified foreigners especially White people to qualified Mauritians can be considered as a legacy of colonialism whereby Whites and Europeans were seen as superior. This racist practice is seen as normal and is disguised under the justification of preserving cohesion amongst the staff, preserving the organisation's culture and ensuring the integration and adaptation to the organisation culture as mentioned by the President of the Mauritius Employment Federation (MEF).
Another reason put forward by

Reference 375 - 0.01% Coverage

and its legacy more enduring.
That a system and policy of affirmative action be implemented in Mauritius to address the social and economic imbalances created and fostered under slavery, indenture and colonialism. This system and policy of affirmative action must take into account that slave descendants in particular have been discriminated against in employment, access to land and a range of resources (including for example, bank loans). In the first instance, women of slave and indentured descent should benefit from this system of affirmative action. While it is acknowledged that it is presently difficult to define who is a slave/indentured labour descendant, policy-makers (and Government) should ensure that positive discrimination occurs. This might also require a moratorium on the employment of White and Males for a specified period of years.
4.
There should be a

Reference 376 - 0.01% Coverage

selected group of stakeholders.
14.
Institutions must desist from promoting the celebration of difference in our society, especially that which confirms fundamental or primordial difference between Mauritians. To this end (while recognising diversity), it needs to pay careful attention to primordial discourse. Any reference to the fundamental qualities of indentured descendants versus slave descendents VS. Colonial descendants should be avoided. Such primordial 'talk' emphasises racial distinctions and promotes discrimination. Members of our political leadership must set the example by not using 'hate speech' involving racial epithets and/or discussions on the fundamental racial or ethnic qualities of our population. 'Hate speech' must become illegal.
15.
Positive discussion on diversity

Reference 377 - 0.01% Coverage

was a consequence of indenture.

Some fundamental questions were: How was the caste system lived and experienced by indentured s. What was the situation with descendants today? Is the caste system, as it is lived today in Mauritius, a consequence of indenture? Is there evidence that the colonial powers used the caste system as an instrument of social control? If so, what were the consequences? Is the Mauritian caste system discriminatory and, if so, who, among the indentured s and their descendants, suffer from it? What links can be established between the Mauritian caste system and the current identity and national construction processes?
Considering the omnipresent taboos linked

Reference 378 - 0.01% Coverage

modern context of class society.
Indeed, along with globalization and the balance of powers in modern Capitalism, Indian society has, like others, integrated class logic. As early as the end of the 19th century, an Indian elite appeared and became the core of the independence and Nationalist movements. This elite has characteristics other than the caste criteria. Education, jobs, and relationships with the colonial powers were important criteria required to belong to this elite. And so, the discourse by this elite that prevailed during Nationalist struggles against the colonial powers and then through the destiny of independent India, adopted a great part of the vision of a modern India that would leave behind the structure of castes, thought to be archaic and confined to village life. However, it is difficult to ignore the fact that most of this elite belonged to the higher castes.
Nothing indicates that the importance

Reference 379 - 0.01% Coverage

most oppressed in Indian society.
Castes, Colonialism and Democracy: Governance, Census and Positive Discrimination
Several writers stress the role of the British Colonial Powers in the hardening of the caste system in India. The British attempted census-taking of the Indian population to categorize it in order to govern more efficiently. They thus contributed (unintentionally for some) to fossilize social realities that were more flexible that they had believed. The necessity for a person at the time to declare his caste, and the stakes behind a written classification, once for all, linked to a national hierarchy (whereas castes were village-bound or regional, to start with) gave a new reality and a new meaning to a system that the British, themselves, condemned for its discriminatory nature.
For others, it is the

Reference 380 - 0.01% Coverage

the dominating and the dependent.
It can be said that political circumstances (colonialism, vote-catching in modern democracy) have partly manipulated caste hierarchies in order to support identity claims or access to privileges. Portraying castes as uniformly negative, highlighting their hierarchical function and freezing their inherent stability prove that the caste system and its logical tenets are misunderstood in the West.
We have to bear in

Reference 381 - 0.01% Coverage

indenture.

Individual situations were very
different from one another, between the Sepoy fleeing colonial repression, the indebted peasant and the migrant looking for a better future.
The majority of the indentured

Reference 382 - 0.01% Coverage

conclusion.
• Leaving the Indian territory
Let us first quote a very common discourse, contemporaneous with indenture: that of the Hindu Nationalist ideology in India. This ideology arises in India the second half of the 19th century with the anti-colonial and nationalist movements. The necessity for arousing a feeling of unity led some leaders to foster the idea of a unique land linked by Hinduism. It is based on the idea that India is, consubstantially and exclusively, Hindu.2 The Indian landscape is identified with a Hindu Goddess (Bharat Mata, 'Mother India'), which is restated and built by pilgrimage networks linking the various Hindu sacred places all over India (Claveyrolas, 2008). As a result of such an ideology, Muslims and Christians cannot claim an Indian identity: "In India, one can only be Hindu' (ibid). But this ideology also stresses that one can only be Hindu in India.
A second, and more recent

Reference 383 - 0.01% Coverage

of positive discrimination about castes
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.
First of all, sixty years

Reference 384 - 0.01% Coverage

with caste consciousness.
• Census corrections
Opposite to the uncertain results of quota policies, we would recommend to be cautious about fossilizing and reinforcing casteism through official recognition. Remember the role of British colonial power in the fossilization of caste categories in 19th century India. We mentioned both a social control motivation ("divide and rule") and a perverse side-effect of the will to categorize the population. Once again, Mauritius illustrates such a process. Mauritian census categories fossilize the difference between "Indo-Mauritians" and the "general population". Both categories are grossly misleading. "Indo-Mauritian" evokes a mixed couple (an Indian woman with a Mauritian man, for example) or an individual with both nationalities (Indian and Mauritian), rather than someone being Mauritian of Indian origin. As for the "general population", it has often and rightfully been denounced as a useless and disrespectful residual category.
Truth and Justice Commission 663

Reference 385 - 0.01% Coverage

so-called "socio-cultural associations".

No positive evidence has been found concerning colonial power or estate owners widely using castes as a means of social control of the labor force in Mauritius. Nevertheless, one has to be cautious about the fact that categorizations born during or even after indenture, and certainly being fossilized since then, represent a danger for the Mauritian nation, and an obstacle to its unity.
• Penalizing caste discrimination
First of

Reference 386 - 0.01% Coverage

Diversity» first promoted by Nehru.
In India, universal laws, enforceable to all citizens, are penal, administrative and commercial laws. But such laws coexist with other laws (family and succession laws, mainly) differing according to confessional belongingness. Such personal laws are monitored by the same unitary State. Note that the differential treatment of religious communities had already been set up by the British colonial power.
However, such tolerance raised certain

Reference 387 - 0.01% Coverage

bulk of slave descendants, more
importantly, economic competition after 1835 between «ex-engagés» and «ex-apprentis» left the latter in a marginalized situation since the colonial policies did not provide any form of training and access to land was denied to them. Competition is therefore set both within the community and among other communities, in a situation when “ex-apprentices” have to survive without hardly any asset. We know from conflict theories that competition for restricted resources accentuates categorization and social conflicts, giving rise both to negative discrimination towards more fragile groups and favoritism to members of one’s group.
We have to study more

Reference 388 - 0.01% Coverage

even use splitting defense mechanism.
Churches, however, played and continue to play a pivotal role in the search of identity, social and political recognition among slave descendants. Whether as a means of upward social mobility or obtaining social recognition, it is a fact that identity issues here are closely related to religious ones. These are intimately interwoven as it appeared in “ Le Malaise Créole” , mentioned before, rendering them all the more complex, combining race and class elements in a structure of power. Church hierarchy, heavily drawn along colonial lines, is nowadays challenged and visions of faith, inclusive of popular Creole culture are generating new patterns of identity, more respectful of repressed African or Madagascan traditional beliefs.
5.1.2.2 New

Reference 389 - 0.01% Coverage

set up within the dominant
colonial culture. Rejection of the past, especially with the African folklore in

Reference 390 - 0.01% Coverage

Report examines the patterns of
inclusion and exclusion during the colonial period. It argues that the denial of education to the children of slave descent and indentured labour meant that the oppressed, (for a very long time) could not reverse the unequal power relation, could not access
what they possessed and had to remain subjugated to the colonisers. The abolition of slavery and the arrival of indentured labour from India in the 19th century not only changed the demographic profile of the island, but also provoked a different response from the Colonial Government in as far as education is concerned. The colonial education project was a violent one and harmed the colonised in diverse ways. The role of institutions, particularly the Church, in repressing the culture and identities of the non-white is also discussed.
The democratisation of education during the post-colonial period opened up several
windows of opportunity, but discriminations and inequities persisted. Several legislations marked educational developments both in the colonial and post-colonial period, but legislations are not enough to create equitable outcomes, as the Report demonstrates.
The Report argues that, whilst post-colonial education has contributed to producing a
greater pool of expertise and

Reference 391 - 0.01% Coverage

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.
After the abolition of slavery and the arrival of indentured labourers, things started changing somewhat. The British Colonial Government was somewhat more willing and disposed to look into the educational requirements of the population but despite this, education was still largely limited to some sections of the society.
The imposition of a colonial curriculum on the descendants of slaves and indentured labour
meant that a large part of their being and their experiences had to be put aside. Oral culture, which constitutes a central component of the people's lives, was not given its rightful place. Schooling was dominated by a written culture and a curriculum impregnated by the colonisers' culture and language. In the post-colonial period, some progress towards Mauritianisation of the curriculum has been made but the former did not mean an embracing of the local languages.
Educational policy-making has not

Reference 392 - 0.01% Coverage

the most powerful tools towards

reconciliation but a lot depends on how it is organised and delivered and, most importantly, the extent to which equity is embedded in the system. One of the main arguments of this report is that education in the post-colonial period has been made more accessible but not equitable enough. President Wolfenhson from the World Bank has drawn our attention to how and why "pride in one's own cultural identity is key for a community to take its destiny in its own hands" but when schooling, in this case, Mauritian schooling, has for decades repressed the identity of the child, particularly that of the slave descendant, there is an urgent need for reparation.
In order to understand the

Reference 393 - 0.01% Coverage

during the French and British
colonial periods. The role of institutions such as the Church and the part played by some key figures in the education sector is also discussed. It also examines some of the legislations during those two periods and the implications of these for the descendants of slaves and indentured labour. More importantly, the question of linguistic and cultural exclusion and the implications of these for a stratified society such as Mauritius is discussed.
Chapter five first describes the contemporary educational system and explains how education has been democratised during the post-colonial period.
It shows how despite the

Reference 394 - 0.01% Coverage

during the different historical periods.
1.2 The Right to Education During the colonial period, education was largely denied to the colonised. The idea of
education as a fundamental Human

Reference 395 - 0.01% Coverage

even a say. But in
the post-colonial period, Mauritian citizens do have a say, but despite such a say, there is very little that parents of working-class background can do to ensure that their children enjoy the fruit of education and development. The ADEA Report of 2006 for instance notes: "Mauritius has achieved commendable
success in providing universal access

Reference 396 - 0.01% Coverage

is still polarised and fractured.
1.5 A Holistic and Humanist Approach to Education While the fracture and divisions of post-colonial Mauritius are very different to those of the
colonial period, the people of indenture and slave descent have not been able to merge as one. The nation is still in the making and education has a major role to play towards healing people of the hurt and assisting to give meaning and value to 'Otherness'. But such meaning can only flourish and be enhanced when a National Education System allows for what the UNESCO Education Report entitled the 'Treasure from within' highlights. The UNESCO Report on Education for the 21st century states that education should centre around 4 pillars which are:

• Learning to know • Learning to

Reference 397 - 0.01% Coverage

together and • Learning to be.
There is no doubt that the colonial education system was very distant from what Delors was recommending but a question worth posing now is: the extent to which the contemporary Mauritian education system responds to these pillars. Making these pillars central to the education process could assist in achieving more equitable outcomes towards promoting a Mauritian identity, having an appreciation and understanding of 'Otherness' within our multicultural space. In short, a holistic and humanist approach to education can bring about a more just, cohesive society where reconciliation becomes more of a reality.
Truth and Justice Commission 734

Reference 398 - 0.01% Coverage

them have actually discussed the
educational question and the kinds of injustices that pervade the post-colonial education period. When one segment of the population feels that it is being discriminated against and is sometimes a 'victim' of diverse forms and types of injustices, then there is cause for concern and there is a need to decry the injustices and bring remedies quickly. Certain "TRUTHS' do not generally go down very well, especially if those TRUTHS hurt the powerful and those benefiting from the perpetuation of the system but TRUTHS are important since the TRUTH serves the needs of those asking for greater transparency and accountability and can assist in empowering the marginalised and the most vulnerable sections of society. In short, it can assist in restoring Justice.
2.5 Hansard Hansard refers

Reference 399 - 0.01% Coverage

indentured labour means that these
colonial past events have had consequences which still persist in the present times. Today's need to know about the legacy of slavery continues to provoke new questions and
deeper research into the historical

Reference 400 - 0.01% Coverage

to be fundamental Human Rights
The fact that indentured labourers came during the British colonial period, after the Abolition of slavery, meant that their rights have not been impinged upon to the same extent as the slaves.
3.3 Consequences of enforced

Reference 401 - 0.01% Coverage

1 Internalization of certain 'biases'
While control was not exactly of the same nature, the indentured labourers were also subject to diverse forms of oppression and harassment. Ex-indentured immigrants who had completed contracts and went

around looking for alternative jobs were defined as vagrants and arrested by the Colonial Authorities. The latter also
imposed limiting their mobility. passes

Reference 402 - 0.01% Coverage

period. There were Indian slaves,
convicts, skilled workers, sailors, artisans, traders from Madras, and most particularly from provinces under French occupation, namely Pondicherry and Karikal on the coast of Coromandel, South of India. The expansion of sugar production as the economic mainstay of the colonial economy, the abolition of the slave trade and the high mortalities amongst slaves (which easily surpassed their birth rates) led to an acute shortage of labour on the island, so that even before slavery had been abolished, the planters were casting about for alternative sources of labour. (Reddi 1984)
During the occupation in 1810

Reference 403 - 0.01% Coverage

ex-slaves on the plantations
and this formed part of a ‘Great Experiment’, as Stanley wrote in 1842 Ordinance. Moses Nwulia (1978, 89) observed: "The apprenticeship system converted chattel slaves into serfs" and it is quite understandable that the ex-slaves left the sugar plantations and settled elsewhere. They had nothing and the overwhelming bulk of the ex-apprentices were reduced to extreme poverty and malnutrition, so that their numbers declined steadily. The withdrawal of the ex-apprentices created a labour crisis for the colony and the Government resorted to the renewed importation of indentured labourers from India in large numbers to save the sugar farmers from ruin and the economy from collapse. The artisans who had been emancipated before 1850 had begun to emerge economically, but the massive arrival of indentured labourers changed the demographic ratio and the new labour situation brought the majority of them to a state of extreme impoverishment.
3.7 The indentured labour

Reference 404 - 0.01% Coverage

AS A TOOL FOR REPARATION
CHAPTER FOUR MECHANISMS OF EXCLUSION IN COLONIAL EDUCATION In this chapter we examine the different mechanisms of exclusion during French and British
colonisation. Although there were some policies which could be considered as genuine attempts at inclusion, our findings indicate that the existing inequalities in our educational system have their roots in some forms of exclusion in the colonial period which have impinged on educational achievements and social mobility. The analysis is grounded in basic historical information, which enables historical reading and discussion, and we engage critically with the events and phenomena to make sense of the past and to better understand the current situation. In a Truth and Justice perspective, “time is regarded not only as a technical measure but a substance loaded with human-given meanings and moral issues” (Ahonen, 2005).
Our approach has been to

Reference 405 - 0.01% Coverage

2011).

education to its citizens.
In 1790, the Colonial Assembly proclaimed that the State had to provide moral and political In 1791, a school in Port-Louis was set up by M. Michelet and called “Le
Collège National” and others were opened with an ephemeral existence. Some private tutors were employed by well-to-do families and their sons and daughters were sent to France to ‘finish’ (refine) their education. They were educated to occupy positions in the naval field. But most of the settlers devoted themselves to the development of the island as an agricultural colony. Those who acquired the rudiments of education joined the clerical staff of the Colonial Administration. But the need to establish an educational system was strongly felt in order to meet the needs of the new socio-economic profile of the French population and also to sustain the French colony.
4.2 Secondary Education for

Reference 406 - 0.01% Coverage

AS A TOOL FOR REPARATION
acquired regional repute and attracted foreign students from other French colonies in the Indian Ocean. Decaen also set up two primary schools for the education of coloured children. This could be considered as an attempt at inclusion, but it was a short-lived initiative as educational policies were more easily influenced by the bigger Whites plantocracy. In the same vein, there were also some early concerns for education of girls.
4.3 Education for girls

Reference 407 - 0.01% Coverage

and mothers as ‘natural’. The
socialization process in the school made the girls highly refined in their manners, while their academic knowledge remained scant. The one female school run by M. Deaubonne, during the French colonial period, closed in 1809. We can well imagine that the vast majority of slave women and girls did not have access to education. Had there been any form of education, it was left to some individual initiatives limited to the generosity of the slave masters. Some Parish priests of the Lazarist Congregation also catered for the education of slaves. However, the forms of exclusion were reinforced with the Napoleonic rule and the restoration of slavery.
4.4 The Colour bar

Reference 408 - 0.01% Coverage

abolished during the French Revolution.
This was highly prejudicial to the Free Coloured population who also aspired for education. Coloured children were excluded from the Lycée Colonial which was reserved for Whites and Europeans only. Decaen had the support of the White population who did not want to have their children sitting next to a coloured child at school. This system established a mode of social stratification in education based on the colour bar.
As Prithipaul (1976) observed, this

Reference 409 - 0.01% Coverage

Prithipaul (1976) observed, this “school

system thus helped maintain the socio-cultural and economic disparities between the different social groups resident in the colony" (p.62). Such a system would consequently impact our national collective memory, and especially on the psyche of the Creole community. The struggle for access of the coloured people to the Lycée, later known as Royal College was led afterwards by Rémy Ollier (1819-1845). This intense struggle of the coloured community would dominate the educational scene till the second half of the 19th century.
Hence, during the French period

Reference 410 - 0.01% Coverage

privilege of the Europeans. Both
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.
4.5. THE BRITISH PERIOD

Reference 411 - 0.01% Coverage

ushered a new rapport de
forces during the early period of British rule (1810-1835). Given that the same former colonial masters still exerted economic and social control over the country, this did not change much the situation of the slaves and also for the coloured population. On the political scene, on the one hand we had the White plantocracy and Catholic Church hierarchy, and on the other, the new British coloniser. Between these two forces was the coloured population who tried to find a way to protect to the best its own interests. Its allegiance was at abeyance, depending on the circumstances and the local forces at play.
The first British Governor, Robert

Reference 412 - 0.01% Coverage

successors developed a policy of
détente with these local forces. British Governors had to secure to the best the interests of the British Empire by adopting an open door policy with the White sugar plantocracy who controlled the economy. But education became an instrument through which the British tried to secure their interests by a tactful policy of gradual Anglicisation. British Colonial policies devised strategies to anglicise the country.
4.5.2 Granting of British Scholarship and Access to Royal College In 1813, Farquhar renamed the Lycée Colonial as Royal College and approved Rev. Jean
Lebrun's project to open schools

Reference 413 - 0.01% Coverage

students for studies in England.
This was a means to anglicise the country but it also led to the emergence of a local elite. It brought, to a certain extent, some forms of inclusion because when the Royal College became accessible to the coloured, boys of African descents (Governor Nicolay as quoted in Ramdoyal, 1975) successfully availed themselves of the opportunity to study in Britain. In fact, the Royal College, then situated in Port-Louis

alone, was a powerful Anglicisation tool, even if French studies remained quite strong. In 1829, by a Council Order, Governor Colville made it possible for coloured people to have access to the Royal College, but it was only in 1832 that Free Coloured students really gained access to that College against the will of White parents. The presence of the coloured students was not appreciated. There was much resistance against their presence. Interest in the education of the slave population also gradually found its way as voices rose from Anti-Abolitionist Societies in Britain and America for the abolition of slavery during the 19th century. British Humanitarianism first appeared in the 1800s and pride in British morality reinforced the arrogance of British Colonial Powers. The British sense of superiority as the world's leader in liberty and representative institutions concurred with their view of themselves as uniquely benevolent among nations. It was within this paradigm that some measures were adopted to improve the conditions of the slaves.

4.5.3 The Negro

Reference 414 - 0.01% Coverage

through education came with the
Mico Charity Schools. In 1835, a sum of £ 25,000 was voted by the British Parliament as a voluntary contribution towards the Negro Education Fund for the erection of school houses in the colonies. In Mauritius, the British Colonial Office decided to place at the disposal of the Trustees of the Mico Charity the sum of £1000 towards the establishment of a Normal School in Port Louis, and a further sum of £780 in aid for the erection of schools towards the instruction of the former slave population. However, the imperial grant channelled through Mico was aimed mainly to transform

Truth and Justice Commission 748

Reference 415 - 0.01% Coverage

Lebrun was a Dissenter, this
created a lot of tension between the Colonial Authorities and both the Anglican and Catholic Churches. Lebrun's work was not limited solely to the provision of education, as he also conducted

Sunday Schools with the study

Reference 416 - 0.01% Coverage

two major difficulties: the medium
of instruction and the procuring of competent teachers. In what language should education be provided to Indians? The colonials wanted to use French as the medium but the Government wanted to use the Asian languages. Even among the British, there were serious debates because some of them wanted the medium to be English. In Government schools, the study of English and French was compulsory but it was not easy for poor children to study and master two foreign languages. On the other hand, trials were made with teachers from India but that proved a failure. In 1876, under Governor Phayre, vernacular schools (Tamil, Hindi, Marathi) were opened on sugar estates. After his

Truth and Justice Commission 749

Reference 417 - 0.01% Coverage

the slave and Indian immigrants.

4.5.6 The Catholic Church as an institution of inclusion and exclusion The role of the Church in education during the colonial period has been ambivalent.
Its
presence in the evolution

Reference 418 - 0.01% Coverage

period has been ambivalent.
Its
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.
The ‘historical retardation’ of the

Reference 419 - 0.01% Coverage

AS A TOOL FOR REPARATION
schools. It was be until 2000 that five secondary schools were opened in regions predominantly inhabited by Creoles of slave descent. College Père Laval was opened in 1996 and four other colleges as from 2006 (viz. Loreto Bambous Virieux, Saint Mary’s West of Petite Rivière, Saint Esprit Case Noyale and BPS Fatima of Goodlands). All other Catholic colleges prior to 2000 were situated in the Lower and Upper Plaines Wilhems regions, which were mainly inhabited by the upper and middle class during the colonial period.
Although some slave descendants did

Reference 420 - 0.01% Coverage

educational opportunities through the Catholic
primary schools and some secondary schools run by the Church, yet class and colour prejudices were prevalent in the colonial period. Each school population had its own socio-economic profile, and access was very much limited to one’s social belonging. But in the case of Creole students of slave descent, few families would venture to seek admission to these schools for their children. This led to the exclusion of a vast majority of slave descendants. However, in the case where we could find some forms of inclusion, they turned paradoxically into mechanisms of social exclusion and control. The case of Notre Dame College is very interesting. This Catholic secondary school, run by the Congregation of the Filles de Marie, opened its doors in 1954 in Curepipe to cater for the education of the girls of the working class.

This case demonstrates the social stratification which existed amongst the Catholic secondary schools, marked by the historical context. Mgr Amedee Nagapen describes the socio-historical context of the foundation of Notre Dame College:
"Comment expliquer l'empressement des Filles

Reference 421 - 0.01% Coverage

education than of social agency.
Hence, the British colonial period was, when compared to the French colonial period, relatively more inclusive than the French colonial period, but despite this, children of slaves and indentured labourers did not benefit from much progress and mobility. Sectarian jealousies and competition amongst the principal Christian churches also contributed to blocking the education of the slave population. The ambivalence of the Church in its actions of inclusion and exclusion also impacted on the educational achievements of both groups.
4.6 Forms of Exclusion

Reference 422 - 0.01% Coverage

In spite of this psychological
trauma, they did show signs of resistance through the sega and other forms of cultural resistance. They reinvented new lifestyles and managed to keep some ancestral traditions which we can see in the popular religion which developed as a subterranean church (Pamlyre, 2008) within the official Catholic Church. Writing about the Mauritian Creole elite, Simmons argues that 'many were becoming Franco Mauritians in all but colour' (Simmons, 1986: 372). This is in line with Sharp (1965) who quoting Macauley, explains that the colonial education system aimed at creating a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, opinions, moral and intellect. The French influence through language, culture and religion led to a far-reaching cultural alienation amongst the slave descendants. This has been compounded by the membership of the Creole community to a French Catholic Church.
Although several initiatives have been

Reference 423 - 0.01% Coverage

when Governor Farquhar approved the
opening of a free day school for children of all classes and colour, including girls, in Port Louis. Although the proposal was opposed by the Catholic Church, a girls' school was opened (Ramdoyal, 1977). In spite of Farquhar's approval, education for girls was also divided along racial lines. A segregationist policy was enforced in the school. Black or Coloured girls were not given access to the school. The White parents threatened to withdraw their daughters, if girls from other racial groups were admitted the school. The school's administration complied because it was not in its interest to antagonise the powerful White community, particularly the French. Amongst the Indian immigrants, traditions compounded the state of neglect of education for girls. Girls' education in colonial Mauritius underwent some further development in 1845, when Bishop Collier of the Catholic Church invited nuns from the Loreto Institute in Dublin, to help further the education of girls in Mauritius (Bunwaree, 1994: pp. 83-84).
However, the Irish Loreto Congregation

Reference 424 - 0.01% Coverage

political, cultural, denominational, gender and
linguistic forms that exclusion took during the French and British colonial periods give an indication of the consequences of slavery and indentured labour. However, we might consider such policies as the opening of the Royal Colleges to the Coloured, the granting of scholarships and vernacular language policy in the early period of British colonisation and other measures in the late period of colonisation. Yet, the sequels of slavery since French colonisation and indentured labour, after the abolition of slavery, were compounded by a series of controlled and uncontrolled circumstances which led eventually to relative inequalities in educational achievements between the slave and the Indentured labour descendants.
Recent research, however, has shown that colonialism did significantly affect development
patterns and that the identity of the colonizing power is important to subsequent growth (see Grier, 1997; Bertocchi and Canova, 1996; Hanson, 1989; and Harrison, 1985). The French Colonial Empire differed greatly from the British in its political and economic treatment of the colonies. Education was a key component in the French philosophy of a centralized Empire. Students were required to speak French, and all vernacular languages were forbidden, which resulted in large numbers
of the population failing to

Reference 425 - 0.01% Coverage

literacy. The British were more
decentralized in their colonial approach. Issues such as domestic policies and budgetary matters were resolved by the Colonial Legislatures. British colonial education policies made a conscious effort to avoid alienating the native culture, by allowing teaching in the vernacular languages and training teachers from the indigenous tribes in Africa and India. But it was the local elite who demanded the same type of education as their colonial overlords because they readily saw its economic and political advantages. This explains why the local elite in Mauritius, during colonisation and after Independence, have not brought about any real significant reform.
Truth and Justice Commission 754

Reference 426 - 0.01% Coverage

liberation and without a national
revolutionary spirit. Opinions were divided on the question of Independence, and it was in an atmosphere of conflicts and tensions that the country achieved its Independence in 1968. Before Independence, schools did not effectively foster an Imperial sentiment in Colonial Mauritius; neither does present Mauritian education foster a Nationalist sentiment.
Education, which can be regarded

Reference 427 - 0.01% Coverage

the development of Patriotism or
Nationalism, did not occupy this role in pre-Independent Mauritius. Neither has it taken up this role after Independence. Hobsbawm's (1964: 166) assertion "that the progress of schools and universities measures that of nationalism, just as schools and especially universities became its most conscious champions" is perhaps correct for 19th-century Europe, but not for Mauritius. If Hobsbawm's meaning of 'schools' can be restricted to an expansion of school places and greater access to knowledge, then this has certainly happened in Mauritius, but no sense of Nationalism, belonging and sharing has actually emerged. There is no nationalist ideology: divisions which existed during the colonial period remain except that they are

now more disguised." During the colonial period, there was nothing to unite the ethnically and linguistically diverse Mauritian population; even their oppression was not enough to unite them. Education too was organised in such a way as to keep the different groups divided. Prithipaul (1976) explains that, although there was an expansion of education in the British colonial period, discrimination on the basis of creed, colour, race and sex persisted in Mauritius. In post-colonial Mauritius, efforts to democratise education continued but issues which speak to equity, cohesion and the making of a nation have remained insufficiently addressed.
5.1.2 The Post-Colonial Period This section details some elements of the first Educational National Plan (1971–1975 Plan)
of politically 'decolonised' Mauritius and

Reference 428 - 0.01% Coverage

Plan grossly neglects Mauritian girls.
Mention is made of opportunity for secondary and vocational training for at least 60 per cent of boys in the age group 15-19 by 1980, but nothing is mentioned for the girls. In this respect the plan reminds us of the situation of the colonial period when girls were strongly discriminated against and were deprived of education. The third objective speaks about a balanced curriculum. The policymakers seem to imply that the inclusion of Technical Subjects and integrated Science at all levels brings about a 'balanced curriculum'. In the years immediately after Independence, the curriculum was very much the same as the colonial curriculum. Attempts to bring about a new curriculum only started when the Mauritius Institute of Education (MIE) was established in 1973. The fourth objective refers to Technical and Vocational education TVE, but there is no indication as to why and how the country should have more of such education.
The Government may have been

Reference 429 - 0.01% Coverage

Hansard, vol. I & II 1982):
"When the Hon. Minister of Education thinks of the reform he has to bring, we should stop this old colonial system of academic education and we should start thinking of real technical education. I would like to stress that point more because, at present, only those who are considered unfit for academic education are being channelled to the technical education whenever it exists. This is very strong because we do not want pupils to think that only those who cannot cope with academic education go for the industrial sector, when we know that much of our economic future depends on that particular sector. Of course, in that light, there is much need for manpower planning."
5.6 Free Education – who

Reference 430 - 0.01% Coverage

people are made to internalise
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.
Truth and Justice Commission 770

Reference 431 - 0.01% Coverage

reparations in relation to Education.
Education in a number of post-colonial societies is still largely seen as the one factor that champions static dichotomies and 'boundedness' of cultural worlds and knowledge systems. And because of the colonial context in which the problematic 'education' was introduced, it is an education at the service of forces with ambitions of dominance. The latter has often been violent and has represented a cultural invasion of such importance that repairing the harm, the wounds and the diverse scars is a daunting task. Questions such as what should be repaired and how to repair remain most pertinent.
In multi-cultural Mauritius, debates

Reference 432 - 0.01% Coverage

actually deponed at the TJC.
7.5 Colonial Education- a violent project and the hearings at TJC
If Colonial Education is essentially a violent project, in Mauritius as in many other parts of the developing world, such violence took the form of hegemony through a particular form of Education: the 'simulacrum of an education system'. Fonlon (1965) notes that Education is repressed where it should have fostered, tamed, instead of inspiring, and enervated rather than hardening. It succeeded in making slaves of its victims, to the extent that they no longer realized that they were slaves, with some even seeing their claims of victimhood as ornamental and the best recognition possible'.
Often those who see themselves

Reference 433 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 796
"For years this little island was regarded as the Sanatorium of the East, and people flocked from the unhealthy heats of India to recover their shattered constitutions in the salubrious air of the Southern colony. But, since the outbreak of Malaria, the conditions have changed. It has been looked upon by the outside world with averted eye."
(Lieutenant-Governor Hubert Jerningham, 1892

Reference 434 - 0.01% Coverage

the dietary intake and nutritional
status of slaves (imported mainly from Madagascar and Mozambique) and Indian indentured labourers, and their descendants on the Island of Mauritius, covering the French (1715-1810) and British (1810-1968) colonial periods, with some comparison with contemporary Mauritians. Those bondsmen were mostly employed as labourers on the sugar plantation. The quality of life of slaves or indentured is a complex topic since each plantation had its own unique way of being run, and their experiences on the plantation differed in their access to food, housing and clothing, and treatment and punishments.
Mauritius had no native inhabitants

Reference 435 - 0.01% Coverage

it was a classic slave

society. Slavery dominated the Mauritian economy and way of life from the earliest colonial times until emancipation in 1835. The economy was dependent on the French planters, who were in turn dependent on slave labour. In between 1807, when slave trade was abolished by the British, and the abolition of slavery in 1835, slaves were illicitly imported from the East African coast to satisfy the labour demand in an expanding sugar economy. With the abolition of slavery in 1835, an alternative form of labour was found in the importation of indentured labourers mainly from India (Boodhoo 2010, Fokeer 1922, Teelock 1998, Valentine 2000).
Although slaves accounted for more

Reference 436 - 0.01% Coverage

economic development was governed by
Labourdonnais's strategic considerations, with emphasis upon producing the foodstuffs and naval stores to the main French expeditionary forces in the Indian Ocean. The arrival of Pierre Poivre as the colony's first Royal Comptroller (1767-72) heralded a serious attempt to encourage the largescale production of tropical commodities such as cotton, indigo and spices. These attempts to transform the Island into a plantation colony failed. Competition from established producers of these commodities, periodic natural disasters which destroyed crops, and the lure of much more maritime activities combined to undercut the island's potential development as a bastion of plantation agriculture. For four decades, the island served as an increasingly important commercial entrepôt (warehouse) for the Western Indian Ocean, especially when the island was designated a free port. The number of vessels calling at Port Louis each year rose from 78 in 1769 to a record high of 347 in 1803 (Allen 1999).
In an attempt to make the colony self-sufficient in food supplies and protect the
inhabitants from famine, Labourdonnais introduced

Reference 437 - 0.01% Coverage

in sugar cane (Allen 1999).
In 1756, while many of the colony's planters became rich as a result of high income derived from their agricultural produce (to meet Government demand for food stuffs and naval supplies), the island could not feed itself and relied upon provisions from Ile Bourbon, Madagascar and India to survive. However, the agricultural sector was overall underdeveloped - in 1766, less than 200,000 of the island's 400,000 cultivable arpents had been distributed to colonists, and less than one-fourth of all granted land had been brought into production. In 1789, only 1,000 arpents were planted in cane and the colony contained only 8 to 10 sugar mills producing a mere 300 tons of sugar a year. On the other hand, the commercial sector was booming as a result of the designation of Port Louis as a free port in 1769. Therefore, the low level of commodity production at that time underscores the colonial propensity to pursue commercial rather than agricultural interests (Allen 1999).
Diet of slaves
Slaves were

Reference 438 - 0.01% Coverage

1974, Fokeer 1922, Teelock 1998).
Apart from common diseases, Dazille also linked the poor health of slaves to their tasteless, monotonous and hard to digest diet based on manioc (often poorly cooked) and brèdes, and only a few could afford a curry of some animal and vegetable products with chillies. The Indian culinary was introduced early into the colony, as early in the 19th century to the Island housed many Indian, as well as African, Malagasy

and Malayan slaves. About 10% of the colony's slaves were of Indian origin, although there was also a community of Indian merchants, artisans and craftsmen (Allen 1991, Dazille 1776).
The slave population grew steadily

Reference 439 - 0.01% Coverage

brought an end to the
island's role as an important regional free port. The island lost its commercial position, and also many of the wealthier inhabitants returned to France with their money leading to the colony's economic hardship. Mauritian colonists eventually turned to sugar production for the imperial market. At the end of the French occupation 1806-10, some 9,000-10,000 arpents were planted in cane. However, it was not until late 1820s that sugar began to dominate the island's economy. In 1825, the repeal of the preferential tariff on West Indian sugar entering Britain revolutionised Mauritian agriculture. The area planted in cane dramatically increased to 51,000 arpents, and the island's metamorphosis into a sugar colony was under way (Allen 1999).
The local slave regime was

Reference 440 - 0.01% Coverage

during the first years of
British rule, it became apparent during the 1820s that the local slave population was inadequate to meet the labour needs of the colony's expanding sugar industry; this situation was compounded by the high mortality among slaves, especially during the cholera epidemic of 1819.
After the
abolition of slavery

Reference 441 - 0.01% Coverage

epidemic of 1819.
After the
abolition of slavery in 1835, as all the ex-slaves abandoned the sugar plantation (as a result of their bitter experience) after their period of apprenticeship (March 1839), indentured labourers were imported from India to supply the colony with cheap labour. By 1846, Indian immigrants comprised more than 35% of the colony's total population and soared to 192,634 in 1861 or 62% of the total population. By early 1880s, importation of Indian indentured labourers already showed signs of exhaustion and ended by 1910 (Allen 1999).
The island was fast changing

Reference 442 - 0.01% Coverage

a calcium deficiency (HMSO 1943).
In fact, in 1939, the Committee on Nutrition in the Colonial Empire (HMSO 1939) noted with regards to the Colonial territories:
i.that the problem of

Reference 443 - 0.01% Coverage

the maintenance of virile populations;
ii.that throughout the greater part of the Colonial Empire there was a low standard of living in which ignorance was an important factor;
iii.that malnutrition was one of the chief causes of the excessive infant mortality in most Colonial territories;
iv.that the single most

Reference 444 - 0.01% Coverage

bring great benefits to the
general improvement in the standard of health and well-being in the Colonies. It made several recommendations to improve nutrition and it was left to each Colonial Government to decide on their application in its own territory. The Committee considered the first requisite was the supply of energy needs and an attempt to increase the quantity of foodstuffs consumed by increasing the variety in order to improve its nutritional quality. Because of the low energy yield per acre of animal products, the Committee recommended a combination of cereals and legumes as nutritionally valuable, as well as soya beans, groundnuts, red palm oil, fruits and green leafy vegetables. Animal products were regarded as most desirable (although their energy yield per acre was low), and livestock production would also contribute to agricultural development. The Committee thought that fish was the animal product which might be more useful than any other in supplementing Colonial diets and encouraged the development of Colonial fishery resources. Although the Committee considered milk to be the 'most valuable of all foods', it pointed to the dangers of contamination of fresh whole milk in tropical climates and considered cheese, curds and ghee to be less risky. It also suggested the import of dried skimmed milk (as a relatively cheap source of protein, calcium and B-vitamins) by the colonies (at any rate for use in bulk) to partially make up for the shortfall in local milk production and increased consumption (HMSO 1939).
2.4.1 Food rationing

Reference 445 - 0.01% Coverage

foodstuffs (that continued until 1945).
The amount available was the bare minimum, and the supplies of animal fats, edible oils and protein were insufficient to maintain a reasonable level of nutrition. As a result, evidence of deficiency diseases increased in hospital and dispensary practice. In 1946, food supplies improved (especially in the case of rice, cattle and salted fish) except for wheat flour, dholl, bacon, ham, salted meat and lard. The food balance sheet of 1948 showed an overall increase in the supplies of some foods, notably rice and fresh milk, but low supplies of B-vitamins. However, the food balance sheet contained insufficient information on locally produced food supplies. It was notable that a high proportion of calories was obtained from sugar (20% of total calories). The colony was
Truth and Justice Commission 815

Reference 446 - 0.01% Coverage

wheat was supplying 42 percent
of total calories, causing a major change in food habit. This change from rice to wheat flour occurred suddenly as a result of the Japanese occupation of Rangoon (Burma) (from whence the bulk of the colony's rice supplies were imported). There was also a marked fall in the supply of pulses, an important source of protein and B-vitamins in the mostly vegetarian diet of the Indian population. However, the

slightly higher protein content of wheat flour compared to rice, made good the protein deficit quantitatively, but not the B-complex vitamins deficit. Rice as the main staple was largely replaced by wheat flour, maize and manioc during the war period (Wilson 1946).
In 1940, nearly 40% of

Reference 447 - 0.01% Coverage

before their arrival to Mauritius.
Data on heights of Indian children in the early colonial period are not available, but a small
study in 1942 on primary

Reference 448 - 0.01% Coverage

they believed that malnutrition was
common among the lower wage-earners of the colony. Those affected were mostly labourers of Indian origin, children and adolescents, pregnant and nursing women. A majority considered that malnutrition had increased during the war period (i.e. up to April 1943), and that there had been deterioration in the health of the working class in the past 25 years (i.e. 1918-43). A majority of doctors
also stated that breastfed infants

Reference 449 - 0.01% Coverage

risk of infectious disease and
early death. Protein-energy malnutrition, for example, plays a major role in half of all under-five deaths each year in developing countries. In 1942, Mauritius, with an infant mortality rate of 163 per 1,000 live births, was among the highest in the British colonies (Cf. Seychelles 55‰ and Fiji 63‰), (WHO 2000, Proc. Nutr. Soc. 1946).
Indian labourers The majority of

Reference 450 - 0.01% Coverage

of the speaker (HMSO 1943).
The Committee on Nutrition in the Colonial Empire (1943) observed that:
“The picture is, therefore, that

Reference 451 - 0.01% Coverage

boys were, on average, 600
grams heavier than Hindu boys of the same height. Creole girls were also heavier. This indicates a higher level of malnutrition among Hindu children. The nutritional status of non-school children appeared to be slightly inferior to that of school children. Children who did not attend school, estimated at roughly 50% of the children in the colony, were generally from poorer parents and helped them in the home and in the field (Wilson 1946).
A Nutrition Survey of pre

Reference 452 - 0.01% Coverage

on the Island (Anderson 1918).
In the early 20th century, liquor consumed in the colony was either imported or manufactured locally. Imported liquors included whisky, brandy, gin, vermouth, rum (very small quantities), liqueurs and cordials, wine of every description, ale beer porter and cider. The local product was rum, obtained by the distillation of sugar cane molasses. It was generally consumed as it comes from the distillery, or after having been artificially coloured or flavoured, subsequent to distillation (Rhum préparé). Later, large quantities of "prepared rum" on the market were replaced in the form of local "brandy" or "liqueurs" (Balfour 1921).
By the mid-20th century

Reference 453 - 0.01% Coverage

and wine (FAO 1961, 2007).
5 NUTRITION AND HEALTH EDUCATION 5.1 Multiracial population In a colony with formerly a majority of illiterates, with diverse racial, religious and social
habits and customs, mass awareness creation was found to be a prerequisite to any activities in the field of health and nutrition. Some success was obtained in dealing with the heterogeneous population of this colony, with a population of 425,000, of which 60% were of Indian origin (Hindus, Muslims, and Chinese), 35% Coloured and 5% European. The Hindus were mostly semi-vegetarians (and would eat only goat meat, fish and eggs) although some were vegans (abstaining from all flesh foods and eggs). The Muslims ate beef, avoided pork and fasted during Ramadan. The White and Coloured communities had, in general, the same food habits and had taken to the liberal consumption of rice, curries and spices. As with all insular communities, changes and new ideas were generally unpopular (Wilson 1946).
5.2 Second World War

Reference 454 - 0.01% Coverage

over the French and British
colonial periods, as a result of changes in the ethnic composition of the population, food supplies consideration and economic transformation of the island. The Island was never self-sufficient in food supplies and always relied on food imports to feed its population, despite attempts at food self-sufficiency under French Governor Mahé de Labourdonnais. The basic food staples evolved as shown in Table 2 below.
Table 2: Evolution of staples

Reference 455 - 0.01% Coverage

dietary pattern of the population.
The diet of the working population during the colonial period was predominantly vegetarian
and very small quantities of

Reference 456 - 0.01% Coverage

be on the high side.
The Committee on Nutrition in the Colonial Empire noted that malnutrition was one of the

main causes of the excessive mortality in most Colonial territories and that the single most striking feature was the almost total absence of milk and animal products from most tropical diets (HMSO 1939). In Mauritius too, the infant mortality rate was very high (although it fell considerably after Malaria was brought under control) and the main causes were malnutrition and repeated infectious diseases.
As a result of chronic

Reference 457 - 0.01% Coverage

diseases in Mauritius during the
colonial period, the underlying causes of malnutrition were, most importantly, the low standard of living, followed by lack of awareness coupled with certain prejudices. The low standard of living of the labourers was the result of inadequate food rations, low wages insufficient to supplement their rations and too little food provisions from family production or gathering in the wild. The economic policy prioritising the production of cash crop (sugar cane) for export further decreased available land for food production.
In the latter part of

Reference 458 - 0.01% Coverage

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 “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 form 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.”
By September 1792, the death

Reference 459 - 0.01% Coverage

of tropical Medicine, University of
Liverpool, was invited to visit Mauritius and report or measures for the prevention of Malaria in the colony. His recommendations focussed on 3 types of activities:
(a) Treatment of the sick

Reference 460 - 0.01% Coverage

PRE-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD (1917–1968)
In 1917, the population of Mauritius was around 370 000. Slavery was already abolished in 1835 and the indentured labour ended in 1916. The country was under British colonial rule since 1810. Mauritius with its dependencies formed part of the British Empire. The livelihood of its inhabitants was dependent on export of sugar and the British imperial economic policy.
Mauritius was on the move

Reference 461 - 0.01% Coverage

But the health situation was
catastrophic. In a report to the Secretary of State for the colonies on medical and sanitary matters in Mauritius, Dr. A. Balfour wrote “its general unhealthiness had reached a degree unparalleled in any similar tropical dependency of the empire.” He added that Port Louis was regarded as the “filthiest port in the world” and concluded “if only Mauritius were freed from the diseases, which render it notoriously unhealthy its future might be assured”. Furthermore, inside the country there were glaring disparities between what was known as urban and rural areas.
This is spelt out in

Reference 462 - 0.01% Coverage

the health status of individuals.
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?
Two sets of conditions are

Reference 463 - 0.01% Coverage

2. SLAVERY AND INDENTURED LABOUR
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.
To achieve those ends, the

Reference 464 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 868
attempt to mutiny on board the ships, there is report that ‘two guns loaded with grapeshot were kept pointed at the male slaves while bags of nails were ready to be strewn on the decks to hinder movement’ (Barker 2000). Between 1811 and 1827, the mortality rate on slave vessels, sailing from the East African, Malagasy and Comorian ports to Mauritius, was estimated as ranging between 7 % and 20%. Deaths rates among Liberated Africans brought into the colony between 1813 and 1826 and working for British government officials ranged between 20-60% (Stephan Karghoo).
On arrival, once sold and

Reference 465 - 0.01% Coverage

proved to be a failure.
Mahé de Labourdonnais arrived in Port-Louis in 1735 and observed the prevailing degree of ‘anarchy’. The infrastructure to support a colony of settlers was lacking. He observed there were no hospitals, stores, fortifications, navy or army to sustain living conditions and provide security against threats of potential invaders from outside. The fear came also from ‘black maroons who lived as savages in the woods and attacked in gangs the settlements where they committed the greatest of excesses.’ He also related how he ‘discovered the secret of destroying them (runaway slaves) by arming blacks against blacks and in forming a constabulary of negroes from Madagascar who finally succeeded in purging the Island of most of those bandits’.
One of the first actions

Reference 466 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 873
‘The abolition of slavery has rendered the British Colonies the scene of an experiment whether the staple products of imperial countries can be raised as effectually and as advantageously by the labour of free men as that by slaves. To bring that momentous question to a fair trial, it is requisite that no unnecessary discouragement should be given to the introduction of free labourers into our colonies’.
(Stanley to Governor Gomm, 22

Reference 467 - 0.01% Coverage

1842, MA, SA 33/47)
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.’
To what extent these rights

Reference 468 - 0.01% Coverage

OF HEALTH SERVICES IN MAURITIUS
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-ofthe-art cutting edge technologies are creating qualitative and quantitative ‘medical system stress’ for the future.
Building a foundation for medical

Reference 469 - 0.01% Coverage

a Commission to investigate and
report upon the condition and resources of the Colony as regards administration and the financial situation with a view to introduce such economies in the establishments and expenditure as may be possible without detriment to the public interests.
On Medical and Sanitary Services

Reference 470 - 0.01% Coverage

and Ceylon.
match those in
On the issue of Malaria, the Commission believed that the recommendations of Dr. Ross should be carried out to the fullest extent to render the colony more salubrious. The Report on Hospitals (Chapter XX) had recorded that under proclaimed Ordinances,
immigrants were ‘to receive all

Reference 471 - 0.01% Coverage

simply neglectful of their obligations.
 Report of the Committee on Emigration from India to the Crown Colonies
Protectorates, June 1910. The terms of reference of the Committee were the following: •The general question of emigration from India to the Crown Colonies.
and Truth and Justice Commission

Reference 472 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 878
•The particular Colonies in which Indian immigration may be most usefully encouraged. •The general advantages to be reaped in each case: By India itself By each particular Colony
It is interesting to note

Reference 473 - 0.01% Coverage

investigate the sanitary conditions of
the Colony and the measures needed for the general improvement of the health of the population. Of a wide encompassing nature, the document reported on: • Communicable diseases and sanitation • Structure of the Medical and Health Departments • Health conditions prevailing in the country • Medical and
health facilities viz. hospitals including

Reference 474 - 0.01% Coverage

and marketing of certain foods.
Demographic Survey of the British Colonial Empire by R. R. Kuczynski, 1949. Published in 1949, Volume 2 (out of 3) of the Demographic Survey of the British Colonial

Empire gives a very detailed

Reference 475 - 0.01% Coverage

discourage people from drinking excessively.
In many ways, the findings of the reports prior to Independence triggered actions by the colonial administration to redress the prevailing sanitary and public health situations.
Mauritius: Paradise Lost
Comments made

Reference 476 - 0.01% Coverage

health situations.
Mauritius: Paradise Lost
Comments made by some observers and authors were eloquent on the state of sanitation in the colony. In 1920, Dr. Balfour reported 'that despite the many advantages of the Colony, its general unhealthiness had reached a degree unparalleled in any similar tropical Dependency', and concluded that 'it was a case of Paradise Lost, and it remains to be seen if the sequel, Paradise Regained, will ever become an accomplished fact.' He had noted that generally there was a want of cleanliness everywhere on the Island and applicable to the whole population of the Colony. Moreover, about the deficiencies in hospitals, he had complained of an absence of ambulances, laundries, incinerators, disinfecting apparatus, poison cupboards, lavatories and temperature charts.
Making a comparison in the death rates of troops in various British Colonies for the years 1860-1864, Dr. Andrew Davidson reporting into the Causes of Malarial Fever in Mauritius commented that there was only one conclusion to be derived in that the Island was never a healthy place. The mortality was nearly three times that of Great Britain.
10. THE HEALTH SYSTEM IN

Reference 477 - 0.01% Coverage

4 Maternal and Child Health
Maternal and Child Health is one of the corner-stones of any public health measure worthy of its name to tackle maternal and infant mortality. The figures for infant mortality were 161, 141 and 154 per thousand births for the periods 1911-1920, 1921-1930 and 1931-1945. As a comparison, in Britain the rate was around 150 per 1000 births in the 1900's. In his Report, Dr. Balfour made a strong case to start the training of midwives, establishment of a maternity ward at the Victoria hospital and (if possible) a ward for the treatment of infantile complaints related to disorders of nutrition and dietetic diseases. Dr. de Chazal, a Mauritian, made a generous contribution with the prime object that the fund be utilized to provide maternity nurses to the poor women. Through trials and tribulations the Maternity and Child Welfare Society took off the ground on 5th March 1926 and by 1935, it was regarded as a permanent feature in the life of the Colony.
10.5 Training Worldwide, the

Reference 478 - 0.01% Coverage

trapped in non-communicable diseases.
living conditions were undertaken by the colonial Truth and Justice Commission 887

REFERENCES
1.Allen Richard B

Reference 479 - 0.01% Coverage

matters of hygiene and the
public in health matters and trained hospital personnel, Balfour recommended (p.140) the “cultivation of medicinal plants” to alleviate economic difficulties and supplement revenue from sugar so that the colony could invest in public health.
Malaria and Eucalyptus The outbreak

Reference 480 - 0.01% Coverage

called for treatment and advice.
Insane population of the Colony as at 31 January 1958 was 1,292; of these, 62.6% were males and 37.4% were females. Out of these, 588 were at the Mental Hospital and the rest were on probation, on leave and in convents.
The rate of insanity per

Reference 481 - 0.01% Coverage

from that form of treatment.
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.
The usual mode of treatment

Reference 482 - 0.01% Coverage

more recently.
7. SUBSTANCE ABUSE
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.
In the mid-sixties, the

Reference 483 - 0.01% Coverage

are equally guilty.
Slave Trade
The slave trade to Mauritius was started to supply the island with cheap labour and as any commercial venture, as a profit-making activity. Without the establishment of a slave society and economy, there

would have been no Ile de France in the 18th century and no sugar industry in 19thcentury British Mauritius. While the economic contribution of the free persons to the setting up of the colony is amply recognized in daily life (street names, books, plaques, genealogies, buildings and archives) the memory of slaves who built Port Louis' infrastructure, who cleared the land for the first sugarcane, wheat, manioc and indigo plantations, who built and manned the French fortifications and naval squadrons, or provided the domestic labour in all households is barely known or seen in everyday life. Most Mauritians are unaware that the cobbled streets they walk on in Port Louis, the classified fortifications they visit, the 18th-century stone buildings they enter were built with the labour of slaves. The slave trade permitted many in Mauritius and France, to make small or big fortunes that later were invested in estates, land and businesses. Thus the fortunes of many today were built on the prosperity of those who traded and used slave labour in the 18th and 19th centuries.
It is therefore crucial that

Reference 484 - 0.01% Coverage

It is rarely seen as
a product of colonial society and economy, and slaves are not seen as an intrinsic part of Mauritian society in the 18th and 19th centuries. How important was slavery to the economy of Mauritius? What was the value of slave labour? What was the extent of their participation in the economy? What ideology did slavery create in Mauritius? Why was there so much opposition to the abolition of the slave trade? Who benefited from the slave trade? What was the extent of Government participation in the slave trade? Why was there such a big increase in the slave trade in the 1770s?
Organisation of Report
The Slave

Reference 485 - 0.01% Coverage

main support to long-distance
trade, the plantation system, was larger and more efficient in the French colonies than in the British ones.
In past research, the methodology

Reference 486 - 0.01% Coverage

trade on the African Coast.
 Agents or Commissionnaires were in charge of the sale of the cargo on the arrival of a ship in the colonies and worked as intermediaries between slavers and the planters.9
 Indiennes: cloth imported from India

Reference 487 - 0.01% Coverage

Indian workers and artisans.32
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.
When Labourdonnais arrived in Mauritius

Reference 488 - 0.01% Coverage

going on.41
1767 – 1790
When Mauritius became a French Crown Colony in 1767, the Company's monopoly was abolished. An economic boom ensued for the islands. Thousands of slaves were needed to work in the ports and to supply passing ships. A Director for Slave Trading was appointed e.g. Maudave and Benyowski. There was subsequently a huge increase in the slave trade which has been studied and interpreted in various ways by historians.42
Truth and Justice Commission 18

Reference 489 - 0.01% Coverage

not suppressed nor investigated fully
Thus, despite the official relations that may have existed between European countries and their desire to separate their trading spheres, ship Captains, slave traders, merchants did not care too much for these imperial ambitions and carried on contraband trade whenever possible.
Of primes and frauds
According

Reference 490 - 0.01% Coverage

their slaves on time.43
The slave trade could never be profitable for the King, unless France had a monopoly over the slave trade with the Madagacascar. There wee too many people bringing in slaves illegally. If this had been stopped, profits would have been more. A letter of 3 September 1771 outlines this problem clearly: Governor "Desroches n'a pas signé une instruction pour la flûte du Roy La Normandie que M Poivre m'adressa pour le Capitaine de recevoir 8000 piastres à bord et d'en acheter des noirs pour le compte des particuliers nommément du Sr. Amat qui était dès lors parti pour Batavia […] concurrence des particuliers qui font la fraude" […]"qui ne paient ni frais d'armement, ni les autres charges des vaisseaux équipés aux frais et risques des particuliers" […]"le commerce a procuré 7,000 noirs à la Colonie depuis mai 1770 jusqu'à may 1771. En cette année si la fraude reprend, on n'en traittera peut-être pas 700".44
Apart from the fact that

Reference 491 - 0.01% Coverage

TO 1820s Corsairs cum traders
Another feature of the colonial slave trade in the Indian Ocean was that those practicing it did not engage solely in it. They transported other goods as well and, according to Villiers, they very easily shifted from one kind of trade to another. Corsairs turned slave traders when the need arose, and then became planters and merchants, the most famous example being Robert Surcouf. The reconversion course-traite-commerce could be practised in the Indian Ocean. Corsair activity became prevalent when regular trading was no longer possible. That there was a human cargo was
immaterial to the traders. The

Reference 492 - 0.01% Coverage

authorization of slave trade.53

On the 20th June 1802, the Colonial Assembly of Ile de France legalized the slave trade; the same decision was taken by the Colonial Assembly of Bourbon Island on September 28.54 This period was marked by a fierce revival of the French slave trade activities in Mozambique. Eric Saugera55 states that : "La fièvre négrière échauffa les esprits: on arma partout en quelques mois des dizaines de navires pour la Côte d'Afrique. Ce retour à la légalisation du trafic négrier comble les vœux du négoce métropolitain qui souhaitait sa reprise officielle, pour l'humanité, même la morale, et pour nos colonies qui la réclament indispensablement."
Saugera has outlined the slaving

Reference 493 - 0.01% Coverage

TRIANGULAR WAS THE SLAVE TRADE?
It is clear that for the Indian Ocean, the classic picture presented of the slave trade (and for the Atlantic), of a 'triangular' slave trade is not quite accurate. It was traditionally believed that ships left France laden with European goods, went to Africa to exchange them for slaves and then on to the Americas to sell the slaves for colonial goods which were then taken back to Europe. Even for the Atlantic Ocean, this classic piture has its flaws. The reality, as Pétré-Grenouilleau has shown, is that they did not simply import slaves; they also exported them. The same situation existed for the Indian Ocean, as Richard Allen has recently clearly demonstrated.
Historians have concluded that to

Reference 494 - 0.01% Coverage

kinship links were established through
the settlement of a son or a brother in the colonies. Religion played a role as a 'a low-cost screening device'.65 Protestants dominated the trade in La Rochelle, despite the fact they were a numerical minority. Another guarantee against 'agent opportunism, was the "social sanctioning power" of the community. How else did the principal agent ensure that Captains and crew did not engage in practices detrimental to his business? The Admiralty, created to regulate maritime shipping, became a 'third party enforcing agency' and expected written contracts between the armateur and his crew members. Copies were sent to the Admiralty. Incentives were another way of minimising the hiding of information and ensuring the 'optimum effort' was ensured. Thus, in La Rochelle, 'commissions for captain and officers, by tying the pay to output and productivity, served to align the agents' interests with those of the armateur.'66
5 per cent of the

Reference 495 - 0.01% Coverage

in comparing efficiencies of British
Truth and Justice Commission 22 The Colonial Agents received between 2 and
VOL 4 : PART VI – SLAVE

Reference 496 - 0.01% Coverage

selling them for 1600 livres.
A word about currency is necessary here. Livres were used in public offices since the foundation of the island. The Livre was a 'nominal coin value of about one-fifth to about one-tenth of the value of the

Spanish dollar and doublons (the latter being legally current at 16 spanish dollars). However, individuals and companies and Customs kept accounts and subscribed engagements in Spanish dollars. One livre was about $10 (Spanish) in 1790s. With the Imperial Government Rule, the currency used was francs, at the rate of five francs 50 centimes for the Spani dollar. By 1810, 200 hundred sous, ten livres or two rupees of colonial money made one dollar. 75
Where did the funding come

Reference 497 - 0.01% Coverage

4 2 1 1 1
But the main reason for the rise of Marseilles in the slave trade was the prime offered in colonies for every head of slave brought as from 1784.
ST. MALO
In the French

Reference 498 - 0.01% Coverage

have come during Company rule.
Slave trade increased dramatically, according to Saunier, after the French Government offered prime of 40 livres for each tonneau de jauge and 160-200 livres for every slave disembarked in the colonies
ROCHEFORT
The hinterland at Rochefort

Reference 499 - 0.01% Coverage

the most important cargo purchased.
The textile trade deserves a special mention as it plays a major role in the slave trade, due to the demand for cloth in Africa and to the need to clothe the slaves in the colonies. Up to 60% of the cargo would be composed of textiles.122
Truth and Justice Commission 51

Reference 500 - 0.01% Coverage

the late 18th century.136
The fact that by then, there was already a member of the family settled in the colonies was an added factor in facilitating the slave trade.
Furthermore, Eltis and Richardson have

Reference 501 - 0.01% Coverage

The slave trade would also
appear to involve a family network, which linked the port to colonial-based companies (Table 13). In Marseilles, 15% of merchants were Protestants, most of whom intermarried. The Swiss connection meant that financing was more readily secured for their ventures than others.139
We have few detailed individual

Reference 502 - 0.01% Coverage

SLAVE TRADE 1720s TO 1820s
On 13th March 1789, Louis Monneron was elected as a supplementary member of Parliament; he was admitted to the National Assembly on the 11th November 1790, where he presented a memorial on the French colonies, including Isle de France.
Paris to present Memorial before

Reference 503 - 0.01% Coverage

145
According to them, the
French East India Company could neither abandon Pondichéry as it was a strategically-located colony: "Nous pensons même que cette place doit être regardée comme un poste avancé qui défend nos îles; et qu'elle doit opérer une diversion favorable à nos entreprises à la Côte Malabare et dans le Bengale. Il est donc très politique de conserver Pondichéry, d'achever ses fortifications, de le garnir de troupes en quantité suffisante pour assurer sa défense et pour inquiéter les Anglais".146'
Ile de France represented a

Reference 504 - 0.01% Coverage

slaves were purchased for Surinam.
Moreover, the links between the French traders and merchants in the Mascarenes and those in France must be established in order to understand how trade and commerce were practised. Their role in the colonies and in promoting anti-black attitudes in France needs to be documented further, as well their contribution to role as in the economic and ideological institution of slavery.
2. CULTURAL TRANSITIONS IN THE

Reference 505 - 0.01% Coverage

SLAVE TRADE 1720s TO 1820s
In addition to branding, slaves in Mauritius were also found to have scarification patterns on them. Preliminary analysis reveals that some appear to be colonial scars, while others were traditional scarification marks. Further research is required on this that would link these scars to particular ethno-linguistic groups.
The slave registration returns of

Reference 506 - 0.01% Coverage

français mentionnant la traite et
l'esclavage associés à l'Île de France (1715-1810) (Les fonds marqués d'un astérisque ont été consultés ou sondés par Thomas Vernet) Les fonds d'archives français évoquant, d'une façon ou d'une autre, la colonie de
l'Île de France avant la

Reference 507 - 0.01% Coverage

fond d’archives portant sur la
colonie de l’Île de France depuis sa création jusqu’à la conquête britannique. La traite des esclaves, et plus encore la place de l’esclavage dans la colonie, y sont l’objet de mention innombrables tant les administrateurs et les milieux économiques de la colonie sont concernés par la question de la main-d’œuvre servile. La richesse évidente de ce fond pourrait laisser croire qu’il a été largement exploité par les historiens. Il n’en est rien. A de rares exceptions tels les travaux de Megan Vaughan, très peu de spécialistes se sont attachés à l’utiliser à sa juste valeur, voire à s’y intéresser d’une façon ou d’une autre. On ne peut cependant en être totalement surpris tant les recherches approfondies sur la vie de la colonie durant la période française sont restées - étrangement - peu nombreuses.
Truth and Justice Commission 95

Reference 508 - 0.01% Coverage

la Truth and Justice Commission.
Quel est le contenu de la série COL C4 ? La série inclut toute la correspondance officielle envoyée depuis la colonie de l’Île de France et reçue par le secrétariat d’Etat à la Marine. Elle préserve donc d’abord les lettres et rapports produits les gouverneurs et les intendants de l’Île de France, ainsi que les diverses branches de l’administration locale sous leur autorité. Mais on y trouve également toutes sortes de lettres et de mémoires rédigés par des particuliers, principalement des négociants et des planteurs de l’île. Les sujets abordés sont extrêmement divers et
reflètent les diverses compétences de

Reference 509 - 0.01% Coverage

plus traite et l’esclavage, nous
trouvons par exemple : les recensements des « esclaves du roi » (esclaves au service de l’administration et des forces militaires de la colonie), la correspondance portant sur les relations avec la colonie de Mozambique, avec Madagascar, ou avec la côte swahili, les compte-rendu d’expéditions maritimes, les innombrables « mémoires », « projets », ou recensements, décrivant l’état de la colonie et les moyens de la développer, etc. Ainsi administrateurs et élites de la colonie ont le souci constant de sécuriser, de développer, et de diversifier l’apport en main-d’œuvre servile, tant la « soif d’esclaves » semble permanente. Citons également les quelques cas de journaux tenus par des administrateurs, tel celui de Réné Magon (intendant ?? gouverneur ?? de XXX à XXX), qui évoque les mouvements de navires négriers à une époque pour laquelle nous n’avons aucune archive maritime locale. L’inventaire de COL C4 que nous publions ici démontre à quel point les mentions de
l’esclavage sont fréquentes et éparpillées

Reference 510 - 0.01% Coverage

tab&from=pr oviders
Conclusion
Cette liste n’est pas exhaustive. Il faut consulter le guide, Filliot, et les divers travaux liés au négoce et aux commerce négrier des divers ports français, ainsi que Saugera sur la période du Consulat. La tâche n’est pas finie : ce n’est qu’un bref aperçu ! Nous espérons qu’il encouragera les chercheurs à s’emparer de cette documentation considération pour faire toute la lumière sur la traite liée à l’Île de France et la pratique de l’esclavage dans la colonie.

Reference 511 - 0.01% Coverage

TRADE AND SLAVERY – SLAVERY INVENTORY
 800 esclaves dont environ 720 d'Inde, dont 2/3 de mâles, tous ouvriers tels que forgerons, taillandiers, cloutiers, serruriers, charbonniers, charpentiers, menuisiers, tonneliers, scieurs, bourreliers, tailleurs de pierre, maçons, charretiers. Tous ont un emplacement où ils sont logés dans des maisons alignées ayant chacune leur jardin ; le tout faisant un bourg divisé par quartiers surveillés par des commandants nègres. Frais de régie actuelle, engage d'européens et autres dépenses To Île pour l'habillement des nègres y compris les sarots à 2 chemises, 2 mouchoirs et 2 caleçons par nègre ou 2 jupes par négresses et 2 sarots pour les nègres fondeurs ou forgerons ; évalués à 6000 piastres Gratifications aux commandants nègres et noirs ouvriers : 6000 piastres Mémoires sur les Îles de France et de Bourbon à la paix de 1762- Plan de défense proposé pour ces deux Îles « les noirs de la côte de Guinée et les Mozambique sont ceux sur lesquels on compte le plus ainsi que les créoles des deux colonies. Il y en a assez dan les deux Îles pour en faire une troupe qu'on porterait à 1000 au bout de quelques années […] »
COL –C4-15 1763-1765

Reference 512 - 0.01% Coverage

générales, M. Desforges Boucher, Gouverneur
 Mémoire de M. Godeheu, 1763 Mémoire sur la défense des Îles de France et de Bourbon, Paris, le 20 Mai 1763 La maréchaussée de noirs-2 brigades de 16 noirs domestiques parmi les plus braves et les plus fidèles que M. de la Bourdonnais avait établie pour donner la chasse aux noirs marron a été abandonnée- pourtant efficace- récompense pour chaque prise- faveur pour les maitres qui donnent un noir à ce corps par des préférences sur les traites des noirs. « On pourrait encore former comme autrefois 500 à 600 noirs à marcher ensemble à tirer et à servir le canon » Mémoire sur les colons blancs Nombre des noirs peu proportionnel à celui des colons En 1735 : 69 colons et 332 noirs- 290 négresses-194 négrillons- 124 négresses-total : 940 En 1739 : 107 colons et 409 noirs-377 négresses-280 négrillons- 183 negresses - total : 1249 5 habitants sur 107 possèdent plus du 6e des noirs existants dans la colonie Mémoire sur les noirs La Compagnie vend des noirs à prix plus bas que les particuliers La compagnie peut se procurer des noirs par la traite à Madagascar, Mozambiquevalent 25 à 30 piastres et Goa-valent 40 à 45 piastres Dépouillement du recensement général de l'Isle de France, 20 Mai 1763 Nombre de noirs par catégories et quartiers Mémoire sur les travaux Civils, Militaire et de la Marine Article 1 : des ouvriers Nombre d'ouvriers en 1754 : 1872 dont 880 noirs esclaves- 558 négresses Nombre de noirs de la Compagnie selon le recensement du 24 novembre 1762 : 1929 dont 1083 noirs- 581 négresses- 265 négrillons et négrittes Travaux des noirs Article 2 : des matériaux La pierre : atelier composé de 10 tailleurs de pierre européens et de 90 noirs La brique : 2 briquetiers blancs et 10 noirs sont suffisant pour la brique ordinaire grâce au moulin à réduire Travaux de marine La Compagnie a besoin d'un grand vaisseau de 6 à 700 tonneaux et de 2 frégates de 4 à 500 tonneaux pour les traites de noirs, de bœufs et de grains Récapitulation de l'Etat Général de la dépense de l'Île de France, 20 Mai 1763 1929 esclaves de la Compagnie: 119544 piastres 50 m. piastres (? pour achat d'esclaves à Goa et Mozambique Vente d'esclaves 1600 V ? achetée à Goa réduite à 1400 à 540 piastres: 756000 piastres 1200 V ? à Madagascar réduite à 1000 à 360 : 360000 piastres
Truth and Justice Commission 112

Reference 513 - 0.01% Coverage

piastres de gratification au détachement
qui s'en sera emparé-chaque nègre tué ne vaudra que 2 piastres de gratifications Tout nègre déserteur ou marron sera remis à son propriétaire moyennant la somme de 25 piastres qu'il paiera comptant au Roi Habitants : « chaque vaisseau chargé de nègres sera annoncé par une affiche ou avis général et les noirs seront distribués à chaque habitant sans préférence, à raison de ses besoins ou de ses forces au prix dont on conviendra » 1764, Projet de secours pour les Îles de France et Bourbon Réflexions sur le retard des constructions et fortifications « en partant au mois de mars on arrivera en juillet. On trouvera alors les nègres de la Compagnie dispersés et vendus parce qu'ils lui sont inutiles n'étant plus chargés de l'entretien de la colonie ni des travaux auxquels ils étaient destinés […] » « Si au contraire on part dans le mois d'octobre ou novembre , on pourra en arrivant choisir sur les nègres de la Compagnie 5 ou 600 nègres dressés, exercés au travail, habitués au pays, qui dès le mois de mars 1765 pourront travailler avec célérité aux ouvrages […] » Essai d'un projet pour les Îles de France et Bourbon, 26 Juin 1764 besoin de noirs en quantité pour être vendus aux habitants, pour les ouvrages, pour la défense de l'Ile et en temps de guerre Observations sur les Îles de France et Bourbon, Octobre 1760 Dénombrement : 1400 à 1500 noirs l'île de France Garde de l'Île: environ 3000 habitants et noirs capables de prendre les armes en cas de nécessité Extraits de lettres, 1765 31 Juillet 1765 La Compagnie envoie chaque année à peine un vaisseau pour la traite de noirs à Madagascar
COL –C4-16 1766
Correspondances

Reference 514 - 0.01% Coverage

TRADE AND SLAVERY – SLAVERY INVENTORY
 Législations pour les colonies des Îles de France et Bourbon Ordonnance du Roi concernant les affranchissements des nègres esclaves aux Îles de France et Bourbon, 20 Août 1766 Adopter les mêmes dispositions que pour les colonies françaises de l'Amérique Article 1re : une permission d'affranchir doit être obtenue préalablement auprès du Gouverneur, Lieutenant général et de l'Intendant Article 2 : tout affranchissement sans cette permission est considéré comme nul- les maitres seront privés de leur esclaves qui seront vendus au profit de Sa Majesté Article 3 : Ne sont autorisés à être baptisés comme libres que les enfants de gens de couleurs ou de sang mêlé dont la mère est reconnue affranchie Article 4 : les enfants baptisés comme libres ayant une mère esclave sont considérés comme esclaves- les maitres en seront privés et condamnés à une amende- les esclaves vendus au profit de Sa Majesté 1766, Mémoire sur la position actuelle des établissements français au Cap de la Bonne Espérance et sur celle de la Compagnie des Indes Le recensement général des noirs n'excède pas 40 000 têtes dans les deux îles Commerce particulier d'Inde en Inde Les portugais auront seuls la permission de commercer dans les deux Îles : ils pourront exporter des noirs de leurs établissements d'Afrique à condition que les vaisseaux français jouissent de la même liberté à Mozambique, Quérimbe et autres comptoirs portugais.
COL –C4-17 1767
Correspondance

Reference 515 - 0.01% Coverage

procès criminel poursuivi contre eux
 Obstacles a l'accroissement de ces colonies : « Nous remplirons alors envers nos esclaves les devoirs que l'humanité et le Code Noir nous prescrivent pour leur nourriture et leur vêtement… »
 Causes de l'insolvabilité de ces colonies « Les créanciers font même dans l'impossibilité d'être jamais payés, vu la diminution de leurs biens, la non-valeur des habitations, des noirs et de tous leurs effets mobiliers. »
 « Le contrat de leurs dettes

Reference 516 - 0.01% Coverage

de moins en dettes passives ».
 Désordres dans tous les genres d'administration de ces colonies depuis 1759 « On a fomenté des guerres à Madagascar pour y ruiner la culture, et y traiter depuis 1759 plus de dix mille noirs au compte particulier avec les effets et les vaisseaux de la Compagnie. On a vendu ces esclaves aux habitants obligés de remplacer la mortalité de leurs noirs jusqu'à 2,000 livres quoique la Compagnie dut ou put les leur fournir comme par le passé a 360 livres : on a exporté et même vendu par cupidité au Cap de Bonne Esperance un grand nombre d'esclaves de Madagascar ou de ces colonies pour réaliser plus promptement et plus surement ses fonds ».
 Isle de France carton 85

Reference 517 - 0.01% Coverage

de France et de Madagascar.»
 « L'essentiel dans cette colonie est la nourriture du noir et dès qu'on peut assurer intérieurement et pour toujours leurs subsistance qui est celle du plus grand nombre, il peut devenir fac Île de se procurer celle des Blancs par du secours étranger qui en parti est reconnu pour le plus avantageux à la Compagnie et à la colonie. On fait compte dans l'Île de 6,000 noirs et de 2,500 blancs…»
COL-C4-20 Île de

Reference 518 - 0.01% Coverage

aura fait un établissement exclusif… »
 Traite de Madagascar, lettre de M. Dumas au Port-Louis, Isle de France le 7 Juin 1768 «Foulpointe au contraire entre les bœufs et riz offre une ample traite d'esclaves, depuis l'établissement de cette colonie cette traite d'esclaves a été le grand objet de la cupidité. Elle fit la fortune de Labourdonnais qui en abusa quelques fois… »
 Traite de Madagascar, Copie d'une

Reference 519 - 0.01% Coverage

possession du poste de Foulpointe.
 « L'Isle de Madagascar peut fournir le plus abondement a cette colonie les vins, les bœufs et les esclaves… »
 « Toutes les précautions seraient vaines

Reference 520 - 0.01% Coverage

nègres pour porter les vivres.
 Observations sur l'Isle de France « Il y a dans les deux Îles de France et de Bourbon environ 45,000 esclaves dont le travail peut suffir à la subsistance de quelque population…l'abondance de ces colonies dépend principalement de la multiplicité des esclaves dont la population pourrait être portée jusqu'à soixante mille dans chaque ile…Le commerce des noirs à la Cote d'Afrique est encore plus essentiel à vivre que celui de Madagascar par la qualité des esclaves… Il y a quatre espèces d'esclaves à l'Isle de

France dont la variété est nécessaire pour la division qui règne heureusement entre ces castes et qui empêche les conspirations si dangereuses pour les colonies et leurs habitants… »
 Règlement d'administration pour les Îles

Reference 521 - 0.01% Coverage

et Manourou Isle de Madagascar…
 Récapitulation des dépenses à faire dans la colonie : 500 noirs pour le Roi ; 100 noirs à Truth and Justice Commission 124
VOL 4 : PART VI – SLAVE

Reference 522 - 0.01% Coverage

dont la propriété départage entre…. »
 « …j'irai moi-même en personne chercher les noirs qui m'appartiennent… » Relevée de M. des Roches sur la situation de la colonie datée du 21 Juillet 1770. (Section Ville de Port Louis)
 « La Ville de Port Louis

Reference 523 - 0.01% Coverage

d'autres choses émanant de Provost.
 « Il leur demande s'ils peuvent cependant lui procurer la facilité d'introduire dans la colonie 50 à 60 esclaves sur le Bâtiment du Roi. »
 « Sa situation après tout ce

Reference 524 - 0.01% Coverage

frais et risques des particuliers'
-'le commerce a procuré 7 000 noirs à la Colonie depuis May 1770 jusqu'à May 1771. En cette année si la fraude reprend on en traitera peut être pas 700' Instructions donnes a Fournier – intérieur de l' Île
COL -C4-28 1771-28

Reference 525 - 0.01% Coverage

tête d'esclaves… »
C4-29-11
 24 aout 1771 Organisation intérieure ordonnance du roi pour créer des milices nationales L'Intendant n'a plus eu aucune correspondance dans l'intérieur de l'Île la nouvelle organisation introduite par M Desroches est défectueuse qu'elle ne convient pas à une colonie agricole… »
C4-29-12
 24 aout

Reference 526 - 0.01% Coverage

colonie agricole… »

C4-29-12
 24 aout 1771 Chemins les habitants doivent fournir quatre journées de corvée par tête d'esclaves. Pour exiger ces corvées il faut avoir un recensement fidèle de tous les esclaves de la colonie
Truth and Justice Commission 130

Reference 527 - 0.01% Coverage

les établissements de M Desroches
 Article 10 L'Hôpital je l'avais reçu avec vingt- vingt-cinq esclaves, je l'ai remise avec cent Article 11 Connaissance des produits naturelles J'ai trouvé les deux colonies dans l'ignorance la plus profonde sue toutes les productions naturelles de leur sol'..les médecins eux mêmes, au milieu des plantes les plus salutaires n'employaient pour le traitement des malades que des herbes, des racines, des écorées desséchées, transportes de France et qui avait perdu toute propriété par un si long transport'…
 les coulons-Colons voyaient perire

Reference 528 - 0.01% Coverage

Le Chevalier de Ternay 1775
 Concernant le Commerce particulier Elle ne sera jamais une colonie de commerce L'introduction des noirs est peut être un des plus grands fautes qu'ait jamais fait la Compagnie; il ne fallait que pour son service.il ne fallait que de petits habitants cultivateurs comme je l'ai souvent répété' L'Isle de France se soutient 'grâce à de dépenses énormes'
Extraits des lettres du Chevalier

Reference 529 - 0.01% Coverage

du Roi des noirs introduits
 1777 Concernant la lettre reçu le 12 mai du monseigneur-1er Septembre sur 'l'introduction dans le Royaume, des noirs, mulâtres et autre gens de couleur libre ou escales de l'un ou de l'autre sexe; ensemble les modèles d'état qui doivent vous être remis chaque mois les noms des gens de couleur ou autre qui ont été embarque pour France pendant les mois précédents et ceux venant de France qui auront été débarques dans la colonie pendant le même temps..'
 Imprime en affiche dans tous

Reference 530 - 0.01% Coverage

47Arrêt du Conseil Supérieur 1778
 12 juin 1778 qui oblige tout ceux qui postulant dans la colonie sous le nom d'avocats procureurs ou praticiens postulants à justifier leur qualités titres capacité et bonnes mœurs
 Arrêt du conseil supérieur Casse

Reference 531 - 0.01% Coverage

des actes et des exploits
 16 novembre 1778 Concernant la forme de tenir les registres des baptêmes, mariages et sépultures et les formalités à observer pour la rédaction et la validité de ces actes Etat de la situation actuelle: J'ai

examine moi même plusieurs registres des paroisses de la colonie et j’ai eu le déplaisir de voir les contraventions y multiplies a l’infini, qu’
 Il y a plusieurs actes

Reference 532 - 0.01% Coverage

portent préjudice irréparable aux citoyens...
 Oubli des règles: Les gens ne présentent leurs enfants que 2-3 ans après le baptême Le jour de la naissance est omis ou était âge environ L’excuse donne est que les enfants sont proie a une maladie les 9 premiers jours- 2 Les parrains ont signe au lieu du père-qui rend l’acte absolument nul’ Article VIII les cures ou prêtres desservants feront tenus d’écrire sur trios registres durement .paragraphes les actes de baptêmes mariages et sépultures des blancs, un des registres à être envoyés au dépôt des colonies
 Art IX Actes de baptêmes

Reference 533 - 0.01% Coverage

métiers
COL C4- 47 1778
 27 avril 1778 Mémoire Port Louis Sur le commerce les Îles peuples par de gens ‘que la misère a chasse de leur patrie, dans l’espoir de trouver les moyens de réparer dans les colonies les…de la fortune, Ils y arrivent la plupart sans argent, sans talent, sans métier ut Île, et sans envie de se livrer aux travaux champêtres’
 Font de petit commerce qui

Reference 534 - 0.01% Coverage

à l'esclavage dans ce registre
 Le Chevalier des Rosy, chargé des travaux pour fortifier cette colonie 12 Septembre 1779, à M. Masse "si vous me permettez de faire venir mille noirs Mozambique, en 4 ou 5 années, nous auront fait une enceinte [...]"
 Projet d'instructions pour le Chevalier

Reference 535 - 0.01% Coverage

TRADE AND SLAVERY – SLAVERY INVENTORY
1 On trouvera un bref aperçu, d’une utilité limité, dans A. Lougnon, A. Documents concernant les Iles de Bourbon et de France pendant la régie de la Compagnie des Indes […], Nérac, Archives Départementales de la Réunion, 1953. 2 Dépôt des papiers publics des colonies. 3 Guide, p. 192.
Truth and Justice Commission 148

Reference 536 - 0.01% Coverage

and Incidents Date of Arrival
Accidents during voyages vary, from hurricanes, diseases on board and slaves revolts; these cases are available in the Amirauté Records and Sous-Série Colonie C4.
We agree with Toussaint’s observation

Reference 537 - 0.01% Coverage

OF SLAVES EXPORTED FROM MOZAMBIQUE?
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.11 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.
their final
destinations, the ships

Reference 538 - 0.01% Coverage

only 1.05" matical.20
By 1799, there were clear problems with the prices of slaves. In that year, Francisco Guedes de Carvalho Menezes da Costa was the Governor of Mozambique, when he observed problems with shipping to the French Island of Mauritius.21 After finishing his mandate, da Costa wrote in 1804 a fifty-page document addressing the relationship between France and Portugal, and the shipment of merchandise, including slaves. His manuscript focused on the "[…] external war between France and Portugal, whereas […] inside, Portugal dealt with the problems of the [Muslim merchants] … "22 Da Costa recalled problems that he faced when he was Governor, lamenting that in 1799, Diogo de Souza was in charge of the exportation of 6 French slave ships to Mauritius. These ships travelled under Portuguese flags, thus bringing no particular benefits to the Colony.
Because of this and
many

Reference 539 - 0.01% Coverage

firm support of the British
Colonial Government of Mauritius. On 21st September, the Albion dropped anchor in Port Louis harbour with 500 male labourers, 9 females, and one child on board. Over the next four weeks, around 600 additional labourers were brought into the colony in small batches. By midOctober 1829, there were over 1,100 Indian labourers in Mauritius.
These early experiments do not

Reference 540 - 0.01% Coverage

Madras in several small batches.
1830-1834: There was only a trickle of immigrants arriving between 1830 and 1834. In 1830, about 10 labourers were introduced and between 1831 and 1832, another 29 from India by Mr. Bickajee, a wealthy and influential Indo-Mauritian. In January 1832, Mr. Passmore, a wealthy and prominent Mauritian

merchant, relaunched the idea of large-scale importation of Indian labour. island, between 1826 and 1830, around 3,012 Indian workers from the French colonies Pondichéry and Karikal had been introduced.
In Réunion of
1833: Another

Reference 541 - 0.01% Coverage

Mauritian history and deserve a
reconsideration as ex-slaves and the first indentured labourers have been viewed rather negatively in official colonial reports. Historians have also tended to focus on events in the rural areas and less on what was going on in Port Louis. Yet Port Louis was a place which welcomed people from all sorts of backgrounds as well those escaping from something and wishing to blend into the incredible mix that constituted the town of Port Louis. Among these, were those who escaped from their employers and estates and hoped for a better life in town. When caught, both apprentices and indentured labourers found themselves imprisoned in the same place, the Bagne and were treated as ‘criminals’.
Today, we urge a reconsideration

Reference 542 - 0.01% Coverage

robbery, gambling, and black-racketeering.
In the 1830s’ the Bagne Prison and, to a lesser extent, the Prisons of the Court of Justice became suddenly overcrowded.11 In 1836, there were 23 cases of theft, 1 case of arson, and 1 murder in Port Louis and 56 apprentices were imprisoned for these crimes. The following year, for the first time, Indian labourers were convicted for various crimes such as theft, arson, and murder. By 1838, there were 68 cases of theft, 3 case of arson, and 13 murders in Port Louis and 92 apprentices and 10 Indian labourers were convicted and imprisoned. During the following year, there were 82 cases of theft, 4 cases of arson, and 13 homicides in Port Louis and 91 apprentices and 38 Indians were imprisoned.12 The rise in crimes by Indians was reported on in June and July 1838 by Le Cernéen, so much so, it became a major source of concern for the Colonial Authorities,13 as this coincided with the ending of the apprenticeship system and the introduction of more indentured labourers. Overcrowding in prisons resulted.14
THE INDIANS
In the last

Reference 543 - 0.01% Coverage

prisons resulted.14
THE INDIANS
In the last week of February 1836, Captain Weir, the Special Magistrate for Port Louis, reported to George F.Dick, the Colonial Secretary, that ever since the beginning of the previous month, there had been a gradual influx of Indian labourers into the colony’s capital from the sugar-producing rural Districts. The majority of these Indian workers had been introduced into the colony only a few months before and they were arrested as vagrants near Government House and the Casernes Centrales.Furthermore, in the month of February alone, 84 Indians were caught and incarcerated at the Bagne which was already crowded.15 Immediately, the following day, Governor Nicolay, clearly recognizing the urgency of the situation, ordered some of the Indian vagrants to be moved from the Bagne Prison to a makeshift prison in the Magazine or the same large building which served as a warehouse for the storage of goods which were taken off ships anchored in Port Louis harbour. During the last week of that same month, W.W. West, an English sugar planter and owner of the Vale Estate in the District of

Pamplemousses, wrote a lengthy letter to the Colonial Secretary in which he made a number of interesting observations. He explained that he employed more than 50 Indian labourers and that over the past several months, it became a common practice for them to escape from his sugar estate to order to go to Port Louis.16
To deter Indians from leaving

Reference 544 - 0.01% Coverage

and Indian labourers were incarcerated for a period of either a few days or a few weeks. In addition, during this brief period, the floating population of this large colonial prison increased sharply from 5,221 to 9,090 or by 40%.
The effect of having prisoners

Reference 545 - 0.01% Coverage

were keenly aware of this:
"They [the Indian labourers] object as freemen to the false position in which they have been placed, by being bound down to one master. It is no severe reproach to the man who has possessed slaves to say that, he has 'despotic habits' which he had to change entirely when he comes into contact with freemen, here the first check to those habits has been the recent Emancipation of the apprentices. The productive existence, of this colony, depending entirely on the resort of Indian, or other foreign labourers, this measure must be considered in that respect, to have been very opportune and in the future and general interests of the island […]"24
Thus, the plantation owner could

Reference 546 - 0.01% Coverage

the abolition of apprenticeship.29
But the rise in the 'crime' rate could also be interpreted in another way: as an enslaved people expressing their newly-found freedom. The Acting Governor of Mauritius explained it as 'arising not unnaturally from the sudden change in the condition of an uninstructed population'.30 According to the Colonial Office, this was the opposite of what had occurred in the Caribbean.31
This increased activity of ex

Reference 547 - 0.01% Coverage

of Port Louis harbour.34
Legitimate and not so legitimate business merged, and in 1838, Finiss reported that during the 1830s, many of these slaves/apprentices were suspected of stealing merchandise being landed at the docks in Port Louis. The colony's Police Chief wrote: 'The individuals employed on the wharfs, and in the boats for shipping, are for the most part of bad character and connected with a considerable number of persons of the same class, who aid them in removing their plunder, establishing themselves in the neighbourhood of the Bazaar and wharfs, near which, there are a number of small lodgings, where they easily deposit their plunder, which I think might be materially checked by the 'Bazaar Post' and the 'Marine Police'.35
To counter this increase in

Reference 548 - 0.01% Coverage

plantation were convicted for vagrancy.
Authorities blurred the critical difference between desertion and vagrancy, and defaulters for both offences were put on trial for the offence of vagrancy. This fundamental oversight continued till the 1890s, even when the initial vehemence to 'hunt' vagrants decelerated to a great extent because of the shift in the priorities of planters and Colonial Authorities. In 1893, J.W.P. MuirMackenzie43 reported this gaffe and recommended that a deserter should be dealt with under the provisions of Labour Ordinance dealing with the offence of desertion, and not under a general vagrancy law. He was also very critical of treating free labourers as criminals – 'an Indian labourer is not to be exposed to bullying by the rank and file of the Police, and treated as a suspected criminal merely because he may prefer free labour.'44
Initially, planters tried to meet

Reference 549 - 0.01% Coverage

directly and indirectly discouraged."49
About ten years later, even Ashley Eden, a member of Indian Civil Services who was very instrumental in the suppression of Santals uprising in India, made a note that 'the tendency of the colony was to treat as vagrants all Indians who did not choose to labour on the estates.'50
The influence of slavery on

Reference 550 - 0.01% Coverage

at even lower wages.52
From a colonial viewpoint, Indian immigrant labourers had only three places in Mauritius to live in – at work, in hospital or in gaol, since the Labour Laws virtually left no scope for them to be found anywhere else.

Reference 551 - 0.01% Coverage

to the society as whole.
From the late 1840s, the problem surfaced of how to deal with immigrant labourers who had completed their 'industrial residence' but did not want to continue on the same plantations with the same working conditions. After completing five years of industrial residence, many immigrant labourers decided to explore alternative options, which did not go down well with planters who wanted them to continue working on estates. According to colonial perceptions these Old Immigrants did not want to continue working on the plantations because they were 'habitual idlers' and because of their 'unsettled habits' and 'erratic character'.54
By the 1850s, desertion and vagrancy became one of the primary concerns of the plantation lobby and the Colonial Authorities. In 1845, it was reported that about 6% of the total Indian labourers in Mauritius were deserters and another 11% were illegally absent.55 They argued in favour of suppressing such conduct with stringent legal initiatives.
The first legal initiative of the Colonial Government to control desertion and runaway was contained in the Order in Council of 7th September 1838 which provided for such punishments as: idle and disorderly persons condemned to imprisonment with hard labour for 14 days; a rogue and vagabond for 28 days, and an incorrigible rogue for a period not exceeding 6 months.56

Ordinance 21 of 1843 prohibited

Reference 552 - 0.01% Coverage

fixed locations was also initiated.
The most significant change was the extension the right to challenge the status and to apprehend Old Immigrants, to ordinary people and planters' agents, a right which was more than often abused by planters' agents to exert their control over the labourers. The Procureur Général's statements, justifying these stern measures, were a most reflective articulation of colonial prejudices and contempt of the Indian immigrants, and implied doubts in the ability of free Indian labouring classes to sustain themselves by pursuing an independent occupation:
"There are a great number

Reference 553 - 0.01% Coverage

won only 38% cases.78
This one area of the colonial legal structure in Mauritius needs a more detailed
investigation. 5. CONCLUSION What this

Reference 554 - 0.01% Coverage

vagrancy' acquired new meanings in
the context of an Indentured Labour regime and the multiplicity of ways in which it was conceptualised and appropriated as a ploy to regulate the geographical and occupational mobility of labour. We have also tried to ascertain that the real intention of anti-vagrancy legislation was not the prevention of crime among the old immigrants,79 as it was often promulgated by the colonial authorities, but to restrict their mobility away from the estates, even after the completion of indenture, and therefore to ensure their availability for work on plantations by placing stringent legal constraints on old immigrants' efforts to move beyond the confines of plantations and the contractual obligations of indenture, so as to pursue a vocation of their choice.
We have also tried to

Reference 555 - 0.01% Coverage

4: PART VII – INDENTURED IMMIGRATION
by planters and the colonial authorities, in response to the requirements and challenges which the plantation economies had to face in the changing global contexts and the restructuring of commodity productions under the Imperial Order.
6. REFERENCES Acts and Ordinances

Reference 556 - 0.02% Coverage

violent clashes between the immigrant
labourers and even the murders of wives or men involved in the relationships.80 Murders of wives by the husbands occurred mostly because of distrust, jealousy or betrayal by the women partners which was considered 'rampant' in Mauritius, although it was often termed an 'epidemic' in the colonial lexicon. As

late as in 1880s, among the Indian population, 21 wives were murdered by the husbands.81 Indenture in this respect undermined the institution of marriage.

The Royal Commission noted that the custom of polyandry was an accepted custom in Mauritius and often a group of immigrant men would keep one woman in their housing unit who would cook their food and satisfy them physically. The most disturbing effect of this custom, according to the Royal Commission, was that it led to much quarrelling among the immigrants, and sometimes even murders. This prejudiced view of Colonial Authorities, based on Victorian notions of social order and moral standards, has been shared by the majority of scholars of indentured Diasporas of the old type who study indentured emigration in terms of the continuation of slavery. These scholars argue that 'the disproportion between men and women was the main factor in shaping the life of the coolie lines'82 and 'Indian social life in Mauritius presented a disquieting spectacle.'83

Since the relative scarcity of women was related to disorder on the plantations, for the purpose of maintaining order on the plantations and encourage a structured/stable settlement in some kind of family pattern, the Colonial Authorities adopted a double-pronged strategy: first, they tried to increase the numbers of immigrant women by legally fixed quotas and second, they put a close guard and legislative regulation over the marriages among the immigrant indentured community.

In addition to this real crisis on the plantations, the regulation of marriages among the immigrant population was also rooted in the larger orientalist project of civilizing the 'barbaric Orient' by the British Empire and building new societies in the newly-acquired colonial territories. The underlying rationale behind this was the notion of cultural ascendancy which perceived Indian culture and social practices as anomalous, resulting in the moral degradation, particularly in the immigrant set up.

To address the concerns over the disproportion of sexes among the Indian communities on the plantations and also to stabilise the labouring population in Mauritius (for the other labour importing colonies as well) Colonial Authorities fixed the quota of women mandated who could be taken along with the male emigrants, encouraged the family emigration from India. A bounty of £2 was paid to those immigrants who came with 'legitimate' wives. However, this led to another forms of disorder whereby widespread instances were reported of selling of daughters or wives, using marriage ties to bring women to Mauritius and then selling them off to make extra profits by the sirdars and returnees. In 1860s, 'many sirdars and overseers brought two and sometimes three women with them' as their wives who were, as the Protector reported, sold or transferred to other men to make money. 84Abuse of indentured women also occurred by the plantation owner and managers leading to numerous offspring who today still be identified through their mixed Asian and European origins. Many of these form part of the Coloured population who form the subject of subsequent chapter.

REGULATION OF INDIAN MARRIAGES

In

Reference 557 - 0.01% Coverage

chapter.

REGULATION OF INDIAN MARRIAGES

In the initial periods of indentured emigration, the Colonial Authorities had been lenient concerning cohabitation among Indian immigrants. Their primary concern was to secure the supply of labour on plantations, and since women were not employed in Mauritius, they cared the least for them. A Royal Commission reported that before 1853, no law existed in Mauritius specifically providing for celebration and recognition of Indian marriages.85 However by 1850s, with the large influx of Indian immigrants and a sizeable number of Indian labourers in the colony, the Colonial Authorities had to ratify marriage legislations. In 1853, provisions were made under Ordinance 21 of 1853 to recognise the marriages solemnised between the members of the Indian immigrant community

Reference 558 - 0.01% Coverage

attempt to assert today. Sources
underline that these were often forced sales of women,90 andconsidering the fact that the money was often paid to the father or relatives of the brides who, on many occasions, ‘sold’ their daughters or female relatives, colonial descriptions of women’s subjugation appear to be more tenable than those of the revisionist scholars of diasporic women.
Controlling the illegal emigration of women disguised as wives by the sirdars and returnees and then their subsequent sale in the colony remained a primary preoccupation of the Colonial Authorities’ marriage related legislations. The other underlying assumption of the administrators’ attempts was that by making the registration and declaration compulsory, they would be able to make thematrimonial alliances in the immigrant community more stable, and thus curb sexual immorality. Therefore, the registration and declaration of marriages which was the main thrust of the marriage Ordinance, continued and was reinforced in the form of a double registration in the Marriage Ordinance 17 of 1871. All the immigrants arriving with their wives and children had to declare and obtain certificates for their marriages twice – once at the port of embarkation where the Protector had to verify their claims of being married, and then again upon their arrival in Mauritius where the Protector would give them the certificate, without which their marriages were not legally valid and children legitimate.91 Considering the ignorance of emigrants and the general aversion among them for the cumbersome registration process, the Government of India made conscious efforts to emphasise the significance of the registration of marriages before embarkation. A. O. Hume, who was Secretary of the Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce Department which administered the indentured emigration, made a special request to the Judicial Secretary of Bengal government to inform intending emigrants that, unless they registered marriages before departure from India and obtained a certificate from the Protector, their marriages would not be held as valid in Mauritius.92 Any immigrant, who wanted to get married in Mauritius, had to obtain a certificate from the Protector in Mauritius to testify that he had arrived unmarried in Mauritius.93
The next legislative intervention came

Reference 559 - 0.01% Coverage

4: PART VII – INDENTURED IMMIGRATION
Another consequence of their migration to Mauritius was the non-respect of their traditions: the Indian Government expressed concern and anxiety for the Indian population living in Mauritius, particularly the manner in which most of the cohabitation among Indians were declared as immoral and illegal by the state. It reported to the Secretary of State for the Colonies that because of existing Marriage Laws, most of the Indian children in the colony were illegitimate, even if their parents had been married under native rites.95 The Indian Government pressed the Colonial Office to influence the Government of Mauritius into adopting the Marriage Ordinance of Trinidad which recognised marriages performed according to religious rites.96 Although the Colonial Office deferred the implementation of Trinidad Marriage Ordinance in Mauritius, it expressed its concern about the Mauritian Government, and a Committee was appointed to enquire into the procedures connected the Indian marriages in Mauritius, under J. B. Kyshe, the Registrar General in March 1882. This committee accepted the insistence of Government of India to be consulted regarding the matter of Marriage Laws. The Protector of Immigrants proposed to set up his office for the registration of marriages, but it was rejected by the Procureur Général and the said committee failed to intervene in making the marriage procedures more convenient for the Indian population.97
The Indian Government was particularly

Reference 560 - 0.01% Coverage

in their own country.99
The consistent pressure from the Indian Government continued well into the 20th century. Despite being born in Mauritius, a large segment of the Indian population was considered illegitimate as the alliances of their parents were not recognised. This was not a very comforting situation for the social and political stability of the colony. The Colonial Office was well aware of the ridiculousness of declaring the majority of the population as illegitimate. The Indian community in Mauritius was also gradually becoming conscious of their plight, and attempts were being made to articulate their concerns. In his representation to the Royal Commission of 1909, Manilal Doctor demanded the recognition of marriages performed among the Indian communities according to their religious rites.100
In 1912, the Government of

Reference 561 - 0.01% Coverage

4: PART VII – INDENTURED IMMIGRATION
Indian marriages, this Ordinance recognised the validity of marriages solemnised according to the religious traditions of immigrants and conducted by the Indian priests (both Hindu and Muslims) who were appointed by the Governor for the celebration of marriages in a district or territory specified by the Governor. Colonial Authorities were perturbed by the disinterest of the immigrant community in having their marriages registered, and therefore, to make the registration of marriages more convenient for the immigrant community, all the designated priests were given a register and a schedule of certificate in which they were to register all the marriages celebrated by them and then forward each case to the Civil Status Officer within a week who would then enter the details in the Register of Marriages.101 The Ordinance made it lawful 'for any priest without previous publication and without any other formality required by Ordinance 26 of 1890 to solemnise marriage between Mohamedans or Hindu of the same religion as such priest, and such marriage shall, subject to the provisions of this ordinance, be valid as if it had been celebrated by an officer of the Civil Status.'102
This Ordinance was a breakthrough in the regulation of marriages in the Indian community in Mauritius, as for the first time it recognised the area for the religious belonging of the immigrant population and entrusted to a religious mediator from their own community the performing and certifying of an act of marriage which was previously limited to the Civil Status Officer from the ranks of the Colonial Authorities. This Ordinance also had significant implications for the immigrant community. Under this Ordinance, persons getting married, if they met other conditions relating to minimum age, same religion and non-marriage, would marry according to their religious rites and have it registered by a designated priest. This law thus eased many procedural complications, and immigrants could now register their marriages and live as 'legally approved' married couples.
The immediate effect was the

Reference 562 - 0.01% Coverage

in extreme situations, even murders.
Feminist scholars of indenture have asserted the common paternalist nature of the male Indian immigrants and colonial authorities and interpreted this gesture as a desperate attempt to restore control over women and maintain power to decide their partners.107 There is no denial of the fact that the Indian male psyche was not at all comfortable with Indian women taking decisions about leaving a relationship and/or choosing another partner. The reaction was often extremely violent. The question remains whether the women were making informed decisions or whether they were 'lured' or tricked? Further research is needed. While relationships between Indian men and women are explored totally and official reports

abound concerning wife murders, male suicides, unacknowledged by the academic community and by colonial officials at the time, were the abuse of power on the part of all those in the upper hierarchy on the plantation and sexual abuse in the academic scholarships as well as by colonial officials. Within the descendant today, it is widely spoken of but concrete examples are still spoken about in hushed tones, offspring being quire present in Mauritian society. Elsewhere as in Fiji, such stories have become famous.108

AGE OF MARRIAGE

Early marriage

Reference 563 - 0.01% Coverage

emigration depots.116

DEPOT MARRIAGES

Before their actual departures, intending emigrants had to stay at the emigration depots at the ports of embarkation in India for long periods of time to complete several formalities, so that required numbers could be counted. Apart from mostly single men and some married couples, there were a considerable number of single women, as well who were mobilised by the recruiters to meet the required quota of women for the emigration. As Hugh Tinker has pointed out, despite separate boarding arrangements and strict segregation of sexes, there were enough opportunities available for the immigrants of both sexes to interact. Such relationships served everyone's interests – for male immigrants found a partner in a land where Indian women were scarce, while women felt a sense of security during the voyage to the unknown. For the Colonial Authorities, it offered the promise of stability. Considering those pragmatic advantages, the authorities approved these alliances and certificates of marriage were issued to immigrants, despite the fact that most of these marriages were not in conformity with the social-religious rites.117

However, individual experiences of marriage

Reference 564 - 0.01% Coverage

had slowed down.

1850- 1860

Between these years, approximately 43,183 women arrived in Mauritius from India under the Indenture system. These women were needed in the colony for purposes of marriage according to most historians as due to the scarcity of women, there was a significant change in the attitude of the Indentured Immigrants. Although marriage was a central feature of their lives, they would discard many of the characteristics of 'typical' Indian culture, norms, customs, values and adapted to the local situation. Concepts of marriage not common in India were accepted by the Indians. Caste, religion, age, widowhood, single life, arranged or religious marriages were no more an issue for these immigrants.

MARRIAGE PROCEDURES

In this particular

Reference 565 - 0.01% Coverage

for these immigrants.

MARRIAGE PROCEDURES

In this particular period, the information available in the marriage certificates differed completely. Earlier, the acts were handwritten, in French and with limited information. Around 1856, the format of the certificates had changed to a printed version, in English. Perhaps it was one of the changes which were

implemented by the English Administration, when they took over the colony from the French Administration.
There were several administrative processes

Reference 566 - 0.01% Coverage

Mauritius in the 19th century.
The Government Orphan Asylum is an institution established during the second half of the nineteenth Century, more precisely in 1859. It was situated at the Powder Mills at Pamplemousses. However, it was interesting to note that such an institution was not unique to Mauritius for it existed in other colonies such as British Guyana. One of the reasons for its establishment was that those colonies, including Mauritius, faced a different crisis to the economic one. But the chief object of its establishment was that many of those children did not have a home because their parents had passed away.They were left parentless either when they were still on board, or when they landed in Mauritius. Once those children landed and before the Government Orphan Asylum was finally established, those children were distributed as domestic servants or were simply destitute. In cases where children were too young to work, they were sent to families willing to take care of them 'on condition that' when old enough to work, the children would become domestics and remain as such for a stipulated number of years'.124 With all these matters in mind, the Government considered that it would be important to set up a place where children would be taken care of 'to become useful members to the community'.125
Many of the residents of

Reference 567 - 0.01% Coverage

Portuguese, Spaniard and Dutch.142
Under the Qing Dynasty (1644 to 1911), ruled by the Manchus, trade at the start was again banned. It was only until 1727 that the ban was lifted, when the government felt that the country had secured its stability. Trade outside the Chinese borders gained momentum once more: "The expansion of Chinese shipping into the European colonies of the Southeast Asia was the precondition for Chinese emigration."143 The increasing market drew numerous Chinese rattansailed junks from the Southeast coast into the Southeast Asian trade routes. "As south China commercial interest expanded, merchant junks began to carry passengers into colonial port cities such as Manila and Batavia (Jakarta). Thus, these merchants bridgeheads became the routes through which Chinese migrants of all classes could find work and opportunity outside their crowded homeland."144 The economical and political decline of the country during the Qing Dynasty also favoured an increasing willingness to migrate among the Chinese. The Qing Dynasty however, near the end of its rule, brought disgrace to its subjects, worsening their living conditions. It was a period of economic crisis led by corruption, rebellion and natural disasters. The Chinese were also
Truth and Justice Commission 231

Reference 568 - 0.01% Coverage

taken from the Gernet, 1982)
The 20th century defines Modern China, starting with the revolutionary period. Soon after the end of the dynasty, there were hopes that the establishment of a Republic would to lead a new era for China; a China that would be prosperous and gain the respect of foreign powers. This hope was eventually dashed with successive political instability and corruption. In 1949, "the people's liberation army of Mao Zedong defeated Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalists".149 This heralded the start of Communist Party in China. "As

the Chinese communist party's grip on the Chinese mainland tightened over the next few years, hundreds of thousands more people headed south for British Colony of Hong Kong."150
In between the periods of

Reference 569 - 0.01% Coverage

were only explorers, not colonisers.
The first to settle in Mauritius were the Dutch in 1638. They expanded sugar cultivation to Mauritius and brought labour from Bavatia. Batavia was founded by the Dutch in 1619 and its population was mostly composed of Chinese immigrants, traders and victims of kidnapping. An account of "Francois Leguat who visited Batavia in 1697," described his encounter with the Chinese people as being "as white as French-men", hardworking and talented in commerce."158 Thus, it was not unlikely that the Dutch should introduced slaves from Malaysia and China, Bengal, the Malabar Coast or Extreme Orient to Mauritius.159 However, "since the Dutch abandoned Mauritius around 1710, there are no known descendants on the island from this period."160 In the 18th and 19th centuries, colonized by the French and the British, Mauritius became a colony deeply depending on the slave labor for its plantation workforce.
3.2 Chinese Slaves and

Reference 570 - 0.01% Coverage

into the Creole population."166
Apart from the few Chinese slaves identified, the presence of some other 300 Chinese slaves over a short span of time was also noted. In 1760, Le Comte D'Estaing captured 300 Chinese in the West Indies and brought them to Mauritius. Juste as J.P. Coen167, le Comte D'Estaing wanted to put to practice the ideas of a permanent Chinese settlement as existed in the colonies of the West Indies, in Mauritius. According to Wong Kee Ham (1996), this highlights that the Mascareignes Islands were in need of people to enhance the value and maintain small shops and business. The Chinese were reputed to run these types of activities, but in Mauritius, they were supposed to engage in other alien activities. The victims refused all the propositions of the officials to work in the maintenance of the gardens, or to cultivate a parcel of land granted to them, or to work with local planters. They claimed their right to return back to their natal country in a petition to the Governor Desforges, and the latter granted their request.168
Truth and Justice Commission 234

Reference 571 - 0.01% Coverage

4: PART VII – INDENTURED IMMIGRATION
The failure of Europeans Official to successfully maintain the Chinese people in Mauritius may be explained by what Wong Kee Ham (1996), has observed as the inability of Europeans to understand the Chinese economical and social diversity. Indeed, in the colonies of the West Indies, from where the Europeans from Bourbon imported sugar, the Chinese had largely contributed to the establishment of the plantation of sugar cane.169 The Europeans were confused about Chinese merchants and coolies. They wanted to radically "transform" those 300 Chinese merchants into 300 Chinese coolies but did not succeed.
3.3 Chinese Coolies
There

Reference 572 - 0.01% Coverage

to perform their agreement (…).”172
An increasing flow of Chinese immigrants occurred from 1840 to 1844, when emigration was temporarily suspended in India, and the Government turned towards the Chinese as a source of labour despite its past negative experiences with the latter. During that period, 8000 of Chinese landed in Mauritius, 3000 between December 1840 and July 1843 and 5000 up to 1844. The Chinese were then “seen as the saviours of the sugar economy,”173 but cases of bad attitude and/or illtreatment were still very present. James Ng and Marina Carter (2009) remarked that in a few cases, they found that the Chinese were very little seen as victims but rather instigators of the disorder174, for example, the case of 18 Chinese working on the Queen Victoria Estate. The latter complained of ill-treatment on the part of an Indian “Sirdar” and a Creole overseer but were sanctioned to 8 days in prison and a salary deduction as it was reported that the Chinese behaved in a threatening manner. The behavior of the Chinese also made cohabitation an issue. An Estate manager in 1841 responded to a complaint made by the Chinese: “They are the worst introduction made into the Colony; they are very insubordinate, passionate and so lazy that the Indians have reproached them for their idleness which has given rise to several disputes between them.”175 In December 1843, “Ajee, a Chinese carpenter employed by Bestel in Plaines Wilhems complained of assault by a group of Indians.”176
The hardship of the work

Reference 573 - 0.01% Coverage

races of the island.”191
The portrait above gives a clear sense of a Chinese community in the colony. The Chinese lived within themselves, were very much their own masters and were recognized for their skills in doing business. The Chinese community’s relationship with other communities depended mainly on business.
There were different strategies which

Reference 574 - 0.01% Coverage

wake of Colonisation and Christianisation
However, not all members of the younger generations are really aware of the importance of their ancestors’ contribution to what Mauritius is today, and they are even less aware of the sufferings they endured since they first came to the Island. During colonial times, especially with the first and second wave of immigration, the Chinese were victimised or oppressed by the colonial regime. The oppression was articulated covertly in many aspects of the functioning of the colony. Behind the apparent economic success of the Chinese in Mauritius, resides injustice to faced with which they were forced to silence their fear of losing what they had or fear that they would not be allowed to have any social mobility.
Ever since their arrival in the Colony of Mauritius, they started experiencing an inhumane treatment: “They were treated as aliens, they were given a certificate; a blue card on which day they landed in Mauritius, and very often their name are not well pronounced. The British took pleasure in giving them name just like the general population; they were given all types of names.”202 Many Chinese immigrants, on arriving to Mauritius, declared themselves only by giving their surnames. Thus, all the meanings belonged to a name; ancestral and clan attachments and other meanings were changed.
The new generations born in Mauritius also bears traces of the colonial influences on their naming pattern. The Chinese, looking for social mobility, needed to be accepted by the rest of the population. They needed to gain access to education and other facilities for that to happen. In almost every facet of their lives, they had to “forget” their ancestral culture and adopt the norms of the colonial powers.
“Whenever they had to open

Reference 575 - 0.01% Coverage

Chinese shops hid unspoken sufferings.
In the colonial times, all those other than the Europeans and their
descendants were victims of their

Reference 576 - 0.01% Coverage

dominations of the sugar magnate.
“We suffer the same faith, we suffer the same destiny, we get the same destiny. The liberated slaves, indentured labour and the free immigrants shared the same common destiny. When the wipe of colonialism is slashed, no one was spared. Even the Chinese shopkeeper, he has to bear. Do you know what injustices the Chinese suffered when they run a shop? ...you can’t collect your money at the end of the year, the sugar magnate; you have to provide them with gifts. You must provide them with “cadeau l’année”. The contribution of the shopkeepers cannot be under estimated. They have introduced the system of credit“carnet la boutik” to feed the descendants of slaves and indentured labourers”205
“The shopkeeper is a sort of adviser, banker, moral support to them. So they shared the same faith. The Chinese shopkeepers, they work day and night to feed the hungry population. It is not true to say that the Chinese has been privileged. It is not true because, they also, they were looked down upon by the colonial powers...today if we have seen the disappearance of the Chinese shops in the villages, it is because they have considered it a sort/form of slavery. Life in the shop is a sort of slavery, day and night, he has to feed the whole village. He is the first to wake up and the last to go to bed.”206
Truth and Justice Commission 240

Reference 577 - 0.01% Coverage

and Mr. André Li.
Observations
At two o’clock in the afternoon this Wednesday 29th December 2010, I waited for Mr. André Li the field guide near the Nam Sum Society building, rue Arsenal Port Louis. Then, we drove towards the end limits of the Chinatown to meet the Informant Mr. Poon Yow Tse. We stopped in front what appeared to be an old wooden house, painted in a sky blue color. The house though extremely beautiful seems to be in a state of “délabrement”. As we passed through the front gate, there was the basic old fashioned toilet and the rudimentary bathroom to the right. We entered the house through the kitchen and ended straight at the end in what appeared to be Mr. Poon’s study room. It was filled with books covered with newspapers to preserve the books. I could not take my eyes off the structure of the wooden house. It was an authentic colonial house. When I peeked through the room, it saddened me to see how abandoned it was. There was dust everywhere and the rooms were not properly maintained.
Mr. Poon was in his

Reference 578 - 0.01% Coverage

Apprentices during the 1820s)210
Almost a generation before the abolition of British colonial slavery, the Imperial Government of Great Britain passed The Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade in 1807 which outlawed the importation of slaves into its slave colonies and set down the first regulations for captured slaves on the high seas. In

March 1808, an Order-in-Council was passed by King George III, which stipulated that Africans or negroes who were seized on slave ships by the British Royal Navy would be forfeited to the British Crown as ‘prize negroes’. The Mozambicans, other East Africans, Malagasies and some Comorians who were captured on these slave vessels by the naval forces of Great Britain, were also called 'Liberated Africans', 'Government Apprentices', 'Government Blacks',
Recaptives' and 'Prize Slaves'. Origins

Reference 579 - 0.01% Coverage

exhausted and afflicted with disease.
Between 1811 and 1821, Charles Letord claimed to have made several voyages between Mauritius and East Africa and Madagascar and to have introduced thousands of slaves illegally into the colony. According to Richard Allen, between 1811 and 1827, between 50,000 and 65,000 slaves were illegally introduced into Mauritius. During the same period, 2,998 Liberated Africans were landed in the colony, which represents between 4 to 6% of the total number of slaves illegally landed in British Mauritius.
The British Vice-Admiralty and

Reference 580 - 0.01% Coverage

and condemnations of slaving vessels
Slaving vessels and slaves captured by British Navy in the South-West Indian Ocean were sent to be condemned at the Vice-Admiralty Courts of Mauritius and the Cape Colony. Between 1808 and 1827,
Truth and Justice Commission 248

Reference 581 - 0.01% Coverage

4: PART VII – INDENTURED IMMIGRATION
around 65 vessels and 5008 Prize Negroes were condemned. Around 29 slave vessels were condemned and 2,010 Liberated Africans landed at the Cape Colony during the same period, while in Mauritius, around 36 slave vessels and 2,998 Prize Negroes were condemned at the local ViceAdmiralty Court. There were also about 53 slave seizures with the capture of 540 newly-landed slaves at different locations on the Mauritian coast.
The number of slaves seized on land represent about 18% of all the Liberated Africans landed in Mauritius. The overwhelming majority or 82% of them were captured on the high seas and brought to Mauritius by the Royal Navy. They had to serve a period of indenture which lasted 14 years and in the process, they became known as ‘Government Apprentices’ or Liberated Africans. The slave traders who were prosecuted by the British Vice-Admiralty Court had to pay a total of £124,000 for fine-breaking imperial anti-slave trade regulations.
Landing of Liberated Africans
The

Reference 582 - 0.01% Coverage

Cpt. Richard Vicars, op. cit.)
According to the Royal Order-in-Council of March 1808, the Liberated Africans had to be apprenticed for a period of 14 years, so that they might receive instructions from the masters or employers to whom they would be assigned. The purpose of this indenture was to supposedly to ‘train’ the Liberated Africans or

Prize Negroes in a specific job, so that they would be able to support themselves in the future and eventually become free and productive members of colonial society as skilled or semi-skilled artisans/workers.
Before a private employer assumed charge of a Liberated African, he or she was required to enter into contractual obligations or an 'indenture agreement', a process known as 'articling', with the Collector of Customs, who acted on behalf of the Liberated African and the local British Colonial Government. The employer was bound to furnish the apprentice or the Liberated African with sufficient food, clothing, medical assistance and to instruct him or her in a trade or 'other useful employment.' The apprentice also had to be baptized and be instructed in the Christian religion. In reality, there was no formal articling process for Liberated Africans who were employed in the Departments of the local British Colonial Government. During his indentureship, the apprentice had to obey honestly and obediently his master, as well as learn the trade which he was being taught. The indenture agreement was signed by four individuals, the Collector of Customs, the apprentice, the employer and a witness.
Distribution of the Liberated Africans

Reference 583 - 0.01% Coverage

4: PART VII – INDENTURED IMMIGRATION
By 1839, they were divided into three groups: the first group of around 1,979 Africans and the majority were employed privately by 660 mostly British Colonial and Military Officials, British residents and some Franco-Mauritian planters (Charles Telfair had 91 Liberated Africans). The second group was employed in the Offices of the local British administration and the third were enlisted in the land and sea forces. Governor Farquhar and the members of his inner circle hired 560 apprentices, or just over 23% of them. By 1827, there were 1,798 Liberated Africans still serving their masters and working in Government Departments.213
No Name of Apprentice
2

Reference 584 - 0.01% Coverage

Government and employers owed them:
"…the ordinary rate of colonial hire for the labour of a negro in one year, and considering the number of years these negroes have laboured, the severity of that labour, and the profits of the sugar plantations for some years past, a compensation might justly be due to the negro for past
indemnification be asserted by the

Reference 585 - 0.01% Coverage

Trade at Mauritius (June 1829)
Government apprentices were paid very low wages. In September 1828, the local British Colonial Government officially established monthly wage rates for the Liberated Africans and set up an 'Apprentice Fund'. At the end of each year, the apprentices were paid 75% of the money from this Fund, while 25% would be kept in the fund, in theory, to cover the cost of their maintenance which was not always carried out.
In July 1836, Cunningham, while reporting on the state of the Apprentice Fund, observed that 'From this account, it will appear that above £16,000 has been earned in this colony since 1827 by government apprentices, during renewed periods of service, and while still under the care of the Collector of Customs and that over £12,000 has actually been paid to the apprentices…'

During that same year, the

Reference 586 - 0.01% Coverage

it was a precious commodity
which was coveted by the local British Colonial Officials and, to a lesser extent, by the slaveowners.
Figure 29: An account of money paid into the Colonial Treasury on account of the Government Apprentice Fund 1836 Date
1830 Jan 25 1830 June

Reference 587 - 0.01% Coverage

data and other relevant documents.
Shortly after, the Collector of Customs sent a letter to the Colonial Secretary in which he recommended to Governor William Nicolay that Celestine be granted her 'Act of Freedom'. After analysing her bio-data, the letters from Chignard and Icery, George Cunningham described Celestine as being 'of good character and capable of earning the livelihood for herself and four children.' A few days later, Governor Nicolay gave his assent and the Collector of Customs issued an 'Act of Freedom' for Celestine. In August 1833, the same month that the British Parliament passed the Slavery Abolition Act, Celestine Hecate was able to secure her freedom and began her new life as a legally free person with her children.215 There are several important stories from the records of the Office of the Collector of Customs, like the one of Celestine Hecate, a time-expired Liberated African woman.
The experience of Celestine highlights her struggle to secure her freedom, to be able to earn enough to support herself and her children and to carve out a place for herself in a highlystratified, complex, male-dominated and racist colonial society in Mauritius during the last years of slavery. While some of the circumstances in the life of Celestine Hecate and her children were unfortunate, she was a proud person who did not wait on the local colonial system to secure her freedom. She took the initiative of getting the process started, worked the system to her advantage. Her actions, as well as those of several Liberated Africans during the 1820s and the 1830s, which are being illustrated, clearly show that they were capable of human agency.
2. The Liberated Africans on

Reference 588 - 0.01% Coverage

Telfair just like Henry Chaloupe.
Telfair had accepted apprentices whose masters had rejected them, passed away and left the colony. Many of his government apprentices were Prize Negroes who were sent to him within a month after having been captured on slave ships and had landed in Mauritius. In August 1816, six Prize Negroes, Koutouvoula, Yadalou, Stchamlibé, Ramême, Diamarra, and Routorizaff, from the captured slave vessel Creole were assigned to him. During the following month, five Liberated Africans, Scezoure, Ferevanani, Mandimbe, Moica, and Songale, who were seized on the slave ship the Gustave were sent as apprentices to Bel Ombre.217
Between 1827 and 1836, there were several Liberated Africans who still working on the properties of Charles Telfair. In September 1833, the Collector of Customs informed the Colonial Secretary:
"I have received an apprenticeship

Reference 589 - 0.01% Coverage

day by his employer.224
The Liberated Africans represented one of the African and Malagasy groups in Mauritius that were not ‘creolised’ or enslaved. How far, and for how long, they were able to retain their African and Malagasy identities remains to be further researched. The public did not distinguish between slaves and Liberated Africans. John Finiss, the Chief Commissary of Police, wrote: ‘Many of the inhabitants do not in their declarations distinguish between slaves and Prize Negroes.’225 Employers as well saw them as nothing more than a source of cheap labour, just like their slaves, which had to be exploited to the maximum in a colony which was always plagued by labour shortages. The Commissioners of Eastern Enquiry took a special interest in the condition of the Liberated Africans and in their report, the Commissioners concluded that the Prize Negroes were treated no better and, in some cases, even worse off than the slaves.226 Barker has concluded that ‘It is not impossible that the planters concerned treated this casual labour force more harshly than the slaves they actually owned. What is certain is that in the Farquhar years they were operating free from any external humanitarian supervision or control.’227 Maroonage was the only escape from this new form of servitude called apprenticeship.
During the late 1820s and

Reference 590 - 0.01% Coverage

beef, ‘tandrac’, eels, shrimps etc.
According to local Colonial Officials, during one and a half years, they spread terror among the residents in the Western part of the Savanne District.230
In April 1825, in order

Reference 591 - 0.01% Coverage

4: PART VII – INDENTURED IMMIGRATION
Général Virieux and a French Catholic priest. He confessed that he was guilty of most of the charges brought against him, except for the one count of murder and the three counts of attempted murder. Two days later, Fritz and his followers were executed in the yard of the Civil Prisons next to the present-day Supreme Court. In fact, Fritz, the Liberated African, was the last great maroon leader in colonial Mauritius.231
CONCLUSION
In August 1827, P

Reference 592 - 0.01% Coverage

their country is probable.’233
According to the Return on Liberated Africans which was submitted by P.Salter, the Acting Collector of Customs, 5 Liberated Africans, 3 males and 2 females had completed their 14-year period of indenture, were given their Acts of Freedom and returned to their countries of origin. At the same time, between 1820 and 1827, there were 34 British colonial and military officials and some Franco-Mauritian planters who took around 60 Liberated Africans, who served them, to different overseas destinations such as England, India and the Cape Colony with the permission of the Collector of Customs.234
Figure 31
Liberated Africans and

Reference 593 - 0.01% Coverage

supposed to have been stolen.
The ten men unaccounted for were on board the colonial brig Wizard or H.M.S Menai on a voyage to
9 10
Countess of Holmer

Reference 594 - 0.01% Coverage

Collector of Customs, Cunningham mentioned:
"In 1828, in consequence of the letters of the Colonial Secretary dated the 19th March of that year [1828] and 12th of the preceding April [1827], a practice of renewing or prolonging the indentures of condemned had been adopted here."
It is evident that between April 1827 and September 1828, the local British Colonial Government, under Governor Sir Lowry Cole, took new measures such as prolonging the indenture of the Government apprentices by seven years, established new monthly wage rates for them, and set up an 'Apprentice Fund.' 33235 In June 1833, the Collector of Customs informed the Governor that there were 1,388 apprentices with 367 children of apprentices who had passed away who were still under his authority.236 This meant that between 1827 and 1833, or over a period of six years, there was a decrease from 1,783 to only 1,388 Liberated Africans still under contract or under the responsibility of the Customs Department.
However, between 1833 and 1839

Reference 595 - 0.01% Coverage

employers were requested to free.
For his part, the Collector of Customs agreed most of the time with the requests and recommended the names of the Liberated Africans to the Governor through the Colonial Secretary. The Collector had to certify that the Government apprentices were fit for freedom. Then, it was up to the Governor to give his approval, which he usually did, and it was only then that the Liberated African was given his or her 'Act of Freedom' by the Collector of Customs. It is important to note that some of those who received their freedom were Liberated African women who had several children.237
In August 1833, there were

Reference 596 - 0.01% Coverage

Janne, James and Babelle"36
Gradually, during the 1830s, there were several Liberated African men and women who had completed their indenture contracts and were able to earn a living as skilled and semi-skilled workers. At the same time as they were securing their freedom and that of their children, they got married and secured their family ties. As the records of the Office of the Customs Department clearly revealed, some of the time-expired Liberated African men and women had become productive members, of society, and they managed to carve out a place for themselves in mid-19th century Mauritian colonial society.
Truth and Justice Commission 258

Reference 597 - 0.01% Coverage

BEGINNINGS AND DEVELOPMENTS TILL 1870S

In the colonial lexicon, planters, as well as the colonial authorities, depicted the Indian immigrant labourers as being ‘from the lowest and most ignorant classes of their countrymen who at present appear to be beyond the reach of the civilising and humanising influences of religion and education’.238 Despite this awareness about the lack of education among the immigrants, the need to provide education to the labourers and their children did not fit into the scheme of things for planters, neither did it have the attention from the administrators in the first few decades because, for Mauritian
authorities, Indian indentured labourers were

Reference 598 - 0.01% Coverage

of the Indian languages […]”239
Despite this general lackadaisical attitude, colonial authorities at times put across the idea of educating the children of labouring classes, although there were no efforts towards its realisation, and it remained at the levels of rhetoric and individual opinion.
Immediately after the
commencement of

Reference 599 - 0.01% Coverage

among the children of labourers,
“On the subject of Public Schools, I have lately laid before you some propositions [...] and if they should be adopted, I trust that there will at length be established throughout the colony a general
system of schools, under the

Reference 600 - 0.01% Coverage

interests of the sugar industry.
Upon receiving the Report of the Special Committee, the Colonial Office gave its authorization to Governor Higginson to go ahead with his proposal of compulsory education but with a cautious note about not infringing upon the ‘prejudices’ of the coolies.250 Despite the disagreement of the Special Committee, Governor Higginson reiterated his preference for setting up separate schools for the children of immigrant population with vernacular medium of instructions. He proposed to augment the number of schools in each locality where a sufficient number of children could be found and on his initiative, two Indian schools were started in Port-Louis.251 To explicate the reasons for his choice, he noted in the minute dated 12th November 1856,
“Indian parents prefer their children

Reference 601 - 0.01% Coverage

1867 1287
Source: ARPI, 1868.
The next spurt in the development of education came in the post-Royal Commission era but, before going into that, we shall discuss the underlying motives of colonial administrators and planters efforts for promoting the education among Indian immigrants. By the middle of 1850s, the Indian labour Diaspora had acquired a numerically prominent presence in Mauritius with a sizeable number of young children and the colonial authorities began to call for rescuing these children from ‘stalid ignorance’256 and ‘elevate their moral and social conditions’257. But did these benevolent civilisational intentions really

induce the administrators like Higginson to take so keen an interest in promoting education or there were more matter-of-fact reasons behind it? Racial stereotyping of the Indian immigrants continued to be reflected in Higginson's minutes on education where he traced the absence of civilising influences among them.
The colonial authorities, as well as
planters, portrayed these ignorant immigrants

Reference 602 - 0.01% Coverage

them to be acquainted".260
Those revelations of the colonial promoters of education make it clear that their innate
motive for promoting education among

Reference 603 - 0.01% Coverage

setting up schools on the
plantations because it reduced the financial burden on planters in running schools for the children of labourers which they were most hesitant to do, for its 'non-productive' implications. Adolphe de Plevitz, who was trying to secure a fair treatment for the immigrant labourers while maintaining a school on his estate for the children of Indian immigrants, was very much concerned with the their education as well because he envisaged education as a vehicle of socio-economic emancipation and strongly believed that education would give the children the opportunity of improving themselves so as to be able to cope in their adult life in Mauritius.264 He raised the issue of inadequate educational arrangements for the immigrant labourers on estates in the press and before the Royal Commission. He underlined the lackadaisical attitude of the Colonial Government which had not taken a single legislative initiative to promote education among the children of immigrant labourers and a lack of qualified teachers for the Indian schools.265 The derisory arrangements of education for the children of Indian labour Diaspora were validated by the Royal Commission also. Royal Commissioners reported that 'the education was deplorably low among all classes of Indian population' and out of nearly 40,000 Indian population between the age of five and fourteen years, not more that one thousand were attending schools, and even among this infinitesimal number of school going children, the proportion of girls was negligible.266 In spite of expressing serious concerns over the deplorable condition of education for the immigrant children, Royal Commission did not make any concrete suggestions for the setting up of a comprehensive education system. At the level of a vague suggestion, it recommended for 'some system of compulsory education' for the children up to ten years of age.267
2. DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN EDUCATION

Reference 604 - 0.01% Coverage

OF INSTRUCTION AND LANGUAGES TAUGHT
The steady development of 'Indian education' in Mauritius began only after the arrival of Arthur Phayre as Governor in 1874. Phayre's concerns were similar to Higginson – saving the Indian children from growing up as destitute.268 However, he was clearer in his priorities and more in command of the situation than Higginson had been, and therefore he could attain certain landmarks in establishing an educational system for the children of Indian diaspora. The need for educating the children of immigrants was realised by colonial officials who witnessed the permanency in their settlement patterns. Those officials could visualise the growing prominence of Indian Diaspora in the economic realm of the island because of the large scale land acquisitions by the diasporic community. The Procureur Général suggested

for government intervention in the education for immigrants, because he could envisage them as ‘the future Lords and Masters of the land in Mauritius’.269 In Phayre’s opinion, English education was not of much use for the children of immigrant community, and he proposed languages spoken by the immigrants as the medium of education. In Phayre’s scheme of education in vernacular medium, the Superintendent of Schools, Browne, noted his disagreement and proposed a two language system – English as the main language, and Tamil or Hindi as secondary language. He reiterated the scarcity of qualified teachers as the main obstacle for adopting the vernacular medium as the primary language of education. However, Phayre remained unperturbed and firmly decided to go ahead with his proposal of setting up of separate schools for immigrants’ children in their own languages, especially Hindi and Tamil.
The medium of instruction for the Indian population remained one of the principal concerns in the domain of education throughout the colonial period and its consequences continue to sway the education system of post-colonial Mauritius. The Government of India consistently opposed adopting French and Creole as media of instruction for the children of Indian immigrants out of apprehension of their ‘creolisation’.270 The Government of Mauritius was not in favour of including Indian vernacular languages. The main argument for insisting on creole was the familiarity of Indian children (the majority of whom were born in Mauritius) with the Creole patois, and they were supposed to live their lives in Mauritius. Another reason for the opposition was the high expenditure in obtaining teachers from India to teach in vernacular mediums.

Reference 605 - 0.01% Coverage

of the Committee for the
discontinuation of these schools was related to the medium of instruction. The Committee opined that vernacular learning would be of no use to the immigrants, and that English education would be better for them. Further, the Committee found the expenditure on importing teachers from India uncalled for.274 Upon the recommendations of this Committee, Governor Bowen decided to change the nature of these schools. Some were relocated, English was included as the medium of instruction, and these were rechristened as Anglo-Vernacular Schools after their administrative control was handed over to the School Department. At first glance, this emphasis on English appeared to be very progressive, since inculcate progressive values in the children of immigrants’, but the essential motivation of the administrative authorities for the education of immigrants’ children remained the same to make them capable of calculating their wages. This attitude exemplifies the discriminatory attitude of the colonial administrators who wanted the Indian immigrants to be labourers forever. The Protector for example, noted in his Report for 1881, ‘all that need to be taught is to be able to read and write and to master thoroughly the principles of addition and subtraction in order that they may be able to calculate their wages due to them and may be able to jot up their accounts’.275
3. DEVELOPMENTS AFTER ROYAL COMMISSION

Reference 606 - 0.01% Coverage

DEVELOPMENTS AFTER ROYAL COMMISSION 1875
Considering the apprehensions of the Indian community, Colonial authorities in Mauritius were very careful about education being provided and propagated by the Church. Phayre ignored pressure from the missionaries to promote Church education so the children of Indian community could be induced to convert to Christianity, and his observations on ‘secular instruction’ were very

Reference 607 - 0.01% Coverage

indulge in promoting religious education,
"The pupils will for the most part, be children of Hindus or Mohamedans. It is not the duty of Government to provide for the conversion of these people. It would be wrong to do so without the consent of their parents or guardians; and a Government cannot, in my opinion, ever be sure of the voluntary consent of hundreds or thousands to the instruction of their children in a religion other than their own. The noble work of instructing these children in the truths of Christianity, may probably be left to the clergy of the Churches in the Colony, to be accomplished elsewhere than in school."276
This might have some disadvantages

Reference 608 - 0.01% Coverage

EDUCATION AMONG THE INDIAN IMMIGRANTS
The demand for education from the Indian Diaspora did not come until the turn of the century. As a matter of fact, the Indian immigrants opposed the educational initiatives for their children till quite late, and this has been ascribed by the colonial authorities as well as by many scholars as the factor responsible for the restricted growth of education among the Indian Diaspora, despite the serious efforts made by the administrators. We have already examined the validity of the colonial claims for promoting education among the immigrant children. Therefore in this section we shall discuss only the possible reasons behind the immigrants' reluctance to send their children to the schools. Primary education was dominated by the Christian missionaries, and the curriculum for the children had obvious focus on the religious values of Christianity, which made it suspect in the eyes of the Indian immigrants. They feared that their children would be proselytised to convert into Christianity in these schools, and this apprehension prevented many of them in sending their children to schools.
The other major obstacle was

Reference 609 - 0.01% Coverage

and an Indian language.288
Further, in Mauritius, education was always fee-paying till the 1880s, which worked as another very crucial deterrent to the spread of education. The colonial administrators always opined that education should always be paid for by the beneficiaries because only then would its importance would be realised. Instead of furthering its importance, the system of paying for education actually made it a premium service which became unattainable for the Indentured labourers who were
Truth and Justice Commission 268

Reference 610 - 0.01% Coverage

Children and Lack of Education
The other important economic factor, but which had been propagated the most in the colonial authorities' blame game, for the absence of children of Diaspora was their productivity potential for an economically distressed community. From a very early age, the children of indentured labourers began to lend a helping hand to their families in plantation work by taking up work that was not so physically demanding. The work of children on the plantations, which was encouraged by the planters as well because it provided them relatively cheap labour, contributed significantly to the incomes of immigrant families and reduced the financial strain. Colonial authorities and planters were also responsible for institutionalising child labour, and therefore deprive children of educational opportunities. Education was not made compulsory

and in fact, child labour was never institutionalised and approved in the labour regime. Children who were over 9 years of age were allowed to work and were paid 5 s wages and after four years of work. At the age of 13 only, their wages were increased to
8 s, which was the

Reference 611 - 0.01% Coverage

which deprived children of the
But this logic was at work only till the 1870s, and in the post - 1870 phase when the Indian immigrants gradually amassed modest amount of wealth, they made every possible effort to secure the best possible education for their children. In fact, the lackadaisical attitude of the colonial authorities who never made education compulsory in a clear manner, the insensitive response and refusal of support from the planters and the imposition of an alien medium of instruction deterred the spread of education more than the economic pressure of the immigrant community.
5. CHANGING ATTITUDES, DEMAND FOR

Reference 612 - 0.01% Coverage

change. Despite acquiring considerable economic
resources, they still felt handicapped because of their ignorance and they gradually focused on the education of their children, which they were now in a position to pay for. Indian children were educated in the traditional knowledge through Baithakas and Madrasas. In fact, Baithakas contributed very significantly not only to inculcating the initial education in the children but were also vital in the emergence of community consciousness among the immigrants. The first demand from the Indian immigrants for their participation in education, as traced by C. Kalla, came from the Muslim community towards the end of 1880s when a petition signed by more than 7,000 members of the Indian community was submitted to the Governor.290 This sectarian classification of this petition by Kalla was falling in line with the distorted explanation offered by the colonial administrators to reject the petition, and it does not carry much weight as Kalla himself mentions that the petition was signed by members of diasporic community across the religious affiliations. The possible lead was taken by a group of Muslim merchants who were emerging as economically influential class among the Diaspora. At the turn of the century, the attitude of the Indian immigrants witnessed a gradual positive change in favour of educating their children, as Governor Jerningham reported to the Secretary of State, 'The half-time schools are rapidly becoming full time second grade schools, a proof that Indian parents are anxious to give to their children the full benefit of a whole day's education'.291 This affirmative outcome of this changed attitude soon began to be reflected in the increased representation of Indian community in different 'white collar' vocations like clerks and some even went to European countries after being educated at the prestigious Royal College, as a report observed in 1906:
"Many of their children are

Reference 613 - 0.01% Coverage

COMPARISONS WITH OTHER INDENTURED DESTINATIONS
While mentioning the development of education among the children of Indentured labourers in Mauritius, it may be worth bringing in some figures from other colonies which were importing the indentured labourers from India in order to bring in the comparative perspectives which will help to underline the general administrative apathy and low levels of education among the children of Indian immigrants in Mauritius. Surgeon Major Comin reported that in Trinidad about 19% of the total children were going to

the school and in Demerara it was 20% of the total number of children among the immigrant community. For the Mauritius, as reported by Muir Mackenzie in 1893, only about 7% were going to school.297 An almost similar story appears in an official report presented to the Government of India in 1915. James McNeill and Chiman Lal made a detailed enquiry about the conditions of Indian immigrants in Trinidad, British Guiana, Jamaica, Fiji and Surinam.298 For Trinidad there were schools within one to miles away from every estate.299 In British Guiana, schools were very close to estates and in fact, the majority of estates had schools on site. Of the total children of school-going age about ⅓ were attending schools.300 For Jamaica, also, about more than ⅓ of children among the Indian community were going to school.301 The level of education was remarkably high among the Indian immigrant population in the Dutch colony of Surinam where more than ½ of the total children of school-going age were attending schools.302 Only for Fiji did they report that education among the children of Indians was not satisfactory, and that few were attending schools. According to this report, the primary reason for such higher levels of education among the children of Indian population in these colonies were primarily the encouragement of the colonial governments and the estate owners.

Now let us look at the figures for school-going children among the Indian community in Mauritius. According to the Annual Report of the colony for year 1908, only 7,000 children of Indian parents were going to school when the total number of children of school going age was between 50,000 to 60,000 which means that only about 12-14% children were attending schools even at the beginning of 20th century. 303 In the case of Mauritius, schools were not very close to the estates, often five six miles away,304 which made it very difficult for the children to walk such long distances (there was no other means of transport available to that class at that time) just to attend

school.

Moreover, there was general

Reference 614 - 0.01% Coverage

the indentured workers and mistreatment.

A careful reading of the report of Commissioner Swettenham and his fellow Commissioners to the Colonial Office shows that they felt that the importation of indentured immigrants to Mauritius from India should be permanently abolished. In 1910, as a direct result of the Commission’s findings, the Earl of Crewe, the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, appointed a Special Committee consisting of members of the British Parliament, under the chairmanship of Lord Sanderson.

The Committee investigated the social and economic conditions of indentured workers who were sent from British India to work in the various overseas European colonies. During the course of the same year, the Sanderson Committee Report was published and it recommended that the exportation of indentured labour to British Mauritius cease. It partially based its recommendations upon the fact that between 1900 and 1909, there was a gradual decline in the number of new indentured immigrants who were being brought to Mauritius.

THE LAST INDENTURED WORKERS

The

Reference 615 - 0.01% Coverage

Mauritius.

THE LAST INDENTURED WORKERS

The Mauritius Almanac of 1913 provides important statistics on the last decades of the indentured labour system in the colony. Between 1906 and 1910, more than 1,700 indentured labourers arrived in Mauritius, while more than 3,400 of them left. There were thus twice as many indentured immigrants leaving rather

than arriving. In addition, during the 1910s, thousands of former Indian sugarcane workers left Mauritius for India or for other sugar colonies such as Natal, Guyana and Fiji.
Between 1923 and 1924, around

Reference 616 - 0.01% Coverage

FOR CONTEMPORARY MAURITIUS
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY
This project on the Economics of Colonialism, Slavery, Indenture and their consequences on Contemporary Mauritius covers the salient features of the complementary dual processes of economic development and under development of Mauritius from the periods of colonisation of the three European Colonial Powers, Holland, France and Britain, until today.
Particular care was
taken to

Reference 617 - 0.01% Coverage

indentured labour and their descendants.
Slavery and the indentured labour system in Mauritius were developed and sustained by Colonial Powers: the Dutch, the French and the British. Profit brought the first colonisers to Mauritius and has dominated life ever since.1 There has been a striking continuity underlying the process of colonisation by each of the colonial powers: on the one hand, the development of specific economic and social structures and, on the other hand, economic exploitation and social oppression and exclusion. A rigid class and racial hierarchy was established.
A turning point was reached

Reference 618 - 0.01% Coverage

the plantation (sugar) economy.2
Moreover, the subservience of the economy to the British Colonial Empire with (amongst others) its free trade policy and adoption of the cheap labour policy and the frequent economic depressions in the international economy and in Mauritius led to a growing lumpenproletariat, together with unemployed ex-indentured labourers. Under such circumstances, other sectors of the economy would progressively come under the fold of very cheap labour, excluding those used to working for somewhat higher wages. Unemployment and poverty were very much prevalent by the last third of the nineteenth century and in the major part of the twentieth century.
The plantocracy kept on pressing for the importation of indentured labour to sustain its cheap labour policy, creating further unemployment and poverty. And the Colonial State caused further impoverishment of the labouring classes and the poor by levying heavy taxes on them. And the Royal Commission of Enquiry of 1909 essentially recommended measures in favour of the plantocracy, with hardly any for the labouring classes and the poor.
By then, the internal dynamics of the economic system, through the need to modernise the Sugar Industry to face international competition, created the conditions for the parcellisation of land. In the process, those excluded from the plantation economy did not, and could hardly, become buyers. On the other hand, those mainly from the ex-indentured labourers, the job contractors, the sirdars, the traders, the middlemen would become small landowners. A new social class of small and medium planters was born and a new business community and elite was in the making. The emergence of this new social class did not fundamentally have a major impact on the prevailing large lumpenpoletariat and generally on the poor.

The overall social structure would prevail, except with this new transformation: the plantocracy and the Colonial State would continue to be the supreme powers.
Another major turning point in

Reference 619 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 287
VOL 4 : PART VIII – ECONOMY AND SOCIETY UNDER COLONIALISM – ECONOMICS OF COLONIALISM. SLAVERY AND INDENTURE AND THE CONSEQUENCES FOR CONTEMPORARY MAURITIUS
exploitative system: the strikes and marches of the labourers and small planters of 1937, the strike of the dockers and labourers of 1938 and the strikes and marches of the labourers in 1943. Preceding these events, the Mauritius Labour Party was founded in 1936 by Dr. Maurice Curé, assisted soon afterwards by Emmanuel Anquetil. The Colonial State would react with a mix of approaches: repression, divide and rule tactics and accommodation.
On the societal level, a new bourgeoisie/elite emerged. Experts were sent by the British Imperial Government to study the economic and social state of affairs and to make recommendations: Meade, Titmuss and Balogh. The Colonial Power in the end controlled the situation and created conditions, with the help of the elite and the business community, to grant Independence to Mauritius. But, the perennial problems of unemployment and poverty were still prevalent. Social exclusion had become a permanent feature of Mauritius; economic power was still concentrated in the hands of the sugar oligarchy, whilst the new bourgeoisie stepped to the shoes of the Colonial Power and made its way slowly into the world of business. An entrenched economic and social system developed and nurtured over more than two centuries, prevailed.
During the post-Independence period

Reference 620 - 0.01% Coverage

still entrenched in Mauritian society.
Colonialism, together with slavery and indentured labour, has had consequences of a systemic nature. The policies of the post-Independence era have, only to a limited extent, succeeded in mitigating these consequences. But still, cheap labour policy has been adhered to; in new sectors, like BPO, and in new privatised services, like cleaning, working conditions are awful and, in the latter case, very low wages (about Rs. 3500) prevail. No doubt, improvements have been made in the economic and social fields. But the old capitalist system, reformed to a certain extent, still prevails with its obvious limitations like acute material disparity between the social classes, social exclusion, corruption and poverty.
Truth and Justice Commission 288

Reference 621 - 0.01% Coverage

INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT 1.1
Introduction
According to the latest records, Mauritius did not have any indigenous population. Mauritius, as an entity, was created by European Colonial Powers in their quest for trade with, and for investment in, Asia. However, prior to their arrival and presence, there was much trade in the Indian Ocean involving the Arabs, the Asians (Indian, Malays etc.). To our knowledge, Mauritius did not acquire any major importance for the trading countries involved.
It was when the route

Reference 622 - 0.01% Coverage

scale both domestically and industrially.
The economies of the new colonies in America, in the West Indies and in Asia were emphatically given an export orientation to satisfy the demand and the needs of European countries. To achieve this, the prevailing economic system in the colonies was sometimes destroyed and made subservient to the needs of the Colonial Powers; the cost of production was minimized with coerced labour and, later, with abundant, cheap labour, amongst other things.
indigenous populations, and different forms

Reference 623 - 0.01% Coverage

later of cheap contractual labour.
Commercial outlets and commercial supremacy led to industrial supremacy and vice versa. The various European Colonial Powers then engaged in an intense competition for markets for their industrial produce, for labour and land for their export-oriented industries in the colonies, and for the control of sea routes to reach their destinations.
This intense intercolonial rivalry led

Reference 624 - 0.01% Coverage

intense intercolonial rivalry led to
centuries of colonial wars among the main Colonial Powers: Spain, Portugal, Holland, Britain and France. Whilst the initial major thrust of colonial expansion took place in America and in the Caribbean Islands in the 16th and 17th centuries, by the 18th and 19th centuries, Asia and the Indian Ocean became of major importance for the Colonial Powers. The somewhat isolated islands of the Indian Ocean acquired strategic importance for them.
Mauritius, Réunion Island, the Seychelles

Reference 625 - 0.01% Coverage

be appropriate for the Dutch.
They would set the tone for the way Mauritius would be used thereafter by other European Colonial Powers. Firstly, Mauritius would provide the ships with food, water and with a resting and recuperative place to the sailors and passengers of ships during their long voyages between Holland and Asia. Secondly, the Dutch would start the process of deforestation by felling ebony trees and shipping them both to the Dutch possessions in Asia, and to Europe. The export orientation given to the ‘development’ of Mauritius became there and then the underlying thread connecting all Colonial Powers settling and controlling in Mauritius.
To provide supplies to the

Reference 626 - 0.01% Coverage

due to lack of space.

The spice trade with Asia attracted French colonialism to that region; the French wanted to develop trade with Java, and the Malay Peninsula, but the presence of the Dutch prevented them from doing so. Moreover, just like the Dutch, the French needed at least a port of call in the Indian Ocean to allow its ships to reach Asia more easily and to be able to have some control of the corresponding sea routes.
They initially settled in Bourbon

Reference 627 - 0.01% Coverage

become effective as from 1810.
By 1815, the 'hegemony' of British Colonialism in the Indian Ocean and in India became a reality and lasted into the 20th century.
1.5 British Colonialism
Mauritius was a 'unique' British colony in several ways. To understand the rationale underlying this uniqueness, we shall briefly examine the phases through which British Colonialism went and the particular characteristics of the Anglo-French rivalry, especially in the Indian Ocean.
By the 16th century, Britain

Reference 628 - 0.01% Coverage

the early 17th Initially, mercantilist
Britain was interested in trade. By the mid 16th century, British businessmen were among the first slave traders in the era of colonial slavery. Sir John Hawkins, who was a ship owner and entrepreneur, carried a cargo of enslaved Africans from the West African Coast to be sold in the Spanish Colony of Haiti, known then as Hispaniola.
century, the trade was
enhanced

Reference 629 - 0.01% Coverage

and the Caribbean Islands etc.
The colonists or new settlers brought with them European indentured labour to work on the plantations or to practise their badly-needed specialized craftsmanship (carpenter, tinsmith, etc.). These workers had a contract of between four and ten years and were paid wages. The driving force of the emerging industrial bourgeoisie in Britain towards colonising North America was the pursuit of profit; Lawrence James wrote: "The pursuit of profit remained the most powerful driving force behind Britain's bid for North American colonies."5 At that time, the settlers were accompanied by priests who would reassure the colonists that "God intended that the land, usurped by unreasonable people (i.e. the natives), be redeemed by British settlement."6
Intercolonial rivalry was rife in

Reference 630 - 0.01% Coverage

replace European indentured white labour.
Various Colonial European Powers created colonial plantation economies/ societies producing one or two commodities like sugar, cotton, tobacco, coffee etc., with coerced, unwaged African enslaved people as labour. All those plantation economies were very much labour intensive; thus, millions of African

enslaved people to be used as unwaged labour were transported to the Americas and the Caribbean. It was the triumph of the 'most powerful driving force' of colonization, that of the pursuit of profit.
The British plantocracy was enriched; the British Colonial State increased its revenue very significantly through various duties and taxes; the colonies became, in turn, a market for goods manufactured in Britain, thus stimulating the industrial development in Britain.
But thereafter occurred the American

Reference 631 - 0.01% Coverage

new situation, as mentioned below.
British Colonialism would adapt At the same time, by 1776, Adam Smith's book The
Wealth of Nations was published

Reference 632 - 0.01% Coverage

slave labour and free trade.
The defeat of British Colonialism in the American War of Independence created the conditions necessary for a second wave of British Colonialism:
Asia, (esp. India and China

Reference 633 - 0.01% Coverage

India and China), Australia and
hence, the Indian Ocean and the Cape of Good Hope became the new targets for expansionism, trade and investments. The sea routes to the East acquired major significance and Mauritius, of major strategic importance for the Colonial Powers. Intercolonial rivalry and, in particular, AngloFrench rivalry dominated the struggle for the control of sea routes to India, Asia and Australia. Hence the Anglo-French wars for the control of the Indian Ocean. In fact, intercolonial rivalry took on almost planetary proportions.
The third wave of British Colonialism reflected changes happening in the industrial and financial developments of the European Colonial Powers. Raw materials, labour and land became more and more important, leading to a scramble for Africa.
1.6 Concluding Remarks
The

Reference 634 - 0.01% Coverage

Africa.
1.6 Concluding Remarks
The development of Capitalism in Britain and in Europe produced an offshoot Colonialism, initially driven by Mercantilism, then by industrial and financial capitalism.
Slave labour and indentured labour are labour systems developed and nurtured by the various European Colonial Powers. Plantation economies and societies would emerge where the economies of the colonies, and, in particular, of colonized islands like Mauritius would be tailor-made to satisfy the sustained pursuit of profit, the accumulation of capital and in the process, satisfy the demands/needs of the commodity markets of the European Colonial Powers.

Reference 635 - 0.01% Coverage

VOL 4 : PART VIII – ECONOMY AND SOCIETY UNDER COLONIALISM – ECONOMICS OF COLONIALISM. SLAVERY AND INDENTURE AND THE CONSEQUENCES FOR CONTEMPORARY MAURITIUS

Any thorough study of slavery, i.e., the system of coerced labour of enslaved peoples, can only be done in the context of the study of Colonialism and its ramifications. The coerced unwaged labour of the enslaved people, with its initial very high death-rate, ensured the 'optimal' minimization of the costs of the production of the planters and various related companies from Europe and, as a consequence, the maximization of profits. Moreover, following the resistance of the enslaved people, the publication of Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations in 1776, the defeat of Britain in the American War of Independence, and the interests of the East India Company in India and Asia, slave trade and, later slavery, would be abolished in most of the British Empire, much later, in 1835.

But the plantocracy needed labour and, where necessary, it looked elsewhere for cheap labour. Thus, cheap indentured labour on a massive scale progressively replaced the labour of the enslaved people to secure, if not to perpetuate, the maximisation of profits and capital accumulation, and all the related financial/business interests of the Colonial Powers and, sometimes of new emerging interests from among the colonized peoples.

What should not be overlooked is that the various economic and labour systems were developed to satisfy the needs of emerging classes of people and the States in Europe: initially, a mercantile bourgeoisie, then an industrial and financial bourgeoisie from the Colonial Powers, and, obviously, of the plantocracy in the island-colonies. Thus, Auguste Toussaint wrote:

"The mercantile bourgeoisie had had

Reference 636 - 0.01% Coverage

of the Industrial Revolution."7

Slave labour came from Africa and Asia, especially India and the Malay peninsula. As for indentured labour in the 19th century, Britain made good use of the reservoirs of cheap labour in its new colonies/semi-colonies: India and China. Auguste Toussaint would emphatically point out that, following the abolition of slavery:

"The solution then was to

Reference 637 - 0.01% Coverage

labour, India and China."8

Thus for Mauritius, to understand the slave system and indenture labour system, the role played by French and British Colonialisms is of paramount importance.

Reference 638 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 293

VOL 4 : PART VIII – ECONOMY AND SOCIETY UNDER COLONIALISM – ECONOMICS OF COLONIALISM. SLAVERY AND INDENTURE AND THE CONSEQUENCES FOR CONTEMPORARY MAURITIUS
CHAPTER 2: THE FRENCH COLONIAL PERIOD 2.1 The Economic evolution of Ile de France 2.1.1 The First Years 1721 – 1735
Ile de France was governed by the French Compagnie des Indes Orientales from 1721 to 1767. The first few years were particularly difficult and the French colony hardly took off. The Compagnie des Indes Orientales had a monopoly of trade, and this created conditions for fraudulent trade both in goods (especially foodstuffs) and in slaves. In 1725, there were 213 people in Ile de France, including 34 slaves 9.
Moreover, by 1726, there were

Reference 639 - 0.01% Coverage

was only £20 million.
The
growth of French trade from the 1710s had been faster than the growth of British trade. The main support to long-distance trade, the plantation system, was larger and more efficient in the French colonies than in the British ones. Based on Daudin's work, it can be said that the 18th century was the golden age of the French ascendancy and prosperity in international trade.
An essential
ascendancy of long

Reference 640 - 0.01% Coverage

to 6% for successful planters.
Besides, at a time when France was often at war with Britain, privateering was a great spur to commercial activities and local merchants derived much profit from their investment in these activities. The heyday of Ile de France in the 18th century came with the designation of Port Louis as a free port in 1787. Visitors to Port Louis in those days described the harbour "crowded with ships of numerous nations, the commercial sector lined with shops filled with provisions and merchandise from every quarter and with colonial produce and the adjoining streets plying their trade with a general appearance of abundance and prosperity."21
The embryonic state of domestic

Reference 641 - 0.01% Coverage

of export activities, is largely
dependent on them and cannot be planned exogenously. This statement gives an indication of the importance of external events-institutional, political and economic and external trade in these states and underlines the extent of their exposure to external shocks on which they have no control. Such is the situation which prevails in these countries which have to adjust and adapt continuously to the exigencies which derive from their small size or insularity and remoteness. This may also help us to form an idea of the difficulties which confronted the French administrators and colonists, when they undertook the task of creating a colony in such a remote location as that of Ile de France in the 18th century. Such were also the responsibilities and commitments which Labourdonnais had taken, following his meeting with the Directors of the French East India Company in 1734. After his arrival at Ile de France on the 4th June 1735, Labourdonnais lost no time in setting about this task with zeal and determination. Unfortunately, a

good deal of his time and the island's resources, scanty as they were at that time, were spent on refuting the accusations levelled against him and on a failed struggle against Britain in India.
Meanwhile, the bankruptcy of the

Reference 642 - 0.01% Coverage

France had a prominent place".
The average life expectancy was then barely fifty years, especially in the colonies, which Toussaint has described as a race against time. In that context, trade gives rise rapidly to speculation. AngloFrench rivalry in the Indian Ocean, the lack of appropriate legislation, an abundance of paper money, the absence of banks, all those factors promoted speculation and led to recurrent periods of scarcity, or prosperity.
Although speculation reached its peak

Reference 643 - 0.01% Coverage

of the Ile de France
As from 1806, the British Navy began the blockade of French trade in the Indian Ocean. The British blockade disrupted considerably the flow of maritime traffic to the island and seriously eroded the prominence of Ile de France in commercial activities and entrepôt trade and brought a sharp decline in the fortunes of local merchants and a series of bankruptcies. During the last years of Ile de France, there was a scarcity of specie in the colony and many businessmen were heavily indebted.
In order to counter the

Reference 644 - 0.01% Coverage

of the Ile de France.
When Britain conquered Ile de France in December 1810, it inherited a colony which had been ravaged by war and deprivation. Mauritius had been neglected by the French who used the island's resources to supply their ships during the war against Britain in India and generally left the inhabitants to fend for themselves. The finances were in a deplorable state following the British blockade of the island. Most of the colonists were heavily indebted. While it had prospered as a naval base and a trading port under the French, Mauritius became initially an outpost of minor importance to Britain. The absence of financial institutions, the lack of financial rigour and the reckless speculation, which characterized the last years of Ile de France, left deep scars on local financiers. It was the unenviable task of Governor Farquhar and his new British administration to bring some order in this chaotic situation.
2.2 The Emergence of

Reference 645 - 0.01% Coverage

Emergence of the Coloured Population
As in colonial slave societies, there emerged in Ile de France an intermediate social class or social group between the slave masters and the enslaved people.
The demography of the Coloured

Reference 646 - 0.01% Coverage

at least 8,163.29
The Coloured Population thus had a special relationship with the other social groups or classes in French Colonial Society. Their economic role was rather limited and was made worse during the period of Decaën who restored certain regressive legislation on landownership by the Coloured Population.
2.3 Labour Systems 2

Reference 647 - 0.01% Coverage

2.3.1
Slave Labour
The predominant form of labour during the French colonial period was the labour of enslaved peoples who were brought mainly from Madagascar, East Africa, Mozambique and India. enslaved peoples were chattel labour, considered as the private property of their owners. Code Noir was proclaimed on the 18th September 1724 in the form of Lettres Patentes.
The The
Truth and Justice

Reference 648 - 0.01% Coverage

2.3.2 Indentured Labour
For colonies to survive, there was a need for labour across the world. Whilst slave labour was the predominant form of labour, there were also indentured workers from both France and India. From 1727 to 1740, 237 French workers as ‘engagés’ were brought from France.30 From India, skilled workers were brought to build Port Louis harbour and to carry out various construction projects.
2.3.3 Other Forms

Reference 649 - 0.01% Coverage

3 Other Forms of Labour
As trade between French colonial Power with China developed, there was a tendency for the French to bring Chinese labour by force, or otherwise, to Ile de France to cater for different types of occupations, just as they used their ‘comptoirs’ in India to transport Indian slaves and skilled workers to Ile de France.
As early as 1761, during

Reference 650 - 0.01% Coverage

MAURITIUS
2.4 Concluding Remarks
French occupation of Ile de France followed the path defined by Dutch Colonialism. Ile de France was used as stop-over in carrying out trade with a resourceful Asia, especially China and India. Moreover, there was intense colonial rivalry, because British colonialism was equally competing for trade and investment in India, China and other parts of Asia.
The intermittent colonial wars
resulted in the defeat of the French by the British, thus creating the conditions for Mauritius to undergo a long spell of the dominant colonial power of the time.
The impact on labour, demography

Reference 651 - 0.01% Coverage

had consequences to this day.
French colonialism depended on slave labour as the dominant form of labour, looking eagerly for skilled labour in India, China and France. That labour started clearing the forests, developing sugar cultivation and contributing to the development of Port Louis and Mauritius in general. Even today, due recognition is not given to this contribution.
However, just like the Dutch

Reference 652 - 0.01% Coverage

the situation.
alarming rate."33
Mauritius was set to follow the pattern of 'development/underdevelopment' imposed by both the Dutch and French colonialism: trade, profits and capital accumulation, economic exploitation of labour and environmental degradation.
Truth and Justice Commission 300

Reference 653 - 0.01% Coverage

France, whilst Britain kept Mauritius.
The defeat of the French was incorporated in a Capitulation Treaty signed and ratified on the 3rd December, 1810. Three articles of the Treaty are particularly relevant to the future development, whether political, economic and social, of the colony of Mauritius:
Article VII: That the properties

Reference 654 - 0.01% Coverage

their religion, laws and customs.
Additional Article I: The public functionaries of the French Government shall be authorized to remain within the colony for a reasonable time in order to settle and arrange the public accounts with the inhabitants of the colony.
The blockade of Mauritius and

Reference 655 - 0.01% Coverage

famine to Isle de France.
The uncertainties of the new situation under British rule, with regard to trade on the one hand, and the access to the British market for its sugar, once Mauritius became a Crown colony, on the other hand, created the right conditions for a sugar expansion.
It should be borne in

Reference 656 - 0.01% Coverage

surge in sugar cane cultivation.

This interest was enhanced by the establishment of the Royal Society of Arts and Sciences in 1829 by Charles Telfair, with the support of the Colonial Government; the latter provided financial support. Having emphasized so far the implicit role of the plantocracy in developing sugar cane cultivation and sugar production, we should now consider the direct contribution of a key partner in the creation of wealth: labour. Thereafter, we shall consider the contribution of investors in bringing the capital necessary and the role of the Colonial State.
3.2.2 Value of

Reference 657 - 0.01% Coverage

Two reasons may explain this.
important rental market for slaves, regardless of occupation; urban slaves could be rented out to plantation owners, especially during the sugar cane harvest season. Therefore, as for other slaves, skilled slaves were also mobile across occupations. Moreover, the demand for skilled slaves reflects the isolation of the island from metropoles. Long journeys from Europe and the Indian Ocean implied that Mauritius had to develop local production of houses, clothing and shoes, among others, rather than relying exclusively on manufactured imports from Colonial Powers. The flexibility and local demand for output produced by skilled slaves explain their positive price premium.
Fifth, sugar production has a

Reference 658 - 0.01% Coverage

Systems 3.3.1
Introduction
As in the period of French colonization, colonies cannot survive without labour, and in particular without coercible, unwaged labour in the period of British colonisation from 1810 to 1839.
Moreover, there were several ‘types’

Reference 659 - 0.01% Coverage

supply and an ‘unrelenting discipline’.
We shall, instead, highlight the fact that slavery was a system that involved the most extreme form of economic exploitation. The propaganda, value systems, belief systems and sometimes ignorance of the plantocracy, of the Colonial Society, in general, have permeated the psychology and thinking of people in even the 21st century; it is believed, in some quarters , that the labour of enslaved peoples can be conveniently ignored. capital!
Everything has been achieved by

Reference 660 - 0.01% Coverage

3.3.3 Convict Labour
With Mauritius becoming a Crown Colony in 1815, the Sugar Industry had a major boost as Mauritius had access to the British market. Moreover, the dominant form of labour was that of the enslaved peoples; with the abolition of the slave trade, there was an urgent need for labour, although admittedly illegal slave trade flourished until around 1827, with some estimating that up to 30,000 enslaved individuals were illegally transported to Mauritius.
The first Governor of Mauritius

Reference 661 - 0.01% Coverage

he wrote to the British
Government a document entitled ‘Suggestions arising from the abolition of African Slave trade for supplying the demands of the West Indian colonies with agricultural labourers’, whereby he proposed “a plan for the introduction of Chinese labourers, already so successfully employed in the British settlements in the Eastern seas, into the British colonies in the West Indies”.68 But the plan was not accepted because it was claimed that there were practical problems in its implementation. Moreover, this episode indicated already that the abolition of the slave trade was creating serious labour problems for the various plantation economies/societies in the British Empire. There is no doubt that, with the proposed abolition of slavery, the labour problem would become very acute, indeed. Certainly, for Mauritius, the planters were exploring, well before the enacting of the corresponding Legislation, alternatives ways to supply labour. The issue was on the agenda of the British Government.
In 1827, A. D’Epinay was

Reference 662 - 0.01% Coverage

labour than the ‘recaptive’ Africans.
In 1811, the first group of ‘recaptive’ Africans, captured in an Arab vessel in May off the coast of East Africa, was brought to Mauritius.69 The Colonial Authorities entrusted to the Collector of Customs the responsibility of ‘taking care’ of the ‘recaptive’ Africans and of allocating them to employers/Government Officials. This first group was handed over as menial workers to the Police Department.
During the period 1813-1827

Reference 663 - 0.01% Coverage

the armed forces.
By late
1820s, the Colonial Government decided to extend the contract of the Government’s ‘recaptives’ by seven years.
It turned out that the

Reference 664 - 0.01% Coverage

percentage of them marooned.
For
example, between 1820 and 1826, 1085 males and 272 females marooned, but about 64% of them were re-captured.70 This may explain why certain observers of that time have described the so called ‘benevolent’ attitudes/policies of British Colonial Authorities to the ‘recaptive’ Africans as a disguised slave trade and a pool of cheap labour readily available, as and when required.
3.4 Banking, Finance and

Reference 665 - 0.01% Coverage

in 1810-1839: An Overview
The period prior to the British conquest of Mauritius was characterized by Anglo-French Colonial Wars and, in particular, the Napoleonic Wars. Trade suffered a lot; speculation was rife; industrial production went down, and uncertainties did much harm to trade and business in general. Following the British conquest in 1810, the British Navigation Acts initially impeded trade, especially with the ban on foreign ships, in spite of a declared policy of free trade by Governor Farquhar.
The Merchant Class was flourishing

Reference 666 - 0.01% Coverage

by some destructive tropical cyclones.
According to A. d'Epinay,71 "[…] pas un navire ne quitte l'île sans emporter plusieurs des riches familles en Europe […]. Comme tous ces colons émigrants sont précisément ceux qui ont realisé de la fortune, il en résulte que la Colonie devient de plus en plus pauvre." There is no doubt that some of these emigrants were possibly leaving because they could not live under British rule. Moreover, the capital exodus resulting from movements of the wealthy would be a recurring feature in the 19th century Mauritius. What was the response of the new British Colonial Government in Mauritius? Very early on, Governor Farquhar encouraged the setting up of the Bank of Mauritius in 1813 and later founded a Société Agricole with the objective of encouraging the development of the Sugar Industry. Further, in response to the requests for assistance from the Merchant Class after the fire, the Government took two measures. Firstly, a first loan of 100,000 dollars, followed by a second loan of 200,000 dollars were granted to the newly-created Bank of Mauritius; and secondly the Government passed, as a temporary and exceptional measure, the suspension of the Navigation Acts. As a consequence, Mauritius became a free port which would favour both external trade and agricultural production, with French ships being allowed to come to Port (see-table below).
Table 11 Ship Movements from

Reference 667 - 0.01% Coverage

following lobbies from Réunion Island.
Meanwhile, the plantocracy lobbied the Colonial Government intensely in Mauritius and the Imperial Government in London to do away with the preferential tariffs on sugar imports into Britain in favor of the British West Indies. And, in 1820, Britain granted freedom of trade, so that Port Louis became a free port. In 1821, the British West Indies lobby in Britain succeeded in fighting back by arguing that Mauritius could not benefit simultaneously from free trade and preferential tariffs for its sugar.
In Mauritius, there were debates

Reference 668 - 0.01% Coverage

to say, amongst other thing:
"Being thus frustrated in their speculation as to the free trade, they naturally became an agricultural colony, and in consequence of the successive hurricanes which destroyed the cotton and clove plantation, sugar was the only produce which enabled them to provide for their own subsistence, or to pay their taxes […] Bourbon being severed, by the Treaty of Paris, from Mauritius, enjoyed all her ancient advantages […] Mauritius was placed in this anomalous situation, since her connexion with Britain, that she was sacrificed to European policy; and, as to her trade, depressed, under some reference to our India system." Sir R. Farquhar used some of the arguments of the plantocracy in Mauritius, with regard to the comparison with Bourbon and with regard to the impact of hurricanes on the destruction of cotton and

clove plantations. Moreover, Sir R. Farquhar also placed the plight of Mauritius in the context of overall British Imperial policy. At the time of the British conquest, Mauritius was under the aegis of the East India Company, hence this influence on 'our India system'. Indeed, Mauritius was conquered because of its strategic importance to the British Empire; for the same reason, and to some extent in defence of free trade, there would be an equalization of tariffs on the imports of sugar into Britain for all the colonies of the Empire.

The impact of the tariff

Reference 669 - 0.01% Coverage

his memo to Lord Goderich:

"Une quantité considérable de machines fut en peu de temps achetée de la Métropole, plus de 150 machines à vapeur destinées aux sucreries, avec une bonne quantité de machines de tous genres, roués, alembic, générateurs, etc., furent importés dans la colonie. La dépense totale pour ces achats des machines importées à L'île Maurice pendant les années 1826, 1827, 1828 et 1829 s'évaluent à £ 140,058 qui, d'après Monsieur Huskisson, dépasse de beaucoup les achats des colons des autres colonies avec les marchands de la Métropole. Toutes les plantations furent hypothéquées afin de subvenir aux frais de construction de différentes manufactures et peu des colons sont parvenus à s'acquitter."73

In addition, there would be a fair number of British traders and businessmen who moved to Mauritius, becoming involved in various economic activities: internal trade, shipping, buying sugar estates, etc. They would join the Merchant Class of French colons and of Coloured People. It is of importance to note that there was already a Merchant Class of Indian origin, mainly South Indian, since the days of French colonialism; by the beginning of the 19th century, and during that same century, there would be another flow of Indian merchants from Gujarat and Bombay. They were involved in internal trade and external trade, especially trade with India. Some of these two strands of traders would be able to accumulate sufficient capital to become major owners of immovable properties, in particular, of sugar estates as well as money lenders.74

Truth and Justice Commission 319

Reference 670 - 0.01% Coverage

the Mauritius Bank complained:78

"Your Excellency is doubtless aware of the high rate of wages paid to all classes of the labouring population, a rate, I may be allowed to observe, far beyond what is necessary for their wants, or even for their lavish indulgence: the fact, however, is undoubted, and the consequences of it are that a very large sum of money is monthly abstracted from the circulation of the colony, hoarded by the Indian labourers and those of other countries, until the time may arrive when they leave the colony enriched by their highly paid labour."

And yet, the labourers were

Reference 671 - 0.01% Coverage

The Mauritius Commercial Bank – 1838

Just like the Mauritius Bank in 1832, the driving force behind the creation of the Mauritius Commercial Bank was the British business community, in particular the traders based in Port Louis or London trading houses with an office in Mauritius. The main company was Blyth, Brothers and Company. The latter played a most important part in winning support for the bank from both the Colonial Government and the Imperial Government in London.

The planters and traders in

Reference 672 - 0.01% Coverage

slavery 3.5.1 Introduction
To understand the various issues concerning abolition of slavery, and the way people would react to them, it is important to recapitulate the social forces in Mauritius involved at that time. There was the British Colonial State in Mauritius and the British Imperial Government; the Planters Community were predominantly French, with some British planters. Moreover, there was an important presence of the British traders or financiers either through a company in Mauritius, representing their interests or through an office set up in Mauritius, and they provided credit to the planters to such an extent that around three quarters of the sugar estates were effectively owned by them in the early 1830s;79 there was the labour of the numerous enslaved people, and finally the Free Coloured People.
The process leading to the

Reference 673 - 0.01% Coverage

features.
Two events of the
French period are of relevance: firstly, the victory of the enslaved people of Saint-Domingue against French colonialism and, secondly, the arrival of two delegates from France, Baco and Burnel, in Isle de France, to implement the French Revolution's decision to abolish slavery in the French Empire. The French plantocracy was worried that the slaves in Ile de France might emulate the events of St. Domingue.
succeeded in getting Baco and

Reference 674 - 0.01% Coverage

for the Abolition of Slavery
On the 28th August 1833, the House of Commons in Britain approved "An Act for the Abolition of slavery throughout the British colonies; for promoting the Industry of the manumitted slaves, and for compensating the persons hitherto entitled to the services of such slaves."
The title of the Act

Reference 675 - 0.01% Coverage

the Island of Saint Helena."
This clause clearly contradicts the title which refers to abolition "throughout the British colonies". The non-abolition of slavery in India (one Territory in the possession of the East India Company) may have had a bearing on the development of the situation in Mauritius. Slavery in India would be abolished in 1843.
By this time, since the

Reference 676 - 0.01% Coverage

cheap labour in British India.

Already, the policies of British Colonialism in India
on land had caused an

Reference 677 - 0.01% Coverage

to accept very low wages.
Thus, the following question arises: By so doing, did the British Imperial Government, possibly indirectly, contribute to the refusal of planters to pay decent wages to the emancipated enslaved people and hence to contribute to the latter's leaving the plantations 'en masse'?.

Reference 678 - 0.01% Coverage

responsibilities towards their apprentices." 82
The plantocracy wanted to sustain the expansion of the Sugar Industry and the Colonial State in Mauritius supported their efforts, irrespective of the impact on apprentices. The Order in Council turned out to be worse still at the level of implementation. So much so, that Lord Glenelg, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, wrote a despatch to Governor Nicolay, asking him to call to the attention of the Special Magistrates "the frequency of punishments generally and particularly to those of a corporal nature which are stated to be far beyond the proportion in the West Indies of a merely similar extent of population."83 Thus, in many ways, apprenticeship in Mauritius was similar to slavery, without the whipping, in most cases!
Furthermore, through the issue of

Reference 679 - 0.01% Coverage

3 The Economics of Abolition
The British Imperial Government agreed to pay £20 million in compensation to the slave-owners throughout the British Empire. The plantocracy in Mauritius, both British and French, together with the British credit houses obtained £2.1 million. The plantocracy sent a representative, Mr. A. d'Epinay, to Britain to defend their
interests: firstly, to obtain financial

Reference 680 - 0.01% Coverage

to obtain financial compensation and
secondly, for the British Government not to impose any penalty on the illegally imported slaves. However, it was difficult for Mr. d'Epinay to meet the Colonial Secretary or Officials of his Office, the representatives of credit houses, like Reid & Irving and Barclay & Co. made representations on his behalf and succeeded in organizing some meetings for Mr. d'Epinay to have with the Colonial

Reference 681 - 0.01% Coverage

the Mauritius Bank in 1832.

Following the payment of the compensation in the Caribbean Islands, there was the setting up of the 'Colonial Bank' in 1836, a bank which would become the Barclays Bank. There is no doubt that some compensation money went into the equity of the Bank. In Mauritius, twenty-two out of the twenty-four major trading houses contributed to the initial capital of the Mauritius Commercial Bank.87 Moreover, during the public debates in connection with the setting up of the Mauritius Commercial Bank, it was revealed that compensation money was involved. addressed to the Editor of Le Mauricien of 28 February 1838, contained the following:
Thus, a letter
"Quant à

Reference 682 - 0.01% Coverage

ex-enslaved peoples in general.
As there has been some valuable research in the Caribbean Islands on the issue based on evidence given before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the West India Colonies in 1842, we shall briefly review the findings of that research which enables us to put in context the movement of the emancipated enslaved peoples from the plantations in Mauritius. Douglas Hall,
"By 1842 the immediate reactions

Reference 683 - 0.01% Coverage

Moreover, the gargantuan appetite for
fat profits by the planters, and the British credit houses, together with the active support of the Colonial State, drove them to look for alternative sources of labour, and especially very cheap labour. They found it in British India, where access to the vast reservoir of cheap labour and its relative proximity (and hence low transportation costs) would make it possible for them not to pay reasonable wages to the emancipated enslaved peoples or to give them access to free housing and land which they enjoyed for so many years. They would, thus, be able to compete more successfully with the West Indian planters, to expand further the Sugar Industry and to have a major share of the British market.
In fact, since during the

Reference 684 - 0.01% Coverage

changement
assez notable pour détruire
l'équilibre actuel […] Ceci nous explique une demande qui a été faite dernièrement par le Gouverneur aux Juges spéciaux de la colonie, au sujet du prix de l'extraservice. La métropole trouvait le salaire de l'extra-service un peu mesquin : nous comprenons son scrupule si elle avait les états de la Jamaïque sous les yeux.''91
Thus, the planteurs in Mauritius

Reference 685 - 0.01% Coverage

the wages paid in Jamaica!
Truth and Justice Commission 326 Even the Imperial Government found the wages for extra-service as

'mesquin', i.e. as petty. But the Imperial Government, having itself allowed the continuation of slavery in India, did not take any measures to remedy the situation.
Thus, the Imperial
Government, the Colonial Government of Mauritius, the French plantocracy and the British traders/financiers converge consciously in implementing a policy which knowingly would do much harm to the emancipated enslaved peoples.
The latter would be excluded

Reference 686 - 0.01% Coverage

economic system and indentured labour.
Colonial plantation slavery was the worst form of exploitation, particularly economic exploitation, prevailing during the last five centuries. No wages, an oppressive social system, the destruction of the family, the denial of the humanity of the enslaved peoples, cultural extermination.
Indentured labour was imported in

Reference 687 - 0.01% Coverage

similar to those of slavery.
instituted, the driving force being the profit maximisation and capital accumulation of the French colons and the British traders/financiers with active support of the British Colonial State and Imperial Government. Nevertheless, whilst there was continuity in terms of exploitation, the system was not 'a new system of slavery' as proposed by Hugh Tinker. With wages, and free housing and other facilities (just like slave labour), some sirdars and indentured labourers would be able to save and buy land later on, thus creating a Planter Class. slavery.
That was impossible under
But

Reference 688 - 0.01% Coverage

slavery.
That was impossible under
But, British colonialism created the fragmentation of labour by depressing wages; with the abolition of slavery, the British Colonial State would support the French planteurs in their use of the economic weapon to bring about this fragmentation. And this, on top of the prevailing oppressive Legislation on labour, cultural rights, family rights, social relations!
The exclusion of the ex

Reference 689 - 0.01% Coverage

VOL 4 : PART VIII – ECONOMY AND SOCIETY UNDER COLONIALISM – ECONOMICS OF COLONIALISM. SLAVERY AND INDENTURE AND THE CONSEQUENCES FOR CONTEMPORARY MAURITIUS

At the core of the opposition to the measures promulgated by the British Government for the improvement of the conditions of the slaves, there was the Comité Colonial. The Comité, which was created in 1827, was an outgrowth of the caucus which has campaigned successfully in the 1820s for the abolition of the discriminatory tariffs on Mauritian sugar imports in Britain. Besides their close connection with the sugar industry, members of the Comité Colonial they were also involved in trading and other activities.
With a large resident planter class owning much of the sugar industry, there was no serious intention on the part of the Colonial Authorities to challenge the entrenched, local economic interests. By 1832, control of the oligarchy over the political, economic and social life of the island had reached a point where they felt strong enough to confront British rule head on, with the use of physical force, if necessary. It was estimated that some 5,000 men formed part of those "resistance" associations.
Their leader was d'Epinay who

Reference 690 - 0.01% Coverage

the past five years.92
For the sugar oligarchy, the amelioration measures decreed by the British Government were the first step toward the emancipation of the slaves, hence their opposition to these measures. The expansion of the Sugar Industry and preoccupation over the supply of labour retarded attempts by the Governor and the Colonial Establishment to enforce these measures. The Bar and Bench were instrumental in obstructing the implementation of the Amelioration measures. the implementation of the Amelioration orders in Mauritius.
It took five years for

Reference 691 - 0.01% Coverage

attack.
The creation of the
post of Protector of Slaves caused much outrage and turmoil in the island. The colonists were of the opinion that this measure would give the slaves, with the backing of the British Government, a powerful instrument to challenge the right of their masters over them. Besides they feared that this would aggravate the problem of absenteeism on estates at a time when maroonage was still a serious and endemic problem, as it would provide slaves with an excuse to leave the estate to present their grievances before the Protector. By the early 1830s, the feverish debate surrounding the Amelioration laws and problems of communication in a rumour prone society accentuated the apprehension and nervousness of the colonists and fuelled a state of ferment in the colony. In 1831, Goderich the British Under-Secretary of State expressed his concern that Governor Colville had not bothered to report on the disturbed state of the colony.
4.1.3 Slavery and

Reference 692 - 0.01% Coverage

to their short stressful life.
Slaves did not take lightly to the conditions of their life on the estates. According to Teelock, Mauritian slaves, like those of other plantation colonies, had to endure harsh living and working conditions as well as the constant threat of physical and psychological abuse.
power systems, Teelock argues that

Reference 693 - 0.01% Coverage

maroon activity was harsh repression.
police killed 102 fugitives between 1790 and 1812 a manifestation of colonial of paranoia and racism in its most violent and abhorrent form.
The level of maroon activity increased sharply following the cession of the island to Britain. 5,200 declarations of maroonage were made to the Colonial Authorities between 1810 and 1826, an average annual desertion rate of 11.2% to 11.7%.
plantation work cycle. There was

Reference 694 - 0.01% Coverage

the profitability of their operations.
In these circumstances, the colonists, led by d'Epinay and the Comité Colonial mounted a strong opposition to the anti-slavery lobbying in the British political circles and the British Press. The idea of losing control over their slaves dug deep into the hearts of the colonists and their perception of property. Proposed Amelioration Laws sent further shock waves throughout the island. The colonists were also aroused by reports of the Anti-Slavery Society in favour of the emancipation of slaves in British colonies without compensation.
commercial firms in Mauritius that

Reference 695 - 0.01% Coverage

of the post emancipation situation.
It remained an important aspect of colonial life until
1846. Most of the estates

Reference 696 - 0.01% Coverage

land through the "Petit morcellement".
According to Allen there is also a need to examine the post-emancipation situation in Mauritius in terms other than those of labour supply and/or labour relations. The Mauritian authorities strongly understood that access and control of adequate amounts of capital were of equal if not greater importance to the supply of labour for the survival of the plantation regime. On a number of occasions, the authorities expressed their concern about the financial distress experienced by some planters. (Governor Gomm to the Colonial Secretary 1843; Gomm to Stanley in 1846).
There, is thus, a need

Reference 697 - 0.01% Coverage

alluring option for many planters.
The labour and liquidity crisis of the 1830s and 1840s promoted, not only the parcelling of estates, but also the rise of a class of ex-apprentice gardeners and farmers. There were, in that connection, diverging opinions in official quarters at the time on the activities and contribution of the former apprentices in the island's social and economic development. The standard view in many circles was that these individuals remained "ignorant, lazy and given to hedonism". On the other hand, Governor Gomm, in 1846,

expressed the opinion that the former apprentices had become “a thriving and improving class of the colonial population”. Some independent observers were equally impressed by the social and economic promotion of the former apprentices. The ex-apprentices small holders could be counted among the 30,000 Persons of Colour forming a middle class and fast rising in wealth and consequence. 95
Truth and Justice Commission 331

Reference 698 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 331
VOL 4 : PART VIII – ECONOMY AND SOCIETY UNDER COLONIALISM – ECONOMICS OF COLONIALISM. SLAVERY AND INDENTURE AND THE CONSEQUENCES FOR CONTEMPORARY MAURITIUS
Yet within the space of just a few years, the seemingly halcyon days of the mid-1840s had vanished. According to Dr. Mouat, a missionary, in 1852, many of the freedmen who had squatted on small plots of land, lived in a state bordering on misery and starvation. A decade later in 1864, some observers despaired about the future of the ex-apprentice population. For Governor Barkly in 1866, “a large proportion of the former apprentices had never been tempted by high wages or the ambition of raising their children in the social scale. They added little in proportion to their numbers to the exportable produce and wealth of the colony.”96
4.2 Indian Indentured Immigration

Reference 699 - 0.01% Coverage

Influx of Indian Indentured Immigrants
The importation of Indian labourers in Mauritius began in earnest in 1834, with the introduction of 36 hill labourers and 39 labourers from Bombay by Arbuthnot. These labourers came to Mauritius on private five-year contracts. They had to pay for their return passage in case they chose to go back to India. In 1835, 1,160 men, 61 women and 33 children were brought in. Between 1836 and 1839, despite Governor Nicolay’s ban on further introduction of indentured labourers in the island, 22,615 men, 776 women and 192 children were brought. In the view of the Colonial Authorities and the planters, this early private introduction of Indian labourers on a five-year contract of service worked very well. The Colonial Secretary stated, in 1836, that the experiment, so far as it had been tried, met with great success. The planters praised the character and general disposition of the Indians whom they found to be far more efficient and intelligent at agricultural work than the Africans, despite the fact that a great number of the labourers who were brought in were very raw labourers.
In 1836, a gang of

Reference 700 - 0.01% Coverage

or loans based on compensation.
Of all Britain’s sugar colonies, Mauritius was the
one which weathered the problems of emancipation most successfully. Before 1834, Jamaica had produced twice as much sugar and British Guyana 75 per cent more sugar than Mauritius. Twenty years later, Mauritius had become Britain’s premier sugar colony:
its sugar production was more

Reference 701 - 0.01% Coverage

the planter controlled press.100
On the other hand, in spite of his concern about the excessive importation of indentured labour and disputes with the sugar producers, Gomm had, it would seem, a very favourable opinion of the state of the colony and the sugar industry. He wrote to the Colonial Secretary in 1845 that "he might confidently affirm that no spot on earth presents a more cheering prospect of abundance than the surface of Mauritius". Financial considerations may also account for Gomm's attempt to restrict indentured immigration to Mauritius.
"the never-sated vortex of

Reference 702 - 0.01% Coverage

condition of labour on estates.
The Committee reported that there were, at that time, 52,000 Truth and Justice Commission 333 In 1847 he lamented to the Colonial Secretary on On estates, one-year contracts replaced the former five-year terms. These
VOL 4 : PART VIII – ECONOMY AND SOCIETY UNDER COLONIALISM – ECONOMICS OF COLONIALISM. SLAVERY AND INDENTURE AND THE CONSEQUENCES FOR CONTEMPORARY MAURITIUS
immigrant labourers in the colony of whom 35,000 were employed in agriculture: desertion, absenteeism and sickness further depleted the number of workers and the effective number of hands on estates was only 25,000. This figure was only slightly larger than the number of slaves employed on estates before emancipation, whilst between 1830 and 1846, the Mauritian sugar crop had increased by 47 percent.104
Certain events at the time

Reference 703 - 0.01% Coverage

monetary, but in manpower terms.
A bargain was thus made between the free traders and sugar producers. When he presented the Sugar Trade Bill in Parliament, Lord Russell, the Colonial Secretary, in order to conciliate the colonial lobby, promised
them 'abundant immigration' and 'cheaper

Reference 704 - 0.01% Coverage

conditions on estates improved markedly.
4.2.3 The role of the Colonial State
The Colonial State played a crucial and largely successful role in the years following the abolition of slavery. According to S Mintz, the political battle between the Metropolitan capitalist classes who favoured free trade and the colonial planters was partly eased by access to external but politically accessible labour pools.
The State regulated, not only

Reference 705 - 0.01% Coverage

then at its most ineffective.

The Colonial Government was crucially aware of the economic importance of Indian immigration which was described as the sheer anchor of colonial prosperity.
Truth and Justice Commission 334

Reference 706 - 0.01% Coverage

relief was granted to the
planter, the burden of taxation was carried by the poorer consumers in the Colony. Between 1843 and 1851, indemnities paid to private introducers of immigrants were financed by a duty on the sale of colonial rum.
In 1851, the reduction in

Reference 707 - 0.01% Coverage

sugar was partly offset by
VOL 4 : PART VIII – ECONOMY AND SOCIETY UNDER COLONIALISM – ECONOMICS OF COLONIALISM. SLAVERY AND INDENTURE AND THE CONSEQUENCES FOR CONTEMPORARY MAURITIUS
"It has asserted in official quarters that in times of increased competition on the world market, the state had the duty to help maintain the profitability of sugar cultivation and manufacture. There was moreover an obligation imposed both on the imperial and local government to support to their utmost ability, during this crisis, the struggling sugar growers […] to aid the efforts and to diminish the cost of production; for in this lies the solution to the problem."107
These sentiments were repeated in

Reference 708 - 0.01% Coverage

2 Insalubrious conditions and overcrowding
After 1865, the Sugar Industry faced difficult times. Beet competition on the world sugar market brought down prices of colonial sugar.
the abandonment of several estates

Reference 709 - 0.01% Coverage

both aspects of the problem.
Governor Barkly wrote that this Ordinance, by continuing to hold the Old Immigrants under the same obligation of accounting for their place of residence and means of livelihood, as vested upon those who had not served five years in the colony, afforded a basis for many salutary reforms and were universally looked upon as a commencement of a new era of social improvement. According to him, hitherto from fear lest immigration would be stopped, in case the slightest restriction were imposed, the Old Immigrants had been allowed to live precisely as they wished and there could be no doubt that not only an increase of crime, but also a deterioration of the sanitary state of the island were mainly due to the licence this permitted. In his observations on the new Labour Law, Barkly echoed the views of the Secretary of State.
In a dispatch in June

Reference 710 - 0.01% Coverage

and Mauritian commercial firms.120
The proposal for the establishment of a second bank was opposed from the start by d'Epinay and other Directors of the Mauritius Bank. D'Epinay, in Le Cernéen, attacked the project in fairly virulent terms, while the project obtained the strong support of Le Mauricien and its editor, Eugène Leclézio. The controversy became increasingly harsh when Le Mauricien blamed d'Epinay's party for its openly hostile attitude towards the British Government at a time when the Colony was smarting under the decision of Britain to emancipate the slaves and the fear of the civil strife and disturbances which might ensue.121
Governor Colville gave his assent

Reference 711 - 0.01% Coverage

specie. These measures were ineffective.
the buoyant conditions of the 1830s and 1840s, planters borrowed large sums from both banks which obliged with frequent issues of notes and credit. There developed a precarious situation which required injections of additional funds from London to safeguard the solvency of the banks and of the Colony.
Truth and Justice Commission 339

Reference 712 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 339
VOL 4 : PART VIII – ECONOMY AND SOCIETY UNDER COLONIALISM – ECONOMICS OF COLONIALISM. SLAVERY AND INDENTURE AND THE CONSEQUENCES FOR CONTEMPORARY MAURITIUS
In 1848, four of the five London houses which financed a large part of the island's sugar crop were bankrupt. These houses provided the working capital of a large number of estates on the security of the product of these estates which was consigned to them in London. The failure of those great "millionaires122 caused dismay in the island and for a time paralysed trade causing the ruin of thousands in an unfortunate and misgoverned colony". Sugar property in the island became, for a time, practically valueless.
The governor was authorized to

Reference 713 - 0.01% Coverage

enormous losses upon thus".123
There was besides, in the case of Mauritius, the growing unilateral trade with British India and the heavy annual disbursements on the importation of indentured labour and the purchase of rice and other staples. A symptom of the imbalance in the island's trade with British India was the drain of Indian rupees which, at the official rate of 1/10 to the rupee, were hoarded or held at a premium and ultimately left the island in speculative transactions. The Colony was said to be approaching a state of barter in the course of which sugar may bring rice to a few people but would not provide wages.
There was also the growing

Reference 714 - 0.01% Coverage

cane cultivation throughout the island.

The 1850s and first half of the 1860s have commonly been regarded as the heyday of the Mauritian Sugar Industry. The increasing value of sugar exports, large specie inflows and the growth in the value of imports per head, as well as the increasingly favourable balance of trade, confirm that this era was one of substantial economic growth and increasing economic prosperity in the Colony.125
Sugar production reached its peak

Reference 715 - 0.01% Coverage

opening of the Suez Canal.
Port Louis became once again the hub of trading activities in the southern Indian Ocean and the focus of the economic and social life of the Colony. A large part of these activities was connected with the importation of indentured labourers. Besides, a regular sea link was established with Europe.
4.3.3.2 Improvements

Reference 716 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 341
VOL 4 : PART VIII – ECONOMY AND SOCIETY UNDER COLONIALISM – ECONOMICS OF COLONIALISM. SLAVERY AND INDENTURE AND THE CONSEQUENCES FOR CONTEMPORARY MAURITIUS
90 in 1865. The transport of indentured labourers and the provision of their basic needs in food and clothing constituted the bulk of the transactions between British India and Mauritius. From the 1860s, exports of sugar to British India opened new prospects for bi-lateral trade and by the turn of the century more than half of the trade of the colony was carried out with the subcontinent.
The increased production and export of sugar led to substantial developments in the port area financed largely by foreign capital. According to Kalla, the attraction of capital to Mauritius for major development projects should be seen in the wider context of Industrial Colonialism. The European Industrial Revolution led to increasing demand for raw materials and food for their expanding factories and work force. The organization of production and space by the European powers in their colonies followed. In the case of Port Louis a flaring of activities took place in the harbour and port area. Three major docks were built during that period: The Mauritius Dry Docks were inaugurated in July 1857, the Stevenson Dry Docks in April 1859, and the Albion Dry Docks in April 1860.
The golden age of the

Reference 717 - 0.01% Coverage

not the object of substantial
British investment. Signs of long-term difficulties began to appear during the second half of the 1860s, when the amount of specie entering the colony declined precipitously, a development which leveled the beginning of a growing capital scarcity problem. By the mid-1880s, signs of decline were discernible in other indices of economic performance such as the value of sugar exports, the balance of trade and the value of imports129. The falling world price of sugar, the higher cost of imported staples and several natural catastrophies in the 1860s were heavy blows for an economy, virtually exclusively dependent upon the resources of a single industry.
Planters responded to the developing

Reference 718 - 0.01% Coverage

sugar estates and other properties.
The beginning of the ‘Grand morcellement’ dates from around 1875. The parcelling out of estate land gained momentum during the 1880s and 1890s. By 1895, the scale was such that the Governor, Sir Charles Bruce characterized the increasing pace as ‘inevitable’. He also noted that the Colony’s sugar factories were being improved to handle the cane-produced by the growing number of small planters. He estimated, in 1896, that at least one-fourth of the year’s sugar crop had been produced by small planters.139
‘Morcellements’ and the use of

Reference 719 - 0.01% Coverage

the traditional sugar estate.140
In the same vein North-Coombes has argued that the initial acceptance and the subsequent opposition of the Colonial Establishment and ruling class to the use of an Indian peasantry and urban petite bourgeoisie can be explained by the fact that these activities would not only constitute competition for land but also the withdrawal of labour from the sugar sector.
The main advantages of the

Reference 720 - 0.01% Coverage

Slave Labour to Indentured Labour
In 1807, the shipping of slaves to British colonies was forbidden and in 1808, slave trade was prohibited. When in 1810, the British took over the island, slave trade became illegal. In 1834, British abolished slavery. It was phased out on the island under a transition period known as ‘apprenticeship’. However, in Mauritius and elsewhere, the sugar plantation economy, since its inception, had depended, for its success and profitability, on plentiful, cheap, coercible and disciplined labour force. Slave labour had, for centuries, been the backbone of plantation colonies.
To meet the increased demand

Reference 721 - 0.01% Coverage

and conditions of the contracts.
Between 1820 and early 1830s, under the British period, Indian contractual workers were introduced by individual planters. In 1835, indentured labour system was introduced. In subsequent decades, hundreds of thousands of workers arrived from India. Mauritius was the first British Colony to embark on the ‘Great Experiment’ of importing an indentured labour workforce from the sub-continent. Since the Proclamation of the Abolition of Slavery in 1833, there was the urgent need to replace the local labourers liberated from slavery by an indentured workforce.
This
workforce, later on, became

Reference 722 - 0.01% Coverage

by an indentured workforce.
This

workforce, later on, became a majority population group. 453,063 indentured labourers were brought in Mauritius under the indenture Agreement. Labourers from the Indian Peninsula disembarked in Mauritius as from 1842 and originated from Colombo, Cochin, Pondicherry, Madras and Calcutta. These experimental importations of local planters were an evident means of overcoming the acute shortage of labour arising in the colony.
By 1850, there were 48

Reference 723 - 0.01% Coverage

Payments, Absences and Double-Cut
In the colonial perception, this was bliss for the Indian labourers because in India, these labourers hardly earned more than two rupees a month and that too without any additional allowance which they received in Mauritius. There was a general consensus that the wages offered in Mauritius were enormously high compared to wages in India and, therefore, the Indian labourers work as wage labourers and better were their conditions by immigrating to Mauritius.
At the very beginning of

Reference 724 - 0.01% Coverage

given a new boost.
social
Prior to the land parcellisation, a commercial bourgeoisie had already settled, together with a growing middle class consisting of job contractors, sirdars, traders, middle-men, money lenders, intellectuals, then a class of planters (overlapping to some extent with the middle class). The labouring class would consist of small planters/labourers, landless labourers, gardeners and other manual workers on sugar estates. Whilst the different social classes would adapt, or try to adapt, to the existing colonial society, the agricultural labourers would be facing acute economic exploitation and social exclusion on the sugar estates, leading to their resistance in the form of the well-known protest of 1871, amongst others.
The social stratification is of

Reference 725 - 0.01% Coverage

in the 1850s and 1860s.
By 1871, the Governor, Sir Arthur Gordon, was aware of the critical situation and “tried to stop more forests from being cut down, and to grow trees along rivers and streams as well as on mountains”.156 In August 1880, in a comprehensive report ‘Report on the Forests of Mauritius, Their Present Condition and Future Management’, R. Thompson highlighted that “the want of fuel hitherto has not been much felt in the colony, owing simply to the extensive felling operations which have been going on during the past thirty years in the indigenous forests of the island [...]”157 The Sugar Industry needed land not only for sugar cane cultivation, but wood (hence forests) for fuel to be used in the manufacture of sugar. The evolution of the area of land under sugar cane cultivation is revealing, as per Table 19.158
Truth and Justice Commission 356

Reference 726 - 0.01% Coverage

go to feed the rivers.

Further, compact forests and belts of trees (for example by the side of rivers) act as screens to protect trees generally, and in particular, orchards and sugar cane plantations against the violent action of winds prevailing during cyclones. The question which arises is to what extent deforestation has contributed to the loss of or damage to sugar canes during the passage of cyclones over the island. Thus in 1866/67, 1868/69, 1874/75, 1879/80, the reduction in sugar production as a result of the passage of cyclones was respectively 19.5%, 33.9%, 39.3% and 28.8%.160 The impact of these cyclones, in a rather short span of time, is considered to have contributed to some extent to the problems of the Sugar Industry at that time. And again in 1892/93, the reduction in sugar production was 42.5%; as a result, the Chamber of Agriculture asked for and obtained substantial loan from the Colonial Government.
Deforestation has an impact on

Reference 727 - 0.01% Coverage

as they remain at the
The second key recommendation made was that: “the Mountain Reserve Lines, to maintain Mountain Reserves at all, must be lowered”. It was understood that the Colonial Government would compensate financially forest-owners for the 30,000 or 35,000 acres to be bought. Moreover, for the lowering of Mountain Reserve Lines, Thompson recommended that this could be done either by purchase of the land involved or by proclamation under existing law. There was an old French Law which made provision for these reserve lines and which was interpreted strictly. Thereafter, amendments made under Ordinance No. 13 of 1875 (which governs forest property whether public or private) are such that these mountain reserves are no longer such but in name.162
The third and last key

Reference 728 - 0.01% Coverage

bribes.
4.8 Concluding Remarks
After the political turbulence in the 1830s in relation to the abolition of slavery, there would emerge a close collaboration between the Colonial State and the plantocracy during the nineteenth century with respect to economic policies and Labour Legislation. There were major differences at the political level, especially with the setting up of the Royal Commission to enquire into the treatment of immigrants in Mauritius in 1872 and later in the 1880s following the recommendation of R. Thompson to lower the mountain reserve lines.
The British Imperial Government adopted a Free Trade policy, pushing down the price of sugar, the plantocracy adopted a cheap labour policy and, to do so, flooded Mauritius with indentured labourers so as to be able to depress wages. Yet, in the late 1840s, when, for a short spell of time, indentured labourers could bargain for wages and secure rather higher wage rates, the plantocracy succeeded in winning over the colonial estate to introduce legislation from 1847 to 1867 to increase immigration of indentured labour and to have greater control on the immigrant population. This time, the economic weapon of bringing wages down concerned the Old Immigrants and further consisted in bringing repressive legislation against them.

Reference 729 - 0.01% Coverage

VOL 4 : PART VIII – ECONOMY AND SOCIETY UNDER COLONIALISM – ECONOMICS OF COLONIALISM. SLAVERY AND INDENTURE AND THE CONSEQUENCES FOR CONTEMPORARY MAURITIUS

CHAPTER 5 BRITISH COLONIALISM IN THE 20TH CENTURY 5.1 The Beginning of the 20th century - The International Sugar Market

During the 19th century, there were intense debates in Britain between those defending free trade and those for protective tariffs. As the first Industrial Power in the world and as the most advanced economic country, free trade would benefit Britain in its broad interests in trade and finance. In particular, by 1846, the Anti-Corn Law League was able to bring the Government of the day to repeal the Corn Laws, that is trade in barley, wheat, oats etc. were open to foreign competition. Later in the same year, the Sugar Duties Act of 1846 was passed, thus doing away with preferential tariffs for colonial sugar and 'non-slave' sugar. The free traders, in alliance with the Agro-Industry (involved in the production of jam, marmalade, confectionery), was defending "a cheap breakfast table" for the British population and cheap raw material for the Agro-Industry.

However, following the economic crisis of 1847, there was a brief revival of some imperial preference for colonial sugar, but by 1874, all sugar tariffs were dismantled. Mauritius then went through some very tough times as from the 1880s till the 1940s. On top of low sugar prices, stiff international competition demanded that costs of production should be reduced. German subsidies depressed world prices which applied to transactions in all markets. Competition from Java and from even Germany and Austria in the main markets of Mauritius required a significant lowering of costs of production. This meant capital investment in the modernisation of factories and improvement in terms of sugar-cane cultivation. In the latter case, very cheap labour was of great help to the plantocracy. In the former case, there was the 'grand morcellement' referred to in Chapter 4, whereby the plantocracy mobilised funds by selling land to indentured labourers. Further, there was the merger of factories which had already started since the 1860s; this process is typical of the Capitalist System, as highlighted at the Mauritius Sugar Industry Conference of 1927 through the following statement:

"In relation to the reduction

Reference 730 - 0.01% Coverage

form ever bigger sugar companies.

Moreover, in 1870s, there was a depression in Europe, with prices of commodities in general going down.166 But the main threat to sugar would come from the producers of beet sugar in Europe. Wheat from the US and Russia was invading Europe as a result of free trade, and the European farmers found in beet root production a convenient way to face this threat. Germany would emerge with a very 'low cost of production' thanks to various types of subsidies, in spite of free trade. In fact, British free trade accommodated slave-produced sugar as well as sugar subsidised by other exchequers. The cost of delivery of beet sugar from Germany to Britain would be somewhat less than that of cane sugar from the British colonies. Further, the factory performance of Germany would be much better than that of Mauritius for both factory output and sugar recovery.

Britain, the great Colonial Power would give due consideration first to its own economic interest rather than to its colonies; free trade meant cheap essential commodities for her and she did not apply countervailing duties against beet sugar bounties from Germany. The Caribbean Islands particularly found themselves in a very difficult situation; Mauritius managed to adapt to the situation thanks to the new destinations with India, Australia and South Africa, as these three countries provided markets for Mauritian sugar. Mauritian sugar exports to Britain decreased from 70,000 tons in 1870-74 to 14,000 tons in 1895-1899, and to 17,000 tons in 1900-1904. On the other hand, Germany and Austria-Hungary supplied Britain with 4 % of its sugar in 1870-74, and then 58 % in the early years of 1900 and 70 % just before World War I.

Reference 731 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 360
VOL 4 : PART VIII – ECONOMY AND SOCIETY UNDER COLONIALISM – ECONOMICS OF COLONIALISM. SLAVERY AND INDENTURE AND THE CONSEQUENCES FOR CONTEMPORARY MAURITIUS
Moreover, Mauritius exports to British India were made sustainable, when the Government of British India imposed countervailing duties on beet sugar to protect its traditional suppliers including Mauritius, which the Imperial Government previously chose not to do. The pattern of sugar exports from Mauritius at the end of the 19th century is given in Table 20, showing clearly the decrease of exports to Britain and the considerable increase to India. But the Caribbean Islands did not enjoy the relationship/proximity which Mauritius had with British India; and a Royal Commission Enquiry was appointed in 1896 in the Caribbean Islands.
Table 20 Exports of Mauritian

Reference 732 - 0.01% Coverage

1909 5.2.1 Background
In addition to the low price of sugar and the uncertainties of the international sugar market, there were some other events which accentuated the economic depression at the turn of the twentieth century in Mauritius: the severe cyclones of 1892, the bubonic plague of 1899, the surra disease of 1902, the increase in prices of basic foodstuffs like rice and dholl. In 1907, the Mauritius Chamber of Agriculture asked the Colonial Government a loan of £600,000 to help sugar planters in improving the machinery of their factories and requested the Government to borrow £100,000 (1 £ = Rs. 15) for purchasing land in the context of its programme. The Secretary of State for the colonies did not agree with such a loan and suggested that there should be a Commission to investigate the condition and resources of the Colony. The Action Libérale, a political organisation /party, and other social/political forces campaigned for the setting up of such a Commission. In the end, the Royal Commission to inquire into the condition and resources of the Colony of Mauritius was set up in May 1909.
5.2.2 The Overall

Reference 733 - 0.01% Coverage

trade and a Government deficit.
This situation of Mauritius was somewhat typical of a colony which had been the victim of an extreme international division of labour and of international specialisation. As Jean Houbert wrote, “the colonial structure of international specialisation discouraged the diversification of economic growth.”168 Mauritius was on the periphery of the fast developing capitalist economic system on which it did not have any influence, let alone any control. Even the Royal Commission in its report had this to say:
Truth and Justice Commission 361

Reference 734 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 361

VOL 4 : PART VIII – ECONOMY AND SOCIETY UNDER COLONIALISM – ECONOMICS OF COLONIALISM. SLAVERY AND INDENTURE AND THE CONSEQUENCES FOR CONTEMPORARY MAURITIUS

"[...] this excessive concentration of its resources upon one industry exposes it to serious difficulties and even dangers. It makes the colony entirely dependent upon the world price of sugar, over which it has no control."169

Obviously, external trade played an

Reference 735 - 0.01% Coverage

endangering his own security."172

But this financial system together with the associated social system mentioned above could well make matters worse, when it spilled over to the banking system. At that time, there were two banks in Mauritius: The English Bank of Mauritius and the Mauritius Commercial Bank. In dealing with the Sugar Industry, the latter found that its risk management was rather flawed. On two occasions, in 1898 and 1908, the Bank had had to apply to the Colonial Government for assistance. According to the Royal Commission of 1909,

"In each case, the Government

Reference 736 - 0.01% Coverage

with interest within 3 ½ months.

Finally, capital exodus seemed to persist, if only as a result of foreign ownership of some sugar estates; moreover, with the deaths or the departure of some wealthy people, there was an exodus of capital of Rs. 20 millions. Yet there was a request for loan to the Colony.

5.2.4 Landownership by

Reference 737 - 0.01% Coverage

classes, whether urban or rural.

In particular, with a view to collecting maximum revenues through import duties and excise duties, the Colonial Government had a policy of preferential treatment for the rich at the expense of the labouring class and the poor. For example, the import duty on tea was 60 cents per kilo, whilst that on coffee was Rs. 8 per 100 kilos, i.e. 8 cents per kilo. And, of course, tea was consumed by the labouring classes rather than coffee. Similarly, the excise duty on rum was Rs. 1.67 per litre, whilst spirits had the same level of import duty. The average total revenue for the three years 1905-08 was Rs. 9,780,055 of which the main sources were:

Reference 738 - 0.01% Coverage

444 in the previous year."

On top of that, during 1908, the import duty on rice brought Rs. 367,187 to the Colonial Government, which amounted to about 10 % of total import duties. And the Commission added, as per paragraph 143,

"[...] but the rest of the

Reference 739 - 0.01% Coverage

compassion with their taxable capacity."
Yet, labour was very plentiful, cheap and efficient, the abundance of which contributed to minimising the cost of production of sugar. Hon. P.E de Chazal clearly pointed out that "..., but as a whole the Indian immigrant is introduced to keep down the price of labour."176 Since the period preceding abolition of slavery, the policy of the plantocracy was to bring down and keep down the price of labour, and this with support of the Colonial State more often than not. To the question from a commissioner "Do you pay indentured coolie a much lower wage than the free coolie?", Hon. P.E. de Chazal answered "Yes, because they came under an engagement."
The low wages in the

Reference 740 - 0.01% Coverage

the development of other products.
2. To introduce and encourage the system of cooperative credit banks among small planters. 3. To report upon the practicability of irrigation on a large or small scale. 4. To review the French Law of Succession and the Company Law. 5. The Colonial Government should borrow a sum of £400,000 i.e., Rs. 6,000,000 to fund three projects:
i. £285,000, i.e

Reference 741 - 0.01% Coverage

down to seriously low levels.
The British sugar colonies were hard hit by the post-war collapse of the world sugar market. After 1919, they were granted some protection in London by means of preferential tariffs. But as the system of colonial sugar preference was based on the world price, it only provided partial protection to the British colonial producers against the rapid drop in the price in the price of sugar. As from 1928, Mauritius was deprived of the possibility of producing higher value added and marketable white sugar and was compelled to sell lower value added raw sugar to British refiners. In fact, the Imperial Government decided to impose higher customs duties on refined/ plantation sugar than on raw sugar. Within two years, Mauritius had to relinquish its industrial plant and its capacity to tap more remunerative markets. The net price to sugar producers in Mauritius, inclusive of preference, fell from Rs. 19.22 per 100 kgs in 1927 to Rs. 10.99 in 1936. The mean price for 1933 to 1938 was Rs. 11.81 per 100 kgs. Sugar production in Mauritius between 1919 and 1935 fluctuated between 200,000 and 250,000 tonnes, but after 1935, a series of bumper crops brought the Mauritian sugar output to 319,695 tonnes in 1938. The contribution of higher crops and gains in productivity, arising from factory improvements in the 1920s mitigated the impact of the depression years for many producers but not for the smaller ones.
The tendency in the 1930s was to put the blame for the crippling burden of debt borne by the industry during the "lean years", on what was described as the reckless speculation of 1920, which, it was alleged, squandered a large part of the industry's profits. The Financial Commissioners of 1931 wrote that a considerable part of the 1920 boom-year profits appeared to have been wasted in purely private expenditure and some of it to have found investment outside the Colony, leaving the estates no better off to face the "lean years".
It may be argued, however

Reference 742 - 0.01% Coverage

sharp drop in sugar prices.
In 1926, the industry obtained a loan of Rs. 6mn from the Colonial Government, in 1927 it obtained a loan of 200,000 pounds sterling from the British Government and Rs. 3mn from the Colonial Government. Other loans were granted in 1930 and 1931. In 1930, the Government lent Rs. 3mn to the Sugar Industry from the Colony's Development Funds, to prevent several estates from going bankrupt, and in 1931, after a severe cyclone, another loan of 500,000 pounds sterling was granted by the British Government to make good the loss on property and crop. By 1931, the Sugar Industry was carrying deadweight of five successive loans amounting to Rs. 20mn, on which it could not repay either the principal or interest.
In 1929, Sir Francis Watts

Reference 743 - 0.01% Coverage

Industry lost another Rs. 7mn.
As mentioned before, the Industry was assisted in 1930 and 1931 by loans from the Colonial Development Fund and the British Government. These loans forestalled a complete breakdown in the strained financial conditions of the Industry, but did not, for that matter, improve the financial situation of the sugar estates or restore the shattered confidence of local businesses.180
The Financial Commission of 1931

Reference 744 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 371
VOL 4 : PART VIII – ECONOMY AND SOCIETY UNDER COLONIALISM – ECONOMICS OF COLONIALISM. SLAVERY AND INDENTURE AND THE CONSEQUENCES FOR CONTEMPORARY MAURITIUS
In the year following, the adoption of the Jones Costigan Act in the US (see 5.3.1.4), the Secretary of the Mauritius Chamber of Agriculture, Mr. Galea, wrote in 1935, that the Mauritius Sugar Industry would only be able to surmount the present crisis if the price of sugar was stabilized by the British Government around Rs. 7 per 50 kgs. As a matter of fact, the increased preference granted in 1932 on colonial sugar was largely neutralized by the continued drop in the world sugar price. As a result, the benefits to colonial producers were discounted in the proportion of 70, 78 and 75 per cent for the crop's of 1932/33, 1933/34 and 1934/35 respectively.182
5.3.1.3 Distress

Reference 745 - 0.01% Coverage

in its dealings with Germany.
In 1935, in the USA, the Jones-Costigan Act was passed; the USA Government could then bring together some countries under its influence, whereby it had a preferential price for sugar. These countries included Cuba, the Philippines, Puerto Rico and Haiti. In spite of all the severe problems of unemployment, poverty and labour protests and disturbances, Britain did not react to bring together its sugar exporting colonies in a preferential trade area to the same extent and, hence, to be able to have more substantial preferential tariffs and secure markets.
It would be only by

Reference 746 - 0.01% Coverage

Commonwealth Sugar Agreement was signed.
Britain delayed as much as possible the process leading to the Agreement, at the expense of its sugar-exporting colonies, in spite of the initiative of USA in the 1930s. Moreover, for the first time, the Colonial State included representation of Indian planters' community in the delegation participating in the various rounds of discussions which led to the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement. It seems that this event heralded a new era in the strategic alliance between vested interests linked to the Sugar Industry i.e. the new 'big' Indian planter community and the plantocracy.
Truth and Justice Commission 372

Reference 747 - 0.01% Coverage

at equitable and stable prices.
Concurrently, negotiations were held between exporting and importing countries of the Commonwealth. During the war, the British Government had purchased all the Commonwealth sugar. This arrangement was maintained after the war and in 1948, the British Government decided to extend the arrangement until the end of 1952. The price which was based on market conditions and other factors, was negotiated every year between the different parties. Thereupon, the colonial sugar producers and Dominion Governments insisted that the UK should continue to buy Commonwealth sugars after 1952 under a long-term Agreement. The Commonwealth Sugar Agreement (CSA) was signed on 21 December 1951 for a period of eight years, renewable by the consent of the parties every year.186
Between 1946 and 1953, the

Reference 748 - 0.01% Coverage

sugar in the Commonwealth.187
The policy of price determination, by means of negotiations between representatives of producers and consumers, with the overall objective of ensuring a remunerative price to producers, led to a growing divergence between the CSA and the world price. This led inevitably to growing distortions in the allocation of resources, to overproduction and an accumulation of stocks. Instead of being determined by the "free play of market forces", prices were decided according to the relative bargaining power of the negotiating parties. This induced Colonial sugar producers to regroup in order to increase their influence in the negotiations with Britain.
Now, to revert to the

Reference 749 - 0.01% Coverage

elections based on universal suffrage.
As happened elsewhere, economic prosperity activated the process of political development. In a fairly short span of twenty years, 1948 to 1968, Mauritius evolved from the archaic status of a Crown Colony governed from Whitehall to that of a Sovereign State. The demographic explosion, on the one hand, and political emancipation on the other, led to a fundamental restructuring of the Mauritian economy characterized by a rapid growth of public expenditure and the diversification of the economy.
Truth and Justice Commission 374

Reference 750 - 0.01% Coverage

3 The Prelude to Independence

The future of the Sugar Industry was a major stake in the negotiations between the British Government and the Mauritian representatives which led the way to Independence. Britain, hard pressed financially, was anxious to divest itself of its colonies and curtail its role in the post-war international order. This change of policy was reflected inter alia in the decisions of the British Government to disengage its forces to the East of Suez and to broker, in that connection, a powersharing agreement with the United States (US) Government.

Private negotiations were going on

Reference 751 - 0.01% Coverage

of building new concerns."191

The high concentration of land and resources in the Sugar Industry and the segmentation of the financial market produced inefficiencies in the allocation of resources and a lopsided pattern of development. In addition to the economic factors which can explain the predominance of the Sugar Industry in the island economy, there were also political and institutional factors at work which strengthened the hold of the Sugar Industry on the country's affairs. During colonial times, the plantocracy played a prominent role in the formulation of Government policy through its representatives on the Government Council. There was then an effective partnership in the administration of the island between the colonial establishment and the industry's representatives. The presidents of the Chamber of Agriculture were regularly consulted by the Governor on important matters and their opinion and advice were communicated to the Secretary of State in London.

Political and institutional factors have played a determinant part in the consolidation of the hegemony of the Sugar Industry in Mauritius. Reference has been made elsewhere to the informal partnership between the Sugar Industry and the Colonial Establishment in the administration of the island. This state of affairs lasted throughout the 19th century until the constitutional changes and political emancipation which followed the end of the Second World War.

Until the late 1950s and

Reference 752 - 0.01% Coverage

of the Co-operative Movement

Following the recommendations of the Royal Commission of 1909, the Colonial Government appointed Mr. S. Wilberforce, from the Indian Civil Service, equipped with the experience in setting up of Cooperative Credit Societies in India, to "investigate the possibilities of establishing cooperative banks in Mauritius."202

Mr. Wilberforce recommended that: i

Reference 753 - 0.01% Coverage

order of capacity to pay.

The Colonial State by squeezing maximum revenue possible out of the labouring classes, was effectively contributing to their impoverishment. So much so, that Elliot and Loughlane wrote:

"The extent to which the colony's budget is made to depend upon the rum–drinking habits of the poorest classes of the population cannot but be regarded as a very serious blot upon its financial system. There is no suggestion that the tax is imposed in the interests of temperance. It is wholly a revenue tax, operating as a surcharge on the income of the poor."

The alcohol consumption together with

Reference 754 - 0.01% Coverage

Elliott and Loughlane noted that:
"A considerable part of the profits is said to have disappeared in purely private expenditure and some of it to have found investment outside the colony."
And Malcolm de Chazal wrote

Reference 755 - 0.01% Coverage

have been shot from behind.
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.
The main grievances of the

Reference 756 - 0.01% Coverage

milling by the sugar magnates.
The labouring classes would have noticed that both the plantocracy and the Colonial State did not find it proper to take initiatives to tackle various problems like low wages, poverty etc. It was only through their struggles and loss of lives that there was a major response from the Colonial State. Similarly, in 1871, were it not for the resistance of the indentured labourers, as expressed in a petition with the help of A. De Plevitz and R. Modaliar to the Governor, most probably no changes would have taken place.
The struggles of the labouring classes proceeded further in the years to come. Thus, in September 1938, there were a strike by the dockers, claiming for an increase in wages and better worker conditions. The strike soon began to spread to other sectors, especially to the labourers on the Sugar Estate at Trianon. The Colonial State reacted by very repressive measures: Dr. Curé and Pandit Sahadeo were placed under house arrest, E. Anquetil, a trade unionist and a close collaborator of Dr. Curé, was deported to Rodrigues. The Colonial Government further decided to use direct repressive measures against the strikers: three hundred were arrested and 'black legs' were used to break the strike.221 In fact, Governor Sir Bede Clifford asked the Mauritius Sugar Syndicate to recruit appropriate labourers on the sugar estates to step into the shoes of the dockers. He asked Mr Jules Leclezio, of Mauritius Sugar Syndicate "to arrange for the sugar syndicate to get into immediate touch with a selected number of estates to collect all the suitable labour required for unloading the trains and loading the lighters and to arrange with the representatives of the Railways to have these men transferred immediately by rail to the camp which was being provided for them at Quay D."222According to R. Quenette, the operation was a success and the Governor succeeded in its policy of 'divide and rule' to be used again in the future, when dealing with labour.
During the years that followed

Reference 757 - 0.01% Coverage

disturbances, chaired by S. Moody.

5.6 The Response of the Colonial State and the new Labour System
The Colonial State reacted by means of a mix of approaches. There was repression of the workers and of the leaders; there was firing against demonstrators. Thereafter, there were measures, taken following the recommendations of the Commission of Enquiry which revealed an astute approach to control the situation in general, and to control labour in particular. The fundamental issues of unemployment, low wages, poverty and basic rights of labouring classes would not be properly addressed.
The appropriate legislation was enacted

Reference 758 - 0.01% Coverage

that they should not happen."
Yet in 1938, there were dockers' strikes and in 1943, there were strikes of agricultural labourers and related disturbances in the North which lasted for about eight months. The Colonial Government had simply avoided to address the basic issues of wages, unemployment, poverty and basic dignity and rights of the labouring classes. Instead, it developed institutions to control the labouring classes and to keep them quiet. Moreover, the Colonial Office advised the Governor to make some nominations at the Council of Government "to provide a useful antidote to the purely political agitations of Curé and his friends."225 And in 1939, Mr. A. Osman and S. Seerbookun were nominated respectively as representatives of the small planters and the labourers.
Moody's Report conveyed clearly the

Reference 759 - 0.01% Coverage

quiet at any price."226
Most probably, the labour inspectors had internalised the repressive legislation and the repressive control of the Labour leaders such as E. Anquetil and Dr. M. Curé as meaning effectively that Labour should be kept quiet and under control. The Colonial State was obviously trying to nip in the bud the influence of the Labour Party on the labouring classes and its role in defending their interests. In that context, E. Anquetil refused employment as a paid official of the Labour Department.227 With regard to the employers, Moody's Report highlighted the fact that they were concerned mainly with the abundance of cheap labour, as had been the case so far. The Commissioners had this to say:
"Some employers failed to appreciate

Reference 760 - 0.01% Coverage

the M.A.L.A.
During the 1960s, in spite of the comments of Messrs. Balogh and Benett (see Section 5.7), the Plantation Workers Union succeeded in influencing the Colonial Government to bring new legislation to make the Sugar Industry to:
i. ii.
Provide permanent work

Reference 761 - 0.01% Coverage

the Industrial Strikes and Disturbances

The Colonial State's twin policy of repression of workers and their leaders on the one hand, and of control of the labouring classes through Legislation and through the setting up of the Labour Department and other institutions, on the other hand, would eventually triumph.
Wages in the Sugar Industry remained almost constant in real terms until the late 1950s. Meanwhile, there were major political developments leading ultimately to Independence in 1968; the struggles of the labouring classes seemed to have been somewhat marginalised in the process. The Imperial Government had sent experts, like Meade and Titmuss, to study the economic prospects and the social aspects of Mauritius, preceding the country's forthcoming Independence. By 1962, there was a Commission of Inquiry (on the Sugar Industry with terms of reference relating to the same old problems:
i. ii.
Small Planters: access

Reference 762 - 0.02% Coverage

of the same labouring classes.
Not only did the plantocracy still look for "cheap labour of low standard", but during the first half of the century, the Colonial State contributed to the further impoverishment of labouring classes, through a taxation system which made these same labouring classes contribute more than other social classes in terms of the proportion of their wages and salaries.
The Colonial State clearly demonstrated their support to the plantocracy, whilst it applied repressive measures against the labouring classes and their leaders. Moreover, Imperial Britain adopted a Free Trade Policy which depressed the price of sugar, causing untold suffering to its sugar-producing colonies and, in particular, to the labouring classes. Although the US, through the Jones-Costigan Act of 1934, provided support to producers in its sphere of influence (in the US itself, Cuba, Philippines, etc.), it was only in 1951, that Britain already a weakening Imperial power, introduced the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement.
Following in the footsteps of Dutch and French Colonialism, British Colonialism proceeded with slavery until 1835 and then introduce indentured labour. These two systems were born out of the needs of Colonialism and of Imperial Britain in the context of colonisation. Corresponding social and economic structures were developed: the bourgeoisie, a small minority of ex-colonists, owning land and other means of production at one extreme, and at other extreme, cheap abundant and efficient labour. An intermediate social class of so called 'Coloured Population' initially and later, an intermediate/middle class of traders, middlemen, professionals, small planters, emerged. The labouring classes and the poor were like commodities whose price (i.e. wages) were kept low; and generally, there was social exclusion. That exclusion was worse for those of the labouring classes and the poor who were not part of the mainstream Capitalist Sugar Economy. Colonialism ensured this continuity in its structures, with the formal end of slavery, and indentured labour was carried over into the twentieth century.
When there was resistance to that state of affairs, as in the 1930s and the 1940s, the Colonial State used 'divide and rule' tactics towards the labouring classes, in addition to its repressive policy.
On the eve of Independence, the monocrop economy still dominated the economic, social and political life of Mauritius. The repression by the Colonial State at the time of intense labour struggles would nip a certain type of leadership in the bud. Meanwhile, an alternative leadership emerged. Further, the Trade Unions were not be happy with their leadership, as highlighted by the Balogh Report.
Truth and Justice Commission 388

Reference 763 - 0.01% Coverage

small planters community was quashed.
On the economic front, the economy grew from the very beginning, as part of the overall Colonial Empire, the centre of which was Europe. An extreme international specialisation within the Colonial

Empire had produced a vulnerable, fragile economy.233 With political independence, there was nevertheless economic dependence. The consistent policy of cheap labour, the reaping off of the wealth created during decades and centuries by the Imperial Britain, the Colonial State and the plantocracy, the resulting pressure of social problems, like unemployment and poverty, were the relevant issues.
This was the state of

Reference 764 - 0.01% Coverage

INDEPENDENCE MAURITIUS 6.0 Introduction
On the eve of Independence, Mauritius had the colonial heritage of a vulnerable, fragile economy produced by an extreme international specialisation within the British Colonial Empire.
In this last but one

Reference 765 - 0.01% Coverage

earnings into the firm's expansion."
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.
For this process of capital

Reference 766 - 0.01% Coverage

Labour Legislation and Labour System
The Labour Legislation and Labour System prevailing in the 1970s was that set up during the colonial period. During the 1950s and the 1960s, there were some positive developments in the enactment of some labour legislation. In particular, there were firstly the Trade Dispute Ordinance (GN 36) of 1954 which provided for the unrestricted right to strike, except for employees in essential services. Then, secondly, the Trade Union Ordinance of 1965 provided for the right to declare a strike if there is a deadlock at the level of negotiations/conciliation.
The enactment of the Industrial

Reference 767 - 0.01% Coverage

6.11 Concluding Remarks
When Mauritius became independent in 1968, the economy grew as part of the overall Colonial Empire which produced an extreme international specialisation rendering it vulnerable and fragile. In particular, the economy was very much dependent on the preferential trade provided by the British Colonial Power. Large-scale unemployment and poverty were the symptoms of that fragility. On the other hand, the process of social stratification, which has been taking place since the second half of the 19th century, produced a new bourgeoisie

Reference 768 - 0.01% Coverage

planters on a cooperative basis.
Environmental degradation has been a major problem since the Dutch and French colonial periods. With the rapid development of the Sugar Industry in the nineteenth century, the destruction of forests has had a major impact on water supply which is a major problem nowadays. Postindependence industrialisation and the increasing traffic intensity made matters worse. Some mitigation of that long process of environmental degradation is now taking place.
The economic and social structure of Mauritian society has not fundamentally changed from the point of view of labouring classes: though there is a larger multi-ethnic bourgeoisie, and a larger multi-ethnic middle-class, yet the economic and social structures are such that wealth and, more generally, the ownership of means of production (land, banks, trade/commerce, factories etc.) has been restricted to a rather small minority involving both the old and new bourgeoisie. The value and belief systems of colonial society and, in general, of Capitalism have permeated the minds of the new bourgeoisie, of the political elite, of the new middle class and even, to some extent, of the population at large. As a result, the strategy for development has been such that the economic and social structures have been consolidated and the root causes of unemployment and poverty have not been tackled. The old system, reformed to a certain extent, prevails, together with its obvious limitations like acute material disparity/ inequality between the social classes, social exclusion, corruption and poverty. The basic rights of the labouring classes as workers are still not being given due recognition. In particular, labour is being treated more and more as a mere commodity. The tendency is that workers are not considered as human beings, but as mere factors of production.
Admittedly, Mauritius being a small

Reference 769 - 0.01% Coverage

movies [...]”306
7.1 Conclusion
Slavery and the indentured labour system in Mauritius were developed and sustained by Colonial Powers: the Dutch, the French and the British. Profit brought the first colonisers to Mauritius and has dominated life ever since.307 There has been a striking continuity underlying the process of colonisation by each of the colonial powers: on the one hand, the development of specific economic and social structures and, on the other hand ,economic exploitation and social oppression and exclusion. A rigid class and racial hierarchy was established.
A turning point was reached

Reference 770 - 0.01% Coverage

the plantation (sugar) economy.308
Moreover, the subservience of the economy to the British Colonial Empire with (amongst others) its free trade policy and adoption of the cheap labour policy and the frequent economic depressions in the international economy and in Mauritius led to a growing lumpenproletariat, together with unemployed ex-indentured labourers. Under such circumstances, other sectors of the economy would progressively come under the fold of very cheap labour, excluding those used to working for somewhat higher wages. Unemployment and poverty were very much prevalent by the last third of the nineteenth century and in the major part of the twentieth century.
Epidemics of cholera and malaria, together with cyclones, would make matters worse for the labouring classes and the growing lumpenproletariat; so much so, that the Royal Commission of Enquiry of 1909 expressed concern about the level of poverty and about the amount of government relief to the poor.

Nevertheless, the plantocracy kept on pressing for the importation of indentured labour to sustain its cheap labour policy, creating further unemployment and poverty. And the Colonial State caused further impoverishment of the labouring classes and the poor by levying heavy taxes on them. And the Royal Commission essentially recommended measures in favour of the plantocracy, with hardly any for the labouring classes and the poor.
By then, the internal dynamics of the economic system, through the need to modernise the Sugar Industry to face international competition, created the conditions for the parcellisation of land. In the process, those excluded from the plantation economy did not, and could hardly, become buyers. On the other hand, those mainly from the ex-indentured labourers, the job contractors, the sirdars, the traders, the middlemen would become small landowners. A new social class of small and medium planters was born and a new business community and elite was in the making. The emergence of this new social class did not fundamentally have a major impact on the prevailing large lumpenpoletariat and generally on the poor. The overall social structure would prevail, except with this new transformation: the plantocracy and the Colonial State would continue to be the supreme powers.
Truth and Justice Commission 439

Reference 771 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 439
VOL 4 : PART VIII – ECONOMY AND SOCIETY UNDER COLONIALISM – ECONOMICS OF COLONIALISM. SLAVERY AND INDENTURE AND THE CONSEQUENCES FOR CONTEMPORARY MAURITIUS
Another major turning point in the historical development of Mauritius was the unparalleled resistance of the labouring classes (especially in the 1930s and 1940s) to the oppressive and exploitative system: the strikes and marches of the labourers and small planters of 1937, the strike of the dockers and labourers of 1938 and the strikes and marches of the labourers in 1943. Preceding these events, the Mauritius Labour Party was founded in 1936 by Dr. Maurice Curé, assisted soon afterwards by Emmanuel Anquetil. The Colonial State would react with a mix of approaches: repression, divide and rule tactics and accommodation.
A host of changes would follow in various aspects of the society. A new era of Industrial Relations was ushered in, measures to help the small planters class especially in its relation to the sugar oligarchy were put into practice, major constitutional developments, including universal suffrage in 1959, took place. On the societal level, a new bourgeoisie/elite emerged. Experts were sent by the British Imperial Government to study the economic and social state of affairs and to make recommendations: Meade, Titmuss and Balogh. The Colonial Power in the end controlled the situation and created conditions, with the help of the elite and the business community, to grant Independence to Mauritius. But, the perennial problems of unemployment and poverty were still prevalent. Social exclusion had become a permanent feature of Mauritius; economic power was still concentrated in the hands of the sugar oligarchy, whilst the new bourgeoisie stepped to the shoes of the Colonial Power and made its way slowly into the world of business. An entrenched economic and social system developed and nurtured over more than two centuries, prevailed.
During the post-Independence period

Reference 772 - 0.01% Coverage

still entrenched in Mauritian society.
Colonialism, together with slavery and indentured labour, has had consequences of a systemic nature. The policies of the post-Independence era have, only to a limited extent, succeeded in mitigating these consequences. But still, cheap labour policy has been adhered to; in new sectors, like BPO, and in new

privatised services, like cleaning, working conditions are awful and, in the latter case, very low wages (about Rs. 3500) prevail. No doubt, improvements have been made in the economic and social fields. But the old capitalist system, reformed to a certain extent, still prevails with its obvious limitations like acute material disparity between the social classes, social exclusion, corruption and poverty.
7.2 Recommendations
In the

Reference 773 - 0.01% Coverage

during more than two centuries.
1. The Colonial Powers, Holland, France and Britain, must be asked by the Government of Mauritius to pay compensation for implementing the slave system, and later the indenture system, and thus bringing underdevelopment for the majority of the people of Mauritius.
2. The Creation of a

Reference 774 - 0.01% Coverage

4. 121 Ibid. p. 15.
122 Correspondence regarding Distress in the Colonies (1848) – Colonial Parliamentary Papers, London. 123 Report of the Select Committee on Sugar and Coffee Planting (1848). 124 Lamusse, op. cit., Part III, 43, pp. 358, 359. 125 Allen, op. cit.
126 Lagesse, op. cit., p

Reference 775 - 0.01% Coverage

1948. 1: 55, Port Louis.
179 F Watts: Report on the Mauritius Sugar Industry. Colonial Parliamentary Papers 1930. 1 (cmd.3518), 3-4 London. 180 Lamusse R: The Economic Development of the Mauritius Sugar Industry. Revue Agricole et Sucrière Part III p. 368. 181 Report of the Financial Commission 1931. Colonial Parliamentary Papers 1932. 1 (cmd. 4034), 226, London; 232. 182 Colonial Parliamentary Papers, 1930, 3 (cmd.3705) 31, London.
183
Alvarez, J and L

Reference 776 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 457
VOL 4 : PART VIII – ECONOMY AND SOCIETY UNDER COLONIALISM – ECONOMICS OF COLONIALISM. SLAVERY AND INDENTURE AND THE CONSEQUENCES FOR CONTEMPORARY MAURITIUS
188 Ibid., Part II, p

Reference 777 - 0.01% Coverage

cit. 220 Hooper, op. cit.

221 J. Chan Low. The Colonial State and Labour protest: The Hooper Report in historical perspective. 65th Ministry of Labour and Industrial Relation. 2003. 222 R. Quenette. Emmanuel Anquetil, MGI, 1985 p. 59.
223 Report of the Commission

Reference 778 - 0.01% Coverage

and Justice Commission 458 Anniversary
VOL 4 : PART VIII – ECONOMY AND SOCIETY UNDER COLONIALISM – ECONOMICS OF COLONIALISM. SLAVERY AND INDENTURE AND THE CONSEQUENCES FOR CONTEMPORARY MAURITIUS
254
Multi-Annual Adaptation Strategy

Reference 779 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 459
VOL 4: PART VIII – ECONOMY AND SOCIETY UNDER COLONIALISM – A SCRAMBLE FOR SOULS
A SCRAMBLE FOR SOULS: MISSIONARY

Reference 780 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 460
VOL 4: PART VIII – ECONOMY AND SOCIETY UNDER COLONIALISM – A SCRAMBLE FOR SOULS
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS MNA
Archives

Reference 781 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 461
VOL 4: PART VIII – ECONOMY AND SOCIETY UNDER COLONIALISM – A SCRAMBLE FOR SOULS TABLE OF CONTENTS
INTRODUCTION .....
463 Chapter 1: Background

Reference 782 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 462
VOL 4: PART VIII – ECONOMY AND SOCIETY UNDER COLONIALISM – A SCRAMBLE FOR SOULS INTRODUCTION
In 1840, Mauritius, formerly Isle

Reference 783 - 0.01% Coverage

pale of their respective churches.
This study begins with a brief survey of missionary interventions during the pre-emancipation period, when the majority of the population were non-Christians although Catholicism was the only official religion. Next, the missionaries are discussed in terms of their unique role as intermediaries between the Colonial Authorities and the colonized peoples through evangelization. This is followed by special attention being paid to the areas of Education and Public Health in which the missions made their greatest impact, but where the State's concern for promoting basic literacy and numeracy, the Church's interest in indoctrination and practical training, and the people's wish could never be fully reconciled.
Finally, the third consequence of

Reference 784 - 0.01% Coverage

Church and State. The controversial
issue of collaboration between missionaries and colonial
enterprise in Mauritius or the

Reference 785 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 463
VOL 4: PART VIII – ECONOMY AND SOCIETY UNDER COLONIALISM – A SCRAMBLE FOR SOULS CHAPTER 1 BACKGROUND TO CATHOLIC MISSIONARY MOVEMENT
1.1 Prelude to Catholic missionary movement During the 17th century and part of the 18th century, France had developed a 'régime de chrétienté, and spurred by the Gallicanist trend, Catholicism was raised up to the status of a State Church. Consequently, Catholicism was theoretically the only official religion practised in the Colony during French occupation. That situation stemmed from the status of that religion in France, where it was the State religion. In practice, however, the majority of the inhabitants in the Colony, as a matter of fact, were non-Christians.
The intellectual and spiritual development of slaves, the overwhelming majority of the population at that time, was almost entirely neglected. Although the Code Noir prescribed the compulsory conversion of slaves to Catholicism,2 the Lazarist missionaries in Isle de France, for pastoral reasons, boldly discarded that legally-binding obligation3, without in the least suffering political interference or being disturbed by the Colonial Authorities.
Indeed, the Code Noir, as

Reference 786 - 0.01% Coverage

as girls were really scarce.
Besides, he was quick to observe a few trends that were gradually modifying the profile of the colony, especially the influx of Indian immigrants working on the ever-expanding sugar plantations. Similarly, he was attentive to the repeated calls from the small dependency of Rodrigues, and as soon as he could spare a priest, he began the evangelization of the neighbouring island.
Furthermore, as time elapsed, conflicts

Reference 787 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 466

VOL 4: PART VIII – ECONOMY AND SOCIETY UNDER COLONIALISM – A SCRAMBLE FOR SOULS Recruitment of the Clergy
An adequate number of suitable priests was of paramount importance to evangelize the inhabitants of the colony. When he embarked for Mauritius on board the Tanjore in 1841, he took along with him an English Benedictine, Dom Stanislas Giles, an Irish priest, John Larkan, another one from Savoy, the Abbé Rovery, and Jacques Desiré Laval, a French missionary, whose priestly ministry was to operate a real transformation of minds and hearts and to cause the Christian faith to take root in an enduring way in Catholic families.11 On his arrival, the Bishop had found eight priests in the Colony. However, without losing time, he had to interdict, three of them and soon afterwards, two others left the island.
Bishop Collier was but two

Reference 788 - 0.01% Coverage

the impressive total of 35.
Better still, as from 1860, non-British priests were authorised to apply for naturalization. This process, initiated by Bishop Collier had far-reaching consequences over the following decades and on the future of Catholicism in the Colony. Henceforth, the "Open Sesame" enabled alien priests to freely undertake missionary work in Mauritius and to earn their salaries from the Public Treasury. From that time to the end of the nineteenth century, over 94 alien priests – all of them Frenchmen save two Belgians and two Italians – thus took advantage of legislation to apply for, and to obtain, their naturalization as British subjects in Mauritius.14
With the increasing number of

Reference 789 - 0.01% Coverage

employers.
Clergy for the Future
In order to provide the colony with an adequate Clergy in the future, Bishop Collier launched a three-pronged strategy:
First, he cautiously observed the attempts of Father Libermann to provide "British born" priests to Mauritius. On 19 February 1842, only five months after his landing in the colony, he stated his intention of directing English or Irish seminarians to Paris, with the hope that some of them would join the missionary institute of Father Libermann.16
During his trip across Europe

Reference 790 - 0.01% Coverage

VOL 4: PART VIII – ECONOMY AND SOCIETY UNDER COLONIALISM – A SCRAMBLE FOR SOULS
The second point of Collier's strategy was directed towards Ireland. During his visits to Europe (1843-1845 and 1850-1851), he called at the All Hallows missionary seminary in Ireland, where he presented his requests. The steps which he took met with some success. He enlisted several students for the colony. As a matter of fact, of those enlisted, only six in all actually came to work in the Diocese. He also addressed similar pleas to Saint-Patrick's College, County Carlow. There, as well, he made several recruits, but after their ordination, they all opted out and went to minister elsewhere.
However, during his episcopate, thanks to his negotiations, sixteen Irish priests came to Mauritius, although only seven out of that number actually worked for more than seven years in the Colony.20

Thirdly, he set up bursaries to finance the studies of the Irish seminarians. The funds for that purpose had to be raised in the Colony. However, the Bishop also applied to the Colonial Government to bear those expenses.21

Strangely enough, while Bishop Collier was striving hard to enlist European missionaries for his Diocese, at no time seemingly did the idea of indigenous vocations strike him. Yet, worldwide, a process of recruiting and training youngsters in mission territories had already been triggered in the 19th century. The Benedictines in Mauritius, however, seemed to have remained impervious to such an eventuality throughout a century of their presence in the Colony.

Paradoxically, the Protestant Government in Downing Street positively imagined the feasibility of young Mauritians being selected and trained for the priesthood. In his despatch to the Governor, the Secretary of State for the Colonies hazarded the view that such a project should be presented to Bishop Collier.22

Establishment of new parishes

As

Reference 791 - 0.01% Coverage

therefore set up new parishes.

With the arrival of more and more priests, Bishop Collier was in a position to set up additional parishes in various disadvantaged districts. Thus, by 1846, his Clergy had increased to 12 and he established 3 new parishes (St. Philiomena's, Poudre d'Or; St. John's, Quatre Bornes; St James, Souillac). Ten years later, there were 15 priests in the Colony, and in 1861, they numbered 35. Consequently, two other parishes were established in 1849: Holy Ghost, Rivière Sèche; and Holy Saviour, Bambous; in 1859, another one: St. Augustine, Black River, and finally in 1862, that of Notre Dame de la Salette, Grand Bay.23

Religious Congregations

Right from the

Reference 792 - 0.01% Coverage

implementation of his pastoral policy.

His first connection occurred fortuitously. After his Episcopal ordination in Rome on 3 May, 1840, he made a stopover in Paris, where he was informed of the burgeoning institute set up by FrancoisMarie Pascal Libermann, the Congregation of the Saint-Coeur-de-Marie, with the aim of sending missionaries to French colonies. Clerverly and successfully, Collier volunteered to act as the Bishop Protector that the nascent institute was in need of. Thus, for the ordination to the priesthood of the founder F.M.P. Libermann and of the first contingent of his followers, Bishop Collier was the one who granted the canonical Dimissory Letters. Astutely enough, as Bishop Protector, Collier had anticipated the coming to Mauritius of those missionaries. On that score, he experienced real disappointment, as Libermann dispatched his religious priests to other African mission territories. Still, Collier welcomed to the colony the very first missionary of that religious institute, Father Jacques Désiré Laval, and a few years later a string of other Holy Ghost missionaries.24 Better still, from 1841, the Holy Ghost Congregation had unfailingly sent to the country over a hundred religious

Reference 793 - 0.01% Coverage

educational, catechetical and other occupations.

Another male congregation that Collier welcomed into the Diocese was the De la Salle Brothers. Both Bishops Slater and Morris had unsuccessfully tried to bring the teaching Order into the Colony. The

Reverend J.-D. Laval and X. Masuy, for their part, together with the Saint-Vincent de Paul Society, succeeded in enlisting these religious from Reunion Island and thus satisfactorily answered Bishop Collier's expectations. The first De la Salle community landed on 8 December 1859. They straightaway opened a free primary school in Port Louis, followed by other primary and secondary schools over the island. They operated a breakthrough in the educational field for youths, by organising evening classes, technical courses, boarding schools and especially, by initiating joint school ventures, whereby paid boarding-schools financed the running of free primary schools.25

The Prelate was also fortunate to obtain nuns for the colony, as a result of attained only after knocking in vain at several European doors. In any case, on 8 September 1845, he landed at Port Louis, accompanied by three priests and eight Loreto nuns from Ireland. In the 19th century, Teresa Ball had inaugurated in Ireland a branch (Loreto) of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary, founded by Mary Ward in the 17th century. When in 1844, Bishop Collier visited Rathfarnham, Teresa Ball was inspiring the community with such a missionary zeal that eight of the nuns readily volunteered to expatriate themselves and to devote themselves to the education of Mauritian girls. In the colony, the Loreto nuns embarked on a pioneering enterprise and their influence on the education of girls, both Catholic and non-Catholics, as well as on subsequent family life, can hardly be exaggerated. This influence was all the stronger as for over a century on other religious congregation ran high schools for girls and even the Government did not open its first college for girls until 1951.26

Now Bishop Collier's pioneering drive

Reference 794 - 0.01% Coverage

association included over 800 members.

Worthy of mention was the concerted and successful petitions to the Colonial Government of an array of influential laymen over the 1840 decade. These people were not members of any informal religious body. Still, by their addresses to Downing Street and their simultaneous overseas media campaigns, they skilfully and successfully submitted the grievances and expectations of the Mauritian Catholics. An outcome of such bold steps was, among others, the permission for foreign priests to come and work in Mauritius. This liberal measure enabled Bishop Collier to enlist a steady flow of Holy Ghost and other European missionaries.32

Fund-raising measures

Bishop Collier

Reference 795 - 0.01% Coverage

MISSIONARY INTERVENTION IN POSTEMANCIPATION MAURITIUS

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."

Evangelization of the ex-apprentices

Reference 796 - 0.01% Coverage

the ex-apprentices: its implications

The major change in the profile of the Catholic Church under Bishop Collier was clearly the conversion of the emancipated slaves, the free Creoles and the Coloured people. As from his arrival in 1841, he

assigned that community to Father J.-D. Laval, who, after five months in the Colony, expressed his concerns in relation to the mission among the ex-apprentices in a letter to Galais: “This unfortunate colony is in a pitiful state. There are some eighty thousand Blacks on the island and I am alone to care for them. Half of them are not baptized, even those who are, live like idolaters. Very few get married in the church. They take and leave one another several times; they are given to drunkenness and impurity and all kinds of pleasures of the flesh. They have been snubbed so often that they no longer go to church, they rarely call a priest to administer the last sacraments to the dying. Most of them know nothing of their religion; they cannot even make the sign of the cross.”36
The neglect and abandonment of

Reference 797 - 0.01% Coverage

at evangelizing the Indian Immigrants
Well before the French Revolution in the 18th century, Indians had come to the colony either as slaves or as freemen. At the British conquest of 1810, a great number of them were already Catholics.
In the wake of the

Reference 798 - 0.01% Coverage

4 Catholic ideology on education
Indeed, the Roman Catholic Church has played an important role in the development of education, not only in Mauritius, but also in other places of the world. Although the 80,000 inhabitants of the Colony in 1810 were nominally attached to the Church of Rome, because no other religion was recognised by the State, there was no great attempt by the Roman Catholic Church to provide education in Mauritius. It is only in the mid 19th century that this interest in promoting education was to be aroused. Should we consider this lack of interest as arising from the indifference of the previous Bishops faced with a process of de-Christianisation which was already at work since the late 18th century, when being an intellectual was associated to the feeling of anti-clericalism?
Didier Colson’s picture of Mgr

Reference 799 - 0.01% Coverage

1856 stated, in the preamble,
“that a large portion of the inhabitants of the colony being, in consequence of the extremely limited number of schools established, deprived of the means of procuring Elementary Education, it was expedient to provide for the furtherance of such Education by Grants from the Public Treasury”.
Truth and Justice Commission 478

Reference 800 - 0.02% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 480
VOL 4: PART VIII – ECONOMY AND SOCIETY UNDER COLONIALISM – A SCRAMBLE FOR SOULS CHAPTER 3 THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND POWER
The questions of religion, political control and social conflict, all form an undefined web which we must often tear apart for the sake of analysis. The foreign missionaries were servants of God, but they were also partners of the white elite and Colonial Administrators. Their converts became children of God who had to renounce some of their customs for the sake of Redemption. The Colonial State could not subsist

without the services of its religious devotees; yet it could never wholly bind them to apply their labour to its cause.
The search for a simple formula to determine whether a particular mission served the interests of the State more than the indigenous society, or vice-versa, is obviously a futile one. Although, from a distance, we can make out the pattern clearly enough and can see the non-contradictory relationship between Western Christianity and Western Colonialism, from close up, the pattern is far more intricate, and even parallel threads would occasionally diverge.
3.1 Colonial Administrators and Missionaries
Compared with State-Church relationships during the French period, the British colonial policy on religion in the 19th century shows a strange volte-face.
On the one hand, the Colonial Authorities, from the moment of conquest, repeatedly stated that the island would, in no circumstances, return to France. So there could be no link whatsoever between the Church in Mauritius and the Archbishop of Paris. That accounted, in part, for the reluctance of the British to allow into the Colony priests of French nationality. Besides, they overtly and shamelessly professed to be a Protestant Government. Consequently, Catholic prelates and priests were time and again slighted, as pre-eminence, precedence or privileges were granted rather to the Clergy of the Established Church, although the Anglicans were only a few hundreds, whereas the Catholics totalled over 100,000. But the rationale behind such policies was that the colonizers were "a Protestant people and Government".73 However, it should also be noted that if the Colonial Governors, subordinate officers, were prone to act as petty potentates, the Ministers at Downing Street, as a rule, displayed a good deal of fair play, even to the extent, at times, of disowning the British Governors of Mauritius.74
On the other hand, the Colonial Office strove to foster harmonious relations between the heads of the Civil Administration and of the Church in the Colony, while in the same breath emphasizing the distinction between Civil Authority and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction. Contrary to the French period, when the State had the upper hand over the Church, Whitehall directed the Colonial Governors not to meddle in spiritual matters and not to hinder the religious Heads in the Church's organisation and management. Better still, Whitehall requested the Court of Rome to grant to the Colony an ecclesiastical superior holding a higher rank than the traditional position of Apostolic Prefect. The Holy See readily compiled with Whitehall's wishes, by taking two immediate steps. First, it created an Apostolic Vicariate encompassing a vast area of the Southern Hemisphere, comprising Saint-Helena Island, South Africa, Madagascar, Mauritius, the Seychelles, Australia and New Zealand. Secondly, at the head of that immense ecclesiastical organization, Pope Pius VII, himself a Benedictine monk, appointed an English Benedictine, Edward Slater, who was at that time staying in Rome, as the Apostolic Vicar. He received the Episcopal consecration in Rome in June 1818. Fifteen years later, on 5th February 1832, his successor, Dom William Placid Morris, chosen by Dr James Bramston, Vicar Apostolic for London, was ordained a Bishop at St. Edmund's College, Old Hall, Ware. He too was a Benedictine.
Three established Christian religions received

Reference 801 - 0.01% Coverage

The Colonial Treasury adopted different scales of salaries for the Roman Catholic Church and for the Established Church (Church of England). Generally, while the non-British-born Catholic priests earned £150 per annum, the British-born earned £200, the British Anglican Clergymen earned varying grants from the Colonial Treasury (£510, £400, £300).76 However, for Clergymen of the Established Church, the Governor would present the following request to Earl Grey, Secretary of State:
"I should not hesitate to

Reference 802 - 0.01% Coverage

Secretary maintained the status quo.
Over the decades, the Colonial Government granted preferential treatment to the Church of England. That the Anglican community should be granted favours because it was part and parcel of the Established Church seemed to be the result of an underlying reasoning of the colonial religious policy that stood no discussion. Protestant Governors were so persuaded of that postulate that they did not hesitate to mention it in their correspondence to the Colonial Office.
A case in point related

Reference 803 - 0.01% Coverage

policy; (iv) ecclesiastical grants."80
Regarding the order of precedence of the Heads of the two Dioceses, in due course the Colonial Office determined that the rank between them would go by seniority of appointment.
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.
Truth and Justice Commission 482

Reference 804 - 0.01% Coverage

in itself a great feat.
Much water has, however, passed under the bridge to achieve this level, although much remains to be done to correct inequalities inherited from our colonial past.
Slavery, which was practised during

Reference 805 - 0.01% Coverage

and based on specific criteria.
In 1909, another Commission was mandated by the British Government to inquire into the critical financial situation of the colony, after the passage of the violent cyclone of 1892 and the conditions prevailing on the labour market. The Commission recommended the cessation of the Indian immigration but observed that, in spite of the fact that Indian immigrants and their descendants represented around ⅔ of the colony's population, they had no representatives in the Legislative Council. The Commission recommended the restoration of all civil rights to indentured labourers and their descendants.
In order to facilitate the

Reference 806 - 0.01% Coverage

known as cooperative credit societies.

The Constitution of 1885 remained in force up to 1948, when the conditions set for voting insisted only on the ability to sign one's name in any language spoken or written in the colony. It is under this Constitution that voting rights was first conferred on women. The new Constitution allowed 27% of the population to take part and knelled the monopoly of the oligarchy in the Legislative Assembly.
Truth and Justice Commission 498

Reference 807 - 0.01% Coverage

pay of artisans and labourers.
A similar riot occurred in 1943 protesting against conditions of work and pay on sugar estates, in view of rocketing prices of consumer goods. This also culminated in a loss of life, including one pregnant woman named Anjalay Coopen. Further measures to improve conditions of the labouring class were recommended by an Inquiry Commission headed by the then Colonial Secretary, Mr. S. Moody. The Commission recommended, inter alia, the setting up of Industrial and Arbitration Tribunal and an increase of wages by 10%.
Before 1940, apart from limited

Reference 808 - 0.01% Coverage

to a more egalitarian society.
2.1 Clash of civilization and colonial mentality
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 X1V, to manage slaves in the newlyacquired colonies is a typical case of the bias ideas of the black people generally. Slaves captured
Truth and Justice Commission 502

Reference 809 - 0.01% Coverage

to heirs and successors.5
Ironically, the Code Noir was enacted to render the treatment of slaves more humane, as opposed to the treatment meted out to slaves by the Dutch and the Spanish in their newly-acquired colonies.
But the driving force behind

Reference 810 - 0.01% Coverage

THE DUTCH AND FRENCH PERIOD
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 1710.7

Surprisingly, during the whole French and British colonial era, there has not been any uprising of the slave population, although these individuals outnumbered their white masters by 10 to 1. The reason behind this was the stringent laws governing slave movement and the strong application of the Code Noir concerning behaviour of the slaves.8*

Although slaves per se were

Reference 811 - 0.01% Coverage

different places of the domaine.

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.10

The Law governing Emancipation passed

Reference 812 - 0.01% Coverage

to free themselves under Toussaint

Louverture leadership, no move for freedom took place in the then Isle de France. The slaves' masters put up a strong resistance at the idea that their slaves could be set free and no move by the Convention could make them agree, so that a detachment of soldiers and emissaries of the French National Assembly were compelled to retreat in the face of fierce opposition. Isle de France thus became a breakaway colony.12

The decision of the Assemblée

Reference 813 - 0.01% Coverage

THE 1940S TILL INDEPENDENCE Introduction

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.
5.1 The laying of

Reference 814 - 0.01% Coverage

Ramsey Mac Donald and others.
Some of the measures for the better care of the poorer section of the community in power in Britain were advocated in some colonies including Mauritius. Already a Poor Law Office was created in 1904.
6.1 Overall Achievements One

Reference 815 - 0.01% Coverage

Income Maintenance and Social Security
Social Security has its origins in the Poor Laws of Colonial Mauritius, all enacted under the guidance and approval of the Colonial Office. It was under the pressure of the Labour Party that much legislation came into force in the Colony in this field.
Although many measures were gradually

Reference 816 - 0.01% Coverage

through the Trade Union Movement
At the origin of employment policy in Mauritius is the pressure put on the Colonial Government by the general working-class consciousness and the growth of Trade Unions, especially after the Second World War.
In 1965, there were about

Reference 817 - 0.01% Coverage

multiracial and multicultural democratic country.
Following the unprecedented success of the Labour Party at a rally held on 1 May 1938, there appeared a determination on the part of workers and artisans to put a stop to injustices meted to them. On the plutocracy side, there was an effort to stop the awakening of the proletariat. Dr. Curé became the main target of newspapers and a private radio who were supporters of the oligarchy. Varma6, has described in detail the injustices meted out to Dr Curé: how the money he collected from labourers could not be deposited in a bank account; how a Law was passed to inquire into the activities of ‘Société de Bienfaisance’; the boycott of the newspaper Le Peuple Mauricien; how the money collected from workers was confiscated; and the manner in which his appeal against the judgement of the Supreme Court was rejected by the Privy Council. Such a state of things simply describes the tug-of-war between capitalists who were backed by the Colonial Government and the Labourites.
7.4 The New Constitution

Reference 818 - 0.01% Coverage

of Mauritius – The Chagos Saga

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.
The Chagossians are the descendants

Reference 819 - 0.01% Coverage

The protection of women's rights
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.
Nevertheless, these efforts need to

Reference 820 - 0.01% Coverage

The Plight of the Chagossians
23. Colonial Tort: The Chagos Islanders' Experience of Forced Displacement
24. Agalega, No More a

Reference 821 - 0.01% Coverage

REPUBLIC OF MAURITIUS 1. INTRODUCTION
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.

In 1845, more than 35 years after the British colonised Rodrigues, Captain W. Kelly of the H.M.S Conway wrote: “It is lamentable to see any colony or dependency of a colony belonging to a country like Great Britain so utterly neglected. If the island of Rodriguez is worth keeping possession of, which it unquestionably is from its position, surely it should not be debarred from all the blessings and privileges of the mother country.”
Methodology
The Working Group met

Reference 822 - 0.01% Coverage

special asylums of persons affected:
“Those amongst the persons affected who shall be found to be incurable, shall, by the first opportunity, be sent to a place that shall be fixed, the colony shall see to their being settled, and to their keeping and maintenance during the period of six months”. (Acticle VI of the Arrêt).
General Decaen thought that Rodrigues

Reference 823 - 0.01% Coverage

Frenchman, was the only alien.
The future of Rodrigues once more came into focus when the epidemic cholera struck Mauritius in 1854 and 1856. The Secretary of State suggested Rodrigues as a quarantine station. Fortunately, the project never materialised and once more, Rodrigues was saved from the consequences of colonial’s drastic decisions.
The first six-beds Hospital

Reference 824 - 0.01% Coverage

TO FORGETFULNESS (OR EITHER WAY)
Compared to Mauritius and Reunion, Rodrigues never knew the development of a colonial plantation economy, even though there have been several attempts to grow tobacco, cotton, coffee etc. Isolated and away from the main trade routes, the island of Rodrigues was just a stopover for infrequent vessels.
From a land of abundance

Reference 825 - 0.01% Coverage

for its Television signals transmission.
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.
Natural Heritage:
The limestone region

Reference 826 - 0.01% Coverage

V3/2 PP. 67-74
“L’émancipation des esclaves eut lieu à l’île Maurice et dans ses dépendances en 1834. Mais ils furent tenus de travailler encore cinq années chez leur ancien maître comme «apprentice labourers», travailleurs en apprentissage. Ce rapport est celui d’un fonctionnaire colonial, venu s’assurer à l’ile Rodrigues des conditions faites aux apprentis. Il comporte en outres des données intéressantes sur l’économie de l’île qui permettent à l’auteur de conclure à la possibilité de faire de Rodrigues le fournisseur attitré de l’île Maurice en poisson et produits d’élevage. En ce qui concerne l’état d’avancement de la colonisation de l’île, les chiffres fournis par le rapport permettent de dire que celle-ci est encore assez peu developpée. Le cheptel est peu nombreux, les productions vegétales juste suffisantes. Or, le décompte des apprentis fournit le total de 127 adultes dont 99 occupés aux travaux agricoles, auxquels s’ajoutent 42 enfants et 13 hommes libres. C’est dire que la population totale de l’île ne doit même pas atteindre 300 habitants à cette date.» (1838)
“On the three first mentioned

Reference 827 - 0.01% Coverage

use to Mauritius, must fail,
if some provision be not made for religious and the education of the children; in our days, these are requisites that will not be dispensed with in a British colony.”
The population of Rodrigues was

Reference 828 - 0.01% Coverage

pursued to state the following:
“It is lamentable to see any colony or dependency of a colony belonging to a country like Great Britain so utterly neglected. If the island of Rodrigues is worth keeping possession of, which it unquestionably is from its position, surely it should not be debarred from all the blessings and privileges of the mother country.”
1. State Primary Schools
It

Reference 829 - 0.01% Coverage

Education (Knowledge), Culture and Religion
It is a recognised fact that everywhere in the world, where colonialism has had a strong hold, the cultures of the colonialists have dominated those of the colonised. In the case of Rodrigues, the dominant culture has been the Western one, with more emphasis on the French culture. This implied a complete denial of the cultures of the descendants of slaves. “Avoir de la culture” – être cultivé signifiait des savoirs encyclopédiques (d’après les Assises des Ecoles Catholiques en 1995). Thus the Churches in Rodrigues have, in some way, denied the African Culture. Dancing the “sega tambour”, a deep expression of the Afro-Malagasy cultural roots, was considered as provocative and lewd by the Church Authorities.
The underlying principle behind the

Reference 830 - 0.01% Coverage

for a separate stamps issue.

1. In 1880, the Seychelles Islands, although a dependency of Mauritius, were allowed to have their stamps issue. They only made a separate colony only in 1903.
2. In 1890, the Cayman

Reference 831 - 0.01% Coverage

OF MAURITIUS 10. RODRIGUES – CULTURE
10.1. Historical Background Rodrigues played a critical role in the Anglo-French struggles for supremacy in the Indian Ocean during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars between 1793 and 1811. Considered as a dependency of Mauritius in the colonial era, Rodrigues is part of the State of Mauritius since Independence (1968) and, as such, was referred as the Tenth District with the other nine districts of mainland Mauritius. Rodriguans voted for the first time in 1967 National Elections, which was also crucial for the Independence of Mauritius; practically, all the Rodriguans under strong advice of Sir Gaetan Duval, voted against the Independence project and favoured the 'Parti Mauricien Social Democrat' ((PMSD) ideology of integration with Great-Britain.
When the Labour Party (the

Reference 832 - 0.01% Coverage

for good.
10.2 Religion
Rodriguans are of mixed origin and fall into two distinct groups; the descendants of the first Europeans settlers and the descendants of the first European settlers, and those of African and Malagasy descents who were ex-slaves on the sugar estates in Mauritius. As Rodrigues never undertook the extensive plantation culture, this explains why the Indian indentured labour never took roots in Rodrigues. The population stands about 37000 and is predominantly Christians, the majority of whom are Roman Catholics. There are a small community of Anglicans, legacy from the British Colonial rule and an even smaller community of Hindus and Muslims who were amongst the latest to arrive in Rodrigues as traders in the late 1890s. The Chinese traders also arrived around this period, but they right at the start fully-integrated the "Creole" community by marrying Rodriguan women. Churches are well attended on Sundays, and it is the main regular occasion for Rodriguans to dress up on an island where leisure activities are rare.
Truth and Justice Commission 558

Reference 833 - 0.01% Coverage

RODRIGUES' AUTONOMY AND ITS LIMITATIONS
11.1. INTRODUCTION Rodrigues, the smallest of the Mascarenes Islands in the Indian Ocean, having been severely exploited and neglected by the different colonial powers over nearly four centuries, has known a very slow development since its discovery in 1528 by the Portuguese pilot Diogo Rodriguez. It has been successively ruled by the French (1630-1810) and British (1810-1968) until its
Independence in 1968.
integration within

Reference 834 - 0.01% Coverage

the regular severe climate conditions

that it faced, throughout the colonial times Rodrigues did not
attract numerous settlers to set up a solid Private Sector Development, as was the case in Mauritius. Many came in prospection and due to administrative neglect and indecisions, left for Mauritius. The Colonial Administrations, both under the French and British rule, never had a clear roadmap for the island's future but, instead more than once, considered that the island was best suited as a land of exile or quarantine, where undesired trouble-makers such as political opponents, prisoners and patients suffering of dangerous diseases could be sent. It was also a land for plunder. Its abundant tortoises were massively exploited to feed the population of mainland Mauritius and navigators until complete extinction and its most delicious bird "Le Solitaire" did not know a different fate. The Rodriguan producers in the Agricultural and Fisheries sectors were outrageously exploited mainly thorough a barter system resulting in the enrichment of the more powerful forces at the expense of its inhabitants. As for the British, it was interested in Rodrigues only as a strategic base to defeat the French and conquer Mauritius. The slave trade continued in Rodrigues well after it was made illegal in the colony and the slaves were liberated only 4 years and 4 months after those in Mauritius had already undergone apprenticeship and been set free. Throughout the Colonial Rule, Rodrigues remained underdeveloped but nevertheless managed, through hard work in agriculture and fishing, to be considered as the granary of Mauritius as far back as 1867 and even later in 1970s before it was stopped by long periods of drought and severe cyclones.

Reference 835 - 0.01% Coverage

DEPENDENCY, FRANCHISE, INTEGRATION AND REVOLT.
As a British Colony, Rodrigues became a dependency of Mauritius in 1815. It obtained its representation in the Council of Government as an Electoral District in 1967 when the Rodriguan people voted for the first time as the 21st constituency of Mauritius. As early as 1915, a petition was sent to the King George V in 1915, claiming for a Rodrigues to be an Electoral Constituency but as usual, nothing happened. A judicial battle was staged in the 1960s challenging the validity of previous elections when Rodrigues was set aside. Finally in 1967, after Constitutional Talks towards Independence where all quarters of Mauritius sat around the table for negotiations without Rodrigues, it was agreed to extend the universal franchise to Rodrigues. And it was in such circumstances that Rodrigues became an integral part of Mauritius, when it became independent, and some incidents followed the aborted celebrations of the event in Port- Mathurin.

Reference 836 - 0.01% Coverage

in terms of accelerated development."
This Section of the Law came into operation on the 30th September 2002. The regular disagreement between the different regional autonomous authorities over the quantum is explained by the fact that the capital budget allocated do not respond to the infrastructural and development needs in the island. The more so since many studies have proved that Rodrigues is the poor relative of Mauritius. A study done in 1998 concluded that 36.4% of its families lived in precariousness, and another 13.2% in "ultra-poverty". During the recent years, there was a widespread opinion that for Rodrigues to feel real integration into the nation and for its economy to thrive, Mauritius must stop displaying the same attitude as the ancient Colonial Powers, that of neglect and snobbism, and start to bridge the development gap between the two islands and lever the same level of services available in Mauritius for the island.

Reference 837 - 0.01% Coverage

Rodrigues sets it apart, and
highlights its differences, from Isle de France/Mauritius. Clearly, there were several aborted attempts by the French to colonise the island before 1750, when a “small permanent colony” was established. 1 During his well-documented visit, Abbé Pingré found 100 people living on Rodrigues, including about ten Frenchmen, although from those 100 must be deducted the two crews of small French ships. 2 In 1803, General Decaen ordered the few colonists and their salves to evacuate the island, for fear of a British invasion that subsequently took place in 1809, through a landing at Anse aux Anglais.
Neglected under the French authorities

Reference 838 - 0.01% Coverage

discussed much. Freed slaves, who
came from Mauritius after Abolition in 1839, were fishermen. They lived or survived through work, even though their skills were limited: ‘Rouges’ later often referred to the work of descendants of slaves as sloppy, and the phrase ‘travail Zhabitants’ has survived to designate ‘unsatisfactory work’. ‘Rouges’ were not just fishermen and pastoralists; a few were excellent carpenters, as for ‘Ton. Bébert Rose’, who built some excellent colonial homes at Port Mathurin. Other members of the Rose family had cattle at Baie du Nord or Baie aux Huîtres, while also repairing and building ‘pirogues’.
4.3. A Member of

Reference 839 - 0.01% Coverage

a criticism that is frequently
voiced is: “If Rodrigues were a Hindu colony, the population would be taken better care of.” The amount of money spent on libraries by the Mauritian Government is ludicrous; the collections do not allow for project work or research by school children. Hence, Rodriguan adolescents struggle to reach the same standard as their Mauritian counterparts, through no fault of their dedicated teachers. The Kreol language is unanimously accepted by all communities; hence, the fight is won in this respect.
but they are not as

Reference 840 - 0.01% Coverage

2002, p. 65) wrote that:
“[…] Le doc no. 16 datant de 1769 décrit la colonie comme étant composée d’un commandant et sa famille, de son gendre M. De Julienne, d’un chirurgien, un caporal et d’un groupe de ‘noirs’ [originaires de Madagascar ou des Indes] esclaves de la compagnie auxquels se joignent quelques libres […] »
(Eng. trans: the document No. 16 dating to 1769 describes the colony as composed of a commander and his family, of his son-in-law, Mr. De Julienne, a surgeon, a corporal and of a group of 'blacks' [natives of Madagascar or India] slaves of the Company as well as some freed).
Since there were no sugar

Reference 841 - 0.01% Coverage

were planters and breeders.3

The slaves outnumbered the Colons as Berthelot (2002, p. 6) explains; in August 1767, there were 5 slaves and in November 1767, 7 slaves and 16 free Indians were recorded. The slaves' experiences in Rodrigues differed from the practice of slavery in other colonies including Mauritius:
"[…] mai esklav la li pa

Reference 842 - 0.01% Coverage

unofficially administered the island.8
During British colonisation, even if slavery was proclaimed illegal since 1807 in all British colonies, more slaves were introduced to Mauritius. Berthelot (2002, pp.14-17) recorded that on the 20th August 1809 there were 41 slaves of whom seven belonged to Le Gros and more than 20 to Marragon. The Indians were repatriated to Bombay. In 1826, there were 20 Europeans, 3 Freed and 100 Slaves (49 men and 28 women) on the island. These figures indicate an increase of 59% slaves in 17 years, as a result of births and the introduction of new slaves. In 1838, at the abolition of slavery, the number of apprentices and the total population amounted to 127 and 300 respectively.9
The names of the slave

Reference 843 - 0.01% Coverage

were indeed buried with him.
However, given that Colonial Rules forbade slaves to be buried in a cemetery and most of all, not with their master, in a Whites' cemetery, it is most likely, as mentioned by Rosange, that the slaves were buried in an old cemetery named by the elders Montagn Simtier (Eng. trans. Cemetery Mountain) located near Union. An archaeological survey has to be carried out to ascertain whether this potential heritage site can be listed as national heritage.
One of the reasons why

Reference 844 - 0.01% Coverage

case to remain a British
colony. This political choice already indicated divergent political directions and the willingness of Rodriguans that their country be considered as a separate entity from its sister island. This aspiration for autonomy is at the core of political debates even now. Thirdly, the fact that the Rodriguans were discarded from the Colonial Assembly debates on the Constitution of 1958 was a sign of the long marginalisation of the island. Fourthly, this period correlates with the emergence of a Rodriguan consciousness and the building of Rodriguan national identity.
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.
Ben and Noel testified that

Reference 845 - 0.01% Coverage

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILES (See Table 1)

Rodrigues, like almost all former slave colonies, is a land of immigration that was built on the Diasporic movements of Africans, Europeans, Chinese and Indians during the Colonial and PostColonial era. Although from an etic perspective, Rodriguan society is perceived as homogenous because of the predominance of African and Malagasy Diasporas, from an emic stand, ethnic variations can be observed based on phenotype and socio-economic differences.
In line with what Jean

Reference 846 - 0.01% Coverage

of this ancient Creole culture).
On the one hand, colonialism in Rodrigues was not of the same nature as in its sister island, since the former experienced different degrees of domination, 'Europeanisation' and experiences of settlement and cultural patterns. On the other hand, its remoteness and its isolation from the main inter-continental migratory movement from Europe and India, until the end of 20th
protected the island from the

Reference 847 - 0.01% Coverage

how the Rodriguans categorise themselves.
The Rodriguans of Asian origins (Indians, Muslims and Chinese) are in a minority on the island. As historians have pointed out, the indentured-ship system was not implemented in Rodrigues, and the island was not on the migratory route of the Asians. Jauze (1998) proposes two reasons for the insignificant presence of the Indian Diaspora in Rodrigues despite its proximity to Mauritius. Firstly, there was no massive and constant immigration of Mauritians to Rodrigues and, secondly, theindentured labour system was introduced in the main sugar plantation colonies of the Mascarenes.
Historians date the arrival of

Reference 848 - 0.01% Coverage

declared by their biological fathers.
Indeed, the population imbalance between the slaves and the Colons, with the former outnumbering the Colons and the lack of Colon women, might surely have encouraged inter-racial sexual relationships and cross-breeding, even if the Code Noir and successive colonial legislations such as the Code Decaen forbade such relationships. Although the island was administered by the Code Noir, since Rodrigues was isolated from Mauritius, the application of the Code Noir was, surely, loose, and it was not applied to the letter.
The interviews revealed with the

Reference 849 - 0.01% Coverage

resentment for the Social Establishment.
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.

In their sub-consciousness, the

Reference 850 - 0.01% Coverage

Central Government regarding Rodriguan affairs.
Since the arrival of the first European settlers in the era of French colonization, certain traces have survived over the generations. The predominance of African and Malagasy blood in the mix is explained by a wave of settlement following the abolition of slavery by the British Colonial Administration in 1835. Before Independence in 1968, Mauritius did not show much interest in Rodrigues and the first comprehensive publication on the latter came out in 1923 (Bertuchi, in North-Coombes 1971). Information on the health and disease situation in Rodrigues during the colonial times was scattered and patchy. Therefore, this report only attempts to provide a brief overview of the situation in Rodrigues.
Truth and Justice Commission 607

Reference 851 - 0.01% Coverage

no permanent inhabitants on Chagos."
As early as 1969, the French Naval Lieutenant La Fontaine made a thorough survey of the Chagos Bay and recorded a possible strategic value of Diego Garcia. From 1881 to 1888, Diego Garcia was the location of two coal stations for steamships crossing the Indian Ocean. The strategic situation of Diego Garcia, about 3,400 miles from the Cape of Good Hope, 2,600 miles from North West Cape, Australia, 2,200 miles from Berbera, Somalia, and its proximity with the Maldives and India was gradually recognised by the UK and US. During the World War II, Diego Garcia proved to be a valuable naval port of call and became more prominent after the war, especially after the withdrawal of the British forces from the region following the independence of India (1947) and other colonies. Later, the Gulf crisis, the Kuwait, Iraq and the Afghanistan wars contributed further to the strategic importance of Diego as a military base for the US.
Evidence laid out before the

Reference 852 - 0.01% Coverage

British Government on the Excision
The long association of Chagos Archipelago with Mauritius came to an end on 8th November 1965, with the coming into force of the British Indian Ocean Territory. It originally included not only Chagos Archipelago, but also Farquhar Islands, Aldabra Group and Desroches Islands which formed part of the British colony of Seychelles. However, Seychelles carried out successful negotiations for its independence on 28th June 1976 and also for the return of the three groups of islands.
Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, the Prime

Reference 853 - 0.01% Coverage

the Chagos Archipelago from Mauritius.
Sir Seewoosagur declared that he accepted the excision, in principle, as (i) he felt he had no legal instrument to prohibit the United Kingdom Government from exercising the powers conferred upon it by the Colonial Boundaries Act 1895, which powers could not be resisted even by India when the partition of this country took place before its independence (ii) he could not then assess the strategic importance of the archipelago which consisted of islands very remote from Mauritius and virtually unknown to most

Mauritians and (iii) it was concretely expressed to him that the islands would be used as a communications centre and not as a military base."
The population in Mauritius was

Reference 854 - 0.01% Coverage

Danger Island and Nelsons Island.
The Archipelago was formally administered by the British Crown Colony of Mauritius
until 8th November 1965 when

Reference 855 - 0.01% Coverage

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.
With the exception of a

Reference 856 - 0.01% Coverage

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.
This report aims at documenting

Reference 857 - 0.01% Coverage

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).
British Colonisation The Chagos was a Crown colony administered by the Seychelles but in 1903, it was
attached to Mauritius as a

Reference 858 - 0.01% Coverage

and, thus, was under the
administration of the Mauritian Colonial Government. Under Farquhar's governorship, more land concessions were granted on the atolls, such as in Peros Banhos, Trois Frères, Eagle and Salomon Islands, for the expansion of copra production. The establishment of more coconut plantations meant the introduction of more slaves on the island from Mauritius and the development of the Archipelago's social, economic and infrastructural structures.
Just as in Metropolitan Mauritius

Reference 859 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 639
VOL 4: PART IX – RODRIGUES, CHAGOS, AGALEGA AND ST. BRANDON – COLONIAL TORT: THE CHAGOS ISLANDERS' EXPERIENCE OF FORCED DISPLACEMENT
Since the colony was remote, approximately 15 days travel by sea in times of windy
weather, the application of the Code was loose and was left to the discretion of the administrators of the coconut plantations who were the representatives of the Colonial Government as well.
Table 1: Population Distribution in

Reference 860 - 0.01% Coverage

the racist prejudices that the
colonisers cultivated against the locals who were considered as 'uncivilised' and on the racist imperialist underpinnings of the European missionaries in the colonies as reflected in the above extract:
« …comme elles ont besoin, de

Reference 861 - 0.01% Coverage

Islanders who remained in the
Archipelago after deportations and that are reproduced in Jeffery (2007) work. These oral narratives picture life in their homeland as harsh, and they were dominated by the Colonial Power and were oppressed.
The priest's description also provides

Reference 862 - 0.01% Coverage

and in the African region
as from post second World War that correlates with the end of the British Empire15. The decision to give freedom and independence to colonial territories was not an altruist choice motivated by human rights considerations, but rather a political and economic decision.
The Government's policy to decolonise

Reference 863 - 0.01% Coverage

did not exist in a
vacuum but was an outcome of national and international political ventures. According to Green (1989) and Heilein (2002), there were a number of factors: the rise in political consciousness and 'nationalism' in the colonies lobbying for self-governance and statehood, overexpansion of British territories and mis-management that led to tension and conflict in some colonies, pressure from emerging Europe and superpower rivalries led to a transfer of power to the ex-colonies.
In view of that, the

Reference 864 - 0.01% Coverage

international politicoeconomic perspective. It appears:
Firstly, that “colonialism prevents the development of international economic co-
operation, impedes the social, cultural

Reference 865 - 0.01% Coverage

and irreversible and that, in
order to avoid serious crises, an end must be put to colonialism and all practices of segregation and discrimination associated therewith”, the United Nations welcomed the decolonisation and independence of territories.
In this respect, the United

Reference 866 - 0.01% Coverage

the Granting of Independence to
Colonial Counties and Peoples was adopted on 14th December 1960. This declaration sets out a series of principles, intended to guide the progressive stable and peaceful independence of the colonies “based on respect for the principles of equal rights and selfdetermination of all peoples, and of universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.”
Yet, the Report of the

Reference 867 - 0.01% Coverage

1983) and other publications expound
that the British Indian Ocean Order of 1965 was not in accordance with the UN Declaration. As per the Order, British Indian Ocean Territory is a separate colony that was initially composed of the Chagos Archipelago, the Farquhar Islands, the Aldabra Group and the Islands of Desroches. From the 28th June 1976, only the Chagos Archipelago remains British territory.
This documentation details how the

Reference 868 - 0.01% Coverage

power to compel the administering
powers, both the British Colonial Government and the Mauritian Labour Party to respect these agreements.
Even if the role of

Reference 869 - 0.01% Coverage

destroyed or took
over valuable
documentation including correspondence between the Governor of Mauritius and the Secretary of State for the Colonies pertaining to the period immediately preceding Independence.20 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.

The deportation of the Chagos

Reference 870 - 0.01% Coverage

Territory and the militarisation of
Diego Garcia can be conceived as a perpetuation of colonialism, but under a different form. They essentialise politico-economic colonisation with these 'Great powers' maintaining and re-affirming their military and political influence. We are presently suffering from the after-effects of the American military colonisation with the current social and economic crisis and the war against terrorism.
'terrorism suspects' having transited through

Reference 871 - 0.01% Coverage

that the administrators of the
plantations were also representatives of the Colonial Government on the islands, and thus many duties were conferred upon them such as keeping birth, death and marriage records and land transactions. The Colonial Government was kept informed of the land occupations, natality and mortality rates for census records and for the good administration of the island.
Truth and Justice Commission 651

Reference 872 - 0.01% Coverage

songwriters and community leaders is
politically important for the Chagossian struggle in exile. Critical engagement with the problems of the colonial Chagos Archipelago, which used to find an outlet through a vibrant tradition of musical composition, is no longer appropriate because of the detrimental effects such negative portrayals of Chagos could have on the Chagossian struggle for the right to return and on Chagossian unity, optimism, and activism…."30
The displaced Chagossians share some

Reference 873 - 0.01% Coverage

are descendants of slaves and
Indian indentured labourers that were sent to the Chagos Archipelago as plantation workers under colonialism. The successive generations native of the islands peopled the Chagos and evolved into an insular society with distinct social and cultural systems, including a distinctive Creole language and valuable cultural system born from cultural diffusion.
At the end of Colonialism, the British rulers forced them to leave their homeland. They experienced multiple historical victimisations and discriminations. Firstly, they experienced forced and involuntary dislocation and, secondly, they were stripped of their right to return in a coercive way.
The Chagos Islanders are fighting

Reference 874 - 0.01% Coverage

through public narratives across generations.

The Chagossian population is a discrete socio-cultural unit, constructed through successive settlement movements during Colonialism and common living and working
Truth and Justice Commission 655

Reference 875 - 0.01% Coverage

the supervision of Mr. Lefranc.
Mr. C. de Rosemond died on 2 November 1814. Later in 1835, Mr. Leduc, the then Manager, found a skull in North Island which he associated with Mr. Rosemond. He erected a monument in South Island in memory of the first Manager and founder of the colony, died on Agalega (Appendix V). Other administrative staffs who died on the Islands were also buried in this area. This place is called “Cimetière Blanc” and by tradition,
is reserved for administrative staff

Reference 876 - 0.01% Coverage

to ‘Diego Co. Ltd.’
7.5 In 1962, the Islands were sold and became ‘Chagos Agalega Co. Ltd’. A third of the Company belonged to a Seychellois, Paul Moulinié, another third to Rogers Co., together with the Colonial Steamship Co. Ltd., and the remaining third was owned by a group of Seychellois. Thus, the Company was registered in Mauritius as a foreign company and administered by a Seychellois Manager under the Mauritian jurisdiction (Doc. I, Agalega The Way Ahead by D. Burrenchobhay 4.7 – 4.9).
7.6 In 1976, with

Reference 877 - 0.01% Coverage

the islands for the accused.
In 1904, Administrative arrangements were reviewed by the Colonial Government and the “Administrateur” (Manager) was allowed “to impose a sentence of imprisonment of not more than six days for insolence and insubordination. He could detain disturbers of peace, and those whose conduct was likely to lead to that, until the danger of disturbance was over. He could hear cases of ‘praedial’ larceny and impose fines not exceeding ten rupees. Particulars of all cases must be entered in a register, which must be submitted to the magistrate on his next visit”. Document I)
(Doc I, Agalega The Way

Reference 878 - 0.01% Coverage

use as their language
of
communication Creole as in most French colonies. Agaleans use a few particular words, which are not in use in Mauritian Creole, picked by their proximity with Seychellois and old French masters, (enkuri for direction, abou for succeeded, bosoir for a single man/woman without steady family life, ranmafan for hot sweet drink made of hot water and grilled rice, gobergé for
eating and drinking merrily etc

Reference 879 - 0.01% Coverage

1 Archives: éclipses à répétition

Auguste TOUSSAINT,36 l'archiviste infatigable de l'île Maurice entre 1941 et 1971, a retracé les vicissitudes des archives publiques de la colonie de façon aussi précise que possible, vu les dispersions auxquelles elles ont été soumises. La synthèse que nous pouvons tirer de son ouvrage,37 qui a le grand mérite d'associer les archives à leurs institutions d'origine,38 est la suivante.

2.1.1 Période française

Reference 880 - 0.01% Coverage

l'Île de France en 1735).

2.1.1.2 Rétablissement de l'autorité du Roi de France Une fois l'autorité du Roi de France établie après la dissolution de la Seconde Compagnie des Indes Orientales, l'Île de France acquiert plus d'importance comme siège du pouvoir colonial dans les Mascareignes et au-delà (1775 - Administration des Comptoirs de l'Inde durant la Guerre d'Indépendance américaine; 1785 - Chef-lieu de tous les établissements français au delà du Cap de Bonne Espérance, ce qu'elle demeure jusqu'en 1810). Parallèlement, par une Ordonnance sur le Gouvernement civil des Mascareignes de septembre 1766, son administration est partagée entre un Gouverneur, à la tête de l'administration militaire et un Intendant à la tête de l'administration civile et de la justice. Le principe de gestion constant des archives publiques est alors celui de la conservation dans les greffes de leurs administrations respectives. Une administration locale se développe également à l'Île de France (1753 - La Commune, embryon d'administration locale; 1762 - Syndics de quartiers). Le création à Versailles (France) du Dépôt des Chartes des colonies39 auprès du bureau des Archives de la Marine et des Colonies (édit royal de juin 1766) modifie quelque peu la gestion et la conservation des actes officiels : l'administration locale a désormais l'obligation d'y faire déposer les actes civils et administratifs principaux (état-civil, arrêts et jugements des tribunaux coloniaux, actes notariés, hypothèques, etc.). Le Dépôt des Chartes des Colonies délivre des copies d'actes aux intéressés, sur présentation de justificatifs.

2.1.1.3 Révolution

Reference 881 - 0.01% Coverage

MEMORY – SAUVEGARDE DU PATRIMOINE DOCUMENTAIRE

 Le Consulat rétablit peu ou prou la situation antérieure et abolit les institutions républicaines (1803). Un Gouverneur est en charge de l'administration militaire, un Préfet colonial de l'administration intérieure et un Commissaire de Justice de la justice. Toutes les archives de l'Assemblée Coloniale sont versées en vrac dans les bureaux du Préfet colonial qui hérite également d'archives administratives disparates.

 Au moment de la prise de l'île par les Britanniques, la division des fonds est à son comble: archives administratives et des assemblées auprès du Préfet colonial; archives judiciaires aux Greffes des cours; archives administratives locales auprès des Commissaires civils (qui ont succédé aux Municipalités).

Cette dissociation administrative, les transferts

Reference 882 - 0.01% Coverage

également dommageable aux archives publiques:

 Lors de son départ de la colonie (1810), le Gouverneur français DECAEN avait extrait de nombreux documents des archives administratives pour pouvoir rendre des comptes à son administration de tutelle, la Marine. Ils sont désormais conservés dans un fonds privé de la Bibliothèque de Caen (France).40

 DECAEN confie le reste des archives de son administration à un Commissaire à la Marine, M. MARROU, qui les entrepose sur sa propriété agricole de l'île Maurice. Cette situation dérogatoire dure près de cinq ans puisque les Britanniques ne nomment le Baron d'UNIENVILLE comme Archiviste colonial, qu'en mai 1815. Ce dernier n'a aucune compétence particulière en matière d'archives et sa fonction principale est de compiler les statistiques de la colonie.41 Sa charge est abolie en 1833.
 À son départ, en 1817, le Gouverneur britannique FARQUHAR démembre les archives de la colonie à des fins personnelles (défense de son action à Maurice) et géopolitiques (renseignements sur Madagascar de nature à faciliter sa conquête par les Britanniques). Ces fonds sont depuis conservés à la British Library (Londres).42
 Auguste TOUSSAINT insiste sur la continuité administrative entre Français et Britanniques, notamment du point de vue des hommes en place et de la langue; on assiste pourtant, selon lui, à partir de 1833, à un véritable désastre archivistique: il faudra attendre 1893 et la restauration de la charge d'Archiviste colonial pour que la tendance s'inverse quelque peu.
Des déprédations irrémédiables ont alors

Reference 883 - 0.01% Coverage

fonds selon leur administration émettrice.
Le travail d'Auguste TOUSSAINT est toujours présent, bien qu'à l'état dégradé, dans l'organisation actuelle des Archives nationales de Maurice, en particulier dans le lettrage des séries (qui diffère du système de classification français en deux lettres) et dans la mise en valeur de la continuité entre les deux administrations coloniales française et britannique (alors qu'à La Réunion les inventaires sont différenciés selon le pouvoir colonial en exercice). Les critiques que l'on peut apporter à l'œuvre d'Auguste TOUSSAINT sont de plusieurs ordres:
1. Une orientation idéologique, sensible

Reference 884 - 0.01% Coverage

fonds depuis le 19e s.).
3. Surtout, étant donné la polarisation de ses intérêts d'historien pour la période française de l'île Maurice, un certaine désintérêt pour les archives de la colonie à l'époque britannique, conservées depuis son mandat dans un dépôt humide à Vacoas.
2.2 Livres : Bibliothèques d'érudits

Reference 885 - 0.01% Coverage

2 Livres : Bibliothèques d'érudits locaux
2.2.1 Une colonie de lettrés et d'érudits L'importance du patrimoine imprimé mauricien a été beaucoup et précocement vantée:53 l'île est équipée dès 1767 d'une imprimerie autonome54 et dotée dès la période française d'une presse périodique jugée exemplaire par sa précocité puis par sa liberté de ton à l'époque britannique.55 Elle est aussi le siège d'une certaine activité littéraire dès la fin de la période française, en Français puis en Créole.56 Les loisirs dont jouissent les élites francophones, une tradition frondeuse de sociétés savantes ou littéraires et leur ardent militantisme politico-linguistique57 expliquent l'importance des bibliothèques privées et des cabinets de lecture dans l'île. Nous avons pu étudier,58 grâce aux registres de comptes conservés dans les archives privées de l'Habitation Labourdonnais, quelques achats de livres reliés à une librairie française (1858). Malgré le caractère très partiel de cette commande du maître de céans, Christian William WIEHE, on est frappé par la variété de ses intérêts, par l'actualité de

ses lectures et surtout par l'abondance des ouvrages commandés – et encore ne s'agit-il que de l'une des deux langues parlées par Christian WIEHE.59
Truth and Justice Commission 710

Reference 886 - 0.01% Coverage

1 Mauritius Institute (Port-Louis)
Le Mauritius Institute, dont l'histoire est d'abord celle d'un Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle61 créé par quelques membres fondateurs de la Société des Arts et Sciences, Charles TELFAIR, Louis BOUTON et Julien DESJARDINS, reçut en héritage plusieurs collections et bibliothèques, dont celle d'Adrien D'EPINAY. Initialement ouverts au Collège Royal et uniquement réservés aux membres de la Société Royale des Arts et Sciences, le musée et sa bibliothèque vivotaient faute de moyens avant que le Gouverneur Sir Arthur PAYRE n'accède à une demande de la Société Royale (1878) d'étendre les objectifs du Musée et d'en faire une institution librement accessible au public. Une Ordonnance (1880) établit l'institution, le terrain est promptement réquisitionné à Port-Louis, le bâtiment inauguré (décembre 1884) et les ouvrages de la bibliothèque transférés en janvier 1885. La bibliothèque n'ouvrit cependant au public qu'en 1901, après avoir reçu en don les 9,000 ouvrages de la bibliothèque de l'avocat et politicien mauricien Sir Virgil NAZ. Anthony CHEKE62 raconte la triste décadence du Mauritius Institute à la fin du 20e s.: la cause principale en fut que le Gouvernement Colonial déposséda63 le Conseil d'administration du Mauritius Institute, jusque-là indépendant, de la capacité de nommer le Directeur, le Bibliothécaire et le Conservateur de l'institution.
2.2.2.2 Bibliothèque

Reference 887 - 0.01% Coverage

plusieurs registres d'engagisme, c. 1848;
 des livres de tenue de compte relatifs au commerce maritime c. 1820; des actes officiels de la Colonie sous la Révolution française.
Ce fonds d'archives ne fut

Reference 888 - 0.01% Coverage

aux pays autrefois sous tutelle;
 les métropoles ont souvent joué des uns contre les autres dans leurs colonies (Divide and Rule) : divisions entre peuples, entre religions ou entre communautés comme ce fut le cas à Maurice.
Les archives s'en ressentent et

Reference 889 - 0.02% Coverage

the unity of the nation.
Representations are expressions of the past generated by an act of memory. As such, representations of slavery and indenture were considered within the memory process that led to the construction of a national vision of the past. In Mauritius, the memorial framework was inherited from the colonial elite who established western references in the colony. Our research first analysed the concept of heritage as understood by the Royal Society of Arts and Sciences (RSAS) and by the Historical Records Committee (HRC) in the second half of the nineteenth century. These two entities were instrumental in the creation of a memorial framework at national level.

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 acceptation 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.
In the same manner, the

Reference 890 - 0.01% Coverage

as heritage of the nation.
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.
Truth and Justice Commission 803

Reference 891 - 0.01% Coverage

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.
In this respect, research on

Reference 892 - 0.01% Coverage

inherited their understanding of heritage. This had a direct incidence on the formulation of representations of slavery and indenture. The representations of the past were actually driven by the colonial Elite. The account on the RSAS and the HRC can help us appreciate why it is only in the recent years that public expressions of slavery or indenture were included in museums.
the royal society of arts and sciences (rsas) The emergence of the notion of heritage in the colony is associated to the development of Science
and Agriculture. The Société des

Reference 893 - 0.01% Coverage

of a historical consciousness.10
The Société benefits from its international reputation, considering the composition of its members11 all recognized for their confirmed scientific aptitudes. A strong collaboration is established with other societies in the world including those in European metropolis12. The activities of the society focus on natural History, Ornithology, Zoology, Biology and Botanic, and largely contributes to the development of sugar cane which has become the main economic driver as from the 1840s (Ly-TioFane, 1972; Allen, 1999). One of the first reports on the activities of the society indicates that the society's purpose is to «encourager le développement de l'agriculture dans notre colonie en général, et particulièrement, à notre seule ressource et à sa production ingénieuse»13 (SRAS, 1850:5). As such, the Society advises the agriculture sector and the colonial authorities on scientific matters (Sornay, 1950:470).
As part of its activities

Reference 894 - 0.01% Coverage

vision of the arts. As such, the elite also acted in favour of its prestige and positioned itself in the undertaking of the great European artistic enterprises which were references for the colonial power in place.
However, the Société could not continue these expensive initiatives. The artistic exhibitions were later incorporated in those dedicated to Science. The first one took place in 1881: an artistic exhibition was organised by the Société as part of the Inter-Colonial Exhibition taking place at the Government House, the seat of the Colonial Government. Each year, the exhibition regrouped industrial products and natural resources of Mauritius and other colonies of whose sugar «surpassent en beauté ceux des années précédentes» (SRAS, 1881:112). The artistic exhibition presented «objets rares, curieux ou historiques existant à Maurice […], quelques belles toiles de la Réunion et de Maurice, ainsi que des aquarelles» (SRAS, 1881:112).
The exhibition focused on Mauritian objects and Artists. The Société now turned to the presentation of regional arts and promoted the local contribution. This trend became stronger as from the 1880s which

were also the years seeing the emergence of a new elite among the gens de couleur libres. The Société then started to recognize the symbols of the local elite and, in particular, its founding figures. In its undertaking, the Société responded to the need to promote their original culture through the presentation of works of art and endorsed the role of an artistic academy to train local Artists to promote European culture as a reference for the emerging nation. In this context, their action was in line with a colonial strategy aimed at transposing the Metropolis hegemony in the Colony.

Reference 895 - 0.01% Coverage

the emergence of a local memory in the recognition of first settlers and figures of the colonial power In the 1880s, the Société started to recognize the symbols of the local elite, marking the memorial 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).

Reference 896 - 0.02% Coverage

The later initiatives of the Société responded to the same concern of commemorating the memory of those who contributed to the advancement of the colony. The Société, therefore, approved the erection of commemorative monuments and the creation of funeral monuments for its former members16 or for those who undertook actions leading to its creation. The Société also paid homage to famous figures17 and to the founding father18 of the island in Pierre Poivre or Mahé de Labourdonnais whose statue was erected on the Place du Quai, in front of the Government House, on 30 August 1859 (Sornay, 1950:521). The Société later expanded its scope for action to “de promouvoir le progrès de la science, de l'art, de l'histoire et de la littérature à Maurice” (SRAS, 1883: 42).
Throughout the nineteenth century, the Société acted to perpetuate the memory of Scientists who worked in the colony. Monuments were erected as symbols of perpetuity of the Société but also of the scientific knowledge that it promoted. The Société thus delimitated a space of memorial expression that paid homage to progress and, in particular, to the evolution of Science which was necessary for the development of the sugar industry, the major economic activity of the island. The Société ultimately created local historical references based on the recognition of the various contributions and, indirectly, highlighted the contribution of the metropolis in the island. The Société, thus, showed through its commemorative actions its concern to establish strong links between the metropolis, and positioned its actions in the continuity of the scientific activities conducted in Europe at the same period.
The Société thus created a referential background to support the elite and developed references to metropolitan models that valorised and legitimated the place of the elite in the colony. The recognition of the founding figures of the Société and of the colony set a basis for the emergence of heritage in a young society and showed that the notion of heritage was still not defined. The elite engaged in a travail de mémoire that focused on the extraordinary personalities who inspired intellectual admiration. However,

the elite showed no interest in the ethnological heritage, referring to inferior 'foreign' classes -as it was the case in Europe in the same period. Nor was it interested in the built heritage already granted as a symbol of the elite, thus not requiring appropriation to legitimize their position.
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 authority19. 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.
Throughout this process, the elite selected precise memorial representations based on its experience and reduced the scope of historical events to the memory of personalities. This led to the creation of a public space of recognition where the elite signified the close relationship of political authorities with the economic power of the colony. The elite thus created a social representation of memory that was exclusively
extracted from its own colonial circle of
experience. The elite inscribed itself

Reference 897 - 0.01% Coverage

the rest of the population.
the institution of a local memorial framework: the alliance of the colonial powers
The Société was supported by the Colonial Government which allocated funds to support its subsistence. The Société understood that the colonial support was instrumental to its existence and its influence. In the same manner, the colonial power saw in its affiliation to the Société, the opportunity to share the same interests, thus getting closer to the white elite controlling the economic sector of the colony. The alliance of power can be attested in the memorial process that
Truth and Justice Commission 814

Reference 898 - 0.01% Coverage

MAURITIAN NATION – MEMORY AND REPRESENTATIONS
privileged the Western symbols present in the recent past of the country; and also, in the recognition of historical events that showed the close relationship existing between the Colonial Authorities and the white elite.
The representative of Colonial Power also held a significant role in the Société: the Governor was the President of the Société throughout its years of existence during the colonial period. This marked deeply the conciliation existing between the two parties and ultimately, the close relationship among the elite. Together, they contributed to the development of Western culture in the memorial process. This process would lead to the recognition of an heritage defined on Western grounds. This would be the fundamental element leading to the recognition of local heritage. This would survive colonial times and last until recent years.
In this process, the Colonial Government signified its adhesion to the elite and created the image of a strong central power, allying the economic and political power. The example of the Historical Records Committee is also particularly significant in the elaboration of this memorial process. It is also important since it was created as an institutional body. Almost thirty years after its creation, it would become the Ancient Monuments Board and later lead to the creation of the actual National Heritage Fund.
the historical records committee (hrc

Reference 899 - 0.01% Coverage

the historical records committee (hrc)
The Historical Records Committee was created by Governor Pope Hennessy in 1883 as a Commission20 which later became an instituted committee through Proclamation No. 146 of 1889.21 This initiative shows that the notion of heritage first appeared through a colonial initiative, and that heritage was thus recognized at its base in terms of its modalities and definition.
The creation of the Historical

Reference 900 - 0.01% Coverage

in 1810 (Sornay, 1950:494).
The main focus of the HRC was to recognize the memory of personalities who had contributed to the constitution of Mauritius as a nation in colonial times. It is interesting to note that heritage was not so much dealing with tangible heritage then, but rather dealt with the setting up of monuments or commemoration plaques. Hence, heritage was not perceived as what we understand today by it, namely "anything that has been transmitted from the past or handed down by tradition," or as "the evidence of the past, such as historical sites, buildings, and the unspoilt
environment, considered collectively as the

Reference 901 - 0.01% Coverage

tangible expressions of this memory.
The main focus was on historical events featuring the British and the French. The action of the Committee focused on events marking the foundation of the colony. An example was the setting up of a monument commemorating the death of soldiers during the Battle of Grand Port won by the French, who four months later, were defeated by the British. This event marked the point of origin of the British presence in Mauritius and also, the supremacy of the British over the French. The Committee commemorated this by a plaque posted on the façade of la Maison de Robillard; this fact recalled that the French and British Commanders were both injured during the battle and received care in the same room (Sornay, 1950). The entente between the British Authorities and the French elite was honoured through this commemorative action.
Considering this historical background, it

Reference 902 - 0.01% Coverage

MAURITIAN NATION – MEMORY AND REPRESENTATIONS
the population at large, but rather it deals with the recognition of first colons' achievements on the island. It serves the position of the colony as an Oligarchy.
The pressing need to preserve

Reference 903 - 0.01% Coverage

status to 'historic buildings".24

The Historical Records Committee had the mandate to advise the Ccolonial Government by recommending the recognition of objects of heritage25. The proposed Bill wouldl later stipulate that the HRC has the mandate to "advise generally on the maintenance of ancient monument in the Colony"26. At this stage, the notion of heritage specifically dealt with "the most interesting ancient monuments of the island: old forts, the coastal batteries, the ruins of Grand Port, the public buildings, the family houses nearly centenary etc. Several testimonies of our glorious past are in state of dereliction that predicts their forthcoming disappearance. To fix its memory through photography and printing before it is too late, seems to be a beneficial undertaking for the country as a whole, as part of our historic heritage would thus be preserved from oblivion". The letter further indicated that the objective of subscriptions was to regroup the "most venerable souvenirs of our great ancestors".27
It is, indeed,a fact that most heritage preserved by the Historical Records Committee refers to tombs in memory of colonial ancestors. The list of tombs provided in Archival Records for the 1930s 28 refers to British or French personalities, including Governors. 29 The list of 'historical monuments', as described in a letter dated 17 February 1937, in fact referred to a list of 122 names. It seems that as early as 1892,30 the Historical Records Committee was allocated a budget referred to as "tombs of Governors".
The need to preserve the

Reference 904 - 0.01% Coverage

1944.
21% 21% 3% 3%
This table shows the predominance of the identification of heritage as a commemorative object. The memory process is activated by the white elite and instituted by the Colonial Authorities. It is also directly related to places and sites referring to their experience in Mauritius. Concurrently, the references to slavery and indenture are totally discarded from recognition, as the memorial process is activated by the higher class of the society. However, it is precisely, at this period, that the working classes started to be represented in the political life of the country, but their action does not enter memory problematics but rather their social recognition.
The memorial process leads, in

Reference 905 - 0.01% Coverage

OF A NATIONAL MEMORY FRAMEWORK
The institutionalisation of heritage marks the ratification of the actions of the Historical Records Committee and also, the national establishment of the memorial framework developed by the elite. It is precisely the HRC that acted towards the creation of an appropriate Legislation for heritage. The discussions to elaborate a legal framework took place at the heart of the HRC. In 1937, the President of the Historical Records Committee (HRC) wrote to the Colonial Secretary to comment on a proposed draft Ordinance entitled "Bill to provide for the protection and preservation of ancient monuments". This would materialize in the Proclamation of the Ordinance No. 19 of 1938, entitled the Ancient Monuments Preservation Ordinance. The notion of National Monument is at an embryo stage. The Bill defines the concept of Ancient Monument and expresses for the first time the recognition of a common heritage for the colonial nation.
The Ordinance established the process

Reference 906 - 0.01% Coverage

the means of access thereto."

This shows that the local process is highly inspired by the European example and makes provision for a local recognition because it constitutes European references in the colony. The legislation will be elaborated further with the Ordinance no 8 of 1944 “to provide for the preservation of ancient monuments and places or areas of historical or other interest”.
As far as our undertaking

Reference 907 - 0.01% Coverage

far as our undertaking is
concerned, this historical overview of the development of the notion of heritage in Mauritius does not only tell us how heritage was defined and considered; it also tells us how heritage was managed at the level of Government. The Historical Records Committee was operating under the colonial government and as far the archival records testified, it seems that not much funds were allocated hence it reduced the actions of the committee composed of educated members forming part of the Elite. The focus was on the preservation of heritage that related to the historical background and origins of this segment of the population. This shows that the framework dynamics were not inclined to consider the lower classes which had no representatives nor mediators transmitting their potential intentions. Mauritius was ruled by an Oligarchy generating the heritage process to their benefits. The Elite responded to a colonial strategy aiming at establishing an extension of Europe in the colony.
The study of the notion

Reference 908 - 0.01% Coverage

idée de l'homme.” André Malraux
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
Truth and Justice Commission 819

Reference 909 - 0.01% Coverage

population.
establishing the european hegemony
The project of Mauritius Institute originated in 1826, when Charles Telfair launched the idea of a colonial museum and invited the Zoologist Julien Desjardins and the Botanist Louis Bouton to donate their collections to the State. At this point in time, the Colonial Authorities did not show any interest in this proposal. Finally in 1842, Julien Desjardins established a museum in one of the wings of the Royal College of Port Louis, a symbolic place of excellence for the white elite (Cheke, 2003:198).
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:
The new building to be set up "doit contenir le Muséum Desjardin, la bibliothèque publique et donner aussi asile aux différentes sociétés de la colonie qui adhèrent au règlement qui sera préparé bientôt afin de les rassembler pour certaines questions, en une fédération qui aura le titre de 'Mauritius Institute'" (SRAS, 1884:95).
The exhibition of December 1884

Reference 910 - 0.01% Coverage

SRAS, 1885: Vol.17:73).
The creation of the Mauritius Institute was a national project conveying the ambitions of the Scientists, the cultural elite and the Colonial Authorities to gather in one location all the expressions of 'knowledge' as per European standards, with a view to sharing this knowledge. This is very clear in the statement of Julien Desjardins regarding the Constitution of what was to become the Mauritius Institute:
"A des distances infinies. iI

Reference 911 - 0.01% Coverage

SRAS, 1883, vol.12:75)
This statement of Julien Desjardins underscores the ambition to establish a European concept of culture as a fundamental reference for the country. We could also understand indirectly that the project was initiated by the Franco-Mauritian elite, thus claiming their position of pioneers on the island, in opposition to the British newcomers. However, both shared the same objective, to establish the European model as a fundamental reference. In these words, the colony was to
Truth and Justice Commission 820

Reference 912 - 0.01% Coverage

une certaine importance, aussi bien
que dans I'Inde et dans toutes les colonies anglaises, on a établi des Muséums dont quelques-uns sont très beaux, entre autres ceux de Melbourne et de Sydney. M. Daruty, qui les a visités, les a beaucoup admirés. Celui de Sydney, pour son administration,
son entretien et son
accroissement

Reference 913 - 0.01% Coverage

SRAS, 1885, vol. 17: 73).
Pope Hennessy's ambitions was to provide Mauritius with cultural opportunities corresponding to the Imperial enterprises, already established in other colonies. The cultural policy responded to a European archetype of knowledge, is considered as another expression of British Imperialism.
The intention was to recreate the European model in Mauritius and seemed very clear: "There is in Europe no town containing a considerable population, which does not possess a Library, and often, a Museum. Why should Mauritius, now so important by her commerce, her agriculture, her wealth and her population represented by men of great intelligence and governed by an enlightened chief, not do what her position and the condition in which she is placed imperiously demand?"36 (RSAS, 1860:347)

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’.37
Its establishment followed the same

Reference 914 - 0.01% Coverage

Toussaint, 1972; Cheke, 2003:198).
About forty years later, the Colonial Authorities stated their intention to open the new Institute to all. In a letter sent to the President of the Royal Society, Governor Bowen mentioned that the role of the Royal Society and of the Government was to encourage the creation of places of knowledge aiming at educating “toutes les classes de notre population mixte» and supported the Royal Society in its actions that would allow to « élever la morale et la capacité intellectuelle de toutes les composantes de la population» 38 (SRAS, 1883:44). His support was motivated by the conviction that nothing couldbe accomplished without education: “Sans morale et sans culture intellectuelle, la vie locale est incertaine, et les meilleures intentions des institutions politiques fonctionneront sans résultat »39 (SRAS, 1883:44). The Governor ended his letter by inviting the Royal Society to support the Colonial Authorities in the project of increasing the number of reading places and libraries offering access to all.
The Mauritius Institute was established

Reference 915 - 0.01% Coverage

MAURITIAN NATION – MEMORY AND REPRESENTATIONS
which worked towards the enrichment of collections of the only museum in the colony until 1900. At this date, a Committee of Directors, composed mainly of scientists among which a representative of the Royal Society, was created. This Committee was set up under the aegis of the Colonial Secretary, thus marking the shift to the colonial control and a change of status for the Institute (Cheke, 2003:200).
symbol of cohesion among the

Reference 916 - 0.01% Coverage

of cohesion among the elite
The Institute received increasing financial assistance from the Colonial Power whose measures in favour of the promotion and the conservation of Heritage became more and more important. The colonial support granted to the institution gave the opportunity to reinforce the alliance with the Franco-Mauritian elite on various aspects: it allowed the dissemination of European culture as a sign of adhesion to the economic elite. Together, they undertake a common national project to establish an image of cohesion among the elite.
Evidence in support of this statement can be found in the Colonial Authorities’ action in favour of the recognition of one of the founders of the Royal Society. The Colonial Power, through the Historical Records Committee, recognized officially the local contribution to the national project by inscribing the name of Julien Desjardins at the entrance of the building. This gesture aimed, at first glance, to pay homage to the action of one of the founders of the Society. However, Julien Desjardins was mainly a figure representing the sugar elite who opposed the abolition of slavery. Like most Planters, Desjardins was not in favour of ending slavery. As early as the 1820s, the Colonial Power attempted to implement laws to improve the living conditions of the slaves. These laws condemned all forms of bad treatment reported to the Protector of Slaves (Allen, 2001). Desjardins was accused. A report stated the following facts:

“Notorious for harsh and cruel

Reference 917 - 0.01% Coverage

Desjardins was discarded in 1831.
This aspect of the life of Desjardins does not seem to have dissuaded the colonial authorities to pay homage to his actions in favour of the recognition of natural science and the promotion of knowledge. The colonial authorities retained the positive contribution of Desjardins and discarded the tensions that threatened the relations between the colonial and Planters' Elite. In this undertaking, the colonial power satisfies the need to mark the end of tensions with the sugar Elite after the abolition of slavery.
towards the consolidation of the

Reference 918 - 0.01% Coverage

constitution of a local history
The motivation behind the creation of the Mauritius Institute was to establish a place of exception marking the European hegemony in the colony. It also signifies that the Elite wanted to create cultural institutions similar to the European model and was culturally rooted in western Empires ruling indisputably over the colony. This is also perceptible through the commemorative dynamics. In early years, the memory process operates to acknowledge the actions of the Elite in favour of the progress of the colony and creates a sense of belonging for them on the island. The memorial process primarily confirms the implantation of the colonial Elite and transposes the European references in the colony. These dynamics serves the legitimation – and affirmation - of their position. This process is soon consolidated by the expansion of the memory scope to signify the
Truth and Justice Commission 822

Reference 919 - 0.01% Coverage

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.
Illustration 3 Plaque commemorating the

Reference 920 - 0.01% Coverage

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

Reference 921 - 0.01% Coverage

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.
Historical background the implantation of the museum in a historic building: the legacy of the colonial way of life
The choice of the building

Reference 922 - 0.01% Coverage

the façade of the building.
The Maison de Robillard was part of the overall military and organisational system as the place of residence for the District Commanders.42 It was also a place where the former rulers and the newestablished British elite had the opportunity to develop courteous relations through formal events. In the event of Ile-de-la-Passe Battle, the residence became a symbol of the entente cordiale between the French and the British – thus echoing the situation in the new British colony, where the former colons of Isle de France retained the economic power, while the British ruled politically. In these circumstances, the white elite required British support to develop the colony in a favourable manner.
The event of Ile-de

Reference 923 - 0.01% Coverage

display on the first floor
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 is a continuation of the concept of museum initiated with the Mauritius Institute, where the European vision supersedes.
The Museum of National History

Reference 924 - 0.01% Coverage

Besides the portrayal of personalities, the first implantation of people of Indian origin and of slavery are also presented through various exhibits. A palanquin is exhibited to recall how the conditions of transport were rudimentary and also, to show the role of slaves and a workforce recruited on contract in the early days of the colony. This also suggests how they were integrated into the society. The exhibit evokes the role of the Rangan who was a palanquin carrier and among the first labourers under contract brought to Mauritius. The text specifies that most of the indentured Tamil labourers were employed as Masons or Carpenters; and that people of Indian origin also engaged in other professions, such as Blacksmith, workers, Coolies (meaning homme de peine) and Lascars defined as Sailors.
The presentation of the various sections of the population is striking; on one side are the personalities and leading figures of the island, while the other segments of the population under French rule are presented from a professional point of view. The parallel between the functions of each shows how the colony was organised and how the society had to function towards the development of the island, especially through the use of contracts to recruit people from India and through slavery. This underlines the position of the people as being dominated by the French colons described through well-known accounts.

Reference 925 - 0.01% Coverage

But who is a slave?
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:
□ the first aborted abolition □ the

Reference 926 - 0.01% Coverage

Noir □ the Camp des Noirs □
Information provides an overview of slavery in Mauritius, starting with the first abolition of slavery during the French Revolution. However, it was not a success as the Colonial Assembly refused to abolish slavery in Mauritius, and it was legally re-established by Napoléon I. The presentation of the overall framework of slavery continues with information on the Code Noir, used in all French colonies to regulate slavery. The overall presentation of slavery ends with a depiction of where the slaves were living and in what kind of lodgings.
Following this presentation, the visitor

Reference 927 - 0.01% Coverage

traumas which they went through.
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.”
According to the Museum discourse

Reference 928 - 0.01% Coverage

motives to settle in Mauritius.
We may also argue that the depiction of the various “types” conveys the idea of diversity. However, the display encourages a comparative perspective between individuals in the colonial context, thus failing to show the evolution of the society as a whole. We may want to consider the creation of a display that would express this intention to focus on diversity to better transcribe the rich cultural heritage of Mauritians and also provide hints of the ways in which unity led to the creation of an independent nation.
The museum discourse and the

Reference 929 - 0.01% Coverage

National History in Mahébourg museum
The visit of the Museum ends with the section on the events relating to the Battle of Grand Port and other naval historical facts during the British and the French periods. This section provides an insight to transition between the French and the British periods in the colonial context, following the second part on the French period.
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

Reference 930 - 0.01% Coverage

celebrated by all” dixit Telfair.
The example of Telfair highlights his actions in favour of slaves. These initiatives are depicted with emphasis on his intentions to ease the work of slaves during cultivation. Telfair is an emblematic character in the sense that he allowed his slaves to learn to read and write “so as to enable them to read the Bible and write”. “Mr. Telfair is the only person in the Colony who permits elementary instruction to be given to his slaves” (Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 87, August 20, 1831). The conditions on Telfair's sugar estate are described as an ‘exception’ in the same report of 1831, in which the case of 220 complaints of slaves against their Masters are reported. Indeed, the action of Charles Telfair, Secretary to the former Governor Farquhar, is confirmed by Vicars who states that he “has instituted schools for the children, and encouraged the pious exertions of different missionaries on his estates” (Vicars, 1830:13).53 Telfair also wrote ‘Some Account of the State of Slavery at Mauritius since the British Occupation in 1810; in refutation of anonymous charges promulgated against Government and that colony’ in 1830, in response to the reports of the Antislavery Monthly Reporter that reported the death of 65,000 “Black human beings have been put to death by a hundred holders of sugar estates in six years” and “the sheets of the Reporter containing accusations against Mauritius and Myself [Telfair]” (Telfair, 1830:i).
Telfair refutes the accusations of

Reference 931 - 0.01% Coverage

rather than a positive undertaking:
“My situation, indeed, is singular. The only reproach I have experienced in this Colony, was – that the measures I put in practise, for the improvement of my Slaves, were calculated to produce a rapid, hazardous, and fearful revolution. Some of the Planters
Truth and Justice Commission 841

Reference 932 - 0.01% Coverage

population.” (Telfair, 1830: viii, ix)
He further argues that “the Slave has been raised, in many respects, to the rank of a European labourer; and he often possesses greater comforts, while his irksome toil has been changed into an easy task; indeed, nine-tenths of human labour have been replaced by eighty steam engines and sugar mils, by implements of agriculture of all kinds, and by beasts of burden, of which not less than 30,000 have been importer within five years, and nearly 11,000 since January 1829. the religious, moral and physical condition of the Slave has also advanced more rapidly, and already has attained a greater elevation than in any other colony during an equal time.” (Telfair, 1830:xi)
The account presented in L’Aventure

Reference 933 - 0.01% Coverage

evolved to form a nation.
This example also shows how the memorial process inherited from the colonial authorities has developed. The memorial process recognizes other segments of the population and remembers how
Truth and Justice Commission 843

Reference 934 - 0.01% Coverage

MAURITIAN NATION – MEMORY AND REPRESENTATIONS
their experiences have contributed to shape the nation. The memory process is no more excluding the contributions of the population as a whole but expresses a vision in which all segments interacted and shows how experiences were interlinked in the making of a society. 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 acceptation of the past acted towards the evolution of the memorial
contemporary dynamics of nation building

Reference 935 - 0.01% Coverage

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
Truth and Justice Commission 844

Reference 936 - 0.01% Coverage

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.
Towards the national and international

Reference 937 - 0.01% Coverage

promoting and cementing National Unity".
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"55. 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".
In the address of the

Reference 938 - 0.01% Coverage

World Heritage List in 2006.
Le Morne Cultural Landscape is the symbol of resistance against slavery. Naturally difficult to access, it provided a place of shelter for the maroon slaves escaping the colonial oppressors during the 18th and 19th centuries. Le Morne has become an international symbol of resistance against slavery. Indeed, large numbers of slaves were brought to Mauritius which was an important stopover in the Eastern slave trade. In 2008, Le Morne cultural landscape was internationally recognized as a World Heritage Site.
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.
The experiences of slavery and indenture were particularly traumatic. It involved the annihilation of the individual's identity in the case of slavery and for indentured labourers, the involvement in harsh working conditions to survive. The collective memory remembers slavery and indenture as a negative experience. Both parties engaged in these experiences were ever hardly considered nor recognized by the colonial authorities in the memory process: there was no place for them in the colonial contribution bringing western knowledge and education. Memory was dictated at institutional level by the Elite who

systematically ignored the positive contribution of ex-slaves or ex-indentured labourers and failed to recognize their cultural identity.
Today, the memorial shift retains

Reference 939 - 0.01% Coverage

policy for culture and heritage
The Aapravasi Ghat stands for a symbol of immigration to Mauritius: the immigration depot received indentured labourers mainly arriving from India. The site can be considered as point of origin for the descendants of indentured labourers. In the same manner, Le Morne is a reference for descendants of slaves who were brought to Mauritius from the Dutch period until the abolition of slavery in the colony in 1835. Both refer to two major waves of immigration to the island and establish references to explain the origins Mauritian society. The World Heritage Sites anchor references that are essential to establish continuity from arrival of immigrants to their descendants today. The link to the past helps considering that both segments of the population were actually instrumental in the shaping of the society and legitimates their presence.
Although they may be perceived

Reference 940 - 0.01% Coverage

to sustainable development of heritage
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.
However, we noted that there

Reference 941 - 0.01% Coverage

to constitute a national entity.
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

Reference 942 - 0.01% Coverage

ensure the sustainability of heritage.
The elaboration of a policy document would also be the opportunity to consult the population on its vision of heritage. The integration of consultation results would also activate the process of appropriation by the population. The heritage and representations of the past should indeed meet the adhesion of the population to contribute to nation building. The same process could apply to museums. A reflection on the nature and content of museums could also be initiated as our research showed that most museums were inherited from the colonial
initiative and recent
museums demonstrated