



Centre for
Human Rights and
Restorative Justice

REFERENCES TO SLAVERY OR SLAVES

Mauritius Truth Commission

Abstract

A list of references to slavery and slaves in the Mauritius Truth Commission.

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Links to Data Visualization

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

Comparison Charts

- [References to Slavery and Slaves chart](#)
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Word Trees

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References to Slavery and Slaves

This section contains all references to slavery and slaves from the Mauritius report.

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC_Report-FULL> - § 1818 references coded [7.83% 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 be extended to descendants of slaves and indentured labourers;

enquire into complaints, other than

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 observations on slavery and indentured labour first and then comment on the work undertaken to elucidate all cases of dispossession of land.

SLAVERY

As regards slavery, it may be pointed out that there had never been any real inquiry instituted during the whole British occupation on the fate of ex-slaves and their descendants, in spite of the precarious situation in which they 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

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Reference 3 - 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 4 - 0.01% Coverage

centuries would confirm this trend.

Following applied research, in depth inquiries and oral testimonies, it is evident that people of slave descent are among, as a consequence, the less envious citizens of the Republic on the threshold of the 21st century Mauritius in that:

(i) (ii)

they are poorly

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

in Government services and parastatals;

(iii) marked absence in agricultural occupation, as a result of circumstances arising from the aftermath of slavery;

(iv) (v) (vi) (vii) (viii)

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

be adopted in the future.

Few places bear the name of people of African and Malagasy descent, although slaves outnumbered their masters in the proportion of 10 to 1.

Even today, no monument has

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

of the country.

INDENTURED LABOUR

There is the perception that Indo Mauritian Hindus and Indo Mauritian Muslims who hailed from India after the abolition of slavery under the indentured trade have had a better life as compared to their slave counterparts during the whole British occupation.

The reality is that the

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

exacerbated at election time.

ECONOMY

The slave trade allowed many in Mauritius and France, to accumulate wealth. This paved the way for investment in estates, land and business. The fortunes of many today were built on the prosperity of those who traded and used slave labour in the 18th

and 19th indentured labour in

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

20th

centuries; cheap, century. The

contribution of slaves, indentured labourers and their descendants towards wealth creation has been amply demonstrated in chapter one. Yet, in the 21st century, social and economic progress though impressive in many respects is still lacking in certain aspects: land ownership is still skewed in favour of the economic elite while certain groups, particularly of Afro-Malagasy origin, are landless. Recommendations towards a more equal redistribution of land for a more sustainable future Mauritius constitute a form of reparations for loss of land.

But the landless today were not always so. The pioneering work of Dr. Richard Allen, in highlighting the landownership of ex-slaves has shown how after abolition many ex-slave families purchased land during what he terms the 'early morcellement' period. Their subsequent dispossession of land manifested by the hundreds of land claims received at the Commission as well as visits and meetings with dozens of families is testimony to the fact that people of Afro-Malagasy origin were

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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

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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 extended to descendants of slaves and indentured labourers;

enquire into a complaint other

Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

Commissions without duplicating their journey.

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

Despite good intentions, the road to the setting up of the Truth and Justice Commission was a long and difficult one. Tribute should be paid to the Michel brothers of the Verts Fraternels Party who have urged and pleaded for such a commission over many years. In early 1999, the Government's attempt to establish a "committee on reparations for slavery" failed as days after this committee was established, bloody riots broke out in Mauritius and the Chairman of the committee was appointed to head an investigation into the riots. As a consequence, this early attempt never got off the ground. The aim of this committee was "to consider compensation for slaves, its appellation and terms of reference".

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Reference 13 - 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 made by the party of Mr Sylvio Michel, who was then in Government in coalition. R. J.C Armance, Third Member for Grand River North West and Port Louis West, One laid a private motion asking for a Commission to look into the 'all aspects of damages sustained by slaves and by indentured labourers and their descendants and to make such recommendations as it thinks appropriate on the mode of obtaining financial compensation from parties concerned for the prejudice suffered (Private Member's Motion Debate No 26 of 26.07.2002). However no Commission was ever set up. By this time, claims for reparation were being made also by States, particularly in the 2001 Durban World Conference on racism. In Resolution 56/266, acknowledging slavery as a crime against Humanity, indentured labourers were also included as people who had suffered. Mr. Michel stated in Parliament that Mauritius was far ahead, as it was the first African country to discuss such a motion.

In August 2007, a task force was set up to work out the terms of reference of a Truth and Justice Commission. The members were: Professor Robert Shell, the Most Rev. Ian Ernest, Dr. Vijaya Teelock, Associate Professor Reddi, Mr. Benjamin Moutou and Mr. Lindsay Morvan. Its terms of reference were not vastly different from the first committee, except that the committee did not retain the objective of "identification of institutions and individuals responsible". At this stage, there was no mention of inquiries to be conducted on land issues. The scope of the measures for reparations was to be for structural reforms, more particularly to "set up institutions that would redress the injustice caused to the descendants of slaves and indentured labourers".

When the Bill was finally

Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

report in a separate volume.

As soon as the Truth and Justice Commission Act was promulgated, Professor Robert Shell was appointed as Chairman of the Commission and four additional Commissioners were appointed: Dr. Vijayalakshmi Teelock (Vice-Chairperson), Mr. Benjamin Moutou, Dr. Paramaseeven Veerapen, Mr. Lindsay Morvan. On 8th April 2010, Mr. Morvan resigned from the Commission and the President of the Republic appointed Mr. Jacques David on 1st July 2010 to fill the vacancy. Premises were obtained in the capital, Port Louis, and a plan of action was drawn up. This included a communications policy, a website, and a brochure in four languages, English, French, Creole and Bhojpuri (the text was drafted by Mr.

Morvan and translated by Mr. Robert Furlong, Dr. Police Michel and Ms. Suchita Ramdin). There was also a logo competition and a workshop which focused on major themes such as Gaps and Silences in the History of Slavery and Indentured Labour, Methodology and Approaches, Achieving Justice and Equality. A notice was published, inviting the public to participate in the work of the Commission and to send in documents. Contact was made with the media, which resulted in extensive coverage on television, radio and in the print media.

In order to fulfil its

Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

number of consultants and staff.

It was further decided that there would be three broad areas of research; firstly, the revision of History from 1723 to 2009 (slavery, indentured labourers and identification of elements of History which have not been studied yet or hidden or not known, i.e., the caste system, post-1835 situation of ex-slaves, etc); secondly, the consequences of slavery and indentured labour on society. Thirdly, measures to achieve Social Justice. In addition, a number of critical specialist studies were undertaken on land, reparations, the role of religion and the collecting of views of people who are not so visible or vocal through Oral History. There were a number of project teams established. These included Slave Trade and Slavery; the Indentured Experience; Mauritian Economic History; Culture, Ethnicity, Memory and Identity; Health; Education; Towards a Just Society; Rodrigues, Agalega, Chagos and St. Brandon Islands; Recommendations.

Several workshops were conducted which brought together experts from different fields, including Slavery, Education, Economics, Law and Indentured Labour.

From the outset, a very specific focus was on Recommendations in each of the above areas, and a broad set of recommendations was drawn up, in order to try and respond to the suffering, the degradation and exclusion of people of slave and indentured labour descent.

The challenge facing the Commission was formidable. Slavery was abolished 176 years ago and the vast gap between then and now presented almost overwhelming challenges to the Commission and its staff.

This was further exacerbated by the fact that many of those who deponed before us often lacked even the most basic documentation needed to prove their ownership of land. Many, many hours and days were spent in the archives attempting to trace the missing documents, often without success because the state of the archives left much to be desired.

By far the overwhelming number

Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

land is owing to them.

The Commission considered very carefully, and debated at length, what its Reparations Policy should be in light of its findings. We listened with sympathy and appreciation to a wide crosssection of community and religious organisations, as well as many individuals and families who deponed before the Commission. In addition, we studied a large number of written manuscripts which were handed in to the Commission. Further, we considered policies adopted by the many countries who have instituted Truth Commissions. The Commission has received several memoranda highlighting the need for compensation to slave descendants, in view of the damaging after-effects of slavery during the past 176 years. Many such requests refer to cash compensation. In the past, payment of cash compensation to people banished from the Diego Archipelagos has proved damaging. Given the difficulty to identify broadly people of slave descent from among the general population, this exercise can end up in frustration. Reparation by way of positive discrimination and an integrated rehabilitation plan concerning schooling of children, better housing conditions, elimination of discrimination on the employment market, whether in the public

and private sector, review of the electoral system in order to pave the way for better representation in electoral constituencies of Creoles was considered the better and more enduring option. In other words, the Commission has resolved that the focus should be on the median longterm, rather than short-term, solutions. Our recommendations therefore are directed towards Social Justice for all.

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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 which are the result of in-depth studies carried out between 2009 and 2011 for which we have secured the collaboration of a number of experts in several fields. These recommendations, if applied, would, we are sure, bring about fundamental changes in the life of Mauritians in the Republic of Mauritius, whose ancestors have suffered from the consequences of slavery and indenture and whose descendants bear the scourge of a most inhuman treatment. In spite of the hardships endured by them, they have been the pillars of the development of modern Mauritius and contributed largely to the economic prosperity of the islands and its social institutions.

The aim of the Truth

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1. Apology The Commission recommends:

(i) that in the light of injustices suffered by descendants of slaves and indentured labourers, the Republic of Mauritius and other institutions make an official apology through the President of the Republic, the Prime Minister and private institutions connected with slavery and indenture, such as the Catholic Church, the Chamber of Commerce and the Mauritius Sugar Producers' Association.

(ii) That a resolution to

Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

the National Assembly.

2. Memorials

The slaves who were brought to Mauritius were brought against their will. The inhuman treatment they endured was a crime against Humanity; they received no payment for their arduous hard work. Indentured labourers were also treated very badly, but at least, they came of their own free will and were paid, albeit a very low wage. We recommend that a Slave Museum be built, honouring the memory of all slaves who underwent horrific treatment under their masters and in recognition of the contribution which they made to the development of Mauritius.

The Commission further recommends that consideration be given to commemorating 23rd August (UNESCO Day of Remembrance of Abolition of Slave Trade) as a Day of Remembrance and Reconciliation which will more fittingly honour both slaves and their descendants, as well as the descendants of indentured labourers. The Commission also recommends that a monument be erected on the Caudan Waterfront as a reminder of the arrival of slaves.

3. The Commission recommends the

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Government in the United Kingdom:

“whether they will make appropriate reparation to African nations and to the descendants of Africans for the damage caused by the slave trade and the practice of slavery”.

The Lord Gifford argued: “My

Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

or in former British Colonies”.

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

“The thesis that I advance

Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

the effects of the crime”.

“The horrendous nature of the enterprise of African slavery is well-known and documented. Around 20 million young people were kidnapped, taken in chains across the Atlantic and sold into slavery in the plantations of the New World. Millions more died in transit in the dungeons of the castles such as Gorée, Elmina and Cape Coast, or in the hell holes under the decks of the slave ships. It was without doubt, in the fullest sense of the term, a crime against humanity. A vast proportion of sub-Saharan Africa from Senegal right around to Angola and on the other side from Mozambique into Malawi and Tanzania was depopulated. Its young men and women were taken away”.

“African governments today, who have

Reference 23 - 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 a bitter legacy which endures to this day in terms of family breakdown, landlessness, under-development”.

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THE TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION

“As well as the consequences in Africa and the Caribbean, there is a further element in the legacy of the slave trade which is the damage done within Britain, within the United States and other Western societies. The inhuman philosophy of white supremacy and black inferiority was inculcated 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”.

“African people, too, have a

Reference 25 - 0.01% Coverage

live with their consequences still”.

(As quoted by Jacques David in 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 inculcated 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

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in a more elaborate manner.

1. MEMORIALISING SLAVERY

1. Works started by the Truth and Justice Commission to be continued by competent authorities and empowering young Mauritians through foreign scholarships and training programmes where expertise is lacking: The Slave Trade Voyages database, ethnographic studies of descendants of slaves.

2. Better memorialisation of the economic contribution of slaves to Mauritius.

3. To assess the quantitative

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by the State Law Office.

5. A ‘Museum of Slavery’ to be created in the capital city of Port Louis for greater visibility along the lines outlined in following Museum proposal. Although one ‘Interpretation Centre’ is projected at Le Morne, this should reflect the Maroonage aspect rather slavery which was a national phenomenon.

6. Recognition of the following

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LESS RACIST AND ELITIST SOCIETY

26. FUNDING FOR REPARATIONS BE SOUGHT BY THE MAURITIAN GOVERNMENT from the historical slave trading nations, namely, the United Kingdom and France, for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of communities and settlements where slave descendants are in the majority.

27. REPARATIONS BE PROVIDED TO

Reference 29 - 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 30 - 0.01% Coverage

a form of narrative therapy.

iv. To change the feelings of shame and hurt which have been brought about as a result of inherited or internalized negative associations with slavery and other forms of exploitation.

34. SETTING UP OF A

Reference 31 - 0.01% Coverage

INCREASED ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL EQUALITY

36. THE CREATION OF A LAND BANK with plots of land for farming and other entrepreneurial activities so that anyone who is a descendant of slave and indentured who has never owned land before and who wishes to engage in an activity that promotes autonomy be allocated a plot.

37. A JUNIOR SAVINGS ACCOUNT

Reference 32 - 0.01% Coverage

11. RECONSTITUTING THE MAURITIAN FAMILY

64. CREATION OF A NATIONAL GENEALOGY CENTRE i. To assist Mauritian families, many of whom are descendants of slaves and indentured labourers, in their quest for identity, to reconstruct their family tree.

ii. Provide Mauritians with all

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as they used to be.

81. That the area known as Trou Chenille be officially recognised as a site of former settlement by inhabitants, many of whom are descendants of slaves having lived there for generations (and not as squatters) and that their removal be recognised as 'forced removal'.

82. The links between the

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AND JUSTICE COMMISSION METHODOLOGY INTRODUCTION

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

1. METHODOLOGICAL AND CONCEPTUAL ISSUES

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and economic status in life.

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

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that Mauritians must be vigilant.

5. A fifth issue that TJC has grappled with has been that the Commission was mandated to enquire into analyzing the consequences of slavery and indenture, both of which occurred centuries ago. What followed in the period from the abolition of slavery to today was not considered. As TJC has stated many times, the period in between cannot be ignored as this period too impacts on contemporary Mauritius. A conceptual analytical gap exists in the minds of people who believe that there is a direct link between slavery and indenture on the one hand, and the situation of descendants today. TJC finds that the link is not direct; although there are structural continuities in the system of slavery, indenture and the modern Capitalist System, in which Mauritius finds itself. In the light of extensive métissage in Mauritius which has occurred in this period, the TJC has undertaken a number of genealogical and anthropological studies, and is recommending a National Genealogy Centre to further assist with the process of reconstruction of slave and indentured families. It is clear that the perception of having been a slave or indentured is stronger than the biological realities and that this is as potent a logic in Mauritius today for the construction of identity and has an impact on self-esteem and self-identity.

6. The truth about one's

Reference 37 - 0.01% Coverage

the Commission. 2.2 Enquiries

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

2. 1 There would be

Reference 38 - 0.01% Coverage

three broad areas of research:

1. Revision of History from 1723 to 2009 (slavery, indentured labourers, and identification of elements of History which have not yet been studied, is hidden or not known, i.e. the caste system, post-1835 situation of ex-slaves, etc.);
 2. Consequences of slavery and indentured labourer for Society; 3. Measures to achieve Social Justice.
- 2.2 In addition, a

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through collection of Oral History.

- 2.3 Sub-Committees were created to manage these projects: 1. Landownership and dispossession; 2. Educational system; 3. Measures to further Social Justice and National unity; 4. Housing Policy; 5. Historical issues relating to slavery and indentured labour; 6. The particular situation of ex-slaves after 1835; 7. Culture and Identity.
- To empower Mauritians to research

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THE TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION

- a. Summary of projects initiated in 2009 with aims and objectives: Project No. 1 Slave Trade and Indentured Immigration:
- a. To compile a slave trade and an indentured Immigration database and make it publicly accessible;
 - b. To hold an International Slave trade Workshop to discuss findings and make recommendations;
 - c. To research and input

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Mauritius Archives and French archives;

- d. Analysis of data to uncover unresolved questions about the slave trade and indentured immigration.
- Project No. 2 Economics of Slavery and Indenture:
- a. Historical/statistical study of compensation money given to slave owners; b. Study of local and British insurers, merchants, shipping corporations, banks etc. involved in the slave trade, slavery and indentured immigration;
 - c. Study of economics of slavery and indenture;
 - d. Analysis of data to uncover unresolved questions about the slave trade and indentured immigration;
 - e. Reparations in USA and

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Project No. 3 Land issues:

- a. To analyse the problems of landownership and dispossession among slaves, indentured and descendants;
- b. Creation of land transactions

Reference 43 - 0.01% Coverage

and some projects had started.

As expected, modifications to projects were required in the course of research, and to deal with exigencies and multiple problems cropping up along the way. However, there were also unexpected opportunities that presented themselves. The TJC seized on them to further its enquiries on slavery and indenture. A particularly successful campaign of archaeological excavations was held, leading to widespread public interest in an abandoned cemetery at Le Morne.

Less successful and less popular

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access to caste-related data.

The focus of public interest had been over slavery and indenture and what had been hidden. However, the expected resistance to the opening up of archives did not occur, and full access was given to the TJC by, for example, the Catholic Church. Unexpected resistance came from public institutions that appeared to have become private domains, such as the Immigration Archives.

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Reference 45 - 0.01% Coverage

contain audio and film material.

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

Volume Two consists of papers

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trips, surveys and site visits.

Volume Six consists of the databases created by the Commission for use by the institutions that the Commission has recommended be created, such as the Genealogy Centre; the Land Research Unit; the Conservation Institute; the Slave Trade and Indentured Immigration Database. It also contains the numerous data collected by the Commission, in the form of digital photos of documents and reports.

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Reference 47 - 0.01% Coverage

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 48 - 0.01% Coverage

threat of British occupation.¹

Both the British and the French were interested in ebony cargo. Woodcutters, convicts from Batavia (in the East Indies) and slaves were the main forms of labour used by the Dutch. However, in 1658 the VOC decided to leave Mauritius because they found that, overall, the settlement was not profitable and that the Cape of Good Hope was becoming their strategic refreshment station. Shipwrecks brought the Dutch to Mauritius during the period 1658 to 1664. In 1664, the uncertainties associated with the threats of the French and British and the demand for ebony trees prompted the Dutch East India Company to settle in Mauritius for a second time. This second period of colonisation lasted until 1710. Initially, there was an attempt to develop the potentially profitable trade in slaves, ambergris and ivory on the East coast of Africa and in the neighbouring islands. But the Third Anglo-Dutch War of 1672-1674, the war with France of 1672-78 and the presence of European pirates were unfavourable to the development of such commercial endeavours, although the trade in ebony with Holland and Batavia was evolving successfully. Given the constraints and the fact that the Cape of Good Hope was an efficient establishment and a good stopover for the ships, in 1706 the Dutch East India Company decided to end its establishment in Mauritius; by 1710, that decision was implemented and the Dutch left Mauritius for good.

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

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areas of land within conglomerations.

Regulations governing the grants included asking colonists to cultivate their land within a period of 3 years, failing which, they would lose it. Each colonist was also given 20 slaves. In return, the colonists had to pay yearly one tenth of their produce to the French East India Company. Any attempt to develop agriculture created an increasing demand for labour. According to Lougnon, 156 ships called at Mauritius between 1721 and 1735, prior to the arrival of Labourdonnais, most of them being Company ships.⁴ A total of 650 slaves, according to Filliot, were brought to Mauritius from Madagascar, Mozambique, India and West Africa.

International trade and, in particular, long-distance trade, developed to a great extent in the 18th century; by the 1780s, France was the largest trading maritime power in Europe.⁵ The total value of French long-distance trade with Africa, Asia, America and re-exports to the rest of Europe was equal to £25 million, whilst that of Britain was only £20 million. This state of affairs explained the growing importance of Port Louis as a centre of entrepôt trade. Among the French colonists, the lure of easy money and the importance of commercial activities contributed to their lack of interest in agriculture. Slave trade, both legal and illegal, was an important aspect of the French international trade in the Indian Ocean. According to J.F. Dupon, the growth of speculative transactions thwarted the establishment of relatively permanent estates and plantations.⁶ A class of traders and merchants (or négociants) developed and thrived.

The period between 1735 and 1746 was characterised by the administration of Mahé de Labourdonnais who, because of a secure harbour, chose Isle de France, rather than Bourbon, as his base of operations to expand French influence in the Indian Ocean. On the one hand, slave trade was significantly enhanced and, on the other hand, vast infrastructural works were undertaken to transform Port Louis into a capital,

port, warehousing and commercial centre. The labour of the enslaved peoples was the dominant form of labour but additionally, French contractual workers (engagés) and artisans from Madagascar and India were brought in. When Labourdonnais arrived in Mauritius in 1735, there were 638 slaves in a population of 838. According to Filliot, 1,200 to 1,300 slaves were brought annually so that, within five years, the number of slaves had quadrupled to 2,612, while the number of French had barely doubled. Port Louis harbour became the

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was financing agricultural production.”¹²

As far as the slave population was concerned, the slaves were defined as chattel labour (‘biensmeuble’) according to the 1723 Code Noir, and they were considered as the private property of their owners. They had no right to property of their own. The Code Noir effectively ensured that the enslaved peoples remained as coerced, unwaged labour and their labour power was reproduced to sustain the slave system. The Code Noir had included the definition of slaves as ‘biens-meuble’ so slaves could be insured and inherited as fixed assets. In case of loss of slaves during a revolt, bad weather or disease, compensation could be claimed.

The slave population grew steadily in size during the 18th century, from 2,533 in 1746 to 15,027 in 1767, to 33,832 in 1787, to 60,646 in 1806, to reach 63,821 by 1810, prior to the British conquest. Their occupations consisted mainly of agricultural labourers, household servants, fishermen, artisans, port workers and sailors. The enslaved people faced a harsh regime. CharpentierCossigny, an Engineer, in 1753, noted that “the company was hiring slaves, then starving them to death”.¹³ According to him, “for every skilled slave in an ‘atelier’, there were another ten or so manual labourers performing the essential back-breaking tasks of breaking and carrying stones, digging trenches, loading and unloading ships, building roads.” This ‘vast army’ of Government slaves included many women.¹⁴

There was much resistance by

Reference 51 - 0.01% Coverage

Labourdonnais who used ‘maroon detachments’.

During a brief spell of the French Revolution in Isle de France, the merchant class, the ‘négociants’, took the leadership and vehemently opposed the abolition of slavery. The post-revolutionary period, known as the

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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

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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
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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

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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 relied mainly on the slave system, with contractual workers from India and France.
The rigid class and racial

Reference 56 - 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 57 - 0.01% Coverage

in the early 1830s.¹⁶

A strategic alliance was formed between the planters of French origin and British origin and the British financiers. Both opposed the introduction of slave amelioration laws. The British Governor did little to oppose this alliance. The enslaved population continued to provide the badly-needed

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Reference 58 - 0.01% Coverage

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labour to contribute to wealth creation. The Free Coloured People was very much present, with one or two being prominent planters and slave owners; similarly, there were one or two such planters/slave-owners of Indian origin.

The economy was thriving and the enslaved population were forced to work harder than ever before to ensure the expansion of the Sugar Industry. Their contribution to the creation of wealth in the period 1823 to 1835 was very significant. The value of slave labour for that period was assessed by the Commission, using a micro economic model of slave prices, developed with age, sex, ethnicity occupation of the slaves and sugar output and time (quarter) as explanatory variables. Once an estimate of slave prices was obtained, a political-economic model of assetpricing was used to assess the value of slave labour. Assuming a working life of 10 years for the slaves and a discount rate of 7%, the aggregate value of slave labour per year obtained for the corresponding period:

(i) (ii) (iii)

1823–1825

Reference 59 - 0.02% Coverage

0 million £2.0 million

The standard approach to econometric modeling is to develop an appropriate model, then collect a relevant sample of data/information to produce appropriate estimates for the variables of interest. Moreover, the estimates obtained are valid for the population under consideration, as a whole, which is the slave population of Mauritius in this case.

The main source of information/data was the Notarial Acts in the General Inventory of Notaries which are located at the Mauritius Archives in Coromandel, Mauritius. Data and information were collected for the period 1823 to 1835 from all Notaries. However, data on all variables of interest used in our analysis were available only for 8 Notaries, as well as for a few others not specified in the Notarial Acts. The Acts document the sale of 5,580 slaves during auctions over the period under examination.

To assess the representativeness of the sample, it was compared to the slave population, as given in the 1826 census, which can be considered as one of the most reliable among registration returns compiled on the slave population in Mauritius. The sample has the same age and ethnic characterization as those of the slave population. However, the sample differs somewhat from the 1826 Census, since the male-female ratio 62.2% of the slaves are males in the census, while this percentage is 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 and 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.”

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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, Indian indentured labourers were imported into Mauritius from a reservoir of very cheap labour in British India. British policies in India on land had already caused an increase in landless peasants and internal migration. With the maintenance of slavery in India, there is no doubt that, to some extent at least, this had contributed to the depression of wages of the Indian labour force; in turn, the prospective indentured labourers would be in a position 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 the Mauritius Bank, with A d’Epinay as Director, and the British credit houses received an important share of the compensation money that was paid during the years 1836 and 1837. A new bank, the Mauritius Commercial Bank, opened its doors on the 1st September 1838. Just as Mauritius Bank founded 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 the London trading houses,

with offices in Mauritius. The main company was Blyth Brothers which played an important role in the payment of the compensation money. Equally, planters and planters/traders contributed to the initial share capital of the Bank. For example, the planter/slave owner, Paul Froberville received financial compensation of £9,020 in 1837 for 282 slaves. There were other planters and slave masters, such as Hunter, Chapman, Arbuthnot, who contributed to the initial share capital. A letter addressed to the editor of *Le Mauricien* of 28 February 1838, further provides evidence of the use of compensation money in the launching of the Bank. It stated the following:

“Quant à la Banque actuelle

Reference 61 - 0.01% Coverage

the Arrival of Indentured Labour

For quite some time, it has been claimed that, both in Mauritius and the Caribbean Islands, the emancipated enslaved people chose to leave the plantations as a consequence of the inhumane treatment and of the economic exploitation which they suffered during the days of slavery. Whilst this was an issue influencing the movement of some of the ex-enslaved people away from the plantations, the situation appears to have been somewhat different for the ex-enslaved people in general. This is an important and ongoing debate.

Research on the Caribbean Islands

Reference 62 - 0.01% Coverage

The British West Indies” (1978),

“By 1842, the immediate reactions of both planters and ex-slaves to the emancipation had occurred, and although some measure of stability had been achieved in labour relations, there was general complaint on the part of employers of the scarcity, the unreliability and the high price of estate labour”.¹⁸

Thus, in British Guiana, the withdrawal of the emancipated enslaved peoples reflected for more positive reactions to prevailing rates of wages and local market prices and their desire to preserve their freedom. In fact, almost all the ex-slaves remained on the estates 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 63 - 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 64 - 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

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Government of Mauritius, the French plantocracy and the British traders/financiers converged consciously in implementing a cheap labour policy which knowingly would do much harm to the emancipated enslaved peoples. The latter were excluded from the mainstream economy, deprived of any wages and of any land and housing in an increasingly monetised capitalist economy. The subsistence economy, to which the apprentices were used, was threatened by the capitalist economy and by increasing pressure on land by the expanding Sugar Industry. Their marginalisation and exclusion would be accelerated with the massive importation of indentured labour. It is important to note that the importation of indentured labour started in the late 1820s somewhat scantily. Moreover, in 1834, before the abolition of slavery and the end of the apprenticeship period, indentured labourers from India were imported on a rather large scale and worked side by side with the slaves and later with emancipated slaves: the low wages of the latter depressed those of the apprentices for their extra-service. By 1839, by the end of the period of apprenticeship, about 25,000 indentured 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 66 - 0.01% Coverage

pas disposer à leur accorder."

There is evidence that the elderly slaves, women and children, considered to be unproductive, were indeed expelled from the plantations.

From Marina Carter's paper, the

Reference 67 - 0.01% Coverage

which the apprentices found themselves:

“When the ex-apprentices were freed in 1839, scenes of riot and disturbance took place all over the island. The ex-slaves refused to work, alleging, for one reason, that they had been ill-treated by the former masters having sent 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 referred 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 68 - 0.01% Coverage

supply of plentiful unpaid labour.

Several types of labour co-existed. Slave labour was the dominant form but some non slave labour, convict labour and indentured labour, mainly from British India were also used. Additionally, there was the indentured labour of Liberated Africans who were captured from slave ships on the high seas by British ships, in the context of fighting illegal slave trade.

Skilled labour was needed to

Reference 69 - 0.01% Coverage

factories, workshops and public infrastructures.

Moreover, with the expanding Sugar Industry, with the abolition of slavery and the seasonal character of sugar production, the demand for labour was very pronounced. The British Empire provided the different forms of labour to satisfy this varying seasonal demand. Convict labour was cheap, controllable and easily replaced.²³ The labour of convicts played a most important role “in building the communications necessary for the development of the sugar industry which was to place Mauritius at the centre of global trading networks”.²⁴ From 1815 to 1837, there was a regular supply of mainly Indian convicts from Bombay and Bengal; from Ceylon, there were about 1,500 in all.

Indentured labour, especially during the

Reference 70 - 0.01% Coverage

by the mid 19th century.

Finally, there was the labour of the ‘recaptives’ or the ‘liberated slaves’. Following the abolition of the slave trade in the British Empire in 1807, the British Government sent its Navy to seize enslaved peoples on board French and other ships. Those slaves were referred to as ‘liberated Africans’, a misnomer as they were far from free. In effect, they were given to private employers or a Government Officer as apprentices or indentured labour for a period of up to fourteen years.

During the period 1811 to the early 1840s, given the rapid expansion of the Sugar Industry and given the abolition of slavery and the uncertainties associated with the importation of indentured labour, these liberated slaves or ‘recaptive’ Africans played a most important part in helping to mitigate the unavailability of a sufficient labour force, somewhat like the Indian convicts. Moreover, the employment of ‘recaptive’ Africans kept going until the late 1860s; by then, the Sugar Industry started facing a severe crisis due to international competition and local factors, such as epidemics and cyclones, and the need for the ‘recaptive’ Africans was no longer felt. It must be noted, too, that they were not freed at the time of abolition of slavery but continued to work until the full term of their apprenticeship.

Moreover, the 'recaptive' Africans had

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'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

Reference 72 - 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 73 - 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.

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Reference 74 - 0.01% Coverage

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

Reference 75 - 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

Reference 76 - 0.01% Coverage

1.3.2 Indentured Labour

Sustained importation of indentured labourers from India started in 1834, prior to the abolition of slavery on 1st February 1835 although Indian labourers were introduced privately as early as 1826. Whilst the indentured system provided for wages to be paid to the labourers and did not deny them the right to own land as opposed to the slave system, the living and working conditions of the indentured labourers were very harsh.

Following the suspension of the

Reference 77 - 0.01% Coverage

to the colonial set-up.

The Royal Commission did not find it appropriate to mention the negative impact of the free trade policy of the British Empire and the cheap labour policy on the economy and the society of Mauritius. Instead, they found it proper to cover up this state of affairs by sowing the seeds of division, somewhat subtly, among the people of Mauritius by reproducing the stereotypes regarding the ex-apprentices which were used at the time of abolition of slavery and the importation of indentured labour; they referred to the “indolent character of the coloured creoles.”

1.4.2 The Sugar

Reference 78 - 0.01% Coverage

TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION Introduction

The slave trade permitted many in Mauritius and France, to make small or big fortunes. That latter were invested in estates, land and businesses. The fortunes of many today were built on the prosperity of those who traded and used slave labour in the 18th and 19th centuries. To more fully document this trade for present and future generations, a Slave Trade database was started and is recommended to be an on-going project which TJC has requested the University of Mauritius and the Nelson Mandela Centre to continue jointly. It will hopefully continue to link up with existing scholars and institutions, such as Thomas Vernet, Benigan Zimba and Richard Allen, to name a few, to pursue the analysis of the slave trade.

Younger scholars need to be trained to take up the task and scholarships provided to go overseas.

As far as slavery is concerned, as Hubert Gerbeau has said, the methodologies to be used in studying slavery have to be multidisciplinary, and this is precisely what the TJC has attempted to do. The traditions and culture of Mauritians of African and Malagasy origin are currently being erased from our physical and cultural landscapes through tourist, ecotourism and IRS projects. There are also many questions that Mauritians continue to ask themselves, and hold many perceptions that may not have conformed to the archival evidence. The TJC has addressed these issues.

Among these were: Where do

Reference 79 - 0.01% Coverage

Where do I come from?

It is generally felt that of all groups in Mauritian society, those descended from slavery are unable to trace their ancestry. The Origins Project based at the Nelson Mandela Centre has gone some way to answer this question in Mauritius but more needs to be done to attempt to identify more precisely the villages from where slaves came and their cultural origins. Academic historians have not yet been able to find such information in archival sources. The TJC has sought to resort to other techniques to do so, using the names given by slaves during registration and using DNA testing.

In addition we are accumulating as many Civil Status Records as possible on the slave population, with the help of Mr. Patrick Drack in France and recommend the establishment of a National Genealogy Centre in Mauritius. The TJC has laid the groundwork for this by bringing institutions together that may be able to set this up and host it, and copying some of the more fragile data from institutions.

Where did slaves disembark?

This has been a perennial question, and with good reason. Public perception goes thus: The French can claim to have first landed in Vieux Grand Port, the Indians at Port Louis at Aapravasi Ghat, but what of slaves? There is no memorial, except a memorial at Pointe Canon chosen for no obvious reason, it would seem, than availability of space. Research has been undertaken in the past in the Archives, and no specific point identified. The TJC has attempted basic research in other sources located outside Mauritius, such as the French National Archives which contain the most important collection on Mauritius outside Mauritius. It is important to memorialize, and the TJC has made a recommendation towards the creation of a Museum of slavery and a monument for the Unknown Slave in a central location.

How many slaves came to Mauritius?

This is a question that has never been answered and about which academic historians have stated that it was impossible to find specific slave ships that carried slaves to both Mauritius and Reunion. The attempt to disaggregate figures is being attempted by the TJC with the help of Thomas Vernet and compile at same time a slave trade database, so that Mauritians can access, at the click of a mouse on the internet, all ships arriving in Mauritius, as well as those undertaking coastal shipping i.e. from Souillac, Mahebourg and Port Louis.

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There is a huge discrepancy between official figures and actual arrivals of slaves due to illegal practices since the beginning of colonization. Greed for easy profits, desire to bypass official duties and taxes or frustration with lengthy bureaucratic procedures have contributed to illegal practices. Thus for the period of Labourdonnais, although Company ships officially brought only 2,000 slaves, in reality, Filliot has estimated over that 10,000 slaves were brought in.

The need to know as accurately as possible is important, if one wants to study the demographics of the slave population. Thus these figures will be juxtaposed with Census records, Civil Status records and other records. This is important information also for those who wish to study the proportion of slaves arriving from different parts of the world 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 economy did slavery and the slave trade create? What is left today? What was the impact of emerging sugar economy and indenture on ex-slaves?

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

What impact did abolition have on Mauritian society? Did slaves desert the plantations? Why?

The TJC believes that it is important to answer this question, not because of any major breakthrough in archival research, but because it is continually being referred to and there is much misinformation and stereotyping. It is important not to treat slaves as one homogenous group, as has been stated several times, and it is important to understand that there were multiples experiences lived by slaves, not one uniform experiences. There is not one direct route taken by slaves from the plantation to the coast, where many can be found, and nor can we assume today that is where they all decided to settle there. The situation is far from being so simple.

What was the fate of ex-slaves after abolition?

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

What is the proportion of Mauritians of slave origin left in Mauritius? Are all those with African phenotype of slave origin? Or are they descendants of Liberated Africans? How many?

Studies of immigration after abolition has revealed the presence of many Malagasies, Mozambicans, Comorians etc in Mauritius among passengers, and so what appears to be a person of African phenotype may not necessarily be of slave origin, but of indentured or free African immigrant. Further study is required. The search for authenticity of slave origins has been strated but is not

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exhaustive. Whether one is of slave origin is immaterial as discrimination against persons of African origin does not distinguish between descendants of slaves and descendants of free Africans.

Did racism create slavery? Does racism exist today? Why? Who is racist? What is racism in Mauritius?

What is the 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

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of slavery.

Organisation of Report

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

The slavery report is, therefore, divided into two parts: the first part in Chapter Two covers the historical period of slavery, slave trade focussing particularly on aspects of the French period of slavery. The second part in Chapter Four examines briefly the transition that ex-slaves experienced. This topic has been the subject of study by many historians and much comparative work has been undertaken within the Caribbean, the USA and South Africa. Mapping the mobility must be strongly recommended as evidence points to land dispossession of large numbers over the years but defining moment for the ex-slaves which sealed their fate has not been done yet. Their mass conversion to Catholicism, particularly during the epidemics, and the continued hold of the Church on directing the actions of ex-slaves and their cultural orientation are briefly examined as one possible defining moment. The Church has played an important part in legitimizing the actions of plantation owners which resulted in curtailing the cultural freedom and physical mobility of descendants of slaves. The chapter also analyses how the population changed from being 'AfroMalagasy' to becoming 'Creole'. Did they become citizens?

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

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VOLUME 1: REPORT OF THE TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION 1.THE SLAVE TRADE TO MAURITIUS FROM THE 1720S TO 1820S 1.1 The Indian Ocean is not the Atlantic

The study of slavery and the slave trade in the Indian Ocean has, more often than not, been based on previous studies of the Atlantic world. Yet these were, and are, two vastly different worlds.

As far as Mauritius is concerned, it is the specificity of the nature of European slave trading in the Indian Ocean that interests us as well as the differences with the Atlantic world. Given the short time span available to the Commission, searches have been concentrated on selected themes in relation to the slave trade. Recommendations for further studies are made. Because the focus of slave trade studies was on the Atlantic, the ports which traded in slaves, from among those heavily involved in this Atlantic trade, have been studied in far greater depth and publicised. The Indian Ocean trade, and in particular the Mascarenes trade, have been neglected even though Mauritius, with its excellent and safe harbour (compared to Réunion), became in the 18th headquarters for the European slave trade.

century the

Some of the

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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 traditionally employed in studying the French slave trade in the Indian Ocean was based on studies of the Atlantic trade. The structure of the slave trade, the itineraries, financing, arming, networking and type of trading were studied. However, this ignored the fact that while the slave trade was a specialist's activity for the British, French ships were, by contrast, used both for the slave trade and direct trade with the West Indies. In the Americas, the French needed slaves for their plantations and so, according to Daudin, "as buying slaves was the main reason why plantation owners in the West Indies had to go into debt, the slave trade was more prone than other trades to long repayment periods. As the financial position of plantation owners declined continuously during the eighteenth century, their debts were more and more difficult to recover for French traders.

The slave trade has often been described as a 'triangular trade' and this refers mainly to the Atlantic. This was not necessarily

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more in recent literature.²⁹

While we can find the list of ships arriving in Port Louis or departing from French ports, we do not know yet how many of these went to East Africa and Madagascar and procured slaves as most of the time, the cargo is not listed. The sources relating to these will have to be studied as well.

The Disaggregation of figures

Up

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well.

The Disaggregation of figures

Up to 2009, it was not possible to say exactly how many slaves came to Mauritius. Figures were always aggregated with Réunion Island. Disaggregation of figures for Mauritius and Réunion has been started under the TJC and must continue. It will only be possible to arrive at a disaggregated figure, once entries in the database are complete. Only then, when the total number of slaves

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actually bought and sold in Mauritius is known, will we be better able to understand and assess the social, economic, demographic and cultural impact of slavery on the island.

To allow for a better assessment of the slave trade, the TJC has recommended the creation of a slave trade database to unite all disparate data. It is important to assess the slave trade and to do so, knowledge of French commerce and trade is also necessary. However, because sometimes the slave trade was activity carried out surreptitiously, it is not always known whether ships carried slaves or not, as they are not listed as 'passengers', but as cargo. We need to know and determine how many ships in general traded with, and arrived in Mauritius, and assess which may have brought slaves. The differences in figures between the various works of historians and others are largely due to different sources being tapped in different countries.

There exists no single study that has so far collected and put these various sources together and attempted a holistic analysis. At the Truth and Justice Commission, in Mauritius, we have initiated this work and we

expect that this work will be continued by institutions and scholars in the future in Mauritius. Several scholars have aided in this process: Thomas Vernet from France and Benigna Zimba from Mozambique, and we expect these two persons to be closely connected to future projects on the slave trade. Thomas Vernet, Anwar Chuttoo and Sharonne Philips have designed, and contributed to the beginning of a database of all ships arriving in Mauritius since 1721, and in the search for additional information on potential 'slave' ships. Jean-Yves Le Lan has voluntarily contributed his database on Lorient. The aim therefore is to collect, as far as possible, all potential slave voyages from the various repositories in France, Mauritius, Portugal, India and the UK. Currently, the TJC has focused its research on material available in Mauritius and France.

1.2. The place of the French in the Indian Ocean Slave Trade

Of the total estimated by Allen in 2010, the French slave trade is still by far the most substantial in the Indian Ocean: Portuguese total Dutch total

41,875 - 83,750

British

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this figure does not include:

those slaves who never made it on board the ships; those who were captured or traded but did not survive the march or the captivity in the slave depot.

These are not accounted for

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Mozambique and using Mozambican labour.

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

43,965 - 66,465 slaves 10,525 - 12,539 slaves 334,936 - 384,040 slaves

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267 166 129 54 40

Most studies have concentrated on the periods for which most data is available fairly easily, i.e. after 1767, when the Royal Government took over the island. We know very little on the pre-1767 slave trade and on the illegal trade after 1810.

Only Le Lan has focused on Company Trade and he has generously provided the Commission with a list of ships belonging to the FEIC which practised the slave trade between 1720 and 1756 and thus was the second, after Albert Lougnon, to attempt to examine the pre-1767 period. For departures from Lorient and from the Mascarenes up to 1760, he uses Filliot and Mettas: 46,000 slaves were traded in total, without counting those ships starting from the Mascarenes.

Finally, Mauritius played a central role in the expansion of the French slave trade in the Indian Ocean.

Yet, the role of Mauritius in thi is little known; it was much larger than previously believed.

Economic and accounting historians of the slave trade study slavery and the slave trade from an economist's or financial analyst's perspective. However, historians cannot focus only on what is

quantifiable, but have to look at the unquantifiable: the 'intangible' issues of history, such as identity or culture loss, mental and physical stress, mobility, laws, consequences on family life or the sense of loss felt as a result of being removed from one's homeland.

1.3. The slave trade and the mercantile system of the 18th century

French Mercantilism in the Indian

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since it was less profitable.

The French East India Company participated directly and indirectly in the slave trade. When it was not profitable for the Company to engage in it, they relinquished their rights to private traders from whom they also derived financial benefits in the form of a duty of 13 livres per slave introduced in the islands. Because they had a monopoly over trade in Asia, they were able to obtain goods used in the slave trade at very cheap prices and sell these to the slave traders who needed goods to exchange for slaves, as well as to clothe them.³³ Indian textiles were preferred by slave traders to French textiles.³⁴

There were three main destinations for the slaves: Louisiana, St. Domingue and the Mascarenes. The King instructed Captains to bring back certificates for each slave arriving and for each slave sale, to enable the Company to receive 13 or 15 livres raised by the King for every slave. In exchange, they benefited from exemptions for port duties and duties on goods used in the slave trade, as well as on sugar.³⁵

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In addition, the Company also owned slaves who worked in various capacities. When the King took over the island in 1767, the slaves belonging to the Company were ceded to the King. There were in 1769: 162 Malagasies, 436 Guineans, 345 Creoles, 254 Mozambicans, 25 Indians, 2 Creoles from Bourbon, 1 from Pondicherry and 3 from Macao for a total of 1,228 slaves. They were divided into 662 men, 139 boys, 21 young male children, 271 women, 126 girls and 9 nine female infants.³⁶

French slave trading in the Southwest Indian Ocean was started in Madagascar to supply slaves to Bourbon Island, colonised earlier. The slaves engaged in agriculture and the women among them married, or cohabited with French men, due to the shortage of French women. Indian prisoners were also left there. Distinctions between French on the one hand, and Malagasy and Indian people on the other, appeared some years later in 1674, when an Ordinance of Jacob de la Haye (Article 20) ordered that there would be no marriages between French and négresses or between noirs and white women. The term 'slave' also appears for the first time in Bourbon.³⁷ It is there that slavery, as it is understood in Mauritius, became established with maroon hunts, separate Parish Registers and domestic servants being treated as property.³⁸

1.4. Chronology of the

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4. Chronology of the trade

1723 In Mauritius, the Code Noir is often quoted as a measure introduced to protect slaves and thereby, the humanity of this law is often applauded. This view is not justified, if one analyses the reasons why it was introduced. The logic was purely financial and responded to the need to declare slaves as a good which could be insured so that any loss of slaves could be compensated for.

McWatters has analysed the relationship of the slave trade with the Mercantile System that was emerging in 18th-century France; the 'Ordonnance de Commerce' of 1673, according to her, brought together the private sector and the State to regulate trade and to protect legitimate businesses from bankruptcies or remove some of the obstacles in obtaining credit.³⁹ However, when it was found that the Ordonnance did not allow the insuring of human beings, the Code Noir was introduced to declare slaves as 'bien meuble' (Article XLIV); in other words, possessions which could be insured and inherited as fixed assets. In case of loss of slaves during a revolt, bad weather or disease, compensation could be claimed.

1741 In 1741, the Company authorized the Governor General to permit all French citizens to purchase their own goods and to procure slaves from Mozambique, Madagascar and India. However, this permission according to Filliot, was 'illusory' as there was an insufficient number of boats on the island to engage in trade. The Company not only lent out its boats, but taxed all arrival of goods, causing French inhabitants to claim a return to the pre-existing situation.

Free trade was abolished in

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was abolished in 1746.⁴⁰

From 1746 to 1767, there is less precise information available on the slave trade. There appears to be a decrease in the slave trade, probably due to the Wars of Succession in Europe. After 1750, the slave trade resumed, and some 1,300 to 1,400 slaves were brought every year to the Mascarenes. There also appears to be more slaves being brought from Mozambique than Madagascar. For the period 1762 to 1766, so far very little information has been obtained, as far as numbers of slaves arriving. Filliot feels that this is because illegal slave trading was going on.⁴¹

From 1767 to 1790, the Royal Government ruled the island directly. The Company's monopoly was abolished and 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 The effects on slave trade were felt soon after in Isle de France. The ratio of slaves to free in Mauritius jumped from 1:5 in 1767 to 1:9 in 1783.

Both the French East India Company and the French Government were very much involved, directly and indirectly, in the slave trade from the beginning. In the Indian Ocean, they turned a blind eye to the hostilities occurring between different European powers in Europe. Thus, despite official hostilities between France and Portugal, in the Indian Ocean, officials of both countries engaged in

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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 of primes was at the heart of the slave trading system. However, not all trading ventures were profitable and as elsewhere, profits were calculated as the difference between the cost of outfitting a ship and the amount collected during sales of slaves. Profits took a long time to accrue as planters never paid for 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 traitera peut-être pas 700.”⁴⁴

Apart from the fact that free trade was established, the boost to the slave trade came also in 1776 from the prime paid per slave traded beyond the Cape of Good Hope. In October 1784, an Arrêté of 26 October replaced the exemption of demi-droit by a ‘gratification’ of 40 livres per tonne jauge.⁴⁵ The aim was ‘to revitalize the trade’. It was essentially a ‘bounty’ system “consisting of State subsidies paid in function of ton burden and could amount to more than one-quarter of the initial investment.”⁴⁶ In his Memoirs, Angenard, Second Lieutenant on board a slaving ship, writes that he obtained a monthly salary of 25 piastres, 2 slaves for himself, a commission of one franc per every slave that he traded.⁴⁷ The Arrêté du 5 juin 1785 further gave 4 livres per head of slave introduced into Mauritius.

According to Roman, the Government almost ‘invited’ fraud in slave trading, when it gave a 40livres prime for every tonne jauge of a slave ship: ‘miraculously’ ships’ tonnage increased. The Baron Binder of 450 to 602 tonnes,⁴⁸ the *Saturne* initially listed as being 350-tonne, when built suddenly, reappeared as a 475-tonne ship at this time.

⁴⁹According to Roman, “à vrai

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voire de l’approbation tacite.”⁵⁰

From 1787, the inhabitants of Isle de France could trade anywhere in Madagascar. This must have further contributed to the numbers of slaves arriving.

From the 1790 to 1803, the Revolutionary Government took over. It is believed by historians that from 1790, sugar-cane cultivation expanded because of the revolt in Saint-Domingue. This, it is claimed, led to a rise in the slave trade. However, there are no corresponding figures to show a rise in sugar exports from Mauritius to France. The slave trade was also declared illegal. Despite the ban on the slave trade by the Revolutionary Government in France, slave trading continued fraudulently in the Indian Ocean. Corsairs were particularly active in continuing this illicit trade.

Corsairs cum traders

Another feature

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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 French Marine had given them its blessing to trade through the ‘lettres de marque’ and indirectly blessed also the slave trade. Le Coureur, recently written about, also participated in this type of trade.

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Various tactics were employed to circumvent the ban on slave trade. For example, merchants falsified official destinations: the *Sans Culotte*, armed by Marouf and *Le Même*, though officially going to Madagascar to purchase rice, went instead to Mozambique and took on 340 slaves bound for Réunion island.⁵¹

1803 – 1810 Under the Napoleonic regime, on 30 Floreal An X (20 Mai 1802), the slave trade was permitted again on the grounds that cultivation and prosperity were suffering. ⁵²Napoleon had concluded a Peace Treaty with the British at Amiens on March 26 1802. During the month of April, he received in Paris a delegation of Deputies from Nantes, Bordeaux and Marseille, to whom he promised the re-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

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colonies qui la réclament indispensablement.”

Saugera has outlined the slaving activities of *La Confiance*. The *Confiance* was armed in Bordeaux for Isle de France on 6th May 1802, with Captain Sr. Paul Castagnet and as armateur, Jacques Conte. On 10th August 1802, in Mozambique, the Captain declared that he was in possession of 15,000 ‘patacas espanholas’ for the slave trade and other goods that would be sold in Isle de France. 516 slaves were disembarked from the ship in Isle de France on 17th October 1802. On the 28th of the same month, the sale of the slaves from the *Confiance* was already advertised in a local newspaper, “s’adresser à Icery, à l’établissement Monneron au bord de la mer, où est la traite’, tandis que les officiers vendent leurs noirs de port permis à bord du navire.”During this period, at least twelve Portuguese ships arrivals in Port Louis, Isle de France have been recorded between 1802 and 1807.⁵⁶

1.5. Was the slave trade in the 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 understand better the slave trade and the issue of profitability beyond the figures, one must not rely on the official itinerary of a ship, but one must actually follow the real trajectory and pay close attention to the timing of the voyages, their tonnage and the goods that they contained and country for which they were really destined.

The practice of diverting ships bound for the Indies, or going back to Europe for short slave trading voyages to Madagascar and Eastern Africa, started as early as 1723, according to Filliot.⁵⁷

Thus, voyages, officially listed as

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402 livres for China.⁵⁹

An innovation brought by French East India Company ships coming into the Indian Ocean was that they did not use French textiles in the slave trade; Indian textiles were far cheaper and so, when they brought French textiles, they sold it off in the Mascarenes where they were bought at high prices by the French settler population. Indian textiles were also purchased in India and then exchanged for slaves destined for the Mascarenes and the Americas.

More evidence of the distinctiveness

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shipwreck of the *Utile* which

left Malagasy slaves stranded on Tromelin Island for several years. He describes the trade as a ‘double traite’ (double trade). He believes that historians have ignored the shorter trips made by the same ships that made long-distance voyages.⁶⁰ Both Toussaint and Mettas missed these short trips in their lists. Richard Allen has come to the same conclusion and is also substantially reviewing Toussaint’s and Filliot’s figures. Thus, during the Seven Years War (1756-1763), when the Governor based in Mauritius banned the slave trade, his orders were ignored by the Captain of the *Utile*, Jean de Lafarge, who embarked, not only cattle and rice from Madagascar, but slaves also. Many other such cases abound. East India Company ships also carried slaves during the ban, but this information never entered Company’s account books. One example is the *Jesus Maria Jose* which, in 1761, carried 210 slaves from Mozambique to Mauritius. When the ship reached Mauritius, the Company had to buy the slaves at 55 piastres each.

Double traite also occurred with ships going from France to Mozambique. The *Constance Pauline*, belonging to Frabaud & Co from Marseille, went from France to Mozambique but also made other trips: between August 1788 and July 1789, to Isle de France and back. The same occurred from Bordeaux: *La Victoire* left on 27th June 1783, reached Mauritius on 8 November, then to Kilwa, where it bought 200 slaves and then on to Bombetoc (Madagascar), when it bought 80 slaves. We do not know yet how many reached Mauritius. The same ship went back to Mozambique, bought 162 slaves and went on to the Cape and Haiti. Cochon Trop Long owned the *Oiseau* which left Bordeaux 2 March 1786, made 5 voyages, 4 of which were between Mauritius and East Africa. His last trip was to the USA. According to Guerout, there was perfect ‘synchronism’ in activities between Marseilles and Bordeaux between 1781 and 1792.

Outfitting the slave ship

The ‘success’ of a slaving voyage depended on the careful planning and the work of three individuals on board the ship: the barrel-maker (‘tonnelier’), the carpenter and the cook. The carpenter had to rebuild the interior of the hold to accommodate as many slaves as possible; the comfort of slaves not being a major consideration. But the ship also had to accommodate other items: provisions, water, cargo etc. The barrel-maker had to supply abundant fresh water, particularly for long distances or lengthy voyages.

The financing of slave voyages was a high-risk venture. French long-distance trade, including slave trade voyages, was an expensive high-risk venture. Either only the wealthy could engage in it, or those who had also invested in other ventures. Long-distance trade could generate very high profits because of arbitrage and because the costs of high investment declined as distances increased. The financing of the slave trade has, however, been little studied generally, even though evidence points to the fact that banks and international commerce did finance the Atlantic slave trade.⁶¹ Whether the same occurred in the Indian Ocean remains to be established.

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Our findings indicate that for the Indian Ocean, much of the capital required was financed through the 'sociétés' (companies) created, and where various groups and individuals provided the funds with the main person retaining the majority of shares. Moreover, those who financed the slave voyages were, more often than not, from existing merchant families, i.e., in St. Malo. When they did not have sufficient funds, they associated with merchants from other ports or even with the nobility.⁶² In Mauritius (Isle de France), one of the early companies to be created and to engage in slave trading was no less than one created by Mahé de Labourdonnais himself, on the ships *Aigle* and *Parfaite* in 1742 and *Jupiter* and in 1744. In Mauritius, the emergence of

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6. Profits, ports and prices

As far as ports and profits are concerned, the differences between the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean's experience of the mid to late 18th century are quite stark. Two examples will suffice: in the Caribbean the Haitian revolution led to a fall in plantation production and a decrease in longdistance trade 'for a generation'. In Mauritius, sugar and plantation production increased exponentially. Secondly, the impact of European wars were not necessarily detrimental to the slave trade or trade in general ⁶⁴ in the Indian Ocean as corsair activity, in particular, proved very profitable.

Thus, although "War changed the

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investment resembled one in *droiture*.

A third area of difference between the two oceans is the profits derived from the slave trade which was possibly more consequential in the Indian Ocean than in the Atlantic. However this deserves further study.

PROFITS

The profits emanating from

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this deserves further study.

PROFITS

The profits emanating from the slave trade have been the subject of study in the Atlantic Ocean for a long time by pre-industrial economists and cliometricians. According to Daudin, there are three methods to study slave trade profits: first, theoretical results from competition theory; secondly, theoretical reconstruction of profit rates, and thirdly, examination of traders' accounts. ⁶⁵ The different estimates of annual profit rates, based on the second method, range between 7.1 % and 30 %.⁶⁶ Estimates of annual profit rates, based on the third method, range between 8 % and 10 %.⁶⁷

For the Indian Ocean, it would appear from the Literature that there was a greater chance of the Indian Ocean slave trade being, in the long run, more profitable than in the Atlantic for the period after 1780s. Daudin's study thus recommends the use of Private Archives to calculate the profits of the slave trade; in other words, to examine the aggregate data of one armateur and one vessel. There are, however, few detailed studies of voyages relevant to giving a conclusive answer. We are better able to understand the mechanism and operation of the slave trade through recent works of French historians published by the Anneaux de la Mémoire Association in Nantes.

Research so far on sources on Mauritius does not reveal much about profits derived from the slave trade: in the 1760s, profits from Madagascar were considered negligible for locals, according to a letter from Governor Dumas on the 'Bénéfices de la traite à Madagascar' in 1768:
"Si la traite produit des

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sol dans la caisse? ”68

However, on other occasions, profits were clearly made. Captain Francois Remi Cotte of the Saturne wrote to the armateurs that he had made a 92% profit from trading 503 slaves at 760 livres per slave in and selling them for 1600 livres.

A word about currency is

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money made one dollar.69

Where did the funding come from? Historians seem to concur on this point that most had have been quite wealthy to have engaged in the slave trade. Wealth could have come from inherited fortune or through marriage to a rich family or to have accrued from accumulated profits during trade. We do not have enough information about the genealogies of families to study this in depth.

Agents and armateurs were the principal persons involved in the economic side of the trade: agents received commissions for the sale of slaves for all transactions. Captains too benefited, while the armateur, often sitting in La Rochelle or Nantes etc. had to wait for the profits to materialise slowly from the time the slaves were sold, since plantation owners took their time to pay. Profits were thus long-term profits. This no doubt led Garesché to write: "Expeditions for the slave trade only make victims now [...]. Captains, agents are the only ones to benefit from it, and the armateur is forced to bear loss or grow old waiting for profits."70 Risks involved in those days included shipwrecks, revolts, disease etc. in the Atlantic, as in Indian Ocean, or seizures of ships by the enemy, notably the British.

Finally, according to McWatters, most

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absence of detailed accounts.71

Pétre-Grenouilleau notes: "[...] que la durée d'amortissement du prix d'un captif est courte (un an et demi à la Barbade anglaise, vers 1645), que l'individu en question représente un capital toujours disponible, et qu'il ajoute au prestige de son propriétaire".72 The return from slaves, in terms of production, was also discussed in various reports to the Chambre de Commerce at Nantes. For instance, in the Archives Départementales, the amount of sugar produced is discussed, relative to the cost of slaves in different years.73

PORTS

It is also important

Reference 109 - 0.01% Coverage

in different years.73

PORTS

It is also important to look at the role of specific ports engaged in the slave trade to the Indian Ocean and the Mascarenes specifically, as there are significant differences between the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic. Five main ports were engaged in the Indian Ocean.

The percentage of slaves taken away from their homeland by the ships leaving these ports has been estimated as: Nantes 41.3 %, Bordeaux 11.4 %, La Rochelle 11.3 %, and the Havre 10.8 %. There are no final figures yet for the Indian Ocean.

Bordeaux

Between 1672 and 1837

Reference 110 - 0.01% Coverage

for the Indian Ocean.

Bordeaux

Between 1672 and 1837, some 480 ships left Bordeaux for the French Caribbean and carried 150,000 or more Africans from their homeland. 74 The first ship to arrive in Mauritius from Bordeaux carrying slaves was the Bretagne from Pondicherry. As Bordeaux came late to the slave trade, it faced tough competition from other ports, and this may have been a reason why it switched its source to the Eastern African coast. It developed rapidly, having a rich hinterland and

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producing wine. Thus trade flourished, including slave trade. It became France's second slaving port after Nantes. Out of 386 slaving ships, the destinations were as follows:

270 31 13 14 37

Reference 112 - 0.02% Coverage

Cuba (19th century) Mauritius.75

According to the Bureau des Douanes in Bordeaux, it was not a triangular trade but rather a quadrangular trade.76 This confirms what was stated earlier about the double trade. However, Bordeaux found in the slave trade a complement to her existing trade which began to make her the second slave port of France, next to Nantes. In the estimation of scholars, the trade involved 130,000 to 150,000 slaves taken away in 480 expeditions, thus representing 11.4 % of the total leaving French ports.77 The figure of 480 ships is higher than the estimate of Saugera. It was not a specialist's activity and, according to the Conservatoire, the ship Captains undertook many other voyages other than slave voyages. Ships used at first were small ships, sloops, goëlettes and corvettes, but after 1763, ships had a higher tonnage, 250 to 500 tonnes.

Our knowledge of slave trading from Bordeaux is partly limited, due to the fire that occurred in the Port Archives in 1919. 78 The Journaux de bord are our only detailed source for daily events occurring during a slave trade voyage. The log book of the Patriote from Bordeaux to Mauritius, for example, shows that there was not a simple triangular trade: It left Mauritius on 10 April 1789 and arrived in Bordeaux on 17 February 1791. Numerous slave trading stops took place along the way.79 The voyage of Licorne is also interesting: although the slaves were destined for the Atlantic voyage, this ship made a stopover in Mauritius, according to Toussaint, on 4 June 1787, before going to Mozambique to procure slaves, and then on to the Cape of Good Hope where some slaves were disembarked before making the Atlantic voyage.80

From 1783 to 1793, in total, some 262 slaving voyages were made out, of which 80 ships to the Indian Ocean went from Bordeaux, increasing its share of the slave trade from 5 to 12 %.

The first ships from Bordeaux appear to have arrived as early as 1773, clearly having come to engage in the slave trade, judging from their destinations in the South West Indian Ocean (see database): the *Aventurier*, a 150-tonne *senau*, made one voyage in 1773-4 from Bordeaux to the Indian Ocean. It made several trips within the region: to Kerimba, Madagascar, Bourbon and Mauritius, and back to Bordeaux.⁸¹ It was commanded by Brugevin. The *Affiches, Annonces* [...] of 13 January 1773 noted that the ship made two stops in Kerimba and Madagascar, before arriving in Port Louis on 9 January 1773, loaded with slaves for Mr. de la Maretty. It then went to Bourbon in March 1773. Another trip was made to Mozambique in 1774. It arrived in Port Louis on 22 June 1774, but the future owner of slaves was not mentioned in the records.

Two further trips were made

Reference 113 - 0.01% Coverage

stops in Africa or Madagascar.

Not much activity occurred in the 1770s from Bordeaux to the Indian Ocean. In the 1780s, many more ships arrived only to stop again from 1794 to 1795, probably because of the abolition of the slave trade. Corsairs and non-French ships continued supplying Mauritius with slaves illegally. A large number of American ships left Bordeaux to come to the Indian Ocean in this period of 1794-5, but there were no French ships from Bordeaux, it would appear.

Lorient Truth and Justice Commission

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In Jean Meyer's study, *La France et l'Asie*, it is estimated that over 1,000 trips were made from France to the Indian Ocean. From 1730-1734, according to him, only one armement of the East India Company left Lorient. This increased considerably after 1746 but dwindled again a few years later. Latest figures, compiled by Le Lan for the recent Slave Trade Conference organized by the TJC, at the University of Mauritius, estimated at about 92,000, the number of slaves whom the Company exiled, using Lorient as a base. The first ship from Lorient to bring slaves to Mauritius was *La Meduse* which embarked 237 slaves from Juda. Between 1728 and 1756, all ships appear to have gone to West Africa to procure slaves. Haudrère has stated that the slaving voyages, with 630 slaves on board, between 1729 and for 1730 were a total failure because of the high mortality rate. He has described these voyages as a 'hecatomb'.⁸³ In one ship, out of the 200 slaves, 35 died before reaching the Cape and another 30 died in transit at the Cape, due to the cold and not being properly clothed. 93 more died en route to the Mascarenes. 42 disembarked, out of whom 11 died during disembarkation. The FEIC had two main trading posts in West Africa: Juda in Dahomey and Gorée in Senegal. In Gorée, a fort had been built where French traders, their slaves and goods were 'secure'. According to Le Lan.

« la Compagnie avait de nombreuses

Reference 115 - 0.01% Coverage

les français à commercer. »⁸⁴

In addition to these ships, the C4 series mentions another ship, the *Fleury*, which was to bring slaves from Senegal.⁸⁵ Le Lan has analysed the 19 voyages mentioned by Mettas to Isle de France between 1769 and 1791. He found that of the 19 ships, only 3 definitely came to Mauritius, while 5 others probably came;

the others went to on to sell the slaves in the Caribbean. Twelve companies undertook these 19 trips, trading some 6,205 slaves and some 2,910 slaves to Mauritius alone between 1771 and 1791.

Marseilles

Marseilles developed a powerful

Reference 116 - 0.01% Coverage

between 1771 and 1791.

Marseilles

Marseilles developed a powerful set of merchants in the 18th century, from 250 merchants to over 750 by the end of the 18th century. According to latest figures, most of these went to the Americas, and it was only at the end of the 18th that they came to the Mascarenes.⁸⁶ Many reasons have been advanced for the lack of interest before this period, all the more intriguing as voices were raised against the slave trade: lack of knowledge of the Atlantic compared to other ports, lack of freight (they only had wines and cloth).⁸⁷ They were also more used to quicker returns, having traded with 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 117 - 0.01% Coverage

as from 1784.

St. Malo

In the French slave trade, St. Malo ranks as perhaps the fifth port and deserves its appellation as the port of corsairs. It started slave trading later than other ports and began when trade restrictions were imposed by peace treaties; it preferred more traditional activities. The biggest trader was Magon de la Balue between 1717 and 1744, but it is between 1748 and 1788 that there was a real boom, with the largest fortunes made in Marseilles. Magon armed several slave trading ships, *Zélé*, *Le duc de Choiseul*, *Le Duc de Praslin*, *Le Modeste*. Charles Carrière has compiled a list of some 40 merchants engaged in the slave trade.

Between 1773 and 1819, 129

Reference 118 - 0.01% Coverage

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Some of the Huguenot traders among them, according to Carrière,⁸⁹ also belonged to Freemason Societies, *La Loge Saint Jean d'Ecosse*, in particular. Names of ships reflect this freemason influence: *Les Bons Amis*, *La Concorde*, *l'Union*. Among famous names of traders were Aenaud, Beaussier, Bigaud, Chauvet, Dallest, Mathieu, Solier, Martin and Salavy. Many were also academics. Between 1767 and 1785, Rambert lists 18 ships bound for Mascarenes. For 1785 to 1789, 33 ships are listed. Dermigny, in *Cargaison Indiennes*, lists 6 voyages from Marseilles between 1781 and 1791. How many of these engaged in slave trading remains to be determined.

For Mauritius, in the early years of French colonization, St. Malo was the first port to supply slaves regularly, and many 'Malouins' were actively engaged in the slave trade to Mauritius and Réunion. The

best known (Malouin) is Governor Labourdonnais himself. Other Governors, such as Bouvier de Lozier and Rene Magon, also contributed to the slave trade and expansion of the slave population on the island. From Port Louis, several other voyages were made to procure slaves in India, Madagascar, and Mozambique, while Company ships brought slaves from West Africa. Many of these ships' Captains and traders were from St. Malo. Corsairs were active in periods of war, but during peace time, they were active in trading and in commerce, of which the slave trade played a vital part. How important for the Indian Ocean, and particularly for Mauritius, was corsair activity, has not yet been estimated by historians, who have chosen to study the more 'heroic' past of St. Malo and its people than its corsair and maritime activities. There was no barrier between the different maritime activities. People engaged in all maritime activities, depending on the circumstances. The existence of 'négociants/négriers' or merchant/slavers was a reality; in other words, people who were merchants were also involved in the slave trade. In St. Malo, the best example and the most famous of these persons was Mesle de Grandclos, whose biography has been written.

Captains trading after 1763 included

Reference 119 - 0.01% Coverage

Charles Ozelle and Pierre Carre.

St. Malo's trade in slaves appears to decline after 1770. In later years, many traders abandoned slave trading. Many relocated to other ports. Pottier de la Houssaye continued, as did Mesle de Grandclos. But the others, Hercouet, Deshaies, Harrington, Dubois and Fichet Desjardins, abandoned the trade.

Nantes

Although much written about

Reference 120 - 0.01% Coverage

Desjardins, abandoned the trade.

Nantes

Although much written about, Nantes was not as important for the Mauritius slave trade as for the Atlantic. We have little information yet on how many ships arrived in Mauritius before the end of Company rule. The latest research on Nantes-Mauritius slave trade comes from Alain Romaine who noted some 15 ships registered with the Amirauté and who went to Mozambique to procure slaves.⁹⁰ According to McWatters, who has studied trade from this port for the period 1763 to 1792, the total number of ships 'outfitted' at Nantes rose from 127 to 230 per year; the average tonnage increased from 182.28 to 235.97 tonnes.

During the period between 1773 and 1810, studied by Toussaint, a total of 43 ships came from Nantes to the Mascarenes. How many traded in slaves is not yet clear. Between 1772 and 1778, only 7 ships were armed for the East African coast between 1772 and 1778. Between 1783 and 1793, only 14 or 15 arrived between 1783 and 1793, as against 80 from Bordeaux. It appears that there were cash-flows and liquidity problems, and they could not supply Arab and Portuguese intermediaries with the required amount of piastres. They thus preferred to engage in trade with partners who could purchase Nantese or French products.

La Rochelle

Although according to

Reference 121 - 0.01% Coverage

or French products.

La Rochelle

Although according to Deveau⁹¹ who has focused on the Caribbean, 427 ships left La Rochelle to engage in slave trading, it is not for certain how many came to Mauritius.⁹² For the Revolutionary period, 39 ships are listed by Toussaint, with the last ship arriving in 1790. Twenty-two of these are said to have carried Captains, who engaged in multiple voyages, included Robin, Lalande, Desplannes/De planne. The boost to trade as with other ports, came in 1784 with a prime of 40 livres given to every tonne jauge.

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La Rochelle is of interest to Mauritius because of the activities of a few individuals. When trade was dwindling during the Revolutionary Period and ending with Haiti by 1792, the slave traders organized lobbies to maintain the trade and were supported by metal and textile manufacturers who were supplying slave ships. They sent a representative, Jean Baptiste Nairac, operating in Isle de France, to defend their cause in the National Assembly on the grounds that lack of trade would bring ruin to the port. The slave trade was maintained.⁹³

Brest, Le Havre et Honfleur

Reference 123 - 0.01% Coverage

Le Havre et Honfleur, Rochefort

There was very little slave trading between these Ports and Mauritius. However, the last slave trading ship, the *Épervier* from Brest, went to the Indian Ocean and to Mauritius; it made its slave trading journey from Ibo, disembarking on 3 January 1785. Although the records showed a Brest to Brest trip, they fail to mention the slave trading trip to Ibo. We do not know yet how many slaves came to Mauritius. From Brest also came some well-known names in MAuritius, such as the Trebuchet family. According to Eric Saunier, the Hague and Honfleur saw the start of about 500 slaving voyages,⁹⁴ But according to Toussaint, only one came to the Indian Ocean between 1773 and 1803 from the Hague and 7 from Honfleur. None appear to have come during Company rule. Although the hinterland at Rochefort was ideal for trading and it supplied the crew required for long-haul voyages, the slave trade was not that important. The *Boulongne* and the *Boutin*, both of equal tonnage, arrived on the same day in Mauritius (see slave trade database 1729-1765). Whether they carried slaves is not known yet.

PRICES

Accounting historians have been

Reference 124 - 0.01% Coverage

is not known yet.

PRICES

Accounting historians have been investigating how the accounts of the slave trade were kept. A unique journal, the *Guide du commerce*, written by Gaignat de l'Aulnais in 1771, has led to a detailed and equally unique historical study by Cheryl McWatters. ⁹⁵ In this journal, McWatters highlights the basic documents required for a slave trading expedition, according to Gaignat. These were: “Le journal de traite, le livre de factures, le journal de vente des noirs et achats en retour et enfin le grand livre” (Eng trans: The slave trading journal, the receipt book, the sales of slaves book, and purchases book and finally the big book). Although written for Atlantic voyages, it seems unlikely that it would have been any different in the Indian Ocean, since many of the ships and Captains were the same. A greater search of the

accounts of slave traders might reveal as yet unknown facets of the history of slavery and the slave trade. For example, it is currently impossible to quantify the volume of trade carried on in the interior: those who were simply captured and kidnapped from their villages and where no trading took place. Oral traditions in Mozambique exist and deserve further study. Benigna Zimba, Mozambican historian, has recommended that memorialisation of this part of the history of the slave trade should also be included in future representations of slavery in Mauritius.

The medium of exchange was at first textiles, rum and muskets. But in Madagascar, the Malagasy increasingly began to demand hard currency, in Spanish piastres. By 1807, the French trader, Sylvain Roux, wrote that slaves cost 45 piastres, as well as 2 bales of blue cloth. i.e., forming 80% of the transaction.⁹⁶ The French Government believed such trade could only be profitable, if it had exclusive rights over Madagascar slave trading, because it could not compete with private traders. It appears that traders had goods produced in India, which Malagasy traders did not want, and they were forced to ask for hard currency in piastres.⁹⁷

Thus currencies were increasingly used

Reference 125 - 0.01% Coverage

the currency used in Mauritius.

Prices ranged widely according to the country of origin at the time. Prices mentioned here refer to a male adult slave, the typical slave sought after for the various tasks being undertaken in Mauritius.⁹⁸ In the early years of Isle de France, slaves could be procured for 100 livres. In 1732, the East India Company bought Indian slaves at 3-4 piastres per head in India. Within Mauritius, however, in 1738, slaves were being sold for far more at 200 piastres per slave.⁹⁹ This was still the case in 1745 for Mozambican and Malagasy slaves, while West African slaves were the most preferred and sold at 250 piastres per slave.¹⁰⁰ By 1758, this had gone up to 400 piastres for a slave from Madagascar.¹⁰¹

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In 1763, it was stated that the Company was selling slaves cheaper than private traders: Malagasy and Mozambican slaves at 25-30 piastres per slave, while those from Goa fetched 40-45 piastres.¹⁰² On 30 November 1767, M. Poivre provided details of prices of slaves:¹⁰³

Pièce d'Inde and from Guinea

Reference 127 - 0.01% Coverage

360

Mozambique: 540 Indian:

300

Prices fluctuated in the country of origin and according to traders, or so it would seem. 1.7. How were slaves sold in countries of origin?

Madagascar: Through the collective works of Gwym Campbell, Pier Larson and Richard Allen, we have learnt much about internal dynamics of slave trading to Mauritius from Madagascar.

Mozambique: We know less about Mozambique as far as Mauritius is concerned. Benigna Zimba's field work in the slave trade route has been crucial in adding to our knowledge to the TJC's attempt to understand local routes within Mozambique and Eastern Africa leading to Mauritius. A film directed by Benina Zimba, and co-produced by the TJC and the Nelson Mandela Centre for African Centre, is in the

making which TJC expects to be launched by the Nelson Mandela Centre in the not too distant future. It will be the first time that Mauritians will see the interior of the Mozambique slave route and hear Mozambican descendants of slaves and traders talk about their ancestors memories of the slave trade. The places from which slaves were taken such as the Mozambican regions of Niassa, Cabo Delgado, Nampula, Zambézia, Delagoa Bay, and Inhambane. These need to be studied further as well as the local powers that developed some of the most significant slave systems of Eastern Africa. Rebuilding of genealogies of families of slaves and/or descendants of slave masters need to be undertaken in both countries. In Mozambique, for example, the influence of well-known dynasties such as the Mataka, which played a major role in the export of slaves from the hinterland to the Islands of the Indian Ocean, including Mauritius.

Merchants gathered slaves gradually over days and weeks. In Inhambane, French slave traders were known as Mafutres. Within Eastern Africa, the main agents involved in the slave trade need to be better known. These include Africans, Arabs and Indians involved in the process of capture and internal selling, before slaves embarked at the ports of the exportation.

Agents in Mozambique include: the

Reference 128 - 0.01% Coverage

Somalia, French, Portuguese and Indians.

The main ports for the exports of slaves include:

Ilha de Moçambique, Ilha do

Reference 129 - 0.01% Coverage

ports of sale and departure.

In this period, slaves came mainly from:

Niassa, regions inhabited by the

Reference 130 - 0.01% Coverage

Quitangonha, and Angoche, Inhambane, Delagoa.

The Yao States have played a crucial part in slave exports from Northern Mozambique to the Indian Ocean for centuries.

In Northern Mozambique, Mataka and

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negatively affected by frequent attacks of the Sakalavas and the Makhuwa resistance against trade and the enslavement of the local population. This situation changed from 1820 onwards, when Ilha do Ibo became an important port of slave exports. Until circa 1830, Yao merchants traded exclusively with French slave traders. After 1830, the Yao slave trade from Ilha do Ibo extended to the Americas.¹⁰⁴

The slaves were not only transported on foot to the ports but were also carried on small boats (pangaios) from satellite ports and/or other far away located points of concentration. They were then transported to bigger ports and onto the bigger ships that we are familiar with. French traders had 6 to 10 pangaios responsible for bringing slaves in small numbers from satellite ports. From these satellite ports they then transported slaves in bigger ships towards, Comores, Nosibe, Anjouan, Mauritius, Réunion and

Seychelles. Local merchants known as Mujojo (or Ajojo) were responsible for the capture and the sale of the slaves transported in pangaios, in small numbers. The Mujojo traded in slaves and cloth known as fazenda and fazenda cafreal (Kaffir cloth). The Mujojo also used to steal slaves from one place to another and redirect the trade of slaves, according to the needs of the owners of ships that transported the slaves to the Mascarenes.¹⁰⁵

Another group in Mozambique that

Reference 132 - 0.01% Coverage

part of Mozambican-Mauritius connection.

Connections between Southern Mozambique and Mauritius and the Indian Ocean are more frequent in the nineteenth century and during the last stages of the slave trade. However, it continued with other countries, particularly Réunion until the 1850s.

It is important also to know that trading with Mozambique did not end with the abolition of the slave trade. According to the Cape Archives, Delagia Bay served as a meeting point for ships from Asia, Africa, Europe, and America, Mauritius and Madagascar and South Africa.¹⁰⁷

It is unfortunate that we have been unable so far to trace the origins of names of slaves from Mozambique, but this study must continue. The difficulty has been because some slaves were already baptized, from the 1760s onwards and were given Christian names.¹⁰⁸ According to Zimba, in a number of cases, baptized slaves did not know their birth names. However, all is not lost as according to Mozambican tradition, the names of the regions were also very often the same as those of the people. The French slave trade existed between the 1720s to the first decade of the 19th century without significant interruption. However, although important to Mauritius, the slave trade to Mauritius was small compared to the large slave trade emerging after 1810. For the French traders, however, it was a lucrative business, The Portuguese insisted that French ships should declare, to the port's Customs Services, all merchandise on board. In 1796, the French destroyed the Portuguese factory in Lourenço Marques; this event strongly impacted the ongoing slave trade.¹⁰⁹

1.8. How were slaves sold in Mauritius? Slaves were sold in various ways, if they were introduced legally.

Slaves brought by the Company would be 'distributed' between the various inhabitants who required them.

Others would be sold by the Notary usually in his office Slaves were also sold at auctions. One recorded site of sale was at the Place d'Armes.

In the 1790s, because of the smallpox epidemic, slaves were sold on board after being vaccinated. This occurred on the Saturne whose voyage has been described in detail by Alain Romaine.¹¹⁰

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Because duties had to be paid on every slave, and officers received a reward for every slave brought alive, the slaves had to be brought to be assessed by the Customs for duty. Many traders tried to avoid this by hiding slaves on board. Others landed slaves at other points of the island, such as at Bel Ombre, where they could be easily hidden in the numerous caves in that area. These areas deserve as much memorialisation as official slave sale sites in Port Louis.

In the 1760s, according to Law, information about the arrival of slaves on ships was given to the public by a poster appearing on walls. Private archives may contain some of the posters but none so far have been located in public archives nor in some private archives opened to us such as the MCB Archives.

When Liberated Africans were brought in the nineteenth century, they too passed through the same Customs House as slaves. A certain continuity thus existed in the sites used for disembarkation of slaves, Liberated Africans and indentured. After formalities had been completed, the Liberated Africans were taken to the Immigration Depot where they would be registered as indentured immigrants, just like the indentured labourers who were being brought from India. These sites, the Customs and the site of the Immigration Office (today a World Heritage Property) need to be adequately memorialised. However a new symbolical site needs to be identified to memorialise in a permanent way as site relating to the landing of slaves in Mauritius. While other landing places exist for people who have come as immigrants, such as the Salines or at the Aapravasi Ghat, a memorial place for those people brought as 'cargo' is also necessary so that the Mauritian population may see and understand the the full breadth of the trade and all facets of how forced immigration has occurred in Mauritius.

1.9. The Slave voyage a. Trauma during the passage

Much has been written about revolts and mortality on board ships and very little will be said of this here. More recently, attention has been focused on the state of mind of slaves during the wait in the slave depot, and during the transportation on ships and the psychological trauma that ensued. If narratives of the passage abound for immigrants later in the century, they are sorely missing from the slavery records in the Indian Ocean; only the acts of slaves give us some indication of their state of mind.

The journal of the *Espérance* also shows the psychological trauma endured by the enslaved through the case of one female slave who allowed herself to die. She was described as being 'tracassée' or worried; 'roulant d'un bord sur l'autre et chantant ensuite, [elle] est tombée dans un assoupissement dont elle est morte'.¹¹¹

In some cases, the crew took the trouble to avoid any additional trauma for the slaves. Again, on the *Espérance*, when a baby and mother died, they were thrown overboard, with the baby being later found in the belly of a shark. This discovery was hidden from the slaves for fear of upsetting them, lest this might lead to a revolt.¹¹²

What enslaved peoples felt and thought as they boarded the ship taking them away can only be guessed at by us today. One can only imagine those moments through accounts of people who witnessed this departure. Henry Salt, witness to these moments, reflected on this: "I subsequently saw several dances of the same kind, in the slave-yards on the island of Mozambique; but on these occasions it appeared to me that the slaves were compelled to dance. I shall never forget the expression of one woman's countenance, who had lately, I understood, been brought from the interior. She was young, and appeared to have been a mother, and when constrained to move in the circle, the solemn gloom that pervaded her features, spoke more forcibly than any language, the misery of her forlorn condition. If there be a sceptic who hesitates to approve of the abolition of the slave trade, let him visit one of these African slaveyards, a short time before a cargo of these wretched beings is exported, and if he have a spark of humanity left it will surely strike conviction to his mind".¹¹³

One has yet to calculate

Reference 134 - 0.01% Coverage

114

b. Mortality and Revolt

Slave mortality on board ships has yet to be quantified accurately by statisticians and demographers. Estimates range from 10% to 50%, depending on the length of the voyage, supplies on board, disease, resistance of slaves etc. From East Africa, the figure was 21%. From West Africa, mortality was estimated to be between 25 to 30%.¹¹⁵ According to Richard Allen, the 'overall mortality' appeared higher than for the Atlantic.¹¹⁶

The voyage from Madagascar took

Reference 135 - 0.01% Coverage

average a 28% death rate.

However, as Gerbeau reminds us, distance does not necessarily explain levels of mortality since other factors may be responsible: the illegal status of the voyage, for example, and the need to cram as many slaves on board, the spread of disease etc. In the 1790s, this had not changed. The *Saturne*, however, registered 9 % mortality during its voyage, in November 1793, from Kilwa, a lower percentage than the 14% figure provided by Allen and Filliot.¹¹⁷

When the French East India Company administered the island, it rewarded officers for bringing slaves alive.¹¹⁸ According to Le Lan, this is because it hoped to make huge profits on the slave trade.

Regulations were established for this purpose. Rewards were given to the Captain, 1st and 2nd Lieutenant for every slave brought alive to Mauritius. Thus, in June 1724, the Company acknowledged that Officers were undertaking perilous missions that required intelligence and dedication, if slaves were to be brought alive. In addition to recommending that the best Officers be engaged in this trade, a list of remuneration, according to the grade of Officers, was established. The lower orders, sailors etc., did not receive anything.

By 1749, this reward had increased to 25 livres per slave brought alive and 70 livres for every cargo exceeding a certain number.¹¹⁹ Thus, for a ship carrying 400 slaves and with a mortality rate of 25%, this reduced the slave cargo to 300 slaves. On the first 200 slaves alive, 25 livres per head would be given, totalling 5,000 livres. On the 100 remaining, 70 livres per slave i.e., 7,000 livres were paid. Total rewards thus would amount to 12,000 livres

However, the fact that revolts often caused the deaths of slaves means that, a small part of the mortality can be attributed to these. It was disease, ill-health and change of diet that caused heavy mortality.

c. Revolt and escape

The

Reference 136 - 0.01% Coverage

mortality.

c. Revolt and escape

The revolts of slaves on board have been studied to some extent by several authors: Peerthum, Allen, Filliot. Both revolt and escape occurred on board and appeared to have been expected, when the ship was being outfitted for voyage i.e. extra strong fences, more guards etc. were provided. For ships bound for Mauritius, a number have been documented in earlier studies: Allen's database of voyages lists only 23 voyages with revolts. Vernet's transcription of the journal of the *Espérance* also shows that escapes occurred among women as well.

Epidariste Colin, who was on board these slaving voyages, made several observations on the voyages to the Mascarenes: "Je dirai d'abord qu'on embarque trop d'esclaves sur les navires de traite." On the one which he observed, a ship of 100 tonnes, there were 318 slaves; only 128 reached Mauritius alive. Had it taken only 200 slaves, he commented, mortality would have been much less.¹²⁰ He was also against the practice of putting the strongest men in irons. This practice made the people more likely to revolt.

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The change in diet proved fatal for many slaves; it was months before they were fed on vegetables. There was little variety as they were fed on rice twice a day, and rarely had maize or millet. The worst feature of the voyage on board, according to Colin, was the excrement piling up in barrels and which was only

seldom changed at every quarter: the smell itself made slaves more ill. Ventilation was a huge problem, despite incense being burnt to counter the putrid smells. Dysentery was the greatest killer.¹²¹ Attempts to abolish the slave trade during the French period had been aborted by the slave traders themselves. But in the 19th century, this was less possible. In French ports, the commerçants of the Hague attracted all those traders, French and British, and it became the centre of opposition to the abolition of the slave trade. The Hague refused any extension of Human Rights in 1791 to free the Coloured population of the port. This has earned the port a notoriety for defending slavery. Freemasonry was also closely linked to both the slave trade and its abolition, as many traders were members of the freemason societies, as well as of the Amis des Noirs.

After 1815, it is almost impossible to trace the trade between Mozambique and Mauritius, since the slave trade was officially abolished in Mauritius and everything was carried out in an even more surreptitious manner than before. An illegal slave trade ensued. Estimates of the illegal slave trade are based on material wherever this information is provided accidentally i.e. when a ship was seized or sunk or a revolt occurred. Sometimes, as Laurent Pavlidis has shown, it came from ports that had little to do with the slave trade. Accurate figures have not been compiled as yet, but the most recent estimate is that 52,550 slaves were illegally imported for the Mascarenes as a whole. For Mauritius only, figures need to be compiled when the Database is completed. So far, one can only state that Mozambican slaves formed the majority of slaves (60%) before 1806-1808. After that period, illegal trading led to more Malagasy slaves being brought in. The percentage of Malagasy slaves of the total slave population rose from 25.1% to 36.8 % in 1826.

1.10. Memory, Identity and

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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 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 estates of the 19th century can be traced to the days of slave trading when the captains of those ships were also trading in slaves and benefitted materially from them. The names of captains and some armateurs can be found in the names of owners of estates established in the early years of sugar estates being established. Many of course never survived the various economic crises and restructuring that occurred in Mauritius throughout the 19th and 20th centuries and closed down.

Stein argues that the personal nature of business structures in the French Atlantic impeded the development of an efficient organization and prevented merchants, reluctant to work in sectors where they lacked a commercial network, from adapting to new opportunities. Carrière's study of the Marseilles merchants, although not focussed on the slave trade, clearly demonstrates this. Of the 76 merchants in Marseilles, who were studied, 71% married among themselves. They did not take each other to court but resolved matters amicably (*règlement à l'amiable*).

According to Carrière's study of

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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 studies of slave traders operating in the Mascarenes. By the last quarter of the 18th century, some of the trading

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Mauritius. A total of 72

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

It needs be remembered by these families, however, that the slave trading network involved not only French but a long string of other people in the chain and involving other nationalities: Indian financiers, Arab traders as well as chiefs of African kingdoms. Guilt if there is to be any today must be equally shared.

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

Thus for about a third of the slave population, as there are no slave registers for the 18th century, most have Mauritius as their country of origin and none other. They are the 'Créole de Maurice' as listed in the registers. Mozambiques form the second largest group including, as in 1765, all those from the Eastern Africa coast and mainland; Malgaches are the third largest group among slaves, also comprising all different groups in Madagascar, including a certain number of Mozambicans exported to Madagascar. In addition there are several smaller groups listed such as Créole de Bourbon, Créole des Seychelles, Indian, Malay, Diégo Garcia, Anjouan, Guinea, Woloff, Rio de Janeiro, Malabar, Créole of Goa, Créole of Providence Island, Créole of Rodrigues, Arabe Mozambique, Créole des Six îles, Arab, Cochin.

In a few years, if the collection of data continues on the slave trade in Mauritius and in France, it may be possible to trace the ships by which slaves arrived, even though we may not find the actual place of origin. By combining data from slave registers, an examination of the real itinerary, information about the sale of slaves obtained from Notarial records, we believe a complete picture for some families can be put together.

Over the years, identities fused: thus a slave from the East African coast became known as 'Mozambique' and a Mozambique was therefore anyone from Eastern Africa. The definition of what

was a Mozambique appears at this time, as "noir Mozambique qui comprendra toute la côte orientale d'Afrique d'Abyssinie d'Egypte, depuis le Cap de Bonne Espérance jusqu'au port Suez".¹²⁷ Although it has been stated in the secondary literature, that stereotypes of slaves started, when
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the slave trade increased in the 1760s onwards, the evidence from the French National Archives shows stereotyping and categorizing of various ethnicities in one group quite early in the slave trade. Thus 'Mozambican' slaves became trusted as were West African slaves; in fact, they were considered trustworthy enough to be recruited for the defence of the island. Women slaves from Mozambique were also appreciated for their reproductive capacity. Statements made at the time smack of breeding attempts: "Nombre trop modique de négresses Mozambique ou Bengalie [...] chaque vaisseau en apporte 12 ou 15 [...] elles peuplent plus et sont moins debauchées."¹²⁸

Branding and baptism: Part of the identity markers at the time included the fact that the slave was a possession and was branded as such. Bodily marks in addition 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 between known Makonde tattoos and those found on slaves. According to Lars Krutak, the face and other parts of the body "contained chevrons, angles, zigzag and straight lines with an occasional circle, diamond, dot, or animal figure." He states: "After the cuts have been made with the traditional tattoo implements (chipopo), vegetable carbon [was] rubbed into the incisions producing a dark blue color." This blue colour was also observed on the bodies of slaves in the 1826 registration returns. Henry Salt's and Epidariste Coin's descriptions of tattoo marks on different groups need to be compared with the marks found on slaves arriving in Mauritius.

Makua are described as 'strong

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a hollow case of wood."

Epidariste Colin's description echoes that of Salt; he refers to the preference of colonists for Makuwuwa slaves. Tattoos consisted of an oval mark on the temples and a smaller oval between the eyes. The Monjavas could be recognised by the star-shaped tattoos on the body and on the cheeks, as well as 2-3 horizontal marks above the temples. They were less robust than the Makuwuwa tribe.

However, they were exhausted by

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on the cheeks and body.

Another 'cultural mark' was the baptism of slaves, as they filed into the slave ships prior to embarkation. This was the practice before embarkation in Madagascar and Mozambique, according to researchers in both countries. Machado added another dimension in his study of the competition between Portuguese and Asian traders on the Mozambican coast. They did not want slaves to be taken by Arabs and Indians because they were not Christian. Neither did they want them taken to non-Christian countries, such as India and the Persian Gulf.¹³⁰ However, this was quite difficult to control. Despite this, one also sees in the registration returns, mention of non-Christian slaves.

Conclusion

When we have understood

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of non-Christian slaves.

Conclusion

When we have understood the importance of the French slave trade in the Indian Ocean and the accounting, mechanics and economics of the slave trade, the numbers involved in the slave trade needs to be better assessed. The numbers of slaves present in all ships that left the African and Malagasy coasts need to be compiled and an aggregate figure arrived at. How many left the interior and where they came from? How many reached the coast, and how many were embarked on board ships? How many died or escaped on the way and how many actually arrived? This needs to be studied to quantify the full extent of the slave trade.

Many Mauritians of African and Malagasy descent regret the fact that they do not know where they come from. It was thus essential to address this issue, and the TJC has done so in its recommendations. The approach has been multidisciplinary, but it is not possible to locate exact origins through archival search, as these mainly yield the port of departure from Africa and Madagascar, and not the origin of the slave. To undertake this study, DNA testing of a sample of Mauritians, believed to be of African and Malagasy origin, is required.

Justification for this approach may be sought in the words of one historian of the slave trade, Deveau: "S'il est temps d'écrire une

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VOLUME 1: REPORT OF THE TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION 2. SLAVERY IN ISLE DE FRANCE Introduction

Slavery in Isle de France is lesser known than slavery in British Mauritius largely, because historians have had greater access to its sources and because of the importance of the expansion of sugar and focus on the amelioration and abolition of slavery. The Commission has therefore chosen to highlight the salient points which deserve to be better known and be fully researched by scholars. Funding must be ensured for such research works to be carried out in the future and we must acquire documents from overseas and interact with scholars overseas. A good example of this was the Slave Trade Conference organised by the TJC in April 2010 which brought scholars and community leaders and members of the public together to share views. The Commission has, in the short time available, managed to collect part of the C4 series found in the French National Archives which contains the bulk of the official records of

Isle de France, but certainly not the totality. Maroonage appears as a real problem as evidenced by the numerous volumes devoted to it in the C4 series; it has been also treated extensively in Mauritian historiography and will not here be discussed at any great length.

2.1 The nature of slavery

How was slavery established? This is important when one assesses consequences and continuities with the present systems and determines whether there was a continuous flow of concepts and ideology that continued up to the present day. Perusal of the C4 documents has allowed the Commission to observe and discern continuity in certain mentalities and modes of conduct.

Despite claims to the contrary, the most severe system of repression was put in place in Mauritius, belying the claim in 1766 that slavery in Isle de France was 'mild'. According to the Governor, 'L'esclavage à l'Isle de France

Reference 146 - 0.01% Coverage

la bonté de ses maitres'¹³¹

(Eng. Trans. Slavery in Isle de France is mild: hardworking and loyal, the slave can always hope for freedom from the goodness of his masters).

Yet the laws belie this assertion. The following article, for example, outlining the measures to be taken to receive the reward for capture of maroon slaves: the Detachment would have to produce the left hand of the maroon slave.

Article du 2 Juin 1726

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noir qui sera rapportée.¹³²

Slaves caught stealing pistols and bullets were ordered to be hung.¹³³ The Article 20 mentions the slave of Charles Pignolet who stole 1 gun and 6 bullets in 1730. Even Free persons could not query too much. A Free man showing disrespect and attacking Europeans could be returned into slavery. In one case, the 'Coloured' person did not know that the person he had insulted was the Intendant of the island. It was later recommended that French administrators wear uniform to distinguish themselves from other persons. It did not stop the harsh sentence imposed on him.

1777 Extrait des registres du

Reference 148 - 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 149 - 0.01% Coverage

grâce à de dépenses énormes'¹³⁶

Rather than import small farmers and cultivators from France, the Company and Government had favoured 'gentleman farming', (Labourdonnais had also envisaged this), with large estates owned by one European colonist using the labour of African, Malagasy and Indian slaves.

The ratio of white to slave began to preoccupy officials. Official concern was expressed concerning the proportion of European to slave: in 1735 there were 69 colonists and 940 slaves. By 1739, there were 107 colonists and 1,249 slaves. Five inhabitants out of 107 owned 1/6th slaves in the island.¹³⁷ Concentration of ownership of slaves and other property was thus already emerging in the 18th century.

There was also tension between colonists and the Company over allocation of slaves and competition for the labour of slaves started early on; there was resentment that the Company was keeping the 'best' slaves for itself. Some 12-15 slaves were recommended per inhabitant.

The Company had also, as shown earlier, begun to differentiate between different groups of slaves and their potential to be 'good' slaves: 'Les tirer de Madagascar plutôt que de Guinée car ceux de Madagascar sont meilleurs ouvriers, plus intelligents. Les noirs de Guinée ont tendance au marronnage et à la perfidie.'¹³⁸

The separation of groups on

Reference 150 - 0.01% Coverage

de blancs et de blancs»

Stratification also began to emerge among slaves: there were skilled and unskilled slaves; those being paid a 'gratification' and those not; there were slaves working for the Government and others

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for private owners, there were rural and urban slaves etc. Slave commanders received a salary, as did skilled slaves. This cost the Government in 1762 6,000 piastres.

Living and material conditions differed greatly among slaves in each of these groups and it would be wrong to generalize on their conditions. The conditions on the estate of Rostaing who owned nearly 800 slaves, for example, were not matched elsewhere. All had a house and a garden all lined up in a row and guarded by black overseers.¹⁴¹

2.2 Treatment and behaviour of slaves

By the 1760s, quite a few slaves had been born on the island and knew no other life than the one in Mauritius. This was not the case for those having been imported and who longed to return to their countries. It affected their whole outlook on life and behaviour. Official opinion was that slaves were neglected and that a different treatment was required for those born on the island compared to those born outside. Those born on the island did not feel the nostalgia, according to officials, of their original home.¹⁴²

Officials also observed that those who behaved differently were those slaves who were religious.

According to the Governor, those who had been baptised and instructed in the Christian religion were more docile and less prone to marronnage. ¹⁴³ But few owners took the trouble to allow slaves to engage in religious activities, even in Catholic Church activities. On 3 December 1765, M. Anthoine wrote a letter to the Conseil Supérieur where he asked for spiritual education to be given to slaves on the grounds that Christianity only tolerated slavery, if it helped in the propagation of the religion.¹⁴⁴

Slavery under Royal administration

To what extent did slavery under Royal administration differ from slavery under Company rule? Were slaves better treated? Manumission

As far as manumission was concerned, there appeared to be lessening of restrictions. Nevertheless, the Governor's permission was required; without it, any manumission was nullified and the slave taken away.
Ordonnance du Roi concernant les

Reference 152 - 0.01% Coverage

au profit de Sa Majesté.

The principle was maintained of giving slaves their manumission as a reward: one of the famous examples was the slave Charles Rama, an Indian slave who had contributed to producing the first bunch of cloves in the Pamplemousses Garden. He was freed together with his wife Catherine and daughters Marie. He was also given 2 Creole slaves belonging to the Government. 145

Manumission, as reward, was also given to slaves having participated in the Maroon Detachment who went to 'hunt' maroons. Poivre complained bitterly about the freedom given to these slaves as Maroonage had started once again. The Governor had freed the whole Maroon detachment as well as their wives and children and given land to cultivate. 146

Inter-ethnic and inter-religious

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ethnic and inter-religious relationships

A study of manumission shows the various types of inter-ethnic relationships emerging in the third quarter of the 18th century. Further laws were thus introduced concerning the relationship between religion and children of mixed parentage, but also preventing the marriage of a European and a slave (Article 7).

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COMMISSION Christianity was also reinforced.

Thus only children of freed mothers could be baptized; children, who had been baptized even though their mothers were slaves, would be taken away from their owners and sold. We do not know, however, how many slave children were affected in this way. Further research is required as numerous 'slave' children were thus deprived of the right to inherit the property of the father who may have been the slave-owner or a free person.

□ Article 3: Ne sont autorisés

Reference 155 - 0.01% Coverage

au profit de Sa Majesté¹⁴⁷

Further regulations were introduced after Governor Dumas and Intendant Poivre came to the island.¹⁴⁸ One ordinance prevented the sale of bread to slaves, for example. The Ordinance of 27 September was, however, far-reaching. It reinforced the hold of Christianity on the lives of slaves and imposed on colonists and slaves the task on Christianising slaves. Christian slaves could be named Commandeur (head of section), but not a non-Christian slave (Art. 4); Christian slaves could not be sold to a 'gentile or Muslim' owner (Art. 6). One cannot but point to similar situations in the hierarchy for the technical personnel of sugar estates in 19th and 20th centuries where Christians become heads in the sugar factory.

Social and economic life

The

Reference 156 - 0.01% Coverage

factory.

Social and economic life

The social and cultural life of slaves and of all free persons who were not of European ancestry or cultural background was controlled on the island: no slave or Free Black was permitted to meet to play cards or bet (Art. 8); all music (described as tam tam etc.) was to cease after 11 p.m. (Art. 20).

Economic activities of slaves were also strictly controlled: a slave could not sell his goods freely and had to seek permission from his owner or Head of Unit (Art. 11 and 13). The 'civilising mission' was also at work and was reflected in the laws: A Christian slave could not be bought by a non-Christian (Art.6):

Ordonnance concernant la police des

Reference 157 - 0.01% Coverage

punition exemplaire

2.3 Women

The section of the C4 series consulted by the TJC is unfortunately silent, for the most part, on the situation of enslaved women. The instances where they appear are when they are cited in criminal cases; e.g. in cases when they refused to bear children or in reference to marriage partners and concubines. They also appear, when accounting of the value of slaves was undertaken. More intense searches in archival records are required. Only a few points will be made here.

Categorising women

The same criteria

Reference 158 - 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 159 - 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 C4 series, there was no decent place for slave women to give birth and many lost their babies during childbirth. 150

Despite the official neglect of

Reference 160 - 0.01% Coverage

official neglect of health, the

call continued for slaves to be better treated so that they would reproduce: 'Les Noirs, il faut encore veiller à leur conservation et à leur propagation'. Inhabitants did not quite understand this need to 'conserve' slaves to avoid the unnecessary expense of slave trading. Measures were recommended to encourage couples to bear large numbers of children by a system of rewards.

In the attempt to reform slavery, to reform administration of the management of concessions to make them more productive, owners were requested to mix men and women and to marry slaves early; pour «accorder des récompenses pour exciter chez eux la propagation». Rewards included getting 2 days off per month, if they bore 6 live children; 4 days off, if they bore 9 children and freedom for the parents, only if they bore 12 children. It was also recommended that heavy loads not be carried by slaves from one district to another. 151 Whether these reforms ever got off the ground remains to be researched by an intensive demographic study. By the 1770s, this may not have succeeded, if it was at all implemented as the slave trade was expanding.

An extraordinary measure was recommended

Reference 161 - 0.01% Coverage

d'un citoyen¹⁵²

Work of women

Women were involved in various tasks related to domestic work and often performing the same work as men. In one unique document relating to the employment of women on Vigoureux's establishment, the Governor doubted whether women should be given the same work as men. In Vigoureux establishment, some women were pregnant, some worked with children on their backs, others were still breastfeeding and others were employed in cooking food for the entire workshop of slaves. He recognized their social value and felt that, although it was desirable to have women in the workforce, it was an additional expense for the Government to pay Vigoureux for the maintenance of the slaves.

Case study: Vigoureux establishment

The

Reference 162 - 0.01% Coverage

slaves.

Case study: Vigoureux establishment

The Vigoureux establishment provides an interesting case study. Not only did he obtain a contract to supply slaves to the Company, but he also hired slaves to the Government to undertake a number of works. On Vigoureux's establishment, the following numbers were slaves were to be found in April 1754, whose maintenance was paid for by Government:

Of Male slaves Female slaves

Alive 377 212 589

Died

Reference 163 - 0.01% Coverage

28

Marooned 10 0 6

Of the 377 males in his possession, there were 22 young boys of 12 to 1 years; they were returned by the Company to Vigoureux who exchanged them for adult slaves pièce d'Inde. Among those who had marooned, was one La Grenade who was eventually hunted down and killed in the area of Port Sud Est (today Mahébourg). Three others were in chains and were working on Ile aux Tonneliers. The last one, Jouan, was punished and his ears were cut off: "Le nommé Jouan fut fustigé au pied de la potence, où il eut les orilles coupées le 23 d'avril. Il estait, dit-on, dans la bande de ceux qui commirent il y a 5 ou 6 semaines un assassinat à Flack. "153

2.4 State of Health

Reference 164 - 0.01% Coverage

of the 'Hopital des Noirs'

Although slaves accounted for more than 75% of the island's population between the 1730s and the 1820s, information about most aspects of slave life remains sketchy, especially during the 18th century. Moreover, during the 18th and 19th centuries, not much

Reference 165 - 0.01% Coverage

known about food and its

relationship to health and disease. However, the nutritional requirements of slaves and indentured labourers in the 18th and 19th centuries, were similar to what people require today, and they too needed a balanced diet. Slaves and indentured supplemented their diet with food from provision grounds, fishing or gathering wild vegetables and fruits, although both groups frequently complained of inadequate or irregular food rations provided by the owners.

Diet and nutrition during French Slavery 1721-1810 Le Code Noir and Food Rations
Truth and Justice Commission 111

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During French occupation, the Island never attained food self-sufficiency and relied on other countries for its food supplies, including rice, salted meat and fish, beans, oils and fats, biscuits and wine. The Code Noir of 1685 stipulated that slave-owners should provide food rations to their slaves: adult slaves were to be provided every week 2 1/2 'pots, mesure de Paris' of manioc flour or three cassava roots weighing at least 2 1/2 pounds each, or equivalent foods, with 2 pounds of salted beef or 3 pounds of fish, or other foods in similar proportion. Provision of alcoholic drinks to slaves for subsistence was prohibited.

Children from weaning age to 10 years received 1/2 of the above food ration. This ration provided only about 1,000 Kcal daily (500 kcal for children) and was inadequate to meet the total daily needs of the slaves who, therefore, had to produce or look for additional foods to supplement their rations.

Although conditions surrounding the land grants stipulated that 1/3 of the land had to be planted in provisions for slaves, the fact that the Code Noir contained clauses relating to punishments for stealing food products and animals suggests that the foods rations were insufficient and that slaves had to steal for their subsistence. However, most of the time, rations were inadequate and slaves had to fend for

themselves to feed their families and themselves. The revised Code Noir of 1723 did not specify a food ration in quantitative terms but left it to the local administrators to decide, although their recommendations had to receive the prior approval of the French King before implementation. Mauritius was an uninhabited island until the arrival of the Dutch in 1638 with a detachment of 25 men. By 1652, the free and slave population amounted to 100. Settlement of population gained impetus under the administration of French Governor La Bourdonnais (1735-46). However, records on population increase show that, during the period 1767-1810, the growth was not gradual as mortality, through epidemics, carried a heavy toll of lives, showing the fluctuations in growth. For example in 1792, 4,000 lives were lost through smallpox.

Agriculture and food supplies

In

Reference 167 - 0.01% Coverage

had been brought into production.

Diet of slaves

Slaves were generally fed on high carbohydrate foods like manioc, sweet potatoes and maize, and for protein foods, they relied on lagoon fishing for fish, and some raised livestock for animal produce. According to Bernardin de St. Pierre, slaves were given 3 lbs of manioc daily (about 2,000 Kcal, negligible protein) or 2 lbs of maize (3,500 Kcal, moderate in protein). Usually, the slaves started work at day-break, with only a meal of boiled maize or manioc cake. After having laboured the whole day, the slave was obliged to search for his food in the woods and lived on unwholesome roots. White inhabitants did not eat maize or manioc, giving these instead to slaves, cattle and poultry. Slaves and non-White populations were 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 and Justice Commission 112

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In the late 1820s, sugar began to dominate the island's economy. The local slave regime became more oppressive as the cultivation of sugar spread, the aim of the colonists being to extract from the slave the maximum amount of labour.

Food imports and supplies to slaves

The shift to a single cash crop economy was accompanied by much increased imports of rice and wheat from Madagascar, India, South Africa and other countries. On many estates, slaves were temporarily given plots on which they were allowed to farm vegetables and rear animals. They were also provided with rations every day of every week. None of these could actually ensure an adequate supply and variety of food to slaves. Owners who preferred to distribute rations depended on their availability and their own financial liquidity, quite apart from their own willingness to follow the legal requirements which were quite low. Moreover, locally-grown supplies were often destroyed by cyclones and drought, causing serious shortages bordering on famine. It is not known what each estate actually produced and whether this was sufficient.

A 70-kg male slave working on a rice plantation is estimated to expend about 4,400 kcal during an "easy day" of repair work and 8,700 kcal on a "hard day" during the harvest, making an average energy expenditure of 5,500 kcal over the year in order to maintain the slave's body weight and strength (Blogen 2004). So, if we suppose that a male adult slave in Mauritius weighed 60 kg., he would need between 3,800 to 7,500 kcal per day, with an average of 4,700 kcal. It is known that work on the sugar plantations was more intense compared to other cultivations. The duration and amount of labour required by each slave varied with the season; hence, the slaves' energy expenditure also changed with seasons.

Therefore, the rations provided were barely sufficient, and slaves had to produce, steal or gather in the wild, foods to supplement their rations. The task system allowed slaves, who finished early and still had the strength, time to look for food; they were able to attend to personal tasks like gardening, fishing or gathering wild foods to supplement their diets. However, the system was unfair to the weaker or older slaves. But there is no evidence of the types and amounts of those supplemental foods. These supplements allowed the slaves a more varied diet than just the rationed food they were given.

Protein was available in the form of meat during hunting or fish caught, but it was infrequent. Typical festive provisions for New Year's day were a bowl of salt, three bowls of rice, a little meat and a glass of 'arrack' for each slave. Rice and maize were the two principal food items in the slave diet. The sheer monotony of the diet was indeed the commonest impression at that time. The manioc cake was quite unpalatable and had to be gulped down by drinking large quantities of water.

With all its minor variations, the diet of slaves seriously threatened their physical well-being. The slave diet was deficient in the calories necessary for physical labour, in protein needed to rebuild and repair body tissues and in vitamins to ward off infections and deficiency diseases. If the slaves' diet ever approached adequate standards for maintaining health and sustaining hard labour, it was through their own efforts rather than through their masters' indulgence. Protein was much more likely to come from fishing or from livestock such as pigs and fowls reared in their own time, than from their masters' food allowances. Green vegetables, which they grew themselves, were the likeliest sources of vitamins and other nutrients.

Manioc cakes were less nutritious

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an 'epidemic' scale.

Food rations

The 2 lbs of maize given in the 'French1 period were converted by the British equivalent to 5 lbs of manioc or 30 ounces of prepared manioc, or 5 lbs of sweet potato (patate) which was not available in the rainy season between October and February. When these were not available, it was replaced by 1/2 lbs of rice. On some estates, rations would be distributed straight after work in the evenings, so that slaves could begin preparing dinner. Sundays were also ration days. This daily ration provided

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2,500 to 3,500 kcal of high bulk and high carbohydrate food. Telfair claimed he provided each slave with 600 pounds of rice or 1,000 pounds of maize per year, i.e. equivalent to 3,000 to 5,000 kcal per day, apart from vegetables, yams, cambards, sweet potatoes, and groundnuts grown on his estate. But the slave ration, consisting of only 1.25 pounds of maize or 3 pounds of manioc, was also commented upon by Governor Cole in 1825.

Rice was given when other foods were not available. On some estates, rice was given once a week on Sundays, while on weekdays, they were fed manioc. Aside from manioc, slaves received half a herring

and 1 lb of salt every Sunday. Disputes with owners occurred over the measurement of rations, with complaints being lodged about smaller measures being used. On large plantations, slaves also received salt, 2 ounces of salted fish or meat (occasionally) and a cup of 'arrack'. On some estates, slaves could take as much cane juice as they liked. Women who were nursing were fed from 'the master's table' for 2-3 months. Slaves also grew their own provisions: brèdes (greens), while those in forest estates could hunt for the tandrac (hedgehog). Coastal estates had many slaves employed as fishermen and others picking 'bambaras' ('sea slug'). If food supplies to slaves on small estates were deficient, it was felt that this was compensated for by the less strenuous work of cultivating manioc, grain and vegetable gardens and transporting these goods to market. Some slaves had access to provision grounds, while others were permitted to engage in petty trade.

Cash crop v/s staple

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crop v/s staple foods

By the 19th century, the practice of reserving one-third of estate land for planting food provisions for slaves was not widespread and many estates were in a state of abandon. The area of cultivation of manioc or cassava (a staple of the slave diet) had been more than halved. Far more spectacularly, the area under cultivation of the various grain crops almost disappeared. Therefore, when required, sugar estate owners bought food supplies from the Government or small estates to feed their slaves. The smallest estates produced only what was necessary for subsistence. The living conditions of the slaves and owners were not vastly different and many of the owners were themselves destitute and could not feed slaves. On smaller estates, that had enough land, it was common practice to allow slaves as much as they liked. On sugar estates, slaves were allowed to consume sugar cane and sugar, adding considerable calories to their diet. So, despite their heavy work, they were reported to appear 'well-nourished'. On some estates, slaves freely drank molasses and cane juice with a marked increase in their calorie intake, as carbohydrate-rich sugar provides considerable energy.

Women and children

Males outnumbered

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considerable energy.

Women and children

Males outnumbered females and only a small proportion of adult slaves lived in family groups, with the majority headed by single-parents, overwhelmingly female-headed. Slave women faced immense difficulties to be able to care for, or even feed, their young children. Slave women often complained of ill-treatment and sexual exploitation; they were obliged to work unduly long hours despite having young children to care. And the insecurity of women necessarily increased the vulnerability of children and the impermanence of family life. If babies suffered from inadequate maternal care, they did not remain babies for long. As children, they soon directly faced mistreatment (e.g. they were put in chains, flogged) which had made maternal care so difficult. Clearly, the nature of the power structure meant that children could not rely on support from parents who were themselves so vulnerable to their masters.

Slave women had to carry out their domestic tasks in addition to their agricultural work. According to a study in Nyasaland, on average, every woman spent about 7 hours daily on such routine domestic tasks as preparing cereals, fetching water and collecting fuel and leaves from the bush for food and food preparation.

Complaints and punishments regarding food

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Complaints and punishments regarding food

Between 1832 and 1835, common complaints registered related to lack of proper food (in quantity and/or quality) meal times, overwork, Sunday work and ill-treatment. The biggest culprits were in the richest districts on the island, in particular, the large owners. Priority was given to work, and meal times were shortened or very often done away with altogether. Some owners supplied cooked food and others uncooked food to reduce the time allowed for meal break so that slaves

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would not waste time preparing it, although the slaves would have preferred otherwise. There were also many complaints relating to punishment (flogging with leather hide) for stealing or allegedly stealing food (mostly for personal consumptions or that of friends, and rarely for sale). Punishments were also meted out to children for stealing or alleged stealing, or even to slaves for complaining. On some estates, the denial of food became a form of punishment. Slaves, placed in stocks or in prison, for example, often went days with nothing other than manioc root and water.

Health services

Writing about the

Reference 175 - 0.01% Coverage

root and water.

Health services

Writing about the health of slaves in 1772, D'Azille postulated that long hours of work, poor nutrition, insalubrious water and their in-adaptation to the humid and torrid climate pushed slaves physical resistance to fatigue to the limit. Little time was allowed for recuperation and they often fell victims to, and suffered from, irascibility. They could not resist exhaustion and succumbed to a host of diseases. Most common diseases were typhoid, worm infestations, bronchial infections, intestinal affectations of diarrhea and dysentery and depression. To overcome these maladies and to let off the steam, the slaves spent their little night time unwinding with sex and alcohol. The result was a vicious cycle of hard work, exhaustion and free lifestyle. The most common form of treatment, applied by Dazille as was prevalent in Europe, was bleeding the body of toxins: "Il est presque toujours nécessaire de faire précéder tous les remèdes d'une ou plusieurs saignées, soit du bras, soit du pied, parce que la fièvre est ordinairement beaucoup plus forte" and the use of emetics.

Figure 1 No. Births and Deaths Slave Population

In both the 18th and 19th centuries, doctors wrote about the high mortality among slaves. Dazille, a Surgeon for all the King's Hospitals in Mauritius in the 1770s, and Amédée Bonsergent¹⁵⁴, a doctor in charge of the North of the island, who also wrote a thesis on illnesses among slaves in 19th century, however, disagreed on the causes. While Dazille reported without expressing his personal views on slavery, Bonsergent wrote expressly to counter accusations of the Anti-Slavery Society, that the sugar estates were responsible for the poor health of the slaves. He criticised slaves severely for their habits which, he believed, led to ill-health: drinking, making poorly cooked food, having multiple partners, selling clothes etc.

Dazille did not comment on the habits of slaves but focused instead on the quality of services provided by the Government. He deemed these to be insufficient: there were poorly trained medical staff, some who

could not even read, while the diet of slaves left much to be desired inside hospitals.¹⁵⁵ He felt the mortality could be avoided, if certain measures were taken. These measures were outlined in another report.¹⁵⁶

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Surgeon Dazille's Report of 1770¹⁵⁷

Dazille was interested in finding out about the causes of high mortality. He had been appointed surgeon of all the King's Hospitals and was thus well placed to study this. Slaves in 18th century, according to Dazille, ate food with very little variety. (Bonsergent, writing later in the 19th century, stated the opposite). Manioc was eaten 'grossièrement pilées' in the form of cakes with greens (brèdes). Some added a 'cary' ('curry') with it, which he described as a 'substance composed of mainly vegetables and hot pepper'. The most common cause of death was tetanus as well as venereal diseases.

Although a hospital for slaves was recommended by most Governors, the treatment to be given in them to slaves differed considerably from that given to free people and Whites. Moreover, medical knowledge was poor among the 'doctors' and inhabitants, who did not make use of local plants and products. Governor Desroches noted that medical remedies were imported from France but after such a long journey, they had lost their potency:

Article 11 Connaissance des produits

Reference 177 - 0.01% Coverage

remède, de malheureux esclaves."¹⁵⁸

Thus, although owners were bound to maintain old and sick slaves in the hospital at the rate of 6 sols per day, the hospital left much to be desired. The first hospital, before the arrival of Chevreau, was described as being composed of a room which was dark and where very little fresh air penetrated. ir – obscurité»

The newer one was no

Reference 178 - 0.01% Coverage

est par conséquence mal faite.»

It was also located out of the hospital compound and was therefore not practical. Furthermore, it was not fortified, and so security was a problem as slaves received from friends and family other unauthorized foods, fruit and even drinks through the window. Patients with different illnesses could not be separated. The slaves themselves did not like the hospital and tried to avoid being sent there. They preferred to be treated by traditional practitioners or 'consulted Indians'.

Finally it was felt that

Reference 179 - 0.01% Coverage

plus prompts et moins dispendieux."

Apart from every day illnesses, epidemics also caused high mortality. The 1792 epidemic has been written about in earlier historiography.¹⁶⁰ Epidemics also broke out earlier, however. In November 1771, a smallpox epidemic broke out when slave trader, Brayeur, arrived on board Le Florentin

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carrying 300 slaves from Mozambique. The officers on board had hidden 4 infected slaves from the authorities, which led to the disease spreading in Port Louis. Twelve slaves died in one day and a small hospital had to be established in a warehouse near the harbour, containing some 200 beds.¹⁶¹

Diseases

During the whole French

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disease, was introduced from Madagascar.

But the food consumed by the slaves consisted of Cassava mixed with vegetables and meat cooked under unhygienic conditions. The daily intake of this insipid food was a possible source of ill-health. The climate, with frequent passage from hot to cold weather and vice versa was another common cause of illness among the slaves who did not wear appropriate protective clothing. Their lifestyle, which included abuse of alcoholic drinks and having multiple sex partners, was also detrimental to their health.

Furthermore, they were subjected to harsh working conditions, and their workload was well beyond their physical capacity, resulting in exhaustion.

The clinical manifestations of common diseases prevalent among the slaves in Mauritius, as described by Dazille* in 1772, are summarised as follows: -

(a) Fevers associated with respiratory

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and behaviour of individuals.

Leprosy

Leprosy came to Mauritius in 1770 with the slaves from Madagascar; it had been introduced from Mozambique. In 1781, a commission was set up to inquire into the prevalence of the disease and in 1803, the lepers were exiled to Ile Curieuse, from where many escaped to Seychelles.

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

"Eighteenth-century colonial medicine was largely geared to keeping the bodies of slaves and workers productive and useful, but formal medicine never had a monopoly. Slaves on Isle de France brought with them a rich array of medical beliefs and practices from Africa, India, and Madagascar. We have little direct historical evidence for these, but we do know that many slaves came from areas in which forms of smallpox inoculation were known and practised." 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 and Justice Commission 117

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Alcohol consumption by slaves and its effects on the slave population have been widely discussed in literature on slavery in the Americas as well as the 'Slave Health Deficit Syndrome'. Few studies, if any, have ever been conducted in Mauritius on this issue or on the issues of the impact of alcohol consumption on the possible genetic propensity to alcohol consumption. Results of research are not conclusive, but it is important to show the importance of alcohol consumption in the life of the island, as well as its significance for slaves and owners' production and consumption.

Alcohol consumption was, first of all, unrestricted to whites and the free population. There were no fines for drunkenness by these persons, but only for slaves. It was also difficult for slaves to procure it legally and so, consequently, there was much illicit alcohol production and sales. For slaves, it was considered as a luxury item. It became important only because it was forbidden.

Police reports from the 1780s indicate an 'assembly of blacks' on Pont Rouge every afternoon, in Pamplemousses, in one of the camps. These were secret but noisy meetings, where alcohol flowed freely. The Government slaves (esclaves du Roi) also attended. It appears that when caught, they were flogged at the Bazaar in public. (MNA: Z2B)

Canteen ownership was also reserved for Whites at this time; so slaves procured from the Gens de couleur. In 13 Messidor An 10, Babet Vevard, a free Black woman, was condemned because she had given drinks to 2 slaves, Jacmin and Sebastien (MNA: E 102). A new law on 14 Ventose An 6 declared 3 months imprisonment for illicit liquor sale. Babet got 100 piastres fine, as well as having his material confiscated.¹⁶² Many women from the Gens de couleur, who cohabited with poor whites, also opened canteens through their partners who gave them the capital to start the business. Adeline, a Free black woman, was imprisoned for 8 days for having 'kept' the Chevalier Peron and 3 other sailors and given them alcohol to drink in the house of Citoyen Mottel (MNA E 102, p. 32).

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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 us, this economic contribution must not be ignored anymore and needs to be brought to the forefront through memorial plaques and publications and be incorporated in cultural tourism and educational activities, for without slavery, there would have been no 'isle de France'.

In 1764, just before the island fell under Royal administration, the slowing down of construction work was noted and a plan of action formulated. The reasons for the slowing down was that slaves, belonging to the Company, were no longer used for what they had been bought for and were sold and dispersed throughout the island between March and July. However, if no one went in October, one could find 500 to 600 trained slaves, used to the island who, by March 1765, would be able to start work. Slaves were needed in great numbers it was felt, « pour être vendus aux habitants, pour les ouvrages, pour la défense de l'île et en temps de guerre. »¹⁶³ As early as 1733, Maupin advised Cossigny to pay colonists to hire out their slaves to the Company.¹⁶⁴ However, Article 8 prescribed the fees for renting of slaves at 15 piastres, instead of the desired 20 soldes.¹⁶⁵

Slaves were in short supply at first, however, and on 11th March 1754, Cossigny wanted all slaves who had arrived that year for his works, even though they were small in number. They came from all over the Indian Ocean: «Les esclaves nouvellement arrivés de Bengale, de Mozambique, de Madagascar

quoiqu'en modique quantité, me donne lieu de les demander tous pour être appliqués aux travaux dont je me suis chargé [...]».166

The corvée system was used by the Compagnie to extract labour from slaves belonging to private individuals. Slave-owners were required to provide two days labour per year per slave above 14 years old.167

Slaves were involved in numerous activities from the very beginning. By the time of the Royal Government, in 1767, the slaves were divided into several occupational categories. Shortage of labourers was felt at this time. The slave trade that ensued after the Royal Government took over resulted in a rise of the labour force on the island. From 19,000 slaves, the working population rose to 31,908 slaves in 1785.168

Only a sample of the economic and other activities is given here to show the variety of work performed by slaves in Isle de France.

1. Clearing of land for

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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

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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, it was reported that, even though there were many companies and associations of whites (Société de Blancs) they only had 2, 3, or 4 slaves.170
1785

Pamplemousses 6,140 Black

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COMMISSION 2. Contribution to Infrastructure

An enormous amount of construction work was begun when Governor Labourdonnais came to Mauritius in 1735. The whole infrastructure of Port Louis in the 18th century could be said to have been built

mainly by slaves. However, the contribution of French engagés and free skilled people from various parts of the world. The first colonists were not keen on engaging in construction work, and so a large number of slaves were brought from India, Madagascar, West Africa and Mozambique to furnish the labour power required.

Labourdonnais organized workshops, each supplying a different product. These were headed by skilled free persons who trained slaves for work in different trades. By 1738, stonemasons, carpenters, blacksmiths, brick makers, basket-makers were among those forming part of workshops.¹⁷¹

By 1761, there were a large number of slaves working for the Company and involved in these various workshops.

No of Slaves working for the Company in 1761

Male and female slaves from Guinea, Mozambique Madagascar, America, Macao, Creoles, India and Manila Children less than 14 years

Younger slaves not yet put to work In Port Sud-Est (today Mahébourg) In the Navy

From Census of 1761, the

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Gén., Boucher.

1.Hospital Construction

In 1734, Labourdonnais was given instructions to start the construction of a hospital but to avoid mixing white and black; hence, two sections were to be built. Two rooms, one for slaves and another for ‘malabars indiens’ with a view on the ‘grande cour’, were built. They were built in stone which required skilled work. These were only one of the many structures erected in this period by slaves and which still stand today 270 years later.

2. Road and canal construction

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2. Road and canal construction

A large number of roads and bridges were built using corvée labour, while many were repaired by the slaves, but the numbers employed in this work were never sufficient. Several hundred more were needed. The Governor noted with concern that many European families were leaving the islands at this time, and he needed to give them more encouragement to stay. Giving them carts pulled by 4-5 oxen would be one incentive, so that slaves could be released for work on the farms rather than in transporting goods to town. Hence the need for good roads :

«J’ai fait réparer les principaux

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uniquement a ce travail.»¹⁷²

In 1739, under Engineer Cossigny’s supervision, slaves also built the canal taking water from Grande-Rivière to the Loge in the centre of town of Port Louis. ¹⁷³

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the various infrastructural works required.

A Memorial on civil works shows regulations regarding the organization of works. Article 1 fixed the number of Government slaves to be used in 1754: 1,872, of whom 880 were male slaves, and 558 female. Article regulated the numbers of slaves working on each product: stone work workshop to be composed of 10 European stone-masons and 90 slaves; for bricks: 2 European brick-makers and 10 slaves to produce ordinary bricks.¹⁷⁴

Lime Slaves were employed producing the thousands of tons of lime required for construction. Wood Carpenters were used to produce planks of wood at rate of 2 slaves, with an English saw per day, for 90 pieces of planks.¹⁷⁵ Salt

In 1747, there existed the first salt pans worked at this time, unlike today, by male slaves. The initiator was a M. Meygnier who had wanted to establish this salt-making establishment, employing slaves and training them to make salt and salt pans.¹⁷⁶ He had been the Surgeon Major on board the Company ship the Apollon. His salt pan was located in the Tortoise Park (Parc des Tortues). He was provided with 2 commanders as well as 20 adult male slaves, 2 young male slaves (négrillons), as well as all the utensils he needed. In exchange, he undertook to sell to the Company a pound of salt for one sol and train enough slaves within 3 years, after which the salt pan would revert to the Company. At this time, salt was used extensively in food preservation and the Company needed at least 200 barrels per year for this purpose.¹⁷⁷

Slaves, working for in the Headquarters of the Company (La Loge) and in the area of Grande Rivière, were also sent to collect fodder everyday. Some were housed, wherever repairs to roads needed to be made. Breaking stone and preparing it in a block of 3 x 4 x 2 feet would take 8 days for 2 slaves and cost the Company 21 piastres per month.¹⁷⁸

4. Iron works

The iron

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month.¹⁷⁸

4. Iron works

The iron works in Mauritius were probably one of the largest establishments on the island in the 18th century, employing hundreds of slaves. Rostaing obtained the contract for the supply of iron; his iron furnace required 50 slaves to build, in addition to the ironsmiths, stone masons, carpenters etc. at the Forges de Mon Désir. It was later transformed into a gunpowder-making factory.¹⁷⁹

Part of this site of

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century European style industrial sites.

The Forges de Rostaing employed some 800 slaves, of whom 720 were Indian and two-thirds male, working and living under the supervision of 'commandants nègres'. By 1760, it contained, according to Article 29 concerning the Census of 1761, 645 slaves and 40 Whites.¹⁸⁰ Most were skilled slaves such as all types of ironsmiths, nail-makers, locksmiths, charcoal-makers, the male slaves needed sarongs, shirts, pants and handkerchiefs, while females had 2 skirts each. Foundry workers needed 2 sarongs.

Commanders and workers were also financially rewarded (gratifications) and this cost some 6000 piastres.¹⁸¹ Their rations, aside from food, consisted also of wine and eau de vie.¹⁸²

5. Packing and Storage of

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Packing and Storage of goods

In order to prevent famine, warehouses were built to stock grain and other foodstuffs of the Company. These godowns ('hangars') used large numbers of slaves for all activities relating to:
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processing of goods, packing, carting, transport, drying, preventing damage by rats, etc. Coffee storage, for example, required 40 to 50 slaves to put 5-6 thousands of unshelled coffee seeds in the sun which wasted over 2 hours' labour everyday. Such numbers were required because there were few mechanical methods devised, and slaves were used for every type of activity that could be done manually. This approach was criticized by the Company itself:

«Pour y mettre 5 à

Reference 196 - 0.01% Coverage

le bout de manche [...]»183

Slaves were needed for the weighing and filling of sacks of wheat but here too, labour was insufficient as one inhabitant complained:

«La petite quantité de noirs

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6. Transport and Shipping

Slaves were involved in a number of activities relating to the port. During the period of Labourdonnais, port activities were assigned to slaves. In 1738, Labourdonnais gave a description of events on the island. He wrote that slaves were being trained to work as carpenters, calfats and blacksmiths for construction. Slaves also completed the curage of the port: removing debris and carcasses of ships as well as silt from the harbour.

They also performed all construction

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as carpenters and caulkers (calfats).

Governor David continued the practice of using West African slaves in the port, rather than any other slaves of other origin:

« Il est important d'avoir des

Reference 199 - 0.01% Coverage

par aucun autre noir.»186

There were particular hesitations about using Malagasy slaves in the port. In 1766, Mozambican and West African slaves were preferred. West Africa was not only too far away to tempt slaves to steal an embarkation and run away, but the slaves were also cheaper:

«On ne peut employer les

Reference 200 - 0.01% Coverage

bien moins au Roi »187

Within Mauritius, they carried goods from the interior estates and loaded them onto boats and coasters going to Port Louis. A large numbers of boats were involved in this local petit cabotage. According to the corvée, one-fifth of the slaves on each estate were retained to transport wood to the coast for shipping to Port Louis where port and various works were also in demand. Whether slaves were chained on board is not quite clear, as there are conflicting reports.

7. Security and defence of

Reference 201 - 0.01% Coverage

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.

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AND JUSTICE COMMISSION MAROON DETACHMENT

Maroons represented the 'internal' enemy, while the British and Dutch were the 'external' enemies. Labourdonnais found an ingenious way to hunt and capture maroon slaves by using slaves with a knowledge of the terrain and scouting skills to track maroons down. 24 loyal slaves were first used to hunt maroons and the Maroon Detachment grew gradually in size.¹⁸⁸ But 'success' was mitigated as maroonage could never be completely stopped, despite the harsh punishments which followed.

By the 1760s, this detachment were still being used: 28 slaves made up the Maréchaussée. Even this was not sufficient as attacks on inhabitants and plantations continued, when maroons searched for food, arms and clothes. By this time, slaves were entrusted with a gun and a mousqueton. Their numbers also increased to 50.

Reports detailing all the maroon hunting expeditions constitute some of the most gruesome pieces of writing which one encounters, when consulting documents on slavery in Isle de France. Not only were the details of the deaths of maroons provided, but also the manner in which the left hand of the slave was cut in order to collect the reward. It was not clear, on many occasions, whether the Maroon Detachment waited for the death of the slave to cut off his left hand. In 1762, 'Maconte' (maconde?) slaves were used. Between 15 November 1759 and 1762, 234 maroons were killed by the Marechaussée and 429 Maroons were killed by slaves of private owners. According to correspondence of Governor Boucher, they were all married and Christian.¹⁸⁹

SQUADRON

Slaves were also trained

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married and Christian.¹⁸⁹

SQUADRON

Slaves were also trained to form part of the Naval Squadron as there were not sufficient numbers of free inhabitants and soldiers. The Conseil Supérieur had agreed to Labourdonnais' proposal, in 1745, to requisition slaves from inhabitants to be embarked on the Favorite. About 500 were required. West African slaves were preferred as there existed a spirit of solidarity among them. If any deaths occurred, the owners would be compensated to the tune of 200 piastres per slave.¹⁹⁰

These West African slaves were expected to supplement the 'matelots d'Europe', carpenters et 'lascars d'Indes' (European sailors, Indian carpenters and seamen).¹⁹¹

In 1760, there were still many working on board ships. The French Squadron employed 227 slaves in their ships and in those for China at this time. Many were brave slaves.¹⁹²

«Les équipages de nos vaisseaux

Reference 204 - 0.01% Coverage

pour en reprendre un autre.»

They also learnt to march, to fire canons and shoot.¹⁹³ Numerous expeditions were mounted to fight against the 'enemy' in which the slaves participated fully in defence of French strategic interests in the Indian Ocean. 216 slaves, bought by the Company, were embarked on the Cendéand Expédition. Only 118 came back. Those who had become invalids were given work and hunted maroons.¹⁹⁴ The best slaves brought from Madagascar were placed on the Centaur carrying also 64 canons and 76 soldiers.¹⁹⁵

«Le 31 juillet, «La Pénélope

Reference 205 - 0.01% Coverage

raisonnement qui nous paraît juste.»

In 1753, slaves were still building fortifications. Moreover, as Megan Vaughan observes "the slaves placed at Charpentier-Cossigny's disposal for the building, of the fortifications included as many women as men, all of them 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 so easy and Grand Port District, for example, was 'riddled' with maroons because no slaves were available to patrol the area, their services having been requisitioned by Fusée Aublet at the Château du Réduit.¹⁹⁸

This was still a problem years later. Officials complained that there were insufficient troops and slaves. In Grand-Port, the ratio of free slaves was to be 50: 50. Their duties were to patrol the coast, observe the enemy fleet, use movements to create suspicion, and delay descent by the enemy.¹⁹⁹

It appears that slaves preferred to work for the Company as Commandeurs and 'ouvriers' since they could get a salary.

In addition to their being allocated to workshops, slaves were categorised into groups depending on their presumed loyalty and ability. Thus, there were Noirs fusiliers, considered to be the most reliable and loyal 'class'; the Noirs lanciers who were not well-trusted and were 'mediocre' and from the Noirs pionniers, one would not obtain anything.²⁰⁰

8. Medical care

Despite what

Reference 206 - 0.01% Coverage

anything.200

8. Medical care

Despite what one reads about slave-owners and Whites fearing their slaves and fearing being poisoned, slaves in Mauritius were also entrusted with the care of the sick in hospital and in the homes of the owners. The number of manumissions (affranchissements) given by grateful owners to their slaves who had nursed them and looked after during their old age, is sufficient testimony to this worthwhile and essential social occupation: care of the old and sick and tending to the health of their owners and their families.

Slaves also worked in the hospital. On 10 November 1759, the journal of Governor Desforges Boucher refers to his visit to the hospital in the company of Mr. Candos, where the number of slaves to be employed in hospital was finalised.²⁰¹

9. Slaves in the Market Economy

A large number of slaves were also involved in the market economy. Their owners sent them regularly to the market to sell the produce of the estate. They were the 'noirs et negresses de journée'.²⁰² They were very mobile slaves, and some even got their owner's permission to live in the town although the owners lived in the countryside. This allowed the slaves an important degree of freedom but, as Megan Vaughan reminds us, this should not be confused with 'autonomy'.

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Reference 207 - 0.01% Coverage

THE TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION

According to a letter of Desroches and Poivre of 4 July 1769, one of the problems of sending slaves to the market to sell the goods of the owners was that many did not know how to read; thus they could not distinguish the value of notes which looked alike:

«Tous les billets étant d'une

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Truth and Justice Commission 127

VOLUME 1: REPORT OF THE TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION 4.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 209 - 0.02% 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 property of the State, when the Company confiscated them, if for example, they had been brought illegally without 'entry fees' being paid. On 13 July 1758, for instance, the 100 best were recruited for the squadron the Centaure.²⁰⁵

Labourdonnais informed the Company's Directors in 1737 that he was keeping only 10 masons and 10 stone-masons and a few others.²⁰⁶ In addition to the skilled work engaged by the Compagnie, there were also those slaves recruited for the Maréchaussée in charge of hunting Maroons. Of the 24 making up this Maréchaussée, 17 belonged to the Company: "Ils sont tous mariés et chestiens depuis longtems," added Labourdonnais.

Slaves preferred to work for the Compagnie, as indicated earlier, because some of them were paid. The Company brought slaves for its use from different countries. In the 1740s, many of them came from West Africa. It was stated that "les noirs Yolof, Bambara et Guinée sont beaucoup plus robustes²⁰⁷ et Vigoureux."²⁰⁸

By 1758 there were 2,651 slaves who belonged to the Company.²⁰⁹ They had achieved a status that few other slaves could, even though they remained slaves. The number belonging to the Maréchaussée was increased by 50 and the slaves were given arms. Those in the Navy were divided up into 3 groups to defend the island. They were thus protecting the very authority that had deprived them of their freedom.²¹⁰

Although they were considered to be an elite among slaves, often their conditions were no better than other private slaves. Food shortages, for example, also afflicted them as in 1760, when Mr. Candos, Commander of Port Sud-Est (today Mahébourg) wrote of the absence of any food for the Slaves of the Company. Yet, they were required to continue working on the construction of fortifications in the port.²¹¹ In 1760, there were, in addition to free persons, 1,850 male and female slaves belonging to the Company. Although they normally consumed approximately 110,000 lbs of maize per month because of the shortage of maize, they were given bread instead. This was not normally given to slaves. By the end of December 1760, the situation had become critical; the Governor reported:

«À la fin de ce

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THE TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION

("At the end of this month, no more rice for the slaves, malbarsand even for the whites that we supply.") Those Company slaves, who had been sent overseas in the squadron of D'Estaing, were not so fortunate either; of the 216 sent with him, only 118 returned and of these most were not in good shape and had to be given light work. They could not be used as was hoped to hunt maroons.²¹³

There is a slight discrepancy in the figures which deserves to be studied, since in 1761, it is noted that there were 2,021 slaves. These were made up of the following nationalities and ages:

□ From Guinea, Mozambique, Madagascar, American

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Navy: 552.²¹⁴
1767-1790

When the Royal Government took over in 1767, it was decided to purchase the Company slaves as they were workers; Some 500-600 were purchased to undertake the various works on the island. In 1767, there were 2,400 Government Slaves. None worked in agriculture. The Company, at this time, sold slaves at the following rates:

Pièce d'Inde and from Guinea

Reference 212 - 0.01% Coverage

360 piastres Indian: 300 piastres²¹⁵

Thus, at this time too, West African slaves were the most sought after, in terms of ethnicity.

Slaves working in the South-East of the island numbered 157 and were used in the lumber workshops. On 10th November 1767, there were 86 male slaves, 38 female slaves, 18 boys and 15 girls. Each one was given 60 lbs of maize.

Their conditions, though slightly better on the whole, did no change concerning the mortality rate. It was approximately at this time 5% costing the Government some 1,500 piastres in losses. There appears to be a considerable amount spent on the upkeep of Government slaves, if one is to believe the correspondence of administrators. This was worrying to them, and they sought to economise as much as possible; it proved expensive to maintain slaves, though this was absolutely essential, as inhabitants would not do this work. At one point, it was even 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.²¹⁶ He envisaged selling all Government Slaves, to reduce government expenses.²¹⁷

Labour required by Government was carried out using corvée labour. For road construction, in 1771, each inhabitant had to supply 4 days of corvée per slave.²¹⁸ But by 1772, more slaves were being sought by the Government. In October 1772, Poivre requested that one-tenth of all slave cargo should go to the King/Government. ²¹⁹ These were now required for maintenance of public buildings civil and military. In 1776, a list was published of the slaves in the King's service.²²⁰ Maintenance of a Government slave cost the Government 6 sols per day. According to Poivre, many slaves had started taking a liking to their job because he had allowed them to choose their trade:

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Reference 213 - 0.01% Coverage

prendre des blancs très chers''²²¹

In January 1778, a survey of the state of slaves, who belonged to the King, was made, and details given on the heads of workshops. There were 3,084 slaves among whom were 1,732 males, 765 females, 349 boys and 238 girls. An assessment was made of their exact value: out of the 3,084, there were 381 who were either infirm or unfit to work because of fatigue. No strenuous work could be given to them. Some were old and needed care in order not to worsen their infirmities. They tended to be left to themselves most of the time, and the rest of the time, they were given what was the equivalent of children's' work. The boys and girls, up to 9-10 years, were not given any work either. The women, though fit for work, were allowed to stay home and look after their children. It was, therefore, on the male slaves, according to reports, that all the burden of work fell. Even among them, however, some were ill or had marooned. The Government therefore bought 180 more slaves from private persons for the dredging of the Port.²²²

By 11 July 1780, the census revealed that the King had a total of 3,206 slaves and had lost 58 slaves in 2 years. ²²³ The expenses incurred for the maintenance of the 'Royal' slaves provided the justification for

the King to instruct the Government in Mauritius to sell off the non-effective slaves. Thus, only effective labour and their families would be retained, and all others sold.

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Reference 214 - 0.01% Coverage

THE TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION

More expense occurred for the Government during the French wars against the British in India: some 1,600 slaves were sent to India, costing the Government a huge sum of 2 million livres as they had to be bought or rented from one inhabitant. Of these slaves, however, only 228 came back. Efforts by the Government through the French traders, Monneron and Coutenceau, were also fruitless. Yet, as the Governor remarked, it was not a small loss since this amount would have to be reimbursed to their owners. It was reported that they might have been killed, died, or run away.

A detailed picture of the state of Government slaves is given in the documents found in the French and Mauritian National Archives, which allows for more detailed studies to be carried out in the future. On the lists, the slaves' names, families, countries of origin, castes and occupations are given, as well as clothes, rations and numbers of medals which they were supposed to wear (see below). There were also personal details, such as whether they were married or not, deceased or marooned. The rations given to them was as follows:

- A driver (commandeur) would get

Reference 215 - 0.01% Coverage

3 of salt per month

- Ordinary slaves would get 2 livres of unshelled rice or maize per day and 2 of salt per month.

Utensils were also provided:

- For

Reference 216 - 0.01% Coverage

got a petite médaille.²²⁴

By the 1780s, however, there was a rethink on the part of the Government regarding those 'ineffective' slaves. Although it was an expense for the Government, there was unwillingness to sell the old and sick slaves, and their contribution to the island's economy was acknowledged:

"L'humanité s'oppose à vendre des

Reference 217 - 0.01% Coverage

AND JUSTICE COMMISSION 1803-1810

Government slaves continued to be used up to the end of the occupation of the island by the French. Masson estimates that 4.5 to 5% of the total slave population in 1807 were in this category.²²⁵ A large number, at this time, were involved in port activities, given Anglo-French rivalry at this time and the need to cater for the number of squadrons arriving in Port Louis. The purchase of private slaves from inhabitants continued: in the period 1803-3 357 slaves were bought from 6 different inhabitants. A large number appeared to have directly come from slave trading and were not born in Mauritius.

Despite the harsh laws introduced by Decaen restricting freedoms, the Slaves belonging to the Government benefitted from certain liberties not given to private slaves: being in Port Louis, they

circulated more freely in the town, did not always require written permission, what seems an anomaly under slavery until then, and received a salary. This would have been unthinkable a decade earlier in 1800 Isle de France, when Poivre had proposed something similar and had been vehemently opposed. Reform of slavery seemed, therefore, on the agenda already. It is to be noted that one punishment meted out to Government slaves was the withdrawal of this salary payable in 'centimes de poche' and in clothing.

The necessity of reconciling the various archives spread all over the world can be gauged by the questions posed by Ramasawmy, during his archaeological search at the site of the Forges, where so many slaves worked: he wonders what the badges he discovered (photo 1) were for and who wore them.

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

Recommendation:

1. The contribution of

Reference 218 - 0.01% Coverage

research their history.²²⁶

Recommendation:

1. The contribution of slaves to the establishment of port and shipping activities must be given more visibility in Port Louis. The whole area of the Caudan, up to Trou Fanfaron, was an area where slaves worked lived and built the port.
2. Documents found in France need to be repertoried, copied and brought to Mauritius Indian Slaves The existence of Indian slaves has been little acknowledged in Mauritius as popular imagination associates slavery with Africans and Malagasies. Yet, Indian slaves and free persons have been part of the landscape since the beginning of French rule.

Historians, such as Muslim Jumeer

Reference 219 - 0.01% Coverage

first Indians on Mauritian soil.

Indian men and women were brought both as slaves and as free workers as far back as 1729. Among the free men, were either skilled artisans, poor fishermen, peons (pions) or sailors. It is also reported that those in skilled trades transmitted their knowledge to their children and thus continued in the same trade for generations.²²⁷ The first Indian worker on contract was brought in 1734, although workers had been arriving well before that date (MNA: NA 6/1A, quoted in Jumeer).

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Reference 220 - 0.01% Coverage

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The only work which they refused to undertake, according to official reports, was to cultivate the land. No doubt they did not want to be associated with slaves, even though they were not all materially better off. According to Jumeer, many Indian slaves were women. Many did not declare the fathers of their children because these were European. This situation is explained by Jumeer as resulting from shortage of European women on the island. The children were known as the 'Noirs Libres' (Jumeer: 105-7).

Moreover, among the manumitted, many were Indian women. Their children formed a privileged group being 'Eurasian'.

Finally, there were also those Indian slave women bought by 'petits blancs' (poor whites). These have been partly studied by Jumeer, but further work is required (Jumeer: 114).

As far as their religious

Reference 221 - 0.01% Coverage

concludes that there was 'deculturation'.

Among the slaves, as there was a negative male-female ratio, marriages took place outside the group. There were numerous instances of mixed marriages. According to Nagapen, they became Creole slaves first (being born here and being of mixed marriages) and then Catholic.

Among the women, they were among the first to obtain manumission as numerous liaisons existed with European owners and other non-Indian slaves. According to Nagapen, slavery was "un agent pollueur terriblement efficace" (Eng. trans. a very efficient polluting agent).²²⁸

Today, there are a few families who can trace their ancestry back to the French period, but for the majority, this knowledge of their origins has been lost. According to Jumeer, their separation from those descended from African slaves, and calling themselves Créole at the time, was not so much racial as cultural. The main dividing factor was between all those who identified with European culture and those who sought to retain their Indian identity.

The last years of slavery in Isle de France (up to 1810)

The last years of slavery under French rule are considered by historians as representing one of the harshest periods of slavery. The period of Decaen's regime have been well documented by Prentout in his book, and it is not necessary to repeat the same facts here. The harshness of the laws relating to manumission etc. have also been highlighted. These were all the more anomalous as the Rights of Man were being propounded across France, in the rest of Europe and the United States.

We have not yet considered

Reference 222 - 0.01% Coverage

property-ownership by non-Whites.

When we consider the number of land claims being made before the Commission, by the non-White population of Mauritius, laws that prevented or blocked property-ownership by non-Whites became even more significant. The official policy to stop free non-Whites or slaves having any say or controlling any part of the property of white children was very strong, and this provided the philosophy behind the additional clauses brought by Decaen to the French laws.

A full study of the

Reference 223 - 0.01% Coverage

racial dispersion' of property.²³⁰

The Code Civil thus formally created three groups of persons categorized on the basis of the colour of their skin: the White, the Coloured and the Black Slave.

It was significant that when the British took over, one of the first acts preceding the abolition of slavery was the removal of discrimination against all free persons of African and Indian descent. The Code Decaen and the Code Noir, in particular Clauses 51 of the Code Noir and Clauses 67 and 68 of the Supplementary CCC, were abolished as they had collectively prevented Whites from donating property to free Coloured or freed slaves.

The Muslim part among the

Reference 224 - 0.01% Coverage

held in 1765 (Emrith: 9).

By the end of the 18th century, therefore, the people living in Mauritius presents an interesting and rich panoply of cultural traditions, some better known than others. There were non-Europeans who have never known slavery, such as the Marmittes from Madagascar who inhabited the Camp des Noirs Libres; there were those of Indian origin who inhabited the Camp des Lascars et Malabars. In this group, there was gradual separation between Muslim and Christian elements.

The Petit Blancs

A study

Reference 225 - 0.01% Coverage

Christian elements.

The Petit Blancs

A study of slavery in Isle de France would not be complete without mention of the slave owners and other French inhabitants. As stated before, Mauritius abounds in stereotypes, and those associated with Europeans or 'blan' ('white') no less so. The stereotype is that all slave owners were rich and white. Nothing could be further from the truth. Although, the bulk of slave owners at the time of emancipation in 1835 consisted of Indians, Gens de couleur and poor Whites. But the majority of slaves were owned by white sugar plantation owners.

Whiteness was a condition that was imposed on all European, whether they wished for this or not. Just like one became a 'Mozambique' during the slave trade and slavery, so one became a 'White'.

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population emerged, the Whites relinquished

these roles. They did not lead easy lives, as often portrayed. In many respects, they were the 'nègres blancs' (Eng trans. 'white negroes'). They defied the laws which prohibited them from marrying black slaves and cohabited with them. But this only drove them further and further away from the rest of the 'White' society which was emerging.²³¹

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

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Truth and Justice Commission 136

VOLUME 1: REPORT OF THE TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION 5.SLAVES AND SUGAR 1815-1835

The lives of slaves under the sugar regime have been documented in Bitter Sugar, using the testimonies of some 647 slaves making formal complaints to the Protector of Slaves between 1832 and 1835. The complaints emanated mainly from slaves on sugar estates and provide a detailed picture of what life for slaves was like under the period of sugar expansion. Sugar expansion is documented in Chapter One. Following the ending of the slave trade and the resulting 'shortage' of labour to meet the needs of an expanding economy, the slaves endured even more hardships, and their lives became much more stressful between 1815 and 1835. This also impacted on their families as many were either sold or transferred to other estates and districts, causing a dislocation of families.

Slaves who had hitherto engaged in occupations not requiring hard physical labour were brought into plantation work and many did not survive this shift. Women, who had traditionally stayed at home or were working in domestic service, were also forced to shift to plantation work. Children and the elderly were brought in and given lighter work on the plantation ('petite bande') and in herding cattle. That itself, although not requiring hard physical labour, meant much longer hours of work and a 7-day working week. Anyone familiar with sugar plantation work knows full well the immense effort required to clear land for sugar; that this was done manually without any modern equipment is today unthinkable. Yet, this was the case from 1815 to 1835. Mechanisation occurred in the mill but hardly on the plantation field itself. The human and material costs to the slave population at the time and the consequences for the slaves will be summarized here.

Material conditions of slaves

- Increased mortality among slaves, despite better rations;
- Increased alcohol consumption as slave owners provided alcohol to encourage slaves to work;
- Longer hours in the mill and on the plantation during harvest time;
- Increasing use of physical violence, as documented by the number of complaints made to the Protector of Slaves and resulting prosecutions.

Socio-Psychological Conditions

- Aversion to

Reference 228 - 0.01% Coverage

resulting prosecutions.

Socio-Psychological Conditions

- Aversion to plantation work after the abolition of slavery;
- Creation of propensity to alcohol consumption in individual slaves and possible impact on children;
- Trauma caused by a sudden change of occupations - from tailor to plantation work, for example;
- Trauma caused by the dislocation of families, as plantation slaves were sold/hired to other owners of plantations;
- Trauma caused by fear of

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humiliation of publicly-administered punishment;

- Fear of the 'White' man, of authority, further instilled by threat of physical punishment. Health of Slaves

Height of slaves

Height-for-age of children is accepted as an indicator of the long-term (chronic) nutritional status in childhood. There is evidence that the nutrition of Mauritian slaves was inadequate. Adult human height is the result of both genetic and nutrition: height is affected by occurrences in childhood, as well as by genetic inheritance. A lack of suitable food, disease and too much physical activity - such as overwork - in childhood, all reduce the nutrients available to the growing body, and result in

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decreasing average heights. A comparison of the heights of 3,739 slave children aged 4 to 18 years, with the NCHS2 Growth Charts made in 1826, showed that the heights of Mauritian slave children were significantly below the NCHS reference throughout the age range studied. These differences in heights may have a genetic component, particularly since some Mauritian children had Indian and Malay ancestry, but it seems likely that malnutrition, disease, and hard work played a part in keeping the slave children short in stature. At 18 years of age, boys were about 25 cm shorter and girls about 15 cms shorter than the NCHS reference for the respective sex. Both slave boys' and girls' growth curves started to level off much earlier than the NCHS growth curves, indicating that the nutrition of slave children was inadequate to support growth, as well as hard physical labour to which they were subjected at a young age. Figure 1 compares the heights of Mauritian Creole slaves (i.e. born in Mauritius), and modern-day Mauritian Creole adults and US adults. It is obvious that Creole slaves were shorter than even their modern-day descendants, as a result of the chronic under nutrition, hard labour and disease prevalence which they experienced during the slavery days.

In the 19th century, how far had the situation changed? Sugar expansion no doubt changed much but the illnesses remained the same. Bonsergent occupied a unique position, being a medical doctor of the District of Rivière-du-Rempart, as well as having treated and observed many slaves in the District. He was there when the cholera epidemic occurred in 1825. This epidemic resulted in the deaths of 22,000 slaves according to him.²³⁴

In written sources on Mauritius, there is little information on the slave camps. Bonsergent no doubt visited a few as he gave a description of a slave camp. According to him, it resembled a small village where everyone had a hut and a garden:

Photo 3 Extract from Bonsergent's

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3 Extract from Bonsergent's thesis

Food consisted of Bengal rice, manioc, maize, sweet potato, as well as fish, salted meat and dry vegetables. Rations consisted of 1½ lbs rice as is well known. Fresh vegetables were available on the estate as well as a plot. However complaints of slaves abounded as was noted from the complaints made to the Protector of Slaves. Plots were cultivated with bredes, tomatoes, bringelle and petit piment. Those by the sea got sea shells and fish. Some also got what was left from the owner's table.

Extra rations were received by slaves on New Year's Day and some families sold the cattle they had reared during the year. Bonsergent observed that some earned up to 200 piastres from the sale of goods. For him, there was no doubt that slavery was very mild and that a European cultivator would readily exchange his free position for that of a slave.

The aged and infirm were given work as guards on sugar estates to watch out for fire and theft, but Bonsergent saw many who were neither infirm nor sick but who stole from the estate huge bags of goods. He claimed that every Sunday, slaves went to the canteen. He also described the situation in February and March 1835 when slavery was being abolished. All those slaves in prison were authorised to leave: however, they were all infected with skin infections which led to numerous other slaves being infected on those estates. Proprietors were forced to open makeshift hospitals on their estates to isolate the cases. This occurred at the time of the harvest, and many owners were deprived of the labour of their slaves.²³⁵

Concerning women, he observed that

Reference 232 - 0.01% Coverage

by the age of 12.

In the early 19th century, according to him, tetanus was also the most important killer. It killed 1/5th of slave babies within the first 15 days of birth. Mothers were placed in poorly ventilated alcoves inside their huts and lighting a fire and a change of temperature caused a child to get

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skin could lead to tetanus.

Slave fishermen 'noirs pecheurs' were affected by the fish known as laff: if tetanus was contracted, death resulted, especially if the fisherman was alone. If an old fisherman was nearby, traditional remedies could be applied that included roots of wild 'ipeca, veloutier, gingembre, safran...' Another traditional remedy on the island for tetanus was controlled doses of opium:

Photo 4

Indigestion was also

Reference 234 - 0.01% Coverage

doses of opium:

Photo 4

Indigestion was also a common problem. Infant slaves were overfed by 2 years causing stomachs to be overloaded and causing indigestion. They were treated with leeches. Worms also affected slave children, especially during the changes of seasons from warm to cool, despite anti-worm medicine being given. He gave the example of the fishing establishment of Mr. Faulez, where 300 slaves worked as fishermen. Despite the excellent management, slaves still fell sick every week.

Bonsergent's statements need to be treated with circumspection, given that his aim in writing the thesis was to show that the illnesses of slaves were not due to their enslavement, but to the slaves' own 'vices'.

Much contrary evidence exists that the regulations concerning rations and clothing were not being followed and that many slaves were neglected by their owners, who were sometimes in no position to feed themselves. But the elite also neglected their slaves, as complaints against many wealthy inhabitants demonstrate in both French and British periods.²³⁶

If poor settlers owning slaves could be 'excused' for not providing basic necessities to slaves, the same judgement cannot be made of the French East India Company who also neglected their slaves. Thus although owners complained about their slaves and some officials tried to manage the slavebased economy more efficiently, they were caught in a contradictory situation: slaves were supposed to be 'bien meuble', but despite being treated as chattel, the slaves' humanity showed up in their every action. That was both the essence and tragedy of slavery. It was never efficient and, indeed, could never be because slave 'human' behaviour could never be predicted and be organised in the way for example, cattle could be.

Amelioration of slaves

How far did slave amelioration policies work in Mauritius and how far did sugar expansion prove to be an obstacle to amelioration?

The Report of the Commissioners of Enquiry (1828), which included recommendations for improving lives of slaves, went every far but was also very scathing on the behaviour of public officials and their connivance with slave owners and planters. Although it could not find evidence, it was convinced of the complicity of civil servants in the illegal slave trade and in covering up illegally introduced slaves in the slave registry.

This was to be expected

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THE TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION

Nevertheless, changes were brought in which altered the lives of some slaves and gave hope to others.

Through the Ordinance for the protection of slaves consisting of 45 articles; it set up the following:

□ The Office of the Protector of slaves was established, owners were prosecuted (even though fines were rarely collected and punishments rarely enforced);

□ Exhibition of chabou or Whip was forbidden, when supervising slaves at work; □ No more than 25 lashes per day (Art 12);

□ Slaves were also allowed to own property (Art 25): “buy acquire possess moveable and immoveable property” but if slaves died without heirs, owner became the heir;

□ Establishment of a Savings Bank (Art 26); □ Manumission by purchase by slaves and no more taxes on manumission (Art 29 and 30); □ Slaves could give evidence in court (Art 36).

The Commissioners also recommended that certain laws of the Code Noir be kept, as for example, the appointment of slaves as tutors for owners’ children (Art 50 of the Code Noir).

Discrimination against the slaves during their life was oppressive. Even after their deaths, on a visit to Mauritius and South Africa in March 1844, James Blackhouse wrote:

‘The place of sepulture is divided into several compartments, to accommodate the prejudices of the living, for these even separate the ashes of the dead. The main burial-ground is surrounded by a wall, and another separates the portion occupied by persons of white skin, professing Christianity, from that in which the coloured people are interred! So strong is the prejudice that slavery has nursed’.

Memorialisation: Remembering the Slaves

We cannot, in any manner

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and public spaces by all.

We must not forget, in the process, that slavery was both about the slaves and the slave owners, for the slave was primarily a ‘possession, good’ owned by another person. Both groups, in different ways, were victims of a system.

Reconciliation is thus about descendants of slaves, slave owners and the State, jointly and publicly acknowledging that a grave injustice was committed to African and Malagasy populations. Our recommendations on memorialisation of slavery, therefore, need to be openly and firmly supported by all these groups. These recommendations are to be found in the final 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.

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THE TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION

It needs to pay special attention to those persons descended from slavery as they continue to endure several forms of injustice, incompatible with principles of democracy and natural justice in the Republic of Mauritius.

We recommend that public and private institutions rethink their cultural policies and incorporate the ancestral values of African and Malagasy peoples; that increased funding for memorialisations of slavery and the consequences of the slave trade in public places and especially in places where slaves have lived, died and worked be provided to all institutions undertaking such work; Increased funding for research in all aspects of slavery and the slave trade, to be conducted in a professional and impartial manner, and covering all groups who were enslaved and existing works to be continued and fully supported by public institutions financially and logistically. Moreover the Commission wishes that all works started by the Truth and Justice Commission to be continued by competent authorities and empowering young Mauritians through foreign scholarships and training programmes where expertise is lacking: slave trade database, ethnographic studies of descendants of slaves.

Sites need to be listed as national heritage sites are also given in the section on recommendations such as Trou Chenille; Slave Cemetery at Le Morne; Le Morne village ; Trois Cavernes ; Bassin des Esclaves ; site where Pedro Coutoupa's head was publicly exhibited; Maroon caves; illegal slave trading on Bel Ombre sugar estate ; execution site of Ratsitanina.

The Commission also recommends the continuation of an inventory of documents found in France and elsewhere and the continuation of input into the Slave Trade Database. The aim is to establish a list of all ships and their cargo in order to better document the slave trade and arrive at an improved assessment of the volume of the slave trade to Mauritius, and the actual number of slaves having been disembarked in Mauritius. It is also necessary to include in calculations, those ships/persons/slaves destined for Mauritius but who never arrived, due to revolts, shipwrecks, diseased etc. This information will be inserted in the database. Scholars from overseas working on the slave trade to Mauritius, in their respective countries, need to be included in this project, such as Thomas Vernet and Benigna Zimba. It is further recommended that this database work be continued by the University of Mauritius in partnership with other institutions with an interest in the slave trade and slavery. The University possesses both history and computer science departments who can collaborate with minimal cost with each other to maintain the database. It also has a pool of students every year who can be initiated and trained in historical research and data entry. However, appropriate funding must be provided and this work is to be shared with the public through an online database.

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

Finally the Commission recommends a

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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

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control access in those institutions.

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

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

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

Did the conditions on estates

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same as French sailors.²³⁹

In addition to free French and Indian *engagés*, non-slave forced labour was also used in the form of convicts from France and, later in the British period, from India. Women *engagées* were also recruited, but in smaller numbers. French children, mostly orphaned, were also brought in and placed as apprentices in *Isle de France*.

Recommendation

The Commission recommends that

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THE TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION

There are many links between slavery and indenture and many continuities. This is perfectly understandable, given that one could not expect that persons, who were once opposed to abolition or even

amelioration of slaves' lives, i.e. the future employers, would suddenly change overnight and see or treat the new labour force any differently. It is worth examining some of these continuities as these have been overlooked in debates and discussions on slavery and indenture. This helps one to understand the situation better in post-emancipation Mauritius.

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JUSTICE COMMISSION 2. INDENTURED AFRICANS

Although the stereotypical image of the 'indentured labourer' is that of the Indian, dressed in a 'dhoti' and laboring away on the cane fields, 'other' indentured labourers also existed in Mauritius: those working in the ports, and various types of employment in urban centres as well as those working with private individuals. There was also a large group of Africans, Malagasies and Comorians also brought before and after abolition of slavery to work on contract in Mauritius. Some had been freed from slave ships illegally trading in slaves, hence the term 'Liberated Africans' being applied to them. They did not benefit from the Act of Abolition of Slavery in 1833 and continued to work with their employers until their contract had expired. The Commission is indebted to two young historians of the Nelson Mandela Centre and the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund who have shared their work on the Liberated Africans with us during the recently organized Conference on Slave Trade organized by the Commission. Their contributions are reproduced in part in Volume 4 of the TJC report and will be published in full in the Conference Proceedings by the University of Mauritius.

Brief History

The Act for

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

In his report on Liberated Africans in Mauritius, in 1826, P. Salter, the Ag. Collector of Customs, we learn that between 1813 and 1826, out of 2,998 Liberated Africans brought to Mauritius, some 291 had died even before being apprenticed. Women constituted only ¼ of them. More than 9% of the Liberated Africans died within less than a month after landing, dying of dysentery, cholera, and the small pox, as well as from severe cases of malnutrition and dehydration which prevailed on the slave vessels sailing between Madagascar and East Africa to Mauritius and its dependencies. The state of the ships was confirmed by Captain Dorval, who had commanded one of them, *Le Coureur*, involved in illegal slave trading. He described the state of the slave vessels which were always extremely overcrowded, with diseases being rampant and the high mortality rate. Thus we find that more had died before reaching Mauritius.

According to Richard Allen's latest figures, between 1811 and 1827, between 50,000 and 65,000 slaves were illegally introduced into the Mascarenes. Using this figure this would mean that only between 4 to

6% of the total number of slaves illegally landed in the Mascarenes are known to us and the others merged with the slave population.

The contract

The contract lasted

Reference 244 - 0.01% Coverage

the slave population.

The contract

The contract lasted for a period of 14 years, the same amount of time proposed by slave owners for the slaves to be freed after the abolition of slavery and who were to undergo the apprenticeship system. It would appear therefore that what they did not obtain from the British Government for their legal slaves, they did obtain for illegally-landed slaves.

The purpose of this indenture

Reference 245 - 0.01% Coverage

Governor Farquhar, it was 39%.

32% or almost one-third of all the Liberated Africans died. In 1830, Captain Vicars, in charge of the Government Apprentices for several years during the 1820s, confirmed that the death rate among the Liberated Africans was much higher than those among the Mauritian slave population. He stated that it was common for them to be overworked and treated worse than slaves. Three years earlier, P. Salter, the Acting Collector of Customs commented that

‘it is to be observed that many of the inhabitants do not in their declarations distinguish between slaves and Prize Negroes.’

The import of more African Malagasy and Comorian labourers continued after abolition of apprenticeship in 1839 and the banning of emigration from India. Madagascar, the Comoros Islands, and East Africa were tapped instead for labour. Planters were asked to contribute to a fund and to make known the numbers of labourers each wished to obtain. The local Government was entirely agreeable to this proposal and the task of administering this went to British and local merchants. The Queen of Madagascar and the Imam of Muscat were contacted. Although the Anti-Slavery Society did not approve of these labour schemes, several groups of Malagasy people were recruited on one-year and two-year contracts, amongst which were the ‘Marmittes’ who were already regularly involved in the cattle

Reference 246 - 0.01% Coverage

dealing privately with the Saklava.

The Sultan of Muscat also sent ‘Baluchis’ - strong men from Muscat, carrying goods about the town loading and unloading ships’.²⁴¹ This emigration was however stopped when the Sultan decided to send his slaves. Lambert & Co. even created a special company ‘Compagnie Anglo-Française de la Mer des Indes’ to import labourers from Aden for both Mauritius and Réunion. The British

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Reference 247 - 0.01% Coverage

Johanna. More came in 1843.

Between 1839 and 1857, some 4,601 Malagasy workers had arrived as well as 320 from the African coast, 433 from Aden, 206 from Comoros Islands and 2,739 Chinese. 'Liberated Africans' continued to arrive up to the 1860s. They, unlike, Indian immigrants did not benefit from return passages, although it was reported that many were afraid to return in case they were recaptured as slaves. One of the last ships to bring in Africans was the 'Manuella' in September 1860. She had on board 730 Africans most of whom were children and were apprenticed out to planters.

These documents concerning the Liberated

Reference 248 - 0.01% Coverage

prevailing ethos was: Cheap labour

The labourers were there simply to supply cheap labour for the expanding sugar economy. This search for labour was no different from the cheap labour required for infrastructural and agricultural works in the 18th century. When the slave trade was abolished from 1810 onwards, planters did not wait for the abolition of slavery to start importing labour; they did so from 1825, 10 years before abolition. Hands were needed for work, and there was little concern for family relationships, cultural habits and wants.

Families were not required

Women

Reference 249 - 0.01% Coverage

wants.

Families were not required

Women would be brought in to service male labourers/slaves, to undertake domestic duties, such as cooking and cleaning, and satisfy sexual needs: " In Demerara," Mr. Gladstone stated, "the females are employed in the field as well as the men; and if the female Coolies will engage to work there, a larger proportion may be sent, say two women to three men, or, if desired, equal numbers; but if they will not engage to work there, then the proportion sent to the Isle of France, of one female to nine or ten men, for cooking and washing, is enough".²⁴³

Thus numbers of women would

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are willing to labour."

Surreptitiously

The first indentured immigration began in the same way that the slave trade ended: illegally. At this time, Mauritian planters were desperate for cheap labour and engaged in fraudulent practices, by hiding importation of labourers from India. The labourers were forced into prison-depots where they waited for ships to arrive, and where they were:

"then—hurried on board—put

Reference 251 - 0.01% Coverage

use of violence and intimidation

Among the consequences of slavery, was the use of violence and intimidation to control labour movements and to enforce strict discipline at work. Although slavery had been abolished, this did not

imply an end to employers using violence and intimidation, and this continued for many years afterwards. The excuse given was that these same punishments existed elsewhere in Britain and India for criminals. Thomas Hugon remarked on this situation in his report in 1839: he showed how this was counterproductive as the Indian immigrants had not been used to it in India and would certainly not be interested in staying on in Mauritius. He urged planters to change their ways and to learn the habits and customs of the immigrants. The continued visible presence of stocks on plantations, for example, reminded Indian immigrants that slavery had only just been abolished and did not endear plantation owners to them: "These should be discretely removed", he advised.²⁴⁷

This mode of behavior was linked to how one conceived of the new so-called 'free' labour. It was indeed difficult for the former slave-owner to separate attitudes to slaves and attitudes to indentured labour; there was, in effect, a continuation of slave mentalities and ideologies. This no doubt convinced the British Government that it had to end the 'bounty' system and take over recruitment and shipping of indentured labourers to Mauritius. The correspondence, published in the Parliamentary Papers, makes for interesting reading in this respect. These abuses thus led the Indian Government to put a temporary ban on immigration in 1839, but it was resumed in 1842. However, many labourers continued to be introduced from French possessions in India.

3. Increased labour needs

In

Reference 252 - 0.01% Coverage

from Madras and Bombay.²⁵³

The aim of this section is to show continuities in how labour was procured, and similarities in attitudes towards slave and indentured labour. It is important to state, however, that one of the most important difference between immigrant labour recruitment and slave trade is that the immigrant, were allowed to return, at least in the early years. This fact is often overlooked by Mauritians who assume that all immigrants settled in Mauritius. The activities at the Immigration depot concerning returnee migrants were so important that the Office had to be extended to accommodate both immigration as well as departure procedures.

From the much quoted figure

Reference 253 - 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'Epinau, 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'Epinau, 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 254 - 0.01% Coverage

seems, were reluctant to travel.

The age group is also significant and shows clearly a preference for young able-bodied persons. Only 1% was above the age of 40, while 28% were between 11 and 20, and 51% between 21 and 30 years of age. This profile matches closely those being brought during the Slave Trade.

We have very little knowledge

Reference 255 - 0.01% Coverage

rest of the Indian population.

Also lost are the particular cultural habits and traits which were quite evident in the early years of indenture and were observed and possibly adopted by some ex-slaves.

Died at Plaines Wilhems 10

Reference 256 - 0.01% Coverage

Coimbatore, on the West coast.

The caste origins of Southern Indian indentured immigrants also reflected similar trends as in the North Indian indentured labour migration. However, in the South, the bonded labour system was strong. Despite the abolition of slavery in 1843 in India, many ex-slaves were sent to Mauritius. This is reflected in the names that are attached to caste names, or by names of individuals, such as Pallan (also spelt Pallen and Pallinin immigration records), Paria, and so on. These came mainly from the Kombakonumr Regions of Madras Presidency.

By way of an illustration

Reference 257 - 0.01% Coverage

were Paria, Gentoo or Pallan.

The most striking fact, however, in this case, was not only the caste, but the fact that the bulk, 4,938 immigrant labourers, came in the year of the abolition of slavery in 1843. Many explanations are possible, but none is conclusive, as yet. Did they want to leave of their own accord to escape or were they encouraged to leave, as they were now free, or were they forced out?

IMMIGRANTS FROM TELUGU-SPEAKING DISTRICTS

Reference 258 - 0.01% Coverage

WORKING CONDITIONS ON SUGAR ESTATES

The control of indentured labourers by wages cuts, by laws restricting labour mobility as well as physical mobility has been discussed in Chapter 1. By the 1870s, as analysed by Mishra, just as the planters had found maintaining slaves expensive, when amelioration laws were passed, so by the 1870s, planters found that when numerous laws were passed to improve conditions of labourers, their revenues might decrease as a result of more spending on social services for labourers. The planters' strategy was what it had always been: change the terms and conditions of the labour system. Thus, now, they no longer wanted labourers on the estates on a permanent basis, but rather on contract for only the work required. As for ex-slaves, the changing labour conditions impacted on the immigrants' decisions to settle in Mauritius and

return to India. In Mauritius, the popular tendency is to focus on those who stayed and label them as 'successful' immigrants. But most Mauritians have chosen to ignore those who left and who never survived their indenture. Nor has there been an examination of the reasons which prompted immigrants to return to Mauritius. When ALL the immigrants' experiences are taken into consideration, the picture is less rosy than is usually presented.

Sugar estates needed, not only

Reference 259 - 0.01% Coverage

EU market for Mauritian sugar.

Roland Lamusse, the most Senior Economist in Mauritius today, has titled his book the Twilight of the Sugar Industry. Indeed, many feel Mauritius has now come full circle as far as sugar is concerned: slavery, then indenture, then VRS, symbolises the end of the reign of sugar.

The Findings of the 1875

Reference 260 - 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 Commissioners, 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 261 - 0.01% Coverage

care in some cases.

Lodgings

According to the Royal Commissioners, it was not until a new Ordinance was introduced in 1867 that planters were required by Law to provide lodgings for their labourers, as the provision of lodgings had, until then, depended upon the contractual agreement signed between the parties prior to the immigrant leaving India. But it had in fact become customary for indentured immigrant labourers from India to be housed by planters, and, initially, it would appear that many were housed in the former lodgings of ex-slaves.

The Royal Commissioners state that

Reference 262 - 0.01% Coverage

twentieth century.

Women under indenture

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

As Marina Carter (1992:115

Reference 263 - 0.01% Coverage

society as persons who would

take over from their parents in field labour and domestic work. Thus, education would change the mentality of children, and it is not surprising that many resisted such education for their children. Many plantation owners, for their part, used the same arguments as under slavery, and expressed fear that education might lead to rebellion. Knowledge was considered 'a dangerous thing'.²⁹⁴ The fear was as real as it had been during slavery.

Indian 'traditions' under indenture

How

Reference 264 - 0.01% Coverage

casteless Hindus, due to indenture.

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

Upward mobility was also possible

Reference 265 - 0.01% Coverage

already there.²⁹⁶

Estate camps

The first Indians to arrive in the 1830s and 1840s, shared the same living and working spaces as the ex-slave population still on the estates. Ritual purity and occupational specialization were left behind during the sea voyage and the installation in camps. These spaces have been cited as presenting obstacles to the reproduction of the Indian caste system in Mauritius by Hazareesingh and Benoist, among others, who stated that Indian indentured labourers waited until they left the estates to settle in villages (in the 1880) to reproduce the Indian social structure.

In the camps, the absence

Reference 266 - 0.01% Coverage

qualify for it.³⁰⁵

HEALTH

Much is known about the health of immigrants due to the unhealthy state 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 Truth and Justice Commission 190

Reference 267 - 0.01% Coverage

second half of the 19th

vegetarians, whereas ex-slaves consumed mainly rice, brèdes (greens), salted fish or boiled salted beef. The Whites ate rice, salted beef and fish, and a lot of vegetables. The Typical Indian meals included rice, dhol, vegetable curry and salted fish, garnished with chutney. Food rations were provided to

Reference 268 - 0.01% Coverage

no fixed hours of work.

Some were housed together with the cattle and horses and food rations were sparse: 3 lbs peas, 5 pints rice, and 3 pints beans per week. Others were housed in structures dating from the period of Indian indentured labour immigration which had survived. According to Mr. Suffrin, these structures may possibly even date to the period of slavery although this has not been confirmed yet. Rodriguans were, however, the last occupiers of the 'Cabanons' as these structures are known today. Many of them broke their

Reference 269 - 0.01% Coverage

are in this situation.

Conclusion

Is the Mauritian Sugar Industry culpable for its past actions, and how has it treated its workforce since the end of slavery and indenture?³⁰⁶ Comparisons of the Eastern Enquiry Commission of 1826 and of the 1875 Royal Commission and the situation in a post-slavery and post-indenture Mauritius need to be compared. The situation of descendants of slaves most of whom were forced to leave or left of their own accord, due to unacceptable working conditions is in contrast to descendants of the indentured labourers who stayed in Mauritius and continued to rely heavily on the Sugar Industry for a livelihood. We know little about the experiences of both these groups for the 20th century.

For descendants of indenture, for

Reference 270 - 0.01% Coverage

cluster.

Métayers - A Forgotten Community

Métayage, also known as sharecropping, emerged in 19th-century Mauritius after the abolition of slavery and again after indenture. Métayers were ex-slaves and ex-indentured labourers who were provided with a plot of land on the sugar estate where they resided, with the clear agreement that they grew sugar cane for delivery to the estate factory. They did not pay any type of rent money for the estate land where they grew the sugar cane, “but they received less than the ruling market rate for the cane supplied, which was equivalent to payment of a concealed ground rent in kind.”³⁰⁷ Estate owners did not give land to anybody; it was usually as elect group whom they knew very well and had worked for them for several years.³⁰⁸ By the mid-20th century, the majority of the métayers were monthly workers who had worked for many years on the same sugar estate and had resided for years in the estate camp and in the nearby villages. ³⁰⁹ From the 1920s onwards, however, the importance of the métayers declined. Today, they form a very small class of small sugarcane growers with their numbers diminishing each year.³¹⁰ At that time, most land

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TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION Introduction

Among one of the conclusions of our review of the history of slavery and indenture is the fact that slavery and indenture, as they evolved in Mauritius, were in many ways continuations of an economic system based on the exploitation of unpaid or cheap, plentiful and docile or coercible labour. The Mauritian experience of slavery and indenture contrasts singularly with the Atlantic world in several respects. There was continuity in the flow of such labour for several reasons: Mauritius was geographically close to sources of cheap labour: Madagascar and India, both countries had traditionally supplied labour. Thus, despite the abolition of slavery, Africa and Madagascar was again tapped for sources of contractual labour and the experience of this new contractual labour, the Liberated Africans, in many ways did not differ from their fellow Africans and Malagasies who had come as slaves almost a century before. Secondly, the continuity arose from

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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

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too happy to assist in.

Similarly, property ownership had to be controlled: small independent proprietors were a bane depriving the island of potential hands. How many times has the Commission heard these words: ‘Kreol pa kapav ena later!’ (‘Creoles can’t own land!’) being repeated by members of the public when they went to search for documents in public institutions. Few of those working in these offices are aware that, at a certain point of time, many thousands of ex-slaves did own land. It has been difficult for Commissioners to acknowledge that most who owned land have lost their land

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and political structure of Mauritius.

This ideology of control and ownership of property by a tiny elite persists to this day and continues to pervade all our institutions, private and public though in not as visible form as it was in the past. How far is the economic vision established by Government, the vision of the people of Mauritius, most of whom are descendants of slaves and indentured labourers or how far is it the vision of the powerful economic interests of a few? It is perhaps true that ethnicity is no longer the issue as our ‘rainbow nation’, as most ethnic and religious groups are fully represented in this elite, although some may be more visible than others due to their phenotype.

Despite attempts to ‘democratise’ society

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succeed remains to be seen.

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

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five years for various reasons.

Key features of the MAAS included centralization, decrease of the labour force and creation of a so-called “flexible” workforce and the mechanisation of field operations. Whilst these measures were meant to ensure the economic and financial viability of the sugar industry, the social costs, especially for the labouring classes descended from slavery and indenture have been enormous.

From slavery and indenture to VRS (Voluntary Retirement Scheme)

The implementation of the measures

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Truth and Justice Commission 213

VOLUME 1: REPORT OF THE TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION 2.THE ‘UNFINISHED BUSINESS’ OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT Why did the ex-slaves not benefit from freedom as they should have, after having worked

for free all their lives? Why was he not given a compensation from European governments for they were responsible for legalising and tolerating an unjust, repressive system of labour? The answer to this is also

the answer to understanding why up to today, many descendants of ex-slaves and persons with an African phenotype in Mauritius continue to face unnecessary hardships and lead stressful lives. We need to focus attention on a few key developments occurring immediately after the abolition of slavery:

The role of the British Government and the nature of the freedom granted to slaves by the British Government

It was a freedom that came without any preparation, or plan to bring ex-slaves into civil society.

One could even question the sincerity of the British Government in freeing the slaves, when one considers the numerous laws introduced to restrict the freedom of movement of ex-slaves, as well as the efforts to restrict their wish for an autonomous lifestyle. It is possible that it is this planter conceptualised 'freedom' that drove ex-slaves further and further away from the plantation and out of public view, because they could see that neither the local planter, nor the British Government had any genuine desire to give them real freedom.

Local Colonial Officials, including the Governor and sugar planters, had no wish either to have ex-slaves 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 plantations. 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

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great body of people."326

It was no wonder that the ex-slaves sought to live as far away from plantations, since they could be arrested at any time and sent to work on a plantation.

When apprentices were freed prematurely

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of the British Government. Compensation

Compensation was given by the British Government to owners, but not to slaves who had lost a lifetime of freedom, worked for free during their entire lives and endured enslavement over generations of their families.

Slave-owners, with substantial numbers of slaves, received hefty compensation, as agricultural labourers and skilled slaves were valued highly. As most of these owned slaves worked in the sugar estates, these fetched the highest compensation:

Overseers, Commandeurs, skilled slaves fetched £142 and £137 each while an agricultural labourer, £93 each (listed as praedial slaves). Slaves that were not attached to any particular plantation, fetched roughly the same amount. Domestic slaves, who were also crucial to the life of the estate, fetched £119 per head domestic slaves while junior domestic slaves fetched £63. Owners even received compensation for the old and sick slaves, as well as children, £29 was paid for a child, totaling some £88, 132, while the old and sick, numbering some 2,302, fetched £25,752. The total number of slaves for which compensation was paid amounted to 66, 517, including the dependencies. (MNA: BIB 1881)

Not brought into the equation are the thousands of slaves brought illegally, and for whom the slave owners also obtained compensation, instead of being prosecuted. Due to lack of evidence, the RCE was unable to pinpoint particular owners who harboured illegal slaves, although they had a fair idea who these people were. The question of compensation for slave-owners must be also examined. Not only have numerous Mauritians questioned the validity and morality of this action on the part of the British

Government, but they have also questioned what was done with this compensation money. Finally, another question was why compensation was given to owners and not to slaves.

In Mauritius, regrettably, the legal profession has never questioned past French or British Laws, when it came to slavery or indenture, or any Law that went against the rights and interests of the common people. Indeed, one is at pains to find one lawyer who defends, in practice and principle, the extension of property rights. Indeed, there are few scholars in the legal profession and, despite an academic institution dispensing legal studies, re-examining the history of the country, through its Laws of slavery, has never aroused much interest.

In neighbouring Réunion island, this

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colonies.

Compensation in French colonies

When compensation was given, it was not stated on what basis this was being given: the Parliament recognised the right of the owner to compensation, but it never stated on what basis this compensation was due. But in France, the issue of compensation was not new. In the 1780s, and during the philosophical debates surrounding slavery, Condorcet had stated:

« Nous avons montré que le

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As a result, the Act abolishing slavery in the French colonies in 1794 (the Decree of 16 pluviôse), no compensation was envisaged.

A philosophical/legal question was also posed. Was slavery a right or a status? According to Bleriot, depending on the answer, one would have a right to compensation. Before abolition, slavery was legal; after abolition, it was illegal. Opinions were mixed on the issue. The French colonists in Réunion stated that slavery was founded on a right, i.e., the right to property, and that legally, any privation of that right leads to compensation.³³⁰ Thus, this is what led them to claim compensation. From the French Government's perspective, it was also felt that abolition would be accepted better by the colonists, and so compensation was a necessary corollary to emancipation.

The colons (the term used at the time) referred to the Code Noir (1723), where it was stipulated that the slave was a bien meuble (Art. 39). Thus, they saw abolition of slavery as an expropriation of their property, and not as a humanitarian gesture. The Commission appointed in Réunion to oversee the emancipation process, saw matters rather differently:

1. It did not believe

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ownership of another human being.

2. It saw in slavery, not an 'institution de droit', but a social 'disorder': it acknowledged that it was the State that had committed this crime (of allowing the possession of one human being by another).

3. It felt that, as it was the State which had introduced slavery, compensation was payable to those who suffered, as much as to those who enjoyed the labour freely and who had profited. Thus, the State had to pay the country, for the future well-being of the owner and the slave.

Victor Schoelcher had also recognised the need for slaves to obtain compensation. He had gone even further: he had advocated giving a plot of land to every slave and the expropriation of all lands obtained

by colons from the beginning of colonisation. All of these were rejected, however, by the Provisional Government.

Others in Réunion were of the opinion that no compensation should be paid to owners because slavery was an unjust system. Rather, the French Government should pay the country to re-launch the economy and pay for the education of slaves and improve morality: equal benefits should go to the slave population and the owners. Thus, according to a proposition by Ménard in the National Assembly, the 30 million francs should go, not to individual owners, but to a fund to stimulate economic activities, and the other half of 30 million francs to a fund for the slaves to improve the condition of the ex-slave population. A semblance of desire for 'reconciliation' seemed to be at heart of this proposition, to ensure future social cohesion. It concerned the future of three types of relationships: the slave/colon relationship, the State/slave relationship and the State/colon relationship.

The first Decree proposed by

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whole colony and new citizens.

The problem, according to Blieriot, was between the legality (légalité) and legitimacy (légitimité) of the Act. Before 1848, slavery was legal but unnatural (illégitime). Thus in 1845, under Louis Philippe, the status of the slave changed by the Law of 18 July, whereby the slave becomes a subject with limited legal personality: the slave is a non-emancipated minor. He is no longer an 'objet de droit'. Illegally introduced slaves 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

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lui est rien dû?.» 332

This 'cri de coeur' (cry from the heart) of Schoelcher, according to Blieriot, was never heard. The only compensation given was to the colons and the spirit of the Law could be summarised as follows: the right to emancipation for the slaves and the right to compensation for the slaveowners.

For some, slave compensation and pouring this money into a bank, effectively financed the Reunionese transition from slavery to capitalism. There appears to be no difference between the Mauritian case and the Reunionese case. Owners, particularly the big owners, received a compensation which they reinvested in their sugar estates and deposited in the banks and assured their transition to a 'free' society.

By contrast, Mauritian slaves obtained 'nothing but freedom' in 1839. Truth and Justice Commission 217

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3. FROM SLAVES TO SQUATTERS: DEMOGRAPHIC HISTORY AND SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION

What was the situation prevailing Mauritius after the abolition of slavery? It is important first to understand clearly who were those living in Mauritius at the time and their relative numbers on the island. Some groups have largely been forgotten and deserve mention. The census categories also deserve mention, as the same term often implies different groups of persons and are misleading for those who do not read the reports and fine print of the censuses enumerators. A thorough demographic history of the

Mauritian population deserves to be written and constitutes one of the recommendations of the Commission.

The Apprentices

The apprenticeship system

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of the Commission.

The Apprentices

The apprenticeship system has been researched in some depth in Mauritian Historiography, as well as the opposition to it coming from abolitionists who saw it as not being much different from slavery. The complicity of the local Government in creating a system that was no different from slavery and ensured that labour stayed on estates until contract labour system was established, while owners enjoyed the compensation money and invested in their sugar estates. Apprentices were quick to see they had been duped of their freedom. They expressed this disapproval of this 'new system of slavery' in several forms. Some marooned and were hunted in exactly the same manner as they had been under slavery. When caught they were flogged in the same manner. Others chose to withdraw from plantation labour (but not from agriculture), knowing full well that this is what would strike at the heart of plantation's operation. Others still bought their freedom from apprenticeship, just as, when slaves, they had bought their manumission. They were still advertised as slaves for hire, even though slavery had been abolished. While the stereotype of women is that they were downtrodden people, the number of applications for freedom from apprenticeship are very revealing. These women's history must not be forgotten and deserves further study.

Moreover, those who had wanted

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is a highly symbolic action.

The attitudes of the planters also deserve mention: they did not want to reduce their hold over their former slaves and influenced Government to keep slaves in or near estates. They had attempted to bring slaves under their control ideologically and they have never forgiven ex-slaves and descendants for abandoning them: the master-slave relationship still persists according to some today, when people continue to be deferent to the 'bourgeois'.

A discrepancy exists in the Census of 1835 between the numbers freed and those declaring them to be ex-apprentices in the census of 1846. Although there were 61,022 slaves in 1835 in Mauritius, there were only 38,049 who declared themselves to be ex-apprentices in 1846. The discrepancy can be attributed to the fact that many had been freed before the actual end of apprenticeship and many had not wished to declare themselves as ex-apprentices. There had also been an annual mortality rate of 3.2%.

Post-apprenticeship

The 1846 Census

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of 3.2%.

Post-apprenticeship

The 1846 Census gives a fair idea of where ex-apprentices were and what they were doing in 1846, since ex-apprentices are specifically mentioned as a category. Unfortunately, as stated earlier, this does not

include those who had bought their freedom earlier, who had marooned or who had been manumitted under slavery. These are merged in the General Population category.

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no particular place of employment.

3. No pension or retirement scheme was put in place for the elderly, no educational programmes for the young and no employment opportunities offered to the ex-slaves who could work at anything other than the plantation activities.

4. Increasingly Creolised population as

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as had been African-born

5. Out of 49,365 ex-apprentices, 6,096 mostly male, had been born in Madagascar and an almost equal number in Mozambique, also mostly male, i.e. 6,260. These most probably represent the illegally brought in slaves after 1807. 35,746 were born in Mauritius and 633 in Asia, excluding India. None had been born in India.

Where were the ex-apprentices who agreed to be listed as such in 1846? What were their occupations? While there have been several studies on this, it is worth refreshing our memories as to occupations engaged in by ex-apprentices. For those who had been skilled under slavery, these same occupations were practised. The most common were among the boot-and shoe-makers, blacksmiths, sack-and mat-making, masons, carpenters and brick-layers, tombstone cutters. In transport, a large number were employed as carters, grooms and boatmen. A large number were not skilled and uneducated and untrained and were employed, consequently, as non-agricultural labourers and workers. Few worked on sugar estates, but did work in other sectors of agriculture.

There was some significant regional

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a traditional occupation engaged in by ex-slave population, this sector deserves the attention of scholars. As has been stated before, it is important to grasp the mindset of the slave population before the abolition of slavery in order to understand their actions afterwards, given the paucity of information as to their whereabouts, after slavery was abolished. Only, then, can we understand the ex-slave population's movements after slavery: what did they think of 'freedom'? Was it individual liberty? Was it their intention to regroup somewhere? Was it education, and what about employment? Was it their wish to be near the former owners of the sugar plantations? Did women want to continue to labour on sugar estates or in the kitchen of the owners? This is all the more necessary as there have been numerous sweeping statements made in public discourse, concerning their movements which continue to impact on public perceptions and discourse. Some of these sweeping statements and perceptions are:

Ex-Slaves did not want to work in agriculture; Ex-Slaves were chased off the plantations; Ex-Slaves went to live on the coast after abolition; Ex-slaves were lazy.

More importantly, there is no differentiation made between the slaves. Just as under slavery, a hierarchy existed, there were also as many differences among ex-slaves: their ethnic origins and whether they were Mauritian-born or foreign-born; whether they lived in rural or urban areas; whether they were skilled or manual workers; whether they were males or females. Some were Government slaves, others had been

private slaves, some had families who had lived for generations on one estate, while other slaves (termed unattached) had been moved from estate to estate all their lives; some had marooned, others had been manumitted many years before. Their age influenced their movements, as has been seen in the case of VRS today. In other words, each had their own perceptions of what they wanted out of freedom. Thus, a female slave who had been forced to leave her children and forced to work on a plantation during the era of sugar expansion, had no desire to return to work there, but this does not mean that she would not have appreciated a small plot of land to build a house and farm some vegetables after abolition. Similarly, a skilled slave, earning wages, would not necessarily wish to leave the sugar mill: under slavery, he would have been one of the few slaves to have earned a wage, be allowed to marry whoever he wished and have a surname.

The Magistrates, visiting the districts, also confirmed that slaves went for activities that they had been denied under slavery and rejected those activities which they had been forced to do and did not like to do. They wished to wear shoes, eat bread, own a plot of land, be autonomous, live as far away as possible from the sugar plantations.

The evidence, available so far, points to multiple actions undertaken by slaves at the time of abolition and during apprenticeship, and these events need to be studied more closely than has been the case hitherto and juxtaposed with existing Laws and their implementation. So far what can one say for certain?

Maroon apprentices (1835-1839)

The

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certain?

Maroon apprentices (1835-1839)

The number of maroon apprentices numbering 9,000 is a clear indication of what apprentices felt about the new apprenticeship system that had been introduced. For them, this was the 'new system of slavery' par excellence and ex-slaves were fully aware of this.

Apprentices purchased their freedom (1835)

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pride to them that they purchased their own freedom. Special Magistrate Fitzpatrick also noted that slaves did not trust the Act of Emancipation as, for them, it was not a 'secure state of liberty' and preferred to buy their freedom. The Commissioner of Police, for his part, noted that among slaves in Port Louis, it was considered a 'dishonour', if they did not effect their own emancipation before the general abolition. This consequently, according to him, was the cause of the rise in thefts in Port Louis. Some, as Therese Batterie, slave of Aristide Labutte, purchased her freedom one month before apprenticeship ended.³³³ The registers of these 'liberations from apprenticeship' (the IF series), many of them female, require the attention of historian.³³⁴

Migration and mobility (1840s-1860s)

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Migration and mobility (1840s-1860s)

Reports in 1845 of the whereabouts of the slave population indicate a high rate of mobility between regions: in Black River, for example, 1/3 of the slave population left the district, only to be replaced by others entering it.³³⁵ This too deserves further attention. TJC's research into family histories is a

pioneering venture in that it helps to determine the exact location of families and how they moved from one region to another, after abolition of slavery. This has been the most challenging part of the TJC's work: to retrace family genealogies between 1840s and 1860s, which appear to be periods of high mobility among the ex-slave population. Yet, here unfortunately, the records are deficient. Large numbers of Civil Status registers for ex-slaves, in particular, are missing from the institution concerned, making the task of Family History reconstruction extremely difficult.

It was also observed, however, that many did not move at all from the districts after slavery, and stayed in the area. These were evident in the Black River region; in three successive studies, (a) in the context of the Corniche Bay IRS Project; (b) numerous studies, undertaken in the Le Morne area, by a succession of researchers since 1999; and (c) by TJC's archaeological, genealogical and historical work in the Morne village and cemetery. Genealogical research from Cité La Mivoie to Le Morne village shows a family link between all these families settled there today, and their settlement in this region since the days of slavery. However, many of the families are not aware of this.

Port Louis seems also to have been the place where many went to look for work, and settlements all around the capital emerged after abolition of slavery. With sugar expansion, there were numerous opportunities as the 1847 Census shows. Over a quarter of ex-slaves were living in Port Louis after abolition. The fate of the elderly among them, however, was not good as many perished in the epidemics that struck the island in the 1850s and 1860s.

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

Displacement of persons of African and Malagasy origin, whether as slaves, ex-slaves or descendants appears to be a continuing and apparently constant feature of Mauritian History and custom. The history of the former inhabitants of the original Le Morne Village/Trou Chenille, as well as the History of the Chagossians, are some of the most publicized of cases, but such displacement continues in 'modern' Mauritius.

Land ownership (1839-1846)

The

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Mauritius.

Land ownership (1839-1846)

The desire for land by ex-slaves has been amply and very ably demonstrated in the work of Richard Allen, and it is not necessary to repeat the details here: in the period of the 'petit morcellement', large numbers of ex-slaves purchased plots. How and why they had lost much of this by the 20th century is being investigated, but already, it is possible to say that absence of capital to manage the land, greed of neighbouring estates and encroachment during the period of sugar expansion are some of the reasons. The illiteracy of persons across Mauritius in the 19th century, extending well

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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

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by exapprentices to wage bargaining.

What has not been examined is the situation on each estate in order to ascertain the labour needs of each. At the time of emancipation, the effective labour force amounted to only some 25,000, out of the population of 61,022 slaves. Some estates had been desperately short of labour even before abolition, as they had either expanded or had an ageing population or with numerous families and not enough able-bodied men. Only on some estates, did ex-slaves wish to work, as has been pointed out.

Thus, the potential for conflictual relations would only arise when there was open competition for employment on such estates. How many estates were in this situation, at this stage, has not been established by any study. It was employers fighting among themselves, rather than ex-slaves and indentured fighting each other for employment on sugar estates.

Furthermore, it must be noted

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FROM AFRO-MALAGASY TO CREOLE

We find that a scientific study of cultural marginalisation of Afro-Malagasy populations, descended from slavery, is required in the future.

Up to today, there is very little encouragement given to popularisation of African or Malagasy cultures in any public institution or through private initiative. Even among socio-cultural organisations, regrouping descendants of slaves, there is only token acknowledgment of African and Malagasy religions, language and culture. Few have claimed that the Malagasy and African religions, language and philosophy, be taught in schools or universities; yet, these constitute the ancestral cultures of slaves.

This situation needs to be

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not only ignored, but denigrated.

The 'Scramble for the Souls' of Africans and Malagasy between the Anglican and Catholic Church did not help the situation. However, in this 'scramble', the Protestant approach stands in stark contrast to Catholic attempts at evangelisation. The work of Reverend Lebrun and Père Laval have been compared in studies. In stark contrast to the work of Reverend Lebrun, who taught children of ex-slaves to read and write, Père Laval failed to educate slaves. The results are clear: Lebrun's 'children' rose up to become the first island's lawyers, doctors and journalists and led the struggle for civil rights in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Numerous studies have pointed out the various cultures, languages and religions, existing in Mauritius after abolition of slavery. French ethnographer, Eugene Froberville, not only observed and talked to Mozambicans in Port Louis, but even drew a linguistic map of Mozambique from his interviews in

Mauritius. Baissac documented proverbs and stories he had heard in Mauritius. Similarly and more recently, Larsson has shown, through detailed studies of archival evidence, how in Port Louis, about 30% of the population spoke in Malagasy, in addition to Creole, French and Indian languages, in the 1830s. 1880s By the end of

Reference 300 - 0.01% Coverage

Afro-Malagasy forms of worship.”

Many studies have also been conducted on the contribution of Malagasy slaves to our knowledge and use of plants for medicinal purposes. These contributed to treatment of the numerous ailments of slaves, Malagasy and others, during the period of slavery.

The pioneering work of Père Martial, who has conducted much research into the adoption of Christianity by Malagasy ex-slaves of the 19th century, is illuminating. For those

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Malagasy are profoundly religious, as were the ex-slaves in the 19th century. Indeed, as he notes, Père Laval relied on Malagasy ex-slaves to help spread Christianity among ex-slaves. Most of the Malagasy, baptized and married, were in their 40s and 50s. His conclusion is that the European priests were against the ‘creolisation’ of Christianity or its ‘malgachisation’ at that time (Martial: 170).

Neither was this ‘malgachisation’ or

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be linked to traditional rituals.

To do justice to the restoration of the culture of slaves and their descendants, the Malagasy and Mozambican languages should be researched and studied, and their contributions to the Creole language and culture scientifically studied. There is no reason why the Malagasy language should not be taught at the same level as other languages at the University, or even in schools.

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report “Poverty in Mauritius, 1998”,

“Poverty, multi-faceted, cuts across all communities. It is an extremely difficult exercise to pin-point what is its exact link with slavery. However, what can be said from studies done on this subject from structural trends and indicators, as well as field studies, mentioned before, is that an aggregate of indicators show more massive marginalisation processes affecting Creole communities”. (Poverty in Mauritius, 1998)

Effectively, centralisation and mechanisation in

Reference 304 - 0.01% Coverage

misbehaviour”, among the young generations.

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

It is to be noted

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take different forms, including overspending.

From anthropological studies made in Africa and Madagascar, the importance of lineage, ancestors and the dead ones, in the definition of Self, is duly recognised. Such is the case of some Asian societies as well. Self in traditional agrarian societies expresses itself through family roots and, most importantly, from the encounter of two lineages. Social cohesion is pursued and valued in that it fosters self-esteem. In the case of slavery, the ruptures in the succession of generations through the dysfunction of families and absence of reference to ancestry laid the basis for dispossession of Self. It is known that transmission of values across generations foster resilience and help to project oneself in the future.

Identification mechanism through lineage and

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Self instead of situational factors.

According to J. G. Leary (2005), the psycho-social dynamics, generated at the time of slavery, have produced, as with black communities in the West-Indies, Brazil or U.S.A., an 'implosion' of Creole communities. Violence against the dominant system is represented and transformed in violence against Self.

In this state of affairs

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THE TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION

Creole population that, at some point of collective mobilisation for better life conditions, for example, in a community based or mutual aid organisation, solidarity does not last long. Social combat with leaders from the community find its objectives rerouted towards the quest of self rewards, inflation of the ego, narcissism, search for limelight. Simultaneously, grassroots members are disappointed and tend to fall into social reclusion. The fear of informants and traitors to the community from the days of slavery seems to be reactivated. On the other hand, during slavery, slave leaders were eliminated, isolated, killed or ridiculed. Thus, the resulting leader was nothing more than the master's pawn; slaves developed defence mechanisms to survive, but at their own expense. Playing the clown saved slaves from feeling the wrath of their masters. Being entertaining was a coveted status because, from nothingness, slaves could emerge in the master's favour. It appears that this identification process is still ongoing, to a great extent, through comedy or entertainment rather than in the intellectual sphere. However, counter role-models, not confined to the entertaining stereotype and encompassing other skills than athletics are gradually rebuilding aspirations of the younger generations.

Until this rebuilding is complete, at all levels, grass not or at upper echelon of social involvement, in political parties, leadership is very often subject to intra community misinterpretation, rivalry, dissension and constant threat of being illegitimate. Long term objectives are re-oriented according to short-sighted status competition. Empowerment of leaders within Creole communities, therefore, goes

hand in hand with empowerment of the whole community. Significant other (leaders, opinion leaders) in the political economic and social spheres use this inherited weakness, and today as in the years of slavery, “congenital inferiority” implicitly underlines many social discourses and actions.
The family and disjointed quality

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and disjointed quality of relationships

Slavery has affected the family institution the most. The selective breeding of the biggest and strongest slaves was a profitable endeavour for the slave-owner but devastated the family structure. It was a method that reinforced the idea that slaves were little more than human livestock, which were to be used and/or abused at their owners’ whim. The psychological impact that the practice of selective breeding took on slaves is immeasurable, and a valuable tool with which to wage psychological warfare against slaves. Due to selective breeding, some slaves were deprived of the right to develop monogamous family relationships. Psychologically, selective breeding influenced slaves to believe that family relationships were of little value, and fostered insecurity and anxiety within the slave psyche concerning the stability of a family unit. The destruction of the role of the father during slavery would have a major impact decades and centuries later.

The consequences are expressed in

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are expressed in different ways:

Single-parent households and isolation of the males. And for the males, matters are made more difficult by exclusion from the new mainstream Capitalist System and the major segments of the labour market following the abolition of slavery and the arrival of indentured labour.

Conclusions, challenges and Recommendations

In

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down too (Sooben 2009:17).”

In Mauritius, since the early days of slavery, the Grande Bande and the Petite Bande was the way to organise workers into teams who are responsible for performing specific tasks. These groups are still used in the Mauritian Sugar Industry today, the main criterion used is still to distinguish the tasks that each group should perform based on the physical strength required to perform certain tasks. This criterion has been and is used as further justification to determine the wage levels of workers in the two groups, with the obvious ramification that labourers who work in the Grande Bande are paid more than those working in the Petite Bande (or “granban” and “tiban” in the Creole language).

Yet while it is does

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8. NON PAYMENT OF WAGES

This long-term pattern of labour exploitation by non-payment of wages can only be ascribed to Mauritian slavery where owners never paid slaves and continued to be reluctant to pay full amount due to workers.

Illegal deductions continued, as under

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TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION INTRODUCTION

Slavery and indenture were primarily economic systems responsible for many ills. Both were also ideological cultural social institutions which created a particular society that many believe to be unique. There may be a case for 'Mauritian exceptionalism'. The particular situation Mauritius was in (geography proximity, existence of local capital, insularity, highly mixed populations, coupled with huge interest of the powers in Mauritius has led to the creation to new communities in the midst of the existing populations. Some of them marked Mauritian history as indelibly as the colonists, slaves and indentured labourers without being any one of these groups or perhaps being a bit of all of these groups. They have been labelled a 'transitional' group or a 'dying' group or even people who did not fit in any category. In the Commission's attempt to be as inclusive as possible and to cover a wide range of experiences occurring under slavery and indenture, it has focussed some attention on those groups who are neither slaves nor indentured, nor pure ex-slaves nor pure ex-indentured. These are for example the Gens de Couleur because they emerged out of the interaction of slaves, indentured and colonists, the fishermen and pig-breeders who refused to bow to plantation labour and become the unidentified mass living and eking out miserable existences in Port Louis, but chose activities that made them autonomous, the métayers who did not fit into the category of labourers who rose from 'rags to riches' (the traditional stereotype of indentured labourer history). There are also the Indian Christians, who are still struggling to find a place for themselves and who appear to be both rejected or ignored by both mainstream Hindu and Catholic communities.

1. THE GENS DE COULEUR

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1. THE GENS DE COULEUR

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

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

Politically, many were also they were victims of repressive measures and injustice during the French occupation (1715-1810) as descendants of slaves and later, in the nineteenth century, of indentured labourers because they were not 'pure white'. After the capture of Isle de France by the British in 1810,

there ensued a long, hard fight by the Gens de Couleur for their rights, as regards educational rights, the right to political representation and the right to land ownership.

Today, there is no longer

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of the Gens de Couleur

Chaudenson's definition of the term 'Creole' has influenced a generation of local scholars, but this definition does not have any grounding today as we have more empirical and historical evidence than when he was writing. For Chaudenson, this appellation is reserved for those métis or to individuals of the Malagasy or African type, with relatively clear physical features. 371 The definition ignores, however, the Asian element which has been part of the Mauritian cultural landscape since the beginning of French colonisation and is an intrinsic part of the Creole. This definition suited well those eager to separate and ignore the Asian part of the ancestry which was also not Christian. And fell into the trap of the plantocracy policy of divide and rule. The Creole of slave ancestry was reserved for the Catholic Church and no Protestant, Hindu or Muslim had a right to it.

But categorising the Creole as

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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

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to England and France [...] 373

Libertinage and concubinage are part of our heritage and should no longer be stigmatised or used 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 the Isle de France, cohabited with female slaves or Coloured women. Some married freed slaves - such later on was the case of Benoît Ollier from the Lyon region, who arrived in 1789 and later married Julie, a freed slave born in Mauritius; they gave birth to Rémy Ollier, who was to become one of our greatest journalists, in 1816. 374

The Mésalliances and de facto relationships were also the direct result of an imbalance between settler men and women. In 1778, there were 1,727 white women out of a total white population of 4,417; in 1809, white women numbered 2,671 out of a white population of 6,227. Rampant promiscuity and mésalliances led to the emergence of a mulatto and métis class. Free Indian contractual workers and Indian free settlers as well as freed Indian slaves contracted liaisons or marriages with petits blancs or Coloured individuals.

Many petits blancs, who subsisted in poverty, married freed slaves, although this created a gap between the so-called pure Whites and the petits blancs and coloured offsprings, a gap which grew wider. 375 Thus by the end of the 18th century, this intermediate category, the Gens de Couleur was in existence.

Europeans, however, distinguished 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

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Chinese workers or settlers and individual women belonging to the freed slave or Coloured community, but a detailed 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 Asiatication 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

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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 racial prejudice and an ‘apartheid’ policy, was the funereal rites and practices for the White and Coloured or Slave Populations. The Church’s discriminatory practice of underlining, through funerals, the inferiority of the Black and ‘Coloured’ populations right up to the 1830s. Coffins of slaves and free Coloured individuals were placed on two stones, at some distance from the Church and exposed to the gazes of passers-by and to the mercy of the elements.

Moreover, the case of M

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up the challenge in court.

However, although Gens de Couleur resented these prejudices, they themselves were perhaps guilty of practising it: Remy Ollier was typical of the emerging Gens de Couleur, making a distinction between themselves and ex-slaves. He stated that there ‘30,000 mulattoes and 30,000 Black people’ – an indication of the prejudices of the Gens de Couleur themselves towards the Tircéoles.386

Religion and Education
What was

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in a lasting manner?" 388

Despite their numerical majority the Gens de Couleur and ex-slaves could not appropriate the Church which remained controlled by the European element and was closely linked to the economic power. As in the 18th

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requests for additional funds. 391392

As a result of Reverend Le Brun's efforts, a number of primary schools were founded and blossomed by 1851. Le Brun was, at the time, in Hitié's opinion, looked upon by the freed slaves and the 'Coloured Population', as "the architect of their intellectual emancipation." 393 However, the political struggle for access to Education for the disadvantaged Coloured went on alongside Le Brun's endeavours.

In the 1820s, their representatives

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passed to Sir Charles Colville.

Despite the Ordinance of 1829 stipulating that, in future, there would be only two categories of people, Free and Slaves, the rights of the Gens de Couleur 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 leaders of the Gens de Couleur.395

It was only in 1835

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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 discrimination in Ordinance No. 57 of 1829. There would be only two different status: free persons, whether by birth or enfranchisement, and the other, the slave population. But in the Council of Government, established in 1825, there were no nominated Gens de Couleur in the 1820s, but only people of European descent – chief landowners and merchants.

Rémy Ollier and Reverend Le

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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

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WORKERS AND ENTREPRENEURS 1839-2011

With the focus on Sugar Industry, finding information on ex-slaves in the 20th century, one is faced with a dearth of research materials. While there is an abundance of work on slavery, little has been written on the evolution of ex-slaves in the field of employment over the past 175 years after the abolition of slavery and indenture. In the 20th

century, descendants of slaves and Liberated

Africans were left to fend for themselves and were forced to 'recycle' themselves continuously in a range of activities. Urban ex-slaves, in 1835, continued to work in the port, in the maintenance of fortifications, in the building industry in road construction and a variety of hard labour and were not necessarily laid off.⁴¹⁷

This is a testimony to

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fully acknowledged by Mauritian society.

While the descendants of skilled slaves and Liberated Africans continued employment as artisans, skilled and unskilled workers in sugar factories and workshops, others, such as male plantation slaves invented themselves as fishermen, pig-breeders, artisans, craftsman, porkers, loaders etc. By the end of the Second World War (1945), they were omnipresent as carpenters, joiners, blacksmiths, tinsmiths, shoemakers, cobblers, marine carpenters, etc.

In recent years, in the wake of new technologies and innovations, most activities in which they were involved, have undergone drastic changes. Fishing and pig-breeding are examples of two activities which are presently threatened and on which action is required. The term 'Creole' is used here to refer to both descendants of slaves, as well descendants of Liberated Africans who have become merged throughout the 19th century and the earlier part of the twentieth century. Most are also Christian. However, it is difficult to differentiate the population clearly as censuses, over the years, have labeled all ex-slaves, Liberated Africans, baptized Indians, those of French ancestry and Gens de Couleur in one category. The only guide rests in the Housing and Population Census of the year 2000 which makes mention of the religious appurtenances of citizens. Among the 413,000 individuals who claim to belong to the Christian faith, according to a study of Alain Romaine in his thesis in theology Religions Populaire et Pastorale Creole presented in 2003, this category of individuals mostly Catholics should number around 175,000 including Rodrigues⁽³⁾.⁴¹⁸

On the eve of the abolition of slavery, there were some 66, 613 slaves in Mauritius, excluding slaves in other islands.

Figure 26: Population of slaves in 1835

Population and estate slaves Other plantation slaves Workers and servants
Children and old persons Old

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offered any alternative jobs. Evidence

Through successive generations, the rural Creoles seem to be more successful than Creoles in urban areas whose services were no longer required after the abolition of slavery and who migrated to the sub-urban areas and large villages and led a precarious life.

As a side income, many

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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 329 - 0.01% Coverage

500 107

3000 Short History

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

In the not too distant

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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 Brittany, were introduced by the French colons and are still in use to this day, both in Mauritius and Rodrigues. After the abolition of slavery, pig-rearing was passed on to Creole workers and members of the family as a side occupation

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JUSTICE COMMISSION 3.PORT WORKERS⁴⁴⁰

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

Work in the port was

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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

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would be self-employed.⁴⁶³

Chinese businessmen, such as Hayme and Ahine, were very autonomous and resourceful. 464 They engaged in activities that were exclusively done by the Whites. They would import goods in large quantities together with some Chinese labour. Their shops were never out of stock and their prices would defy any competition. 465 Furthermore, the social transformation which occurred in Mauritius from the 1830s, with the liberation of slaves and the arrival of indentured labourers, offered more trade prospects to the Chinese. The Chinese set up their businesses at strategic points and received a type of clientele who “were not readily accepted by the Europeans.” In Port Louis, they settled between “le camp des noirs” and “le camp des Malabar”⁴⁶⁶ and traded between these two local communities. Their commerce expanded through rural

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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

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Christians in the early years

Dutch period The presence of Christians of Indian origin can be traced back to the early days of colonization on the island. These were individuals recruited from Dutch outposts in India and converted into Christians, bearing such names as Anna of Bengal, Simon of Ceylon and John of Goa, to quote but a few. The treatment meted out to them did not differ from that suffered by Malagasy slaves. No wonder they were the first among the freedom fighters to rise against their masters during the uprising which occurred in 1695 and 1706 and which led to the evacuation of the island by the Dutch in 1710.⁴⁸⁴

French occupation (1715 – 1810) Besides the presence of African and Malagasy slaves, the French occupation was characterized by the arrival of both free workers, but also slaves from French outposts in India; they originated from Pondicherry, Karikal, Yanaon and Bengal. J.M. Filliot estimates that some 12% slaves and free workers were brought in from the sub-continent during the French occupation.⁴⁸⁵

Madagascar West Africa

East African

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les Mascareignes au 18eme siècle’).

Some of them were Christians by birth, being given that Christianity had been introduced in India by St. Thomas, one of the apostle of Jesus Christ, as far back as 52 AD; Others were, de facto, converted to Christianity and had to abandon their native religions, since Roman Catholicism was the only religion to be practised.⁴⁸⁶ This was in accordance with the Letters Patents of 1723, which read as follows (Article 2): “interdisons tout exercice d’autres religions que catholique romaine.”⁴⁸⁷ On the other hand, in accordance with Article 1 of the same Code Noir enacted in 1724, all slaves had to be converted : « Tous les esclaves qui se trouvent dans les îles de Bourbon et de l’Isle de France et autres établissements voisins seront instruits dans la religion catholique apostolique et romaine et baptisés. »

Being slaves they, de facto, had no right to their family names, but only first names “l’esclave au même titre que l’enfant naturel n’a droit qu’au prénom,”⁴⁸⁸ and these names had invariably to be of European resonance. As slaves, they changed their eating habits and traditional dress and gradually forwent their linguistic heritage. The process of “deculturation” was thus complete.

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

« Un homme Caesar de caste

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port il y aura récompense⁴⁸⁹ »

Although all non-Whites were assimilated as slaves, manumitted and enfranchised slaves could buy land and maintain slaves themselves. Article 53 of the Code Noir reads as follows: “Octroyons aux affranchis les memes droits, privilegès et immunités dont jouissent les personnes nées libres”.⁴⁹⁰ (Eng. Trans. “We grant freed slaves the same rights and privileges and freedoms enjoyed by people born free”).

Enfranchised and manumitted slaves were more numerous amongst slaves of Indian origin and their descendants.

In his work on land acquisition by slaves and indentured labour, Richard Allen has highlighted on the ownership of land by the gens de couleur, a majority of whom were free Indians from Pondichery. For the period covering 1766 – 1809, 17,460 arpents were owned by free Africans and Indians classified as gens de couleur.⁴⁹¹ The enactment of the law of Emancipation of 1767 in the code Delaleu gives recognition to the presence of a third category of individuals, as opposed to the whites and the slaves. A majority of the people falling in this category were of Indian origin. Due to gender imbalance, many Indian slaves had no alternative but to marry women slaves, both of Malagasy and Mozambican origins.

On the other hand, in view of the privileged position held by female slaves of Indian origin as maid servants, many became concubines of their white masters; their off-springs gave rise to anew class of Indo-Europeans who later joined the ranks of ‘White Creoles’, known as Gens de Couleur. No wonder the free people, who in 1767 stood at 587 individuals, had increased to 5,912, in less than 40 years. ⁴⁹²

During the second and last part of the French occupation, free Indians, mostly originating from Pondichéry, continued to be encouraged to settle in isle de France; These were a special class of workers

engaged as artisans in the construction of fortifications and public buildings and other special areas such as boat-building, joiners, craftsmen and soon emerged as a new class of people.

In the main, they settled

Reference 339 - 0.01% Coverage

as nominee in 1901.⁴⁹⁴

As regards the descendants of slaves who came from India during the whole French occupation, the process of assimilation to their masters' culture and inter-marriages with slaves of African and Truth and Justice Commission 273

Reference 340 - 0.01% Coverage

JUSTICE COMMISSION 1. RACISM Introduction

At a time when Mauritius is celebrated for its protection of political and economic liberties, many Mauritians still seek social justice and long for an honest reflection on the past, as well as an honest account of the present. No society can claim to have 'progressed', if it has a significant percentage of its population either living in poverty and/or experiencing racial or other marginalisation on a daily basis. The negative legacies of slavery and indenture are still evident in Mauritius and continue to impede social justice and, consequently, undermine political and economic liberty. This, coupled with the historical and contemporary denigration and/or ignorance of slave/indentured labourer contributions to the society, perpetuates stereotyping, racism, underdevelopment, poverty and cultural amnesia.

The Commission has investigated racism in Mauritius. In-depth qualitative primary and secondary documentation research was conducted to find out why a substantial proportion of slave descendants and persons of African and Malagasy origin are still experiencing poverty in Mauritius.

The Construction of Racial Identity

Reference 341 - 0.01% Coverage

social, political and cultural practices.

Descendants of slaves and persons of African and Malagasy origin continue to experience significant marginalisation and poverty in Mauritius, but these experiences vary. This is partly because Mauritius has experienced significant inter-ethnic mixing since the abolition of slavery, and partly because there were differences, to begin with, between different groups of slaves and indentured labourers. Many can trace their ancestry back to slavery and indenture, and many others cannot. Thus these identities, as well as the experiences that flow from these, are real. The Commission has also studied genealogies of many people and, therefore, can safely state that there are descendants of slaves and descendants of indentured labourers in Mauritius. The experiences of these groups are real, and such people do experience discrimination, marginalisation and poverty on the basis of their historical identity.

The Commission finds that Mauritians

Reference 342 - 0.01% Coverage

such categories and further entrench

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
528 based on racial classification

Reference 343 - 0.01% Coverage

skinned Creoles is not possible.

How far are experiences of racism prevalent among the youth? The Commission finds that racism and the experience of race is especially important to young people in Mauritius and that experiences and practices of racism vary across identifiable ethnic groups. Online blogs, formal interviews, informal conversations and observations have led to the conclusion that the youths are frustrated by the continuation of a ‘pigmentocracy’ (social hierarchy based on the privileging of whiteness) in Mauritius. They are also frustrated by the lack of civil society’s commitment to challenging the continued construction of Mauritius as a racialised space. Experiences of racism vary across different groups, and while many young people reported friendships across ethnic and colour lines, there was definite knowledge of the racial divisions within Mauritian society. Among Creoles and those who openly accepted the designation of being a slave descendant, an important view was that the situation of Creoles was negatively affected by the majority/minority politics in the country. The view articulated was that, as a significant minority, Creoles could never obtain advantages or even basic rights in Mauritian society.

We find that race consciousness

Reference 344 - 0.01% Coverage

his or her own ‘kind’.

Socialisation, from a very young age, plays a major role in determining the experiences of slave descendants and descendants of indentured labourers. Their social lives are also constrained by the expectations of the older generation, the religious authorities, the school context and the places where they reside. Thus, all these factors conspire to foster a relatively restricted existence for the youths of Mauritius. Indeed, in the school context itself, it was found that the youths are able to experience a measure of freedom from these constraints. But once outside the school context, they are expected to conform and perform their assigned ‘racial’ or ethnic roles. Conflict arises when the individual does not conform according to the expectations of family, friends and religious communities.

Much more substantial work has

Reference 345 - 0.01% Coverage

THE TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION

obtained their wealth with very ‘little’ support, in the days of slavery and colonisation, and only obtained ‘plots’ of land. The Commission notes that the Franco-Mauritians are diverse and that they are not all wealthy; not all of them are accepted by the very rich. The Government must promote discussion around class diversity in Mauritius and work with the media and with schools and other public entities to dispel racial myths.

Socioeconomic decline among the Franco

Reference 346 - 0.01% Coverage

and Franco-Mauritians benefit from.

Some informants pointed out that, even though slavery has been abolished, the Afro-Creoles are still being treated as slaves, because they are exploited by their employers. Hence, their working conditions are harsh; they are underpaid and work long hours to earn a meagre salary, sufficient for subsistence only. The culture of nepotism or ‘backing’ enables those with the right networks, be they racial or family links, to progress in areas where those without such networks are excluded, such unconstitutional favouritism means that social mobility remains determined by race.

The Commission finds that black-skinned, young Creole, or slave descendant, women in Mauritius experience the worst form of racism. They are often the ones harassed and harangued. They receive the poorest levels of service. They are most discriminated against in public and Government spaces. They are the targets of racism from family members and in their marriages (from their in-laws). They find it difficult to obtain decently-paid work and are encouraged by a positive discourse on whiteness (the privileging of whiteness) to alter their appearance (straighter hair and light skin) and language (from speaking to Kreol to French) so as to appear more white.

Understanding the Burdens of Racism

Reference 347 - 0.01% Coverage

Understanding the Burdens of Racism

It is possible that descendants of slaves may continue to experience post-traumatic slave disorder (PTSS) a variation of the well-known syndrome of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). No attention has been given to the consequences of slavery in Mauritius previously and so little is known of PTSS. There is a growing number of people who are affected by complex sociopathologies in Mauritius and this is because of racism and differentiation that exist in Mauritius, and many people are finding it very difficult to cope with these. The majority of those affected come from the Creole community or at least, the more impoverished communities on the island.

Inherent in the logic of

Reference 348 - 0.01% Coverage

self-esteem and self-doubt.

It was found that Creoles, who are currently defined as slave descendants, routinely experienced racist attacks. This experience is cumulative because very few seek assistance or counselling for these incidents. Research into racist events (large-scale ones at least) suggest that victims tend to repress their emotional, and other, responses to such events. They also ‘endure’ day-to-day microaggressions – verbal insults, invalidations and stereotyping.

It is possible to argue

Reference 349 - 0.01% Coverage

responses to psychologically toxic events.

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 350 - 0.01% Coverage

safeguarded by the Mauritian Constitution.

The burdens of racism are many. These are highlighted in the report on Race Discourse. The impact of the emotional and psychological burden of racism cannot, in our view, be underestimated. To many people of slave descent and also those of indentured descent, racism imposes continuous experiences of inadequacy, inferiority and marginality on the least privileged in our society. Slave descendants and the least favoured among the indentured descendants need to continually respond to this victimisation in an attempt to salvage their dignity. This victimisation happens, despite the guarantee of basic human rights to dignity and equality in the Mauritian Constitution. We argue

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Reference 351 - 0.01% Coverage

as a Tool for Reparation

Among the many questions which the Commission has sought to answer has been that of the consequences of slavery on ex-slaves and their descendants concerning education. It is, however, the absence of the provision of education to the slave population and the ex-slave population that has the greatest impact on their lives and that of their children in the post-emancipation period. Furthermore as previous chapters have demonstrated, the need for a docile labour force, tied to the sugar sector, meant that the type of education envisaged for the slaves and ex-slaves was focussed on providing vocational education. The absence of education was deplored, but only because it did not fit the employers' needs. Reverend Lebrun, the apostle of public education, was the only person in Mauritius aiming to teach the children of ex-slaves to read and write thus paving the way for a generation of professionals.

By contrast, the absence of educating ex-slaves in even basic literacy skills pursuits meant that they lived without understanding the value of the written word. The absence of this knowledge meant safeguarding of documents was almost inexistent, leading to many cases of land dispossession due to fraudulent documents, inability to trace one's family tree, because documents were not preserved and so on. Functional illiteracy, enforced by the plantation system, caused irreparable harm to the ex-slave population.

What of the consequences for descendants today? The consequences and continuities of the slave system remain with us in many ways: in the manner we treat persons of African and Malagasy origin, discrimination, negative stereotypes which impact on self-esteem and contribute to failures. The system has not yet incorporated African and Malagasy cultures in the educational field. But rather, it has sought to bring all descendants into the Christian fold.

As far as Indentured immigrants

Reference 352 - 0.01% Coverage

use of by the descendants.

The impact of slavery on descendants of slaves and persons with an African phenotype is believed to be more strongly felt on descendants of slaves than the impact of indenture on descendants of indentured immigrants as far as the lack of educational provision during those period is concerned. Racism and

prejudices against persons of African descent exist in Mauritius and influences perceptions of those in charge of education. Many children endure abuse and denigration of their culture at school at the hands of other children and teachers.

However, the fact that ethnicity

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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 354 - 0.01% Coverage

particularly those of Creole background.

Whilst 'illiteracy' is no longer enforced, as during the slave period, the former still prevails amongst a relatively important section of the population. Enforced illiteracy had several consequences such as: a lack of opportunity to acquire assets, dispossession of land, denial of political rights, and these have impacted on future generations in multiple ways. But illiteracy is the result of a system failing the children. Children fail the Certificate of Primary Education (C.P.E) exams without having mastered the skills of reading and writing. Schooling in Mauritius has not favoured an oral culture, which is generally closely tied to the 'being' of the child. Working-class children, particularly those of slave descent, have experienced multiple forms of identity repression and denial, making it hard for them to connect to schools with middle-class values and ethos.

Failure rates are concentrated in the deprived zones of the country where ZEP (Zones d'Education Prioritaire) schools have been set up. The deprived zones have important conglomerations of families of both indentured and slave descent but the latter are more predominant. Given the high failure rates, the State has opened up a number of pre-vocational classes/schools to cater for those who do not make it in the last year of primary schooling. The fact that Pre-vocational Education (PVE) schools capture large numbers of children from both slave and indenture descent, particularly those belonging to the working class, the education team also undertook a survey of the PVE schools to establish the extent to which these schools actually provide a second chance to the more deprived. The reality of the PVE School, however, is a sad one. The way in which education is organised and delivered shows that the emphasis is on access, with little concern, if at all, for equitable outcomes.

The PVE was studied in

Reference 355 - 0.01% Coverage

each school) were carried out.

The specific objectives of the study were to examine the extent to which teachers were equipped to teach children from disadvantaged backgrounds, particularly those of slave descent and indentured labour descent attending the PVE; to assess whether in-school and out-of-school processes within the PVE sector were empowering the children and actually providing a second chance; to explore the different avenues available, and which could be used in assisting towards ensuring better futures for children attending the PVE sector. Focus Group discussions were carried out with a diverse student population within the PVE Sector in different geographical areas around the island. Questions and topics raised with students were mainly related to their identities, past and current school experiences, daily life experiences, their family life and parent involvement in their studies, and their knowledge of topics such as citizenship, 'Ile durable', patriotism. FGDs and other interviews assisted in obtaining some kind of triangulation.

Main findings The main findings

Reference 356 - 0.01% Coverage

findings of the discussions were:

1. On questions of Identity of students and the perceptions of slavery and indentured labour, many students described themselves as 'Creoles' or 'Indians'. Some of the Creole children called themselves Catholic but very few could actually connect with their slave or indentured past. Creole students reported that certain 'pejorative' (sometimes seen as racist) terms were used by other non-Creole groups in describing and/or addressing them.
2. On the experiences of

Reference 357 - 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 358 - 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

Reference 359 - 0.01% Coverage

children and the general population.

There is no evidence, however, of consequences today on the population of the poor health of the slave and indentured. As a result of chronic malnutrition and hard physical labour at a young age, slave children were subjected to severe growth retardation, as evidenced by their short stature by age 18. The heights of Mauritian slaves' children (both boys and girls) (in 1826) were far below the World Health Organisation (WHO) Reference throughout the age range 5 to 18 years, while contemporary Mauritian children (Creoles and Indians) (in 2004) have caught up with the WHO Reference. It is known that stunted growth among children is related to chronic protein-energy deficiency as well as to repeated episodes of infectious diseases.

In 1942, however, primary school children were found to weigh much below European norms at that time and Indian children had lower weight-for-height than Creole children. Newly-arrived Indian adult male immigrants were also less tall than male Creole slaves, although the heights of contemporary adult male Creoles and Indians are nearly the same. That is, early generations of Creole slaves and Indian immigrants were of short stature (an indicator of chronic malnutrition) but the descendants of both groups gained several centimetres by 2004 and both nearly caught up with the WHO norms.

Nutritional deficiency diseases
Studies and

Reference 360 - 0.01% Coverage

can be summarised as follows:

a. The slaves of African origin were on a mostly vegetarian high bulk diet having high carbohydrate and low protein content, with occasional consumption of salted fish or meat. Alcohol abuse was a problem among slaves. Their caloric intake barely met their high energy needs for intensive labour resulting in chronic under nutrition of both adults and children as evidenced by stunted height of both adults and children. The diet was monotonous and deficient in various vitamins and minerals. Total mortality was very high and life expectancy very low (hardly reaching middleage).

b. The Indian indentured labourers were mostly vegetarian with occasional consumption of animal protein and little milk. Their diet was high bulk, high carbohydrate and low to moderate in protein. Vegetable consumption was higher than for slaves. B-vitamins deficiencies and iron deficiency anaemia was prevalent. Their caloric intake barely met minimal needs resulting in chronic under nutrition. Both overall and infant mortalities were high and life expectancy was low. Indian labourers in the 1940s had poor physique and low work performance related to their poor diet and recurrent diseases, and suffered premature ageing. The prevalence of malnutrition coupled with malaria and other infectious diseases (including hookworm infestation) gave rise to a sick and debilitated population.

c. From 1950s to 1980s, malaria eradication and improvement in water and sanitation and socio-economic measures led to improved health and nutrition status of the descendants of slaves and indentured labourers. Their nutritional status improved with increased protein intake, a more varied diet, free distribution of food supplements to the vulnerable groups and

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Reference 361 - 0.01% Coverage

litres (Balfour 1921, Kuczynski 1949).

High alcohol consumption had been the cause of sickness and mortality among slaves, apprentices and troops. During the 1825-40 period of sugar expansion, the widespread distribution of liquor to slaves as an incentive to work proved to be detrimental as slaves turned into alcoholics. The amount and frequency of arrack distribution differed on each estate but ranged from as little as once a week to several glasses a day. Liquor became cheap and freely available as slaves began to distil it in their huts and sell it to other slaves. Alcohol consumption increased dramatically during the crop season and affected both men and women. It led to various social ills, including fighting among slaves, general disorderliness, theft, lateness at work, insubordination, accidents and, even sometimes, suicides. There were also many unlicensed liquor shops in the districts (Teelock, 1998).

Alcohol abuse also became the

Reference 362 - 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 363 - 0.01% Coverage

and legal framework were finalized.

9. Slave Registers

There was much concern about to the disappearance of all slave Civil Status certificates although Mr. Drack remained convinced, they were still in existence somewhere. Both the Civil Status Office and the National Archives stated that no other store existed in their institutions where these might be found. The search continues. To overcome this absence, several suggestions were made: the documents found at the Diocese, such as baptism, marriage Parish Registers for the period 1822-1836 might be consulted, although they were in a bad state. Slave demographic information was also available in the Slave Registers at the National Archives where mutations in slave population had been recorded. It was, however, acknowledged that collection of this data was a timeconsuming exercise which could be carried out at a later stage by the NGC.

10. Courses in Genealogy

Courses

Reference 364 - 0.01% Coverage

undertake document searches for them.

Of particular concern was the disappearance of Civil Status documents relating to the slave population. Our attempts, spearheaded by Patrick Drack, led to only a few volumes being found buried under stacks of others. These have been digitized. But the disappearance of the bulk leaves is a cause for concerns this appears to have taken place in the 1960s. A hearing in camera was held where the Commission learnt that most of these documents were stacked in the cells of the old Prison building, open to all the vagaries of nature. We also learnt, but this could not be verified as the persons are now deceased, that a 'factory'

producing fake documents existed in Curepipe. Part of the information was verified and found to be correct, such as that, a Mr. Signolet, a former employee of the Railways Department and transferred to the Civil Status Office, was aware of the existence of this 'factory'. A police investigation is required.

4. Current organization and management

Reference 365 - 0.01% Coverage

for a National Genealogy Centre

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

1. Family papers not having

Reference 366 - 0.01% Coverage

of families of their property;

6. Unexplained disappearance of bulk of Civil Status certificates relating to slaves;

B. Many people feel an

Reference 367 - 0.01% Coverage

family in Asia or Europe.

C. For those of slave descent and, to a certain extent, persons of indentured descent arriving in early years of indenture, changes of names have resulted and identification and contact with original home, village etc not possible. The consequence has been 'cultural', 'family and kin' loss and 'identity' loss. However, once in Mauritius, with a new name, it may be possible to trace several generations within Mauritius, and this may help to palliate this sense of loss that exists within families.

D. DNA testing may in

Reference 368 - 0.01% Coverage

export to Mauritius, since 1794.

At the dawn of the 19th century, oil was a valuable substance; it not only lit lamps, but was being used as lubrication for an increasingly mechanized world. If whale oil was one of the main sources, coconuts were another source of oil. Harvested, shelled, dried, and then pressed, they provided valuable, high quality oil. The key to the economic processing of coconuts was cheap labor, and the French in Mauritius had this in the form of slaves. Lapotaire had more than 100 slaves on Diego Garcia, providing for 12 mills, while Cayeux had an operation half as large.

The coconut oil exploitation soon gave rise to strong business competition, as two other men (one a former Cayeux employee) imported 20 slaves and set up a couple of mills of their own. There were disagreements over precisely who had the legal right to do what. This competition gave rise to a second bigger problem, since the British had begun to show interest in the oil business, while there was concern that the English could be tempted to plunder the island.

Governor Decaen, from Isle de

Reference 369 - 0.01% Coverage

on the island in 1794.

In the 1820s and 1830s, the British had set the stage for yet another extension of their worldwide maritime dominance. Slavery officially ended in Mauritius in 1835. At this time, most of the residents of Diego Garcia were indeed former slaves. Many had come from Africa via slave-trading centers on Madagascar and in Mozambique.

Diego Garcia continued to exist

Reference 370 - 0.01% Coverage

coconut fiber and cordage coir.

The Royal Navy had a marked presence in the Indian Ocean following the slave illegal trade. Moreover, the Navy undertook to survey Diego Garcia for steam navigation. In 1881, the Orient Steam Navigation Company closed its coaling station in Aden and transferred all its operations to Diego Garcia in 1882. At the time, the Orient Company had 12 ships running the England-Australia route via the Suez Canal.

In 1888, the Orient Steam

Reference 371 - 0.01% Coverage

200 assigned personnel.

MAURITIAN CLAIMS

If the French and British conflict around 1800 helped lead to the island's settlement, the U.S. and Soviet conflict in the 1960s led to the island's depopulation. Unfortunately, many of the island's residents, whose ancestors were slaves, had become attached to what they thought was their island. Unprepared for the termination of their primitive island lifestyle, they found themselves to be an impoverished and unwanted minority. Approximately 1,200 residents of the islands, living as agricultural workers, had been relocated by the British Government to Mauritius and the Seychelles.

Upon Independence from Britain in

Reference 372 - 0.01% Coverage

suggest recommendations to the Commission.

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

The Commission had set for

Reference 373 - 0.01% Coverage

of land from 1723 onwards;

3. examine the extent of landownership by freed slaves and ex-slaves, indentured and descendants and misappropriation of land;
4. investigate the reasons for

Reference 374 - 0.02% Coverage

TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION INTRODUCTION

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

Slavery was legalized, following the enactment of the Lettres Patentes (Code Noir, 1723). Studies carried out in both French and British periods show that slavery was far from being 'mild'. Slaves were chattel in the eyes of the Law, as well as being movables and they could be sold, hired out and transferred at any time in their lifetime. Slaves had no right to property, to a stable family, to a legal personality, or even to a surname. Slavery was also marked by the denigration of African and Malagasy culture and religion. Today, slavery is officially recognized as a "crime against humanity." When abolition of slavery occurred in 1835 and was replaced by wage labour, mainly from India, this was considered as a major advancement. However, this new immigrant contractual labour was far from being 'free', and numerous restrictions were placed on their mobility. Health and sanitary conditions on estates were far from satisfactory and on many sugar estates, there was heavy mortality.

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

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 375 - 0.01% Coverage

Justice, 1880s-1930s Political reform

In 1885, an important event took place in the democratic field, when free elections were held. But unfortunately, voting rights were restricted to only a few persons, as stringent conditions regarding property, rent and revenue, debarred some 96% of the population from taking part. The result is that only the sugar elite and a few members of the Gens de Couleur and Indians could vote. The Constitution of 1885 (Pope Hennessy Reform) continued up to 1948. Needless to say, the great majority of descendants of indentured labourers and ex-slaves were debarred from taking any active part in politics.

Further, the riots of 1911

Reference 376 - 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 extremous 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 377 - 0.01% Coverage

Exclusion of the Creole Community

The term ‘Malaise Créole’ was used for the first time by the Creole Catholic priest, Father Roger Cerveau, in the year 1993. He used the term to describe a situation where the Creole community, particularly the Afro–Creoles descendents of slaves, were not able to integrate the mainstream of Mauritian society in terms of education, health services, employment and housing. Their situation, in comparison with other ethnic groups, was relatively bad, and it was felt that something should have been done about it. In the words of Sewlyn Ryan⁵⁴⁸: “Creoles are the most economically and politically marginalized group in Mauritius. They are the dockers, the fishermen, the lorry’s assistants, home and construction workers and in some cases lower level clerks and factotum in the public and private sector.”

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Reference 378 - 0.01% Coverage

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

Despite the panoply of measures

Reference 379 - 0.03% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 380

VOLUME 1: REPORT OF THE TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION 10. From compensation to slave owners 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 the slave trade had started in 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 up in order to prepare the newly liberated slaves for their new life nor was there any rehabilitation plan put up. The result was that the ex-slave population was left to fend for itself, without a home, land, money or suitable employment and in some cases, with the family separated. Many families became destitute, were left without medical care. Many however bought or squatted on small plots of 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 their descendants continued to suffer from all kinds of prejudices to debar them from acquiring land or be employed in agricultural activity and be granted portions of state lands in small holding schemes sponsored by government in the second half of last century.

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Reference 380 - 0.01% Coverage

was a fact of life.

Rodrigues Island provides an interesting contrast to Mauritius as there has never been any cane production in view of the nature of the soil and lack of precipitation. There the post emancipation outcome was different as there was no divorce from the land and liberated slaves did not abandon agricultural activity because they were given land to farm after abolition. Agriculture continues to be the mainstay of the economy on the Island up to this day.

The time of consciousness

Despite

Reference 381 - 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

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was set up in 1968.

The struggle of the Organization Fraternelle (OF) deserves special mention. Although it has been a long battle for the Michel brothers, many of their demands, made since the 1960s and 1970s have today been taken up by Governments and by younger Creole leaders. For the last four decades in spite of their very limited means, they have laboured hard for greater recognition of the Creole specificity as an important component in the Mauritian kaleidoscope. They have shown that the Creoles are not a minority because they represent some 50 % of the Christian population of the country that is around 200,000. They have fought for and succeeded in obtaining the introduction of a daily creole news bulletin in both radio and television, in the official commemoration of the abolition of slavery on the 1st of February; recognition of the Le Morne Brabant as a place of memory and the introduction of the teaching of the Creole language in schools. Their most important claim is for financial compensation for damages caused to the descendants of slaves who suffer the consequences of slavery.

Many other groups have emerged

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Michel for the Verts Fraternels

This was the most elaborate document submitted. The memorandum written in the Creole language in May 2009 by Sylvio Michel, leader of the Verts Fraternels is a well knit plea for reparation for the wrong done to the population of slaves and their descendants in Mauritius and highlights on the need for the payment of adequate financial compensation. A second paper submitted on 6th of November 2009 elaborates further on the whole issue of compensation payable by all stake holders identified.

i. ii.

Given that slavery

Reference 384 - 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 who have inherited considerable fortune through free labour of their slaves and who have treated them most inhumanly. Their contribution to be to the order of 70%

iii. Government should be a

Reference 385 - 0.01% Coverage

be based on criteria proposed:

i. Only people of slave descent of age and who are born in Mauritius should qualify, these should not however be owner of any asset worth Rs 2 M or more,

ii. Cash payment of Rs

Reference 386 - 0.01% Coverage

and for children of beneficiaries

It is to be noted that the memorandum does not indicate on the method to be used to identify of a bona fide person of slave descent. There is no estimated cost worked out for the implementation of the proposed scheme and there is no estimated figure as regards the number of beneficiaries either.

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Reference 387 - 0.01% Coverage

claim consisted of the following:

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

2. Preservation of all heritage

Reference 388 - 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 389 - 0.01% Coverage

people of African descent and

5. Undertake psycho-sociological study to assess damages caused by slavery on people of African and Malagasy origin in Mauritius

4. MMKA by late Mario

Reference 390 - 0.01% Coverage

Republic of Mozambique and Madagascar

3. Make two banking organizations namely Mauritius Commercial Bank and the Barclays Bank participate in the compensation scheme payable to descendants of slaves.

5. ROC by Gaëtan Jacquette This was a well-knit memorandum where the author recalls the treatment meted out to the slave population during the whole French and British occupation and the circumstances of their being laid off after the abolition of slavery from the sugar estates. Given the distressed situation of the Creoles, descendants of former slaves, and having suffered all kinds of prejudice from the early days of slavery to the present day, the author recommends:

Truth and Justice Commission 384

Reference 391 - 0.01% Coverage

of an overall plan

embracing all economic, social and cultural aspects 1. Financial compensation should be extended to all people of slave descent.

6. Jocelyne Minerve, Ms. A

Reference 392 - 0.01% Coverage

de Chazal and Father Fanchette.

The above organization has close links with the Catholic Diocese. Mr. J. Rawat, is at the head of the Cardinal Jean Margéot Institute which gives courses to social workers destined to train potential workers in poverty-stricken areas. The target group consists of the poorest of the poorest mainly the Creoles all descendants of the former slave population who for various reasons live very often in absolute poverty.

He provided his views:

1

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for a better take off.

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

bring about a drastic change of policy by government to better the fate of the Creole community in Mauritius. He also stated:

1. The Catholic Church has left out the children of ex-slaves in favour of an elite among the whites and the Coloured. Class and colour prejudices have been the guiding principles which have turned out to the detriment of the descendant of ex-slaves.
2. Overt and invert racism have always characterized the behavior of the authorities towards the descendants of ex-slaves.
3. The language barrier has

Reference 394 - 0.01% Coverage

the public and private sectors.

7. Nothing has been done to really promote ancestral culture for Creoles. He quotes the Mahatma Gandhi Institute created in 1963 as an institution to foster Indian and African cultures has done nothing concrete to promote the ancestral culture of ex-slaves and their descendants. A similar institution should be created to promote research on African culture.
8. This can be seen

Reference 395 - 0.01% Coverage

descendants d'esclaves Africain Malgaches - Lyndsay

- Descombes 1. The deponent made a strong plea for the rehabilitation of the Creole community victims of the aftermath of slavery in Mauritius:
2. The various economic and

Reference 396 - 0.01% Coverage

a matter of national priority.

3. Government must give its full support for the elaboration of a national policy destined to rehabilitate the descendants of slaves who 175 years after the abolition of slavery still constitute the most depressed class of citizens of this country.
4. The problems to which

Reference 397 - 0.01% Coverage

and foremost be set up

6. The aftermath of slavery has had damaging effects on the descendants of people of African and Malagasy origin and can hardly be underestimated they uncover a wide field of human behaviour.
7. All stake holders must

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THE TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION

10. Jose Rose of the Rastafari movement The Rastafari movement, constitutes a small group of Afro-Malagasy Mauritians established in Chamarel. They have been victims of racial prejudice in their history, because of their lifestyle. They feel they are not lesser citizens of the country. They have been

dispossessed of their ancestral land and claim to be the poorest among the poorest class of descendants of former slaves.

11. Serge Antoine The author claims to be a strong militant for the rehabilitation of the Creoles victims of racism. He believes that assistance from the countries which have practiced slavery in Mauritius as well as the big landowners and other possessors of wealth should be sought in order to put up a rehabilitation plan. He has to that effect corresponded with various international organizations in order to sensitize authorities concerned on the plight of the descendants of former slaves in Mauritius. Education is the greatest priority and no stone should be left unturned to ensure that Creole children benefit from proper schooling since early childhood up to tertiary level.

12. Yola Argot-Nayekoo of Le Morne Village Trou 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 399 - 0.01% Coverage

as such in the Constitution

2. Whatever monies received from various sources in lieu of compensation for damage done to the slaves and their descendants, should be used for improved Education facilities, better housing conditions, improvement of health care and strong campaign against alcoholism and drug addiction.

3. He was not in

Reference 400 - 0.01% Coverage

in favour of cash compensation

14. Alfred Gino of Agalega, Chairman Island Council assisted by R Soobramanien, former Island Resident Manager Mr. Alfred Gino recalled the slave history of Agalega.

Things have improved since the

Reference 401 - 0.01% Coverage

languages in the school curricula

8. Change of the name of the place called Village Vingt Cinq as this name helps to perpetuate the time of slavery on the island where slaves were brought in and administered with 25 lashes for the slightest offence.

General Comments There is unanimity by all parties concerned for redress to the Commission on the following points: 1. Reparation to descendants of slaves through financial compensation or otherwise

2. Inclusion of Creole Language

Reference 402 - 0.01% Coverage

Constitution for the term Creole

4. Preservation of historical sites and archival records and need of a holistic version of the history of people of slave descent
5. Better educational facilities at

Reference 403 - 0.01% Coverage

OF EQUITY, FAIRNESS AND JUSTICE

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

FOR INCREASED ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL

Reference 404 - 0.01% Coverage

spaces and ways by all.

- We must not forget, in the process, that slavery was both about the slaves and the slave owners, for the slave was primarily a ‘possession, good’ owned by another person. Both groups, in different ways, were victims of a system.
- Reconciliation is thus about descendants of slaves, slave owners and the State, jointly and publicly acknowledging that a grave injustice was committed to African and Malagasy populations. Our recommendations on memorialisation of slavery, therefore, need to be openly and firmly 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 the memory of all slaves destined for Mauritius, including those who never reached Mauritius.
- It needs to pay special attention to those persons descended from slavery as they continue to endure several forms of injustice incompatible with principles of democracy and natural justice in the Republic of Mauritius.

THE COMMISSION RECOMMENDS:

1. Public

Reference 405 - 0.01% Coverage

of African and Malagasy peoples.

2. Increased funding for memorialisations of slavery and the slave trade in public places, and especially in places where slaves have lived, died and worked.
3. Increased funding for research in all aspects of slavery and the slave trade conducted in a professional and impartial manner and covering all groups who were enslaved
4. Existing works to be

Reference 406 - 0.01% Coverage

institutions both financially and logistically

5. Works started by the Truth and Justice Commission to be continued by competent authorities and empowering young Mauritians through foreign scholarships and training programmes where expertise is lacking: The Slave Trade Voyages database, ethnographic studies of descendants of slaves.

6. Increased and facilitated travel

Reference 407 - 0.01% Coverage

for descendants and interested Mauritians

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

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Reference 408 - 0.01% Coverage

THE TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION

out on the Ball plantation in the USA. Sites of former slave plantations are ideal for this purpose.

8. Better memorialisation of the economic contribution of slaves to Mauritius.

9. Increased contacts with countries from where slaves were brought from so as to understand ancestral cultures and traditions which could be revived.

10. It is crucial that facts concerning slavery and slave trade are known and acknowledged and that memorialisation in daily and permanent ways is established.

11. It will allow for

Reference 409 - 0.01% Coverage

by the State Law Office.

16. The 'Maurice Ile Durable' project or National Strategy for Sustainable Development should include protection of the culture of people in the physical landscape of Mauritius and of ensuring access to sites of great emotional and spiritual value to descendants of slaves and to Mauritians generally.

17. A 'Museum of Slavery' to be created in the capital city of Port Louis for greater visibility along the lines outlined in following Museum proposal. Although one 'Interpretation Centre' is projected at Le Morne, this should reflect the Maroonage aspect rather slavery which was a national phenomenon.

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

19. The dozens of reports on slavery and Maroonage produced at public expense, containing an even greater number of recommendations to be implemented by the relevant institutions and other public institutions if the trained staff is not available. These include the Maroon Archaeological Investigation Report, the Management Plan of Le Morne Cultural Landscape reports at the National Heritage Fund, the Historical and Anthropological Survey of La Gaulette/Coteau Raffin, to name a few.

20. Recognition of the following

Reference 410 - 0.01% Coverage

and histories as National heritage:

Memorialisation of the islet where infected slaves were disembarked on the Ilot du Morne/Pointe Marron, forming today part of Hotel Paradis.

- Trou Chenille - home of ex-slave population forcibly removed. The Le Morne Trust Fund must document and publish this history.
- Slave Cemetery at Le Morne.
- Le Morne village should be

Reference 411 - 0.01% Coverage

JUSTICE COMMISSION interpretation centre there.

- Bassin des Esclaves in Pamplemousses and a memorial plaque/interpretation centre concerning the slave contribution to Pamplemousses village and Garden to be designed by artists.
- Slave Prison at Belle Mare to be taken over by the State and opened to public and an exhibition space created.
- The National Heritage Fund to locate all sugar estates using slave labour from 1815 to 1835 and a memorial plaque placed outside each of them with all slave names found from the 1826 and 1835 registers.
- Memory to Pedro Coutoupa, maroon

Reference 412 - 0.01% Coverage

and entrance to be allowed.

- Symbol of the left hand of maroon slave to be used in memorialisations by institutions such as LMHTF and NMCAC.
- A Monument to illegal slave trading on Bel Ombre Sugar Estate at the cost of the sugar estate.
- A monument to be erected in Plaine Verte Garden to be erected to remember the execution of Ratsitanina and many other slaves hung there.
- The prison building and historical

Reference 413 - 0.01% Coverage

Ministry of Arts and Culture.

- Artefacts to be returned to Mauritius: from Réunion, such as the piece of cloth used in slave trade given to the Musée des Arts Décoratifs of La Réunion.
- Committee to study the history

Reference 414 - 0.01% Coverage

and heritage in contemporary Mauritius.

- All Village Councils to undertake historical and cultural heritage surveys and restore and protect slave tangible and intangible heritage in their localities.
- Truth and Justice Commission 396

Reference 415 - 0.01% Coverage

by all sections of society.

- Stereotypical attitudes concerning descendants of slaves and slave owners, Europeans, Africans, indentured labourers, Indians are prevalent among public officials, private companies and the public at large, and especially those in charge of policy-making and decision-taking.
- There is increasing bureaucratisation and

Reference 416 - 0.01% Coverage

as is the case currently.

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

28. Programme of training of

Reference 417 - 0.01% Coverage

ELITIST SOCIETY THE COMMISSION FINDS

- The experience of slavery has had particularly negative effects on people of African descent in Mauritius.
- People with an African phenotype

Reference 418 - 0.01% Coverage

officer in their own communities.

- Many descendants of slaves and indentured labourers live below the poverty line.
- There is a continuity in economic system (slave trade, slavery, indenture) which produces exclusion, unemployment and poverty.

THE COMMISSION RECOMMENDS

67. Funding

Reference 419 - 0.01% Coverage

and poverty.

THE COMMISSION RECOMMENDS

67. Funding for reparations is sought by the Mauritian government from the historical slave trading nations, namely, the United Kingdom and France, for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of communities and settlements where slave descendants are in the majority.

68. Reparations be provided to

Reference 420 - 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 affirmative action must take into account women of slave and indentured descent. While it is acknowledged that it is presently difficult to define who is slave/indentured labour descendant, policy-makers (and Government) should ensure that positive discrimination occurs.

70. Discrimination at any level

Reference 421 - 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 descendants vs colonial descendants should be avoided. Such primordial 'talk' emphasises racial distinctions and promotes discrimination.

73. Members of our political

Reference 422 - 0.01% Coverage

a form of narrative therapy.

To change the feelings of shame and hurt which have been brought about as a result of inherited or internalized negative associations with slavery and other forms of exploitation.

89. The setting up of

Reference 423 - 0.01% Coverage

so prevalent in the family;

To work with children on specific themes related to slavery and resilience;

To offer to youngsters identity

Reference 424 - 0.01% Coverage

and group esteem

i. ii.

To conduct research on explicit or implicit structural discrimination and social stereotypes and prejudices affecting slave descendants;

To empower institutions financially and

Reference 425 - 0.01% Coverage

SOCIAL EQUALITY THE COMMISSION FINDS:

The British Government abandoned newly-freed slaves in 1835 to their fate without providing them with a home, plot of land, education and training.

Had ex-slaves and their families been alive today, a plot of land, a house and a Savings Account, opened for all children living in 1835 would have been recommended to the British Government to be given to all slaves found in the Slave Register of 1826, comprising some 66,000 slaves.

Slaves' desire for land and autonomy were not considered at the time of emancipation, and this constitutes the most important 'unfinished business' of the British Government regarding slavery and abolition.

There is a need to satisfy the land hunger of Mauritians, particularly of ex-slaves and their descendants.

Failing this as the British Government is long since gone and slaves long since dead.

THE COMMISSION RECOMMENDS: 93. The

Reference 426 - 0.01% Coverage

for farming and other entrepreneurial activities so that anyone who is a descendant of slave and indentured who has never owned land before and who wishes to engage in an activity that promotes autonomy be allocated a plot.

94. The creation of a

Reference 427 - 0.01% Coverage

and construct his genealogical tree.

For those of slave descent and to a certain extent, persons of indentured descent arriving in early years of indenture, change of names has resulted, and the identification and contact with original home, village etc. are not possible. The consequence has been ‘cultural’, ‘family and kin’ loss and ‘identity’ loss. However, once in Mauritius, with a new name, it may be possible to trace several generations within Mauritius, and this may help to palliate this sense of loss of identity that exists within families.

THE COMMISSION RECOMMENDS: 139.

Creation

Reference 428 - 0.01% Coverage

of a National Genealogy Centre

To assist Mauritian families, many of whom are descendants of slaves and indentured labourers, in their quest for identity, to reconstruct their family tree.

Provide Mauritians with all the

Reference 429 - 0.01% Coverage

in this region for generations.

156. family patterns and gender relations There is need to carry an in-depth study on the impact of slavery on the contemporary family and social problems, especially gender relations and family dysfunction.

Sex education should be mandatory

Reference 430 - 0.01% Coverage

approaches of the Mauritian History.

That research into comparative analysis of slavery and indenture be accompanied by research highlighting their common historical fate in Mauritius, and their shared living and working conditions on the estates that resulted in common representations and practices.

That the shared popular culture of indentured and slave descendants be promoted rather than the Sanskritised, elitist and orthodox culture that is currently being promoted and which does not represent the true heritage of the labouring classes.

Heritage sites and commemorations should

Reference 431 - 0.01% Coverage

to fulfill their duties professionally.

174. That the area known as Trou Chenille be officially recognised as a site of former settlement by inhabitants, many of whom are descendants of slaves having lived there for generations (and not as squatters) and that their removal be recognised as 'forced removal'.

175. Commission recommends they be

Reference 432 - 0.01% Coverage

MINISTRY OF ARTS AND CULTURE

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

Connivance of Civil Servants, Board

Reference 433 - 0.01% Coverage

out of the property market.

Current land uses and ownership are directly derived from our island's short and turbulent past of slavery and indenture. The TJC Report may come in very useful to add the essential historical perspective to the MID work that it currently lacks, as well as provide input on how people feel about land issues; as a process, MID is very much looking to the future; yet planning for the future can scarcely proceed without a profound understanding of the past, and how it influences the present.

Land issues, as well as

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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 435 - 0.01% Coverage

JUSTICE COMMISSION THE COMMISSION RECOMMENDS:

283. That in the light of injustices suffered by slaves and indentured labourers and their descendants, the Republic of Mauritius and other institutions make an official apology through the President of the Republic, the Prime Minister and private institutions connected with slavery and indenture, such as the Catholic Church, the Chamber of Commerce and the Mauritius Sugar industry

284. That a resolution be

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term deposits for 10 years.

354 Evidence of the presence of ankylostomiasis was recorded in Mauritius prior to Kendrick's report. But according to Balfour, it was only after advent of the use of microscopes to examine stool samples that it was possible to determine the true extent of infection rates. This raises an important question: was ankylostomiasis brought to Mauritius by slaves or indentured labourers? It could not have existed in Mauritius prior to human settlement, as it has evolved in symbiosis with human populations and cannot survive without a host to reproduce itself. And evidence indicates that of the two types of ankylostomiasis that exist, that is, *Necator americanus* and *Ancylostoma duodenale*, neither are found in Europe or colder regions of the world, as these parasites can only survive in tropical climates. It is most likely then that African or Indian slaves brought it to Mauritius or that it was brought by indentured labourers from India, Africa or China.

355 I was not able

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470

Appendix LIST OF APPENDICES

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APPENDIX 2 GUIDELINES ON ORAL DATA MANAGEMENT AND STORAGE APPENDIX 3

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BILL (DRAFT) 6.2 LIST OF CIVIL STATUS DOCUMENTS DIGITIZED BY PATRICK DRACK

AND TJC TEAM 6.3 CSO INDEXING DATABASE USER MANUAL

VOL 1 Truth and Justice

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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

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reasons why they were chosen.

During the mandate of the Truth and Justice Commission various investigations were undertaken and collection of data conducted with and about people using collecting oral testimonies and documentary information. The Commission gathered primary and secondary evidences enabling inquiries into slavery and indentured labour in Mauritius.

A responsible conduct of research

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Project data:

- Slave trade and indentured immigration
- Economics of slavery and indenture
- Race Discourse Coloured population Cite

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Commission 5

Appendix Special Data

Genealogical Data including DNA Consent Forms As the research is not complete, the DNA cannot be destroyed. The consent forms will be kept by the Centre for Research on Slavery and Indenture which has been associated with this project.

LAND DOCUMENTS The documents will

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the Truth and Justice Commission.

In this respect, these institutions have been identified as repositories of the respective archives: Slave Trade Databases and copies of archival documents and secondary sources:

University of Mauritius Nelson Mandela

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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

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reasons why they were chosen.

During the Truth and Justice Commission mandate various investigations were undertaken and human research was conducted with and about people comprising of collecting oral testimonies and genealogical information including DNA consent. The Commission: (a) gathered primary and secondary evidences enabling inquiries into slavery and indentured labour in Mauritius; (b) determined appropriate measures to be extended to descendants of slaves and indentured labourers; (c) enquired into complaints of land dispossession and/or prescriptions given before the Commission and (d) submitted a comprehensive report of its activities and findings based on evidences gathered.

A responsible conduct of research

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of the recommendations is attached).

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

- The archives should be available

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remain dormant and/or underutilised

- The database regroups primary materials and research data on slavery and indentured-ship and hence it is sensible decision to deposit the database at the Centre
- Oral history is a new

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1. The Language of Discourse

From the beginning of consultations, it was clear there was a fear expressed by several groups particularly from the Creole community that the TJC would be no more than an academic exercise where the real issues concerning the Creole community would not be discussed. The Language of the discourse to be used was questioned from the very beginning and the fear was that the choice of terms / words was crucial in describing the experiences of slaves and indentured and their descendants. Does one for example, use the term cultural genocide to describe slavery or cultural transformations? Were there other terms that were more appropriate? Daniella Police felt that a scientific discourse developed out of Mauritius was not necessarily better than one developed locally.

2. Landownership and dispossession

The

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locally.

2. Landownership and dispossession

The cause of the absence of land ownership among descendants of ex-slaves was widely discussed. It was made clear however that ex-slaves had not always been property less and Dr. Allen's work clearly showed the extent of land acquisitions not only after abolition of slavery but property ownership and entrepreneurial activity among manumitted slaves. The question was therefore: if ex-slaves had owned land and businesses, how did they lose them? Were they the only groups to lose them? Is there any possibility for any of them to obtain this land?

Related to this was the

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revived in a new form.

Slave/indentured land seizures

Some believed that Indian immigrants had obtained the land of ex-slaves and others that private individuals and institutions had appropriated state land.

The inequality in land ownership was highlighted. It was stated that while those of French origin were given through the system of concessions, land, slaves and capital to start their enterprises, non-Europeans

received nothing of the kind so that an economic head start was obtained by those of European origin in Mauritius.

Access to information concerning all

Reference 450 - 0.01% Coverage

frozen.

3. Culture Identity Racism

On this issue too, there was concern that the TJC not get bogged down in academic discussions and a specific methodology needed to be devised in order to be more publicly oriented. The Commission, it was felt, should go to the community rather than the inverse, especially as far as the descendants of slaves were concerned and should listen to the experiences of the population. Any recommendations should lead to 'actionable outcomes'. In particular attention needed to be paid to racism policy, Identity discourses and practices, and racism experiences to be documented. The evolution needed to be documented: while the youth would not speak so freely about slavery because of new globalised identities and even though they may suffer aversive racism and not about direct racism. The TJC should take into account gendered experiences across a group, rather than as individuals.

Education and human rights

Human

Reference 451 - 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 452 - 0.01% Coverage

development of a Creole Culture

Culture of descendants of slaves has been largely oral throughout the three centuries. It is still an embryonic culture and is still essentially oral. Is there a place for it in the education system?

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not less valid than others.

However it was also pointed out that identity construction is constantly being reinvented, defined, and redefined and what is a Mauritian, what is a Creole etc? One must not fall into the danger of reading the past into the present and also make analogies where there are none. Comparing Mauritius and the USA i.e., in the American situation and racism: slavery is not the source, it was abolition: Jim Crow issue. The risks in doing 'ethnic' research in Mauritius needed to be considered. When introducing the concept of

racism and asking people about racial experiences: encourage people to think in racial terms. The outcomes needed to be thought of.
Politics and the 'malaise créole'

Reference 454 - 0.01% Coverage

include all actors

4. Education

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

Training

The training of those

Reference 455 - 0.01% Coverage

Justice Commission 18

Appendix Values

Descendants of slaves should not be seen as a homogenous group as many had different values. There was a willingness to acquire education. Alcohol consumption
It was important to educate

Reference 456 - 0.01% Coverage

said and is summarized here.

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

Comparisons of Rodrigues (without a

Reference 457 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 19

Appendix APPENDIX 4 SLAVE TRADE DATABASE

The aim is to establish a list of all ships and their cargo to better document the slave trade and arrive at an improved assessment of the volume of the slave trade to Mauritius, and the actual number of slaves having been disembarked in Mauritius.

It is also necessary to include in calculations, those ships/persons/slaves destined for Mauritius but who never arrived, due to revolt, shipwreck, diseased etc.

Scholars from overseas working on the slave trade to Mauritius in their respective countries need to be included in this project, such as Thomas Vernet and Benigna Zimba.

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

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

Appropriate researchers be given the

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public through an online database.

Inputs should also come from various institutions and individuals in Mauritius and overseas particularly in France and Portugal where the main repositories for the slave trade are to be found.

Research should be continued in

Reference 459 - 0.01% Coverage

saw the light of day.

In 2009 the Truth and Justice Commission began its activities. One of the key components was research towards the memorialisation of the slave trade, slavery and indentured immigration. The idea was thus re-launched and discussions to finalise this project resumed in 2010.

In April 2011, the Truth and Justice Commission organized an International Conference on the Slave Trade. This presented the ideal opportunity and appropriate forum to collect the views of many persons from all walks of life on the subject of slavery, the slave trade and representations and allowed the conceptors of this project to update the project and infuse it with a new dynamism.

A few countries in South Eastern Africa already house slavery museums: the Rabai Museum in Mombasa, Kenya and the Museu da Escravatura in Luanda, Angola are some examples.

Our research through the various projects undertaken since 2000 (Origins Project, Slave Routes Project, Truth and Justice Commission, etc) has concluded that there is a need for an intercontinental museum linking the countries such as Mozambique, Mauritius and Madagascar, as they all formed part of the slave trade network in the 18th

and 19th centuries.

They are

Reference 460 - 0.01% Coverage

the 18th

and 19th centuries.

They are also the countries that have played a key role in the Indian Ocean Slave trade. Conservative estimates are that Madagascar exported over 125,325 slaves and Eastern Africa, over 180,000 slaves. France traded the bulk of these slaves (over 335,000) followed by the other European countries, Portugal, Holland and England approximately between 10,000 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 country in Africa and the world to have a Truth and Justice Commission investigating the history of slavery and its consequences and to accept the principle that reparations are required.

Mauritius has currently also all

Reference 461 - 0.01% Coverage

first intercontinental museum in Africa.

The Intercontinental Slavery Museum endeavors to be primarily, an institution directed towards cultural preservation and studying the phenomenon of slavery and slave trade in the Indian Ocean.

In addition, various factors explain

Reference 462 - 0.01% Coverage

of educational and pedagogical materials;

(iii) the Slavery Museum will constitute a driving factor for developing cultural tourism and the construction of economic and social infrastructures;

(iv) from the scientific point

Reference 463 - 0.01% Coverage

most of the African continent.

II. RELEVANCE AND BENEFICIARIES 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 will be: (i) students of all educational levels; (ii) educational institutions; (iii) communities that are part of the slave routes itinerary; (iv) researchers, teachers and academicians; (v) governmental institutions such as the ministry of tourism; (vi) civil society (vii) Countries in the region directly and indirectly affected by the Slave trade and slavery will be able to gain from increased understanding and knowledge of this process and how it continues to affect our societies today.

(viii) International visitors and tourists

Reference 464 - 0.01% Coverage

and endeavors among other aspects:

(i) to give logical continuity to the first phase of the Slave Routes Project in Mozambique and Origins Project in Mauritius. Both projects included book publications (‘History, Memory, Identity’ and ‘Slave Routes and Oral Tradition in Southeastern Africa’, audiovisuals and other materials; and

(ii) to be an inclusive

Reference 465 - 0.01% Coverage

of the term “intercontinental museum.”

IV. OBJECTIVES OF THE SLAVERY MUSEUM

Considering the role of future generations in social and cultural development of the continent, the main goal of this Project, is to rescue the history of slavery and the slave traffic in southeastern Africa. In this context, the gathering, collection and preservation of oral traditions; as well as the promotion of cultural

diversity and cultural tourism, and of a whole range of activities interconnected to this phenomenon, are crucial to this Project.

V. Implementation

Concerning implementation, we

Reference 466 - 0.01% Coverage

Appendix VI. Site of Museum

The conceptors of this Project recommend that the Museum be located in the capital city Port Louis.

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

The site par excellence is the complex on the eastern side of Port Louis comprised of historical buildings all found on State land and currently neglected. It is part of the Buffer Zone of the Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage Property. The Military Hospital complex will provide sufficient space for this and especially as one wing will house the National Art Gallery, a project also to be initiated by the Prime Minister's Office. This Hospital was built by slaves and indeed housed sick slaves on one floor. It is surrounded by other buildings of direct relation to slavery: the Post Office on which site existed the Bagne for Maroon slaves, the Granary where port workers (descendants of slaves) loaded and unloaded rice, the Customs House where slaves and Liberated Africans passed through when they first arrived in Mauritius in the 18th and 19th centuries, amongst others. Ratsitanina, the Malagasy Prince, exiled to and executed in Mauritius was imprisoned in the Bagne.

VII. BUDGET (US \$) ESTIMATE BY

Reference 467 - 0.01% Coverage

To dislodge; (v)

To deprive.

The work undertaken by the Commission has been laborious, given the short span of time available to probe into more than 300 years of History since the first land grant (concession) was given officially in 1726 to Pierre Christophe Lenoir, a French colon, Director of Pondichéry. Moreover, the task was delicate as it concerned people who have a profound emotional attachment to land they believe they have lost. Working sessions with hundreds of persons from all walks of life, have aroused mixed feelings.

People were led to believe that the Commission was a centre where they could be registered on a list to obtain compensation, either as descendants of slaves or indentured labourers; others firmly believed that the Commission was set up to help them recover plots of land which, they felt, misappropriated.

The Commission

Reference 468 - 0.01% Coverage

and testaments; and • sugar estates.

There was also the need to address the issue of how thousands of ex-slaves had lost their land. A Notarial Acts Database, on the recommendation of Dr. Richard Allen, who has written extensively on land acquisition by ex-slaves, was commissioned and 5 Research Assistants were trained to read Notarial Acts and input them in a database. A copy of this will be, as a priority be handed over to the Ministry of Housing and Lands.

continued.
The Commission examined closely

Reference 469 - 0.01% Coverage

ASPECTS BRIEF HISTORY OF LANDOWNERSHIP

The system of land grants, coupled with the forced labour easily acquired through slavery, are at the very heart of development and the creation of wealth across the island for those who were at the forefront of the development of the agricultural sector. The system consolidated itself between 1760 and 1810, when Mauritius under French rule gained prestige and wealth. The island's population increased and the planters grew rich. Agricultural prosperity was achieved mainly by an intensive exploitation of slave labour. Between 1767 and 1797, the population had increased to 59,000 inhabitants, including 6,200 whites, 3,700 free persons and 49,100 slaves. The population, in each category, more than doubled during the period. Port-Louis opened to free trade after the demise of the French East India Company saw a major increase in shipping, not only from Europe but also from North America. From 1786 to 1810, almost 600 ships from America called at Mauritius

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LAND GRANTS DURING FRENCH OCCUPATION

At the end of De Nyon's administration, there were only 200 people and two small settlements. If there were officers, workers and some slaves, there were no farmers. Isle de France under his administration had become "l'enfer de Isle de France".
Truth and Justice Commission 3

Reference 471 - 0.01% Coverage

REFORM – LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE ASPECTS

For most of the settlers, "l'enfer de Isle de France" did not change in spite of the successive arrival of three other Governors, Brousse (1725-1728), Dumas (1727-1729) and Maupin (1729-1735), all employed by the French East India Company. Most of the inhabitants depended almost entirely on fishing and deer hunting. Moreover, cyclones, thefts and droughts caused severe food shortages. The French East India Company began to make grants of land, varying in area from 146 Arpents to twice or four times this size to some settlers. But the choice of people to whom grants of land were made was often discriminatory. Not all groups were given land: for example, the officers got the best terms and the French soldiers and ordinary settlers, the worst. Slaves were not allowed to receive land grants. Some officers could get up to 1000 Pas Géométriques, while others had practically half that amount.
About 40 land grants were

Reference 472 - 0.01% Coverage

six.

GAST DHAUTERIVE ST. MARTIN

These conditions provoked so much dissatisfaction among the settlers that the Company was forced to abandon the one-tenth requirement and, instead, claimed 4 ounces of coffee or spice per Arpent. This

arrangement, as well, did not satisfy both parties. Other forms of regulations were passed in an attempt to bring the settlers to produce more in terms of agricultural crops and spices. This time, the Company offered a plot of 50 Pas Géométriques to those workers after the expiry of their contract. Besides, they were to obtain some tools and 2 slaves, half their pay and rations, with the overall facilities of loans to be

Reference 473 - 0.01% Coverage

5 years. The soldiers were encouraged to settle on the island, and the Company went to the extent of looking for suitable brides for them. Not only were marriage expenses paid, but soldiers were also given a dowry of 100 piastres. To create a pool of labourers, the Company engaged in slave trade.
Truth and Justice Commission 6

Reference 474 - 0.01% Coverage

the Cape, and even Senegal. Because the Company had the monopoly of trade and commerce – as was the case in all French possessions – the articles of consumption were sold at a very huge profit, which put most of the settlers in an extremely difficult situation. Life in Isle de France became very expensive. The situation was indeed very bleak in the 1730s. The early settlers either went back to France or ran away with their slaves into the woods and lived off hunting.
Isle de France experienced four

Reference 475 - 0.01% Coverage

Moka, Plaines Wilhems and Savanne. Land and slave-ownership were indicators of economic and social status on the island. Besides the French colonists who possessed large areas “concessions”, the ‘Gens de Couleur’, the soldiers (Noirs de Détachement) who participated in “Maroon Detachments”, were given 5 Arpents each. Contrary to the French colonists, they were not allowed to cultivate cash crops such as spices (cocoa, cinnamon, pepper, nutmeg or cloves) on their lands. The only cultivation allowed were food crops. The ‘Gens de Couleur’ gradually developed other activities: buying and selling, renting land and warehouses. They borrowed money to purchase property. As far as slave-ownership was concerned, most of the ‘Gens de couleur’ owned domestic slaves. Some slave women ended up as partners of the masters.
the Truth and Justice Commission

Reference 476 - 0.01% Coverage

1827.
EXPANSION OF SUGAR INDUSTRY
There was a fivefold increase from 1810 to 1830. Around 1825, the plantations were worked by 17 000 slaves, at a time when the cultivated area reached about 25,000 acres.
Alongside with the sugar production

Reference 477 - 0.01% Coverage

Port Louis, Montagne Longue and Pamplemousses slowly began to acquire some importance. Land grants were made in the area of Tombeau River. The early beneficiaries were Louis François Ferry, a merchant and a draper; Charles Millon, a Captain; François Perrault, Jean Capioux and Guillaume Dabadie. They were the first settlers to establish important estates like “Mon Plaisir”, “Villebague”, the “Forges de Mon Désir”, “Mon Goust” and “Pignolet”. Pierre de Roma, for instance, who was granted a plot of land in the District of Pamplemousses, formed a partnership with his neighbour, another settler and founded a company with his future mother-in-law, of the Pignolet family. Later on, they signed a contract under Labourdonnais' governorship to furnish wood planks for port activities. They were given each 25 slaves and a loan equivalent to 6,000 piastres and 40 heads of cattle to engage in cattle-rearing.

Truth and Justice Commission 10

Reference 478 - 0.01% Coverage

Mauritius an infrastructure for its development, while exploiting slaves beyond all limits. He gave a boost to sugar cane cultivation. When he first arrived at the Isle de France, sugar cane was grown solely for the purpose of making arrack. The two factories, created at Pamplemousses and Vieux Grand Port, were followed later on by more. The impulse given by the Governor to agriculture resulted, within a very short period of time, in the establishment of some

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Notary Public living at Mahébourg. But, in 1804, in the aftermath of the Slave Revolution in Haïti, some 313, 026.61 Arpents, out of the 432, 680 Arpents of cultivable land of the island, at that time, were given as “grants” which would give rise to a frenzied and hectic development of the agricultural production, mainly sugar, over a short period as demonstrated below:

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Reference 480 - 0.01% Coverage

towns and villages of Mauritius. The Pamplemousses District was among the first districts to be settled in the French period. By 1832, some 10,231 slaves lived in this district, mostly on large plantations. In the vicinity of each estate, the slaves settled in camps away from the owners of the estate house. These slave camps were made up of small huts made of straw. Between 400 and 500 slaves or more lived and worked on estates like Mont Choisy, founded and owned by Charles Millien in 1827.

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Reference 481 - 0.01% Coverage

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

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CAPITULATION OF 3RD DECEMBER 1810

Article 8 of the Deed of Capitulation, signed between the French and English Commanders, on the 3rd December 1810 preserved the religion, laws, rights and customs of the people of Isle de France (Mauritius). This property included land and slaves.

The new Government did not

Reference 483 - 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 484 - 0.01% Coverage

REFORM – LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE ASPECTS

land of dense forests to undertake agricultural activities. The objective, in the short term, was to become self-sufficient to feed the colonists, the administration including the militia as well as the slave population and to ensure supply of food stuffs and provisions for the increasing number of ships calling in the port on their way to India and the Far East.

It is worth noting how

Reference 485 - 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 486 - 0.01% Coverage

and obligations of each party.

Conditions attached to the grants, particularly 'les terrains d'habitations,' were advantageous. Any 'habitant of a terrain d'habitation' has the right to a quota of slaves, to an appropriate quantity of seedlings and plants in proportion to the acreage of his land. In addition, the company had to supply sufficient rations of food to the concessionaire and his family as well as all his slaves for one year until he became self-sufficient.

The grantee or concessionaire had

Reference 487 - 0.01% Coverage

port was successful, but it halted the plantations' economic development and diverted resources, particularly slaves to 'entrepôts'. Many planters invested in 'entrepôts' and to make a fortune, they reinvested in the Sugar Industry under British occupation, when

Reference 488 - 0.01% Coverage

des Indes' before its liquidation. Many grants were not maintained or were poorly managed. This led the Crown to take severe action. It was enacted that on each grant of 156 ¼ arpents, a minimum labour force of 20 slaves was to be employed and at least 50 cattle reared. On double-size grants of 312½ arpents there should be 30 slaves and 80 cattle; while on each grant at a quadruple size of 625 arpents, 40 slaves should be employed and 120 cattle reared. After period of two years, to meet these conditions, fields not worked by the numbers of slaves or containing the prescribed cattle, were to be retrieved and annexed to the domain. In 1767, Pierre Poivre was

Reference 489 - 0.01% Coverage

economy

FROM CHATTEL TO CITIZEN

Though slaves had no right to own lands, in practice, on all 'terrains d'habitation' the colonists used to allocate to their slaves a portion of land called the 'plantage' where they were authorised to cultivate a garden, rear poultry, goats and pigs. They were allowed to sell their products to make some money. The granting of the 'plantage' was not at all an act of generosity; it rather served the purpose of the colonists. When the slaves became self-sufficient, where food was concerned, with the products of their 'plantage', they depended less on the colonist who were supposed to supply them with their daily rations. An important number of slaves bought their freedom with revenue accrued from the 'plantage'. Experience gained has permitted some to start their own business or to trade in the sector. After the abolition of slavery, many slaves left the plantation or colonist's house to trade in vegetables, poultry or pork.

LES «GENS DE COULEUR» AND

Reference 490 - 0.01% Coverage

leases of Crown land.

CONCLUSION

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

choses de la manière la plus absolue, pourvu qu'on n'en fasse pas un usage prohibé par les lois ou par les règlements.”

Code Civil: “la propriété est

Reference 491 - 0.01% Coverage

de leur chef». Code xxi

In 1767, the enactment of the Loi d'Emancipation recognizes the existence of a third category of citizens between whites and slaves. This new category of individual comprised manumitted slaves, people of colour mostly mulattos, free Indians. These people could henceforth hold property, maintain slaves and enjoy all rights bestowed on white subjects but could not inherit from or receive from white citizens. Any donation or succession in their favour would be declared null and void, in accordance with articles Li & Liii of the code.

«Déclarons les affranchissements faits dans

Reference 492 - 0.01% Coverage

le plus prochain». Code Li

The Convention proclaimed in 1794 that all men are created equal. This infers that slavery was de facto abolished in isle de France. Unfortunately, the French colons of isle de France registered a strong protest and opposed to the application of the law so that the decision of the Convention was a dead letter.

Otherwise, free people of colour, emancipated slaves would have the right to acquire property. Although when Napoleon Bonaparte became Emperor in France in 1802, he reestablished slavery and even denied the privilege of right to property conferred to emancipated persons namely free people of colour to include Indians, mulattoes and enfranchised slaves. But in practice, free people continued to acquire property as evidenced from registers of concession kept at the Mauritius Archives.

In so far as the

Reference 493 - 0.01% Coverage

le présent abolit et annuler.»

In regards to slaves in spite of their liberation on 1st February 1835 and the end of apprenticeship in April 1839, their status as full citizens was only realized following the enactment of Ordinance 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.

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Reference 494 - 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

Reference 495 - 0.01% Coverage

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 mid-1820s, 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 496 - 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

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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

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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

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certain degree of financial independence.

Gens de couleur obtained the funds they needed to purchase land, houses, and other property such as slaves from various sources. In some instances, manumitted slaves were the beneficiaries of generous gifts or bequests from their former masters. On 28 December 1763, for example, François Desveau not only confirmed the freedom of Hélène, the daughter of Roze, négresse de caste indienne, but also bequeathed Hélène the impressive sum of 20,000 livres.⁸ The following year, Nicolas Auclair's last will and testament not only freed Susanne, négresse de caste malgache, and her six children on the day of his death, but also stipulated that she was to receive his plantation together with all of his slaves,

livestock, furniture, and other personal

Reference 500 - 0.01% Coverage

personal possessions.⁹ In other

instances, individuals such as Louis LaViolette enjoyed lifetime annuities from former masters or employers.¹⁰ Colonists such as Antoine Codère also loaned money to Gens de couleur such as Jacques Lambert, noir libre créole de l'Amérique, to facilitate the purchase of houses, land, or slaves.¹¹

It is difficult to determine the extent to which the economic fortunes of the island's 'Gens de Couleur' in general, and the ability of Mauritian Gens de couleur to acquire land in particular, rested on Whites' largesse. The notarial records reveal that the long-term economic well-being of some free persons of

colour and their families and descendants clearly rested on the actions of former masters or other white benefactors. The case of Marie Rozette, an Indian freedwoman who owned 156 arpents and had 113,000 livres in cash assets at her disposal in 1790, is a stunning case in point.¹² In other instances, however, the notarial records suggest that many more Gens de couleur received only modest financial or other economic support from local Whites, and often none at all. A survey of the slave manumissions recorded by the Notary Antoine Gombaudo between 5 November 1790 and 4 December 1795, for instance, suggests that most manumitted slaves received no more than 3

Reference 501 - 0.01% Coverage

Gens de couleur borrowed money.

Free persons of colour, accordingly, looked elsewhere for the capital they needed to participate in the local real estate market. Those who already owned land, houses, or slaves drew on the profits that could be made from the sale of unwanted property. Certain kinds of employment could be very remunerative for those fortunate enough to obtain it. Vivien de Carmasson, for example, agreed

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REFORM – LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE ASPECTS

that Baptiste, noir malabar libre, would receive one-half of his estate's produce in return for managing the estate.¹³ Rents were another important source of income for individuals such as Marie Louise Eléonore Volatsara, négresse libre de l'île de Madagascar, who acknowledged receipt, on 28 January 1786, of 8,830 livres from Sieur Delaux Verogue on the Ile de Bourbon for the use of her slaves.¹⁴ As the numerous land grants and sales to members of the Pitcha or Pitchen family between 1774 and 1807 attest, Gens de couleur also drew on familial financial resources or capitalized on quasi-familial ties to secure the funds they needed.

While cases such as these

Reference 503 - 0.01% Coverage

1820s, if not before.¹⁶

The economic fortunes of Port Louis's free coloured residents, like those of Gens de couleur who lived in the rural districts, varied widely. Almost 30 percent of the city's free coloured households owned no taxable property in 1806, while another 41 percent of these households possessed either real property or slaves, but not both. Even those free coloured persons fortunate enough to own both real property and slaves were often persons of rather modest means as the appraised value of their land and/or buildings attests. Of the 664 households whose property was appraised, 9.6 percent owned only a house, usually described as a straw hut (paillote) of no value, 50.5 percent owned property valued at less than 250 piastres (\$), 17.8 percent held property valued from \$250 to \$499, and 22 percent owned property valued at \$500 or more. The value of free coloured real property in the city that year totalled \$247,879 compared to \$2,582,765 for the city's white residents.¹⁷

By the end of the

Reference 504 - 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 505 - 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 506 - 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

Reference 507 - 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 508 - 0.01% Coverage

may have been allocated to slaves as provision grounds, continued control of which was undoubtedly a matter of serious concern to the island's new freedmen and women.

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near the land in question.

The ability of ex-apprentices to acquire such properties stemmed in part from the fact that some of these men and women apparently possessed substantial amounts of cash. Exactly how much money ex-apprentices held cannot be determined with any precision, but considerable sums seem to have been involved. The cost of acquiring an adult apprentice's services between 1835 and 1839 ranged from \$200 to \$250, a fact which suggests that the 9,000 apprentices, who reportedly purchased their freedom before emancipation, spent at least \$1,800,000 to do so. The ability of slaves to accumulate sizeable sums of money is attested to in other ways. Commenting on the demise of a short-lived government-backed Savings Bank in 1831, Protector of Slaves R.H. Thomas not only reported the names of a Government slave and a Government apprentice who had funds in the bank, but also acknowledged that slaves who had saved some money were financially astute enough to appreciate that the 12 percent interest they could expect, when their masters held their funds, was far superior to the 5 percent offered by the Savings Bank.⁴⁴ The notarial records likewise confirm that individual ex-apprentices possessed, or had access to, significant financial resources. During the first two years of the petit morcellement (1839-40), 75 percent of those who purchased land paid the full purchase price at the time of the sale's formal completion, a figure that rose to 83 percent during 1841-42 and then to more than 90 percent during the remaining years of the petit morcellement.⁴⁵

That some Mauritian apprentices commanded such financial resources comes as no surprise. Many slaves either had skills that could be used to generate income on their own account, or had access to provision grounds and were able to market their produce. Approximately 40 percent of those purchasing land during the petit morcellement reported their occupation as a craftsman or artisan, while another 20-25 percent engaged in agriculture or described themselves as landowners.⁴⁶ The value of this kind of activity remains

Reference 510 - 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

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Reference 511 - 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 512 - 0.01% Coverage

to reclaim the land leased.

According to research undertaken by Satyendra Peerthum for the Truth and Justice Commission, the first métayers could be considered to be the ex-slaves working for Free Coloured population after the abolition of slavery. A number of documents support this view. In April 1840, Captain John Lloyd, Surveyor-General of Mauritius,

reported in a letter to

Reference 513 - 0.01% Coverage

OF HAREL FRERES

EARLY HISTORY

Belle Vue Harel, created earlier, in 1775 by Jacques Antoine Dumolard, had some 110 slaves who lived there. Later on, the same estate was acquired by Babet and Jean Dioré. Jacques Saulnier created Beau Plan in 1821 and passed it on to J.T. Couve. In 1832, 202 slaves still estate. Recently, the sugar estate was turned into a sugar museum.

lived on his

Apart from

Reference 514 - 0.01% Coverage

sugar museum.

lived on his

Apart from the exploitation of sugar to reap large sums of money, slave labour was also utilised in industrial development, as at the “Forges de Mon Désir”, created in 1745 under the Governorship of Mahé de Labourdonnais. Gilles Hermans associated himself with the Comte Philippe de Rostaing to create the “Forges de Mon Désir” which specialised in iron smelting:

“C'est, en effet, en 1745

Reference 515 - 0.01% Coverage

toute l'île à cette époque.”

In 1753, Rostaing received 50 slaves to work as masons, stonecutters and carpenters to create an oven to melt the iron. The Forges occupied around 4,056 acres of land, plus another 10,000 more acres of forests, kept to supply the estate with charcoal. From 1752 to 1759, Mon Désir employed around 790 slaves and supplied the French Engineer de Cossigny with iron for the construction of fortifications over the whole island. The Forges turned out to be so successful that production amounted to around £1 million of iron of different types per annum. These materials were exported to India.

The slaves, attached to the Forges, lived in the nearby “camps”, which were aligned in long rows of huts, each of them enclosed by a family garden. The area was divided in quarters, each having its own black commander to look after the well-being of the inhabitants. Hermans formed 200 of his slaves to be militarily disciplined and worked them as if they were true soldiers. He was very satisfied with the job

they performed. However, this period of prosperity was not everlasting. In 1774, the owners of the Forges were forced to sell the estate as it went bankrupt. From then on, there came a change in the function and naming of the site.

Mahé de Labourdonnais owned the land situated in the valley formed by Mount Calebasses, Pieter Both and in the South, at Ferney. Some 236 slaves lived and worked in his indigo factory. Later on, sugar was cultivated to produce arrack, hence the need for a 'guildiverie'. In 1820, a sugar factory was created on the estate and, in 1832, one Daruty owned the estate.

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Reference 516 - 0.01% Coverage

REFORM – LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE ASPECTS

Cossigny, Manager of the Moulin à Poudre, was one of the few settlers who wanted to remunerate the slaves. However, this move was firmly opposed by his peers. The Moulin à Poudre, formerly located near Balaclava, was used as a site to manufacture powder needed in wars until the end of French occupation of the island in 1810. The manufacture exploded several times. It was later decided to transfer it to the former site occupied by the Forges in 1771. From 1823, the Moulin was used as a hospital.

Figure 6. Some of the

Reference 517 - 0.01% Coverage

another major French retailing group.

SLAVE OWNERSHIP

As will be seen in the table showing registration returns in 1826, there was a close association of sugar estates with slavery and in this particular case, with the slave trade and commerce since the 18th century. Most of the Mozambican slaves were in their 30s in 1826 returns which roughly correlates with the period when slave trading was going on with Kilwa and Zanzibar. Captain Harel in charge of the Favorite went to Kilwa on 2 October 1805; to Zanzibar on 17 January 1807 (Source: Auguste Toussaint La Route des Iles pp. 271-2). Other captains of the Favorite, apart from Harel, were Castaignet, Bazin, Prédet, Dumaine, Coucaud.

Harel was also Captain of

Reference 518 - 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.

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Reference 519 - 0.01% Coverage

Reference: TJC/L/R/0003

Simon Raboude claims to be owner of a land at Fond la Digue but is unable to produce any documents. There seems to be a forlorn request for research. That Mr. Simon Raboude claims ancestry from a slave has been abundantly proved as well as to the genuineness of his roots in Rodrigues. The averment that his said ancestor had in Rodrigues as well as in other parts of the island of Mauritius is not however substantiated by any documentary evidence.

The Commission has gone though

Reference 520 - 0.01% Coverage

and ownership by the State.

Unrecognised in law was the land used communally by persons working for the estates: slaves and contracted workers who lived and worked in the estate camps and also grew provisions. It could be described as communal use of land.

However, in Mauritius, the extent of ownership is highly skewed in favour of large plantations owners.

There has never been large-scale redistribution of lands either after abolition of slavery or indenture or independence by governments, colonial or independent. Small farmers and proprietors have on their own saved enough money and bought many plots of land at various moments in history.

Indeed, control of land has always been a key issue and a latent source of conflict. 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 521 - 0.01% Coverage

highlighted in this present report.

A poor Frenchman could never aspire to obtaining a land grant of 156 Arpents, nor could an unskilled slave.

Some slaves did obtain, however, large tracts when they were manumitted (See Appendix 1).

- On 18th February 1791, Widow Maudave freed Marie, her slave. As a reward, Marie was given a piece of land, 3 000 livres and three slaves.
- Azor, a Mozambican slave obtained his freedom from Sr Jean Baptiste Pipon and 12 Acres of land in Camp de Masque, District of Flacq.
- Marguerite, a Creole slave was given her freedom as well as 78 Acres of land and eleven slaves by the late Sr Fleury in his will.

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Reference 522 - 0.01% Coverage

REFORM – LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE ASPECTS

More plots of land, however smaller, and located in the Camp des Noirs Libres, Camp des Lascars and Camp des Malabars, in Port- Louis, were given to manumitted slaves. Pierre, for example, a former slave, manumitted his parents and sister, and gave them a house as well as 10 Acres in Mahebourg. Succession to property was also

Reference 523 - 0.01% Coverage

or other, except for concubines.

However, the law of 2 Pluviose An XII (24th January 1804) deprived natural children of colour from inheriting from white fathers. The French Government felt that by preventing Whites from giving to their slaves and freed slaves, this law would reduce and alter the ties of respect and attachment that Black felt towards their master.

Articles 767 and 768 deprived

Reference 524 - 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 products also dictated land policies: it was preferable to produce sugar for export than to grow food. The economic emancipation of ex-slaves was not, at this stage, on the agenda of the British Government. Lord Glenelg’s views were shared by the plantation owners but difficult to implement: land was important to ex-slaves and as many had saved sufficient capital and they had bought land in large numbers all over the island.

The supposed aversion to agriculture

Reference 525 - 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 ascendancy, judges and lawyers could and did unashamedly empty the Courts to protect their sectoral interests. British merchants and creditors, for example, who, by 1832, apparently held mortgages on all but one of the island’s sugar plantations, protested regularly about being defrauded by Mauritian debtors because of partisan “Avoués” and antiquated French laws so ‘remarkably convenient for cheating the British out of their money’. They persistently urged the Colonial Office to introduce English laws and English Judges”.

The 1920s witnessed the collapse

Reference 526 - 0.01% Coverage

now by FUEL Sugar Estate.

It appears also that in the nineteenth century (around 1850), one Tancred having had children with slaves would be classified as Gens de couleur.

problems with regard to land

Reference 527 - 0.01% Coverage

Unrest in 1937 in Flacq.

This is a complex case with many loose ends, but, nevertheless, it seems to be a typical case of dispossession by Sugar Estates, of land belonging to a French colon, who had children with a woman slave.

The family was advised to

Reference 528 - 0.01% Coverage

KISNORBO LOUIS.E.DIDIER & others

The applicant, Louis Eric Didier Kisorbo, avers he is one of the heirs of Nicholas Mayeur on son's and daughter's side. The applicant's grandmother, late Anne Kisorbo, born Cazalens, was the direct and legitimate heir of Nicholas Mayeur. Nicholas Mayeur acquired a property of 264 Arpents 90 of which 200 Arpents are left. Nicholas Mayeur died on March 1809 on his property at Trois Ilots Olivia, Flacq. In his will he gave his property of 210 Arpents to (1) Joseph Mayeur his son, "noir libre", (2) Marie Michèle Mayeur, his daughter "Femme de Couleur". He appointed as executor of his will, his neighbour, Pierre Marquet also called Cottry who was, at that time, the greatest land owner of Trois Ilots. Cottry withdrew as executor of his will and occupied the property (Document 2) as Joseph and Michèle Mayeur could not inherit from their father as le Code Decaen interdicted them as offspring of slaves, to inherit from their father who was a white man.

Pierre Marquet, also called Cottry

Reference 529 - 0.01% Coverage

as well reparation or damages.

- Invites the Commission to consider the whole issue of the law dealing with prescription as it prevents the descendants of slaves from being able to recuperate land lost as a result of the slave status of the ancestors.

Another hearing session was held

Reference 530 - 0.01% Coverage

0020/ DUMAZEL MIRELLA AND OTHERS

Mirella Dumazel and other members of the family, having requested the help of the Commission to retrieve important documents from a "Récupérateur des Terres" (commonly known as agent) were called at the Commission on 13th October 2010. Other representatives of the family were also heard by the

Commission. The applicant avers that Jean François Dumazel, married to a slave, received a portion of land as “concession” of an extent of 27 Arpents situated at Balaclava, Pointe-auxPiments. The plot of land is still there planted with trees.

The family hired the services

Reference 531 - 0.01% Coverage

TJC/ L/0036/ BERNARD GILBERTE

Justine was an Indian slave. She was the slave of one Dusauty. She was “affranchie” by Dusauty and was given the surname Dusauty (with two ‘ss’ Dusauty in certain documents). Justine had a natural daughter named Lolotte to whom her mother gave the surname of Dusauty.

Lolotte Dusauty bought a plot

Reference 532 - 0.01% Coverage

descendants of Lauricourt La Poule.

Louis Cherubin Lamarque claims to be a heir to Lauricourt Lapoule and the descendant of a slave family. He claims that his ancestors resided on the land and cultivated it. The heirs have been living peacefully on the land until 2004, when their neighbour (Le Petit Morne Ltd.) started to interfere with their rights. He is requesting the Commission to look into the matter and reinstate access to the site from Black River Road.

The Ownership of the Land

Reference 533 - 0.01% Coverage

between Cascavelle and Rivière Noire.

Louis Maurice had a son, Guillaume, born from a first marriage. Guillaume married a freed slave, Toinette and had a child, Jean François La Butte.

Guillaume gave a plot of

Reference 534 - 0.01% Coverage

above donation was not legal.

The coming into force of Ordinance 21 of 1853, which repealed Ordinance No. 57 of 1829, meant that ex-slaves could now acquire property, receive donation, have a right of inheritance in the succession of their natural parents.

The Commission heard the case

Reference 535 - 0.01% Coverage

TJC/L/0129/FIGARO GUICHARD

Guichard Figaro, the applicant, says that his great-grandfather owned a plot of land at Olivia. The latter was a Malagasy who came to Mauritius as a slave. His grandfather used to tell him that the Figaro family owns a plot of land there even if neither he nor any member of his family has seen the land in question.

After having made some searches on his own, the applicant was able to have a copy of the contract of the land, TV 91 No. 5, at the Registrar General’s Office.

He made a request to

Reference 536 - 0.01% Coverage

KK2 Folio 76 + 77 Recto).

In 1803, Jean Faoulez was a well-known “Négociant”, having 4 male slaves and 3 female slaves to his service.

Between 30th May 1814 and

Reference 537 - 0.01% Coverage

his properties, does not stand.

In fact, Louise Belle, together with other members of her family, namely Victorien and Victorine, were the “domestiques” of Mathurine Michelle who lived on the “La Ressource” Estate at Rivière-du-Rempart. She was “rougeâtre”, measured “1-56 m avec une cicatrice au front et au lèvres supérieure”, as described at Reference No. T71 596-597 of the Slave Data 1826.

Being given that Jean Faoulez

Reference 538 - 0.01% Coverage

Morne” is occupying the land.

The applicant avers that Sieur Doger de Spéville, the great grand parent of the applicant lived in Black River in a house (“Campement d’habitation”) that he constructed on Ile-aux-Bénitiers and died on that property and his tomb is the proof that he owned the land. The said Sieur Doger de Spéville had also a “habitation à Pamplémousses” where his son, Pierre Spéville, lived. Pierre Spéville’s mother was a slave at the service and belonging to the family. They all Spéville family “habitation”, in Pamplémousses.

lived on the

Pierre Spéville

Reference 539 - 0.01% Coverage

Géométriques” and the sea; and

Îlot du Morne situated at 1000 ft. from the shore to an extent of about 130 Arpents plus 3 slaves, namely l’Eveillé Narcisse, Charles Boncoeur and César Fidèle. Devant Me. Yves Jollivet et son collègue Notaire publics soussignés :

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Reference 540 - 0.01% Coverage

properties and by what means.

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

During the whole French occupation, the slaves had no right to hold land. Those who were emancipated and who managed, through

Reference 541 - 0.01% Coverage

paving the way for recommendations.

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

People from different parts of

Reference 542 - 0.01% Coverage

lost is very important ones.

Research also revealed that the slave descendants were given land without any document to prove ownership. With time, they simply had no document to prove that they own the land which was being sold.

Some respondents are of opinion

Reference 543 - 0.01% Coverage

for the lost of land.

The issue of land dispossession was also raised in the interviews West and South-West (Black River and Savanne Districts) with almost all the informants pointing out that the slave descendants lost their land. Almost all the informants pointing

Reference 544 - 0.01% Coverage

loss of identity and properties? •

“There are still many families from slave ancestry who don’t even have a house today. Indians came for sugar cane field work and they had priority to have lands. Creoles were left behind. They struggled but had nothing and still have nothing. Creoles are those who don’t have houses. The land they lived on was not theirs. They lost it. Many families have lost their lands. We must do research. I have moved 14 times in my life because of cyclones. Today I have a small cité house. Mother bought it

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Reference 545 - 0.01% Coverage

people on the list”. - (R6);

•

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

from these wounds. They had

Reference 546 - 0.01% Coverage

one to advise them as

indentured labourers had. The French colonists educated the children they had with slaves but there were barriers between those categories of descendants. They are not liberated at 100% today. There are not enough advisors today. I have three children. I want to advise them for a job. Who will I turn to know about that? How to help orientate them professionally? Creoles that have succeeded do not help others. Other communities do that”. – (R9);

• •

“Poverty is a consequence of

Reference 547 - 0.01% Coverage

Other communities do that”. – (R9);

• •

“Poverty is a consequence of slavery”.- (R12 and R13);

“As slave descendants, we have inherited nothing, no land, no economic power. 80% of land belongs to white people. Indians are organized since 1913; they had experience in economic development. Creoles did not have that experience. They were destitute”. - (R16);

•

“Consequences are hard – My biggest

Reference 548 - 0.01% Coverage

experience. They were destitute”. - (R16);

•

“Consequences are hard – My biggest suffering is in the lack of self esteem. Because my father was mazambik, my mother’s family rejected him. Creoles still have disdain for themselves. He cannot accept himself. It’s a bad start in life. It has been hard for slave descendants, because the slave system is an economic system. The Catholic religion is the official religion of this system. 15 articles on Code Noir talk about the Catholic Church as a partner of this system. It is still damaging the descendants, by stigmatization. You remain tikreol for life whatever successes you have”. - (R14)

• “Slavery is not the same as indentured labour – slaves did not have a salary – he has been snatched from his country and brought here”. - (R16)

•

“Long ago, we accepted totally

Reference 549 - 0.01% Coverage

OF LAND TO VULNERABLE GROUPS

THE COMMISSION FINDS The policy of allocation of State lands in lots to cooperative societies for on letting to ‘bona fide’ cane growers, vegetable growers and breeders has proved successful. In the context of greater democratisation of land, small holding projects have proved to be tools towards that end. While Creoles, descendants of ex- slaves after the abolition of slavery have been cut-off from agricultural activity in Mauritius, a situation which has not occurred in Rodrigues there is presently a desire for land acquisition and a return to agriculture.

The consequences of the divorce

Reference 550 - 0.01% Coverage

topic.

The mandate of the

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

There are many myths and

Reference 551 - 0.01% Coverage

Commissioners acted as Team Leaders.

The most important set of studies for the Commission has been those which directly examined the situation of 'descendants' of slaves and indentured labourers and which sought their views. However, it was important also to study descendants of slave owners as well, since slavery is both about slaves and slave owners. Among descendants of slave and indentured labourers, métissage has led to difficulties in identifying who were descendants, and it is clear in Mauritius, that phenotype is the popular delimiting factor in deciding who may be a descendant of a slave or indentured labourer. Yet these stereotypes are not only misleading but dangerous and need to be vigorously corrected. Not all 'blan' (white) are descendants of slave owners, as not all those with an African phenotype are descendants of slaves, and not all Indians were indentured labourers. For the population of mixed origins, we have used the term 'gens de couleur' to refer to descendants of the following relationships: a) whites and Afro-Malagasy and b) whites and any other group. These represent also persons of a higher social class.

It is, above all, the

Reference 552 - 0.01% Coverage

Archaeological

Reparations - An Multidisciplinary Approach

Proposal for a Intercontinental Museum of Slavery

Indenture 6.

7. 8. 9

Reference 553 - 0.01% Coverage

Caste system in Mauritian Society

13. The psychological scar of slavery on descendants

by Dr. Rosabelle Boswell

by

Reference 554 - 0.01% Coverage

Jimmy Harmon

by Sheila Ragoonundhun

16. The Health of Slaves, Indentured and their descendants

APPENDICES (ON CD)

PART V

Reference 555 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 2

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

INTRODUCTION

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

A. Experience of inverse and

Reference 556 - 0.01% Coverage

of inverse and adverse racism

B. Contributions of slaves and their descendants to the economic, political, social and cultural life of Mauritius C. Perceptions of slavery and its consequences D. Perceptions of descendants of slaves and indentured labourers E. Life histories of the individuals, their parents and grandparents

F. Particular constraining experiences of

Reference 557 - 0.01% Coverage

around 30 interviews were conducted.

The terms 'slavery, slaves and slave descendants' convey diverse meanings for different people. Hence, first, for the project to reflect people's idiosyncratic perceptions, conceptions and beliefs, and second, to avoid any bias and preconceptions which could jeopardise the validity of this study, the informants were asked to define and identify themselves, how they conceptualise the abovementioned terms and how they define their origins without any subjective intervention of the

Truth and Justice Commission 3

Reference 558 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 3

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

interviews. However, in the Port Louis region, the team interviewed only those whom they identified as potential slave descendants and the facilitators were chosen likewise.

Given the short time-span

Reference 559 - 0.01% Coverage

the profile of the interviewees.

For Rodrigues, a local facilitator/research assistant, familiar of local realities was responsible for identifying key informants and only one regional coordinator was responsible for compiling and collecting testimonies. The informants were mainly men and women aged 50 years old and above, Mauritians, Rodriguans, Agaleans and Chagossians who identify themselves as descendants of slaves. The sample was representative of the various occupational activities, both white collar and blue collar workers.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted

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not more than two hours.

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

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

Truth and Justice Commission 4

Reference 561 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 4

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

The interviews were conducted in

Reference 562 - 0.01% Coverage

more than four months. ORGANIZATION

The start of the project was delayed due to several unforeseen circumstances; initially, the project was designed and organized so as to start in November 2009. However, it was delayed because of legal issues to be cleared and as result of changes at the TJC. The interviewing process was further delayed by the unexpected announcement of General Elections which the academic team felt would greatly influence the research which covered also politics and slave descendants' perceptions of other ethnic groups. It was

further delayed by the resignation of one member of the Academic Team from UOM to proceed abroad and finally by the acute shortage of voice recorders on the local market after the General Elections. The initial 400 interviews were

Reference 563 - 0.01% Coverage

the New Year festivities.

Interviews

(a) The questionnaire was tested among individuals from various socio-professional categories perceiving themselves as slave descendants. After testing, it was obvious that the questionnaire could not be put to respondents as it was. It was too academic and hard and they quickly lost interest in answering. The team members opted for an open question as a starter with other questions on particular subjects where it seemed necessary. It was more fruitful to let respondents narrate their own story around the topics which seemed important to them, while providing a leading thread.

But for the East and

Reference 564 - 0.01% Coverage

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(c) Some people who, according to people surrounding them, have heard a lot about stories related to slavery simply refused to participate in this project, as they felt it was useless and that it was not going to be of any benefit to them.

(d) The whole section of the questionnaire relative to slavery and its consequences and on the contribution of slaves to economic, political, social and cultural life in Mauritius was very difficult for the respondents. Most of them did not understand what was expected of them, and it was impossible to put the questions in such a detailed manner.

(e) There were the time constraints and fatigue of respondents. For the Sections H, I, J, K on the economic, political, social and cultural contribution of the slaves and descendants being too lengthy, many respondents gave no answers.

Some interviews were interrupted because

Reference 565 - 0.01% Coverage

the majority) refused to answer.

(h) Very often, the informants were not able to specify the exact time of events they were narrating, which makes it difficult to date the facts. 'interiorised' the popular myths related to slavery.

In addition, some of them

Reference 566 - 0.01% Coverage

interviews because of time constraints.

(j) The section of the questionnaire that dealt with the contribution of the slave descendants in the social, economic, political and cultural life of Mauritius was difficult to tackle as the informants very often did not understand the questions and their approximate answers were not the ones expected from them.

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Reference 567 - 0.01% Coverage

or even weeks of darkness.

Even though slavery was abolished, some of them, like Mrs Jacksony, recalls that her mother had to look for manioc and “patate” (sweet potato) to feed the family, a situation which is similar to slavery. That poverty has left a strong imprint in the memory of the respondents. Life was not, or could simply not be, planned as families had to struggle for food.

Women have played a crucial

Reference 568 - 0.01% Coverage

really know history of family.

R13 Considers himself without any shame as descendant of slave; knew his grandfather and makes no mystery as to the origins of his ancestors. Thinks the parents of his grandfather came from Madagascar and that those of his grandmother came from India.

R14 Has no information on

Reference 569 - 0.01% Coverage

listen to adult conversations Origins

R1 Madagascar, Mozambique and India R5 Grandmother’s originated from India R12 His father was Tamil R13 India. He has been told that his grandparents were slaves R14 His maternal grandmother came from India R19 Great great-grandfather originated from Madagascar R22 Grandfather told him that his family came from Mozambique R23 Father was Seychellois R26

Great-grandmother was Seychellois

R28

Reference 570 - 0.01% Coverage

Indian+ mixed black and white

R11 grandfather was a French merchant navy captain who had children with a slave descendant

R13 Father was a French

Reference 571 - 0.01% Coverage

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R18 Her grandfather (mother’s side) came from India and was a slave in Réunion, then fled to Mauritius + father’ side came from Madagascar.

R19 My mother’s father was

Reference 572 - 0.01% Coverage

family name is from India.

R20 Grandfather was a Malagasy. We have African ancestors. My mother is a descendant of madras batize (Tamil Christian) Grandmother talked about our African slave ancestors and what they endured.
R22 I don't know about

Reference 573 - 0.01% Coverage

did barter with fishmongers etc.”

Their parents or grandparents have worked for white people. They feel they have been oppressed. They describe their conditions of life as that of slaves and modern slaves. Women were servants and worked 24/7 for their masters, going to “campements” with them, taking care of their children, but were ill treated for some of them. They slept under the table and when their family lived in dependence, their children had to be shut in the house so as not to disturb the masters.
R10 “My grand grandmother was

Reference 574 - 0.01% Coverage

respondents remember their dominant attitude.

For the respondents, the lives of their parent's grandparents and ancestors were characterised by poverty and hardships. However, they tend to associate what they have heard or seen about slavery on TV (fiction) about slavery to the sort of their grandparents. At times, their narration is driven by emotions related to their grandparent's hardships.

R1 “My father's name was Laval Jacksony. My mother's name was Simone Tuyau and is 81 years old. My great grandfather came to live in Lallmatie. Before that he was in th'to work of the Sans Souci Sugar estate. He was a slave of the British. He got married in Mauritius. My grandfather became an “engagé”(indentured labourer). He was doing the “Kalipa” (a fight like judo) without any money in return. My father was a planter. He was growing manioc, peanuts and manioc to sell. This is how he fed his eleven children.”

R3 “My grandmother came from India as a coolie. She was wearing big earrings. My father used to tell us that our ancestors were slaves. They didn't tell much though.”

R6 “I have family who

Reference 575 - 0.01% Coverage

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R12 “My father was a “toiler”and ‘chaudronnier’ on the St Antoine Sugar estate. My mother died when I was four years old only. My grandfather (paternal) was a ‘sirdar’ and “colomb”. My grandfather (maternal) was a veterinary on the FUEL Sugar Estate. My ancestors came from Madagascar. I don't know if they were slaves and what they were doing. I've heard about Le Morne where they were committing suicide.”

R13 My father used to tell me that our ancestors came from Madagascar. So, I'm a slave descendent.

R14 My father was a

Reference 576 - 0.01% Coverage

our ancestors came from Africa.
Slave descendant

13 respondents consider themselves as descendants of slave. They believe that their ancestors have come from Africa (the continent), Madagascar, India, South Africa and Mozambique. Two respondents claim to have written proof of being descendant of slave.

R1 She has a written document from the Nelson Mandela Centre for African Culture which states that her forefather came to Mauritius as a slave who came from South Africa. He first was working in the region of Plaine Wilhems then moved to Lallmatie to work for the Sans Souci Sugar Estate. He was the “gardien” of the weighing bridge. Her brother still lives on the plot where the ruins of the weighing bridge are found. Respondent claims loss land.

R4 He has a copy

Reference 577 - 0.01% Coverage

the origins of his ancestors.

None of the respondents are aware that slaves have ever come from India. Very often they tend to mix up slavery and “coolie”, i.e, indentured labourers.

For some respondents, being Creole is an element that makes the respondents feel that they might be descendent of slaves. Other characteristics are the “frizzy” hair and dark colour of the skin. So here, we understand that there is a biological conceptualisation of slave.

Poverty is another crucial factor that makes the respondent feel that they are descendants of slaves. R11 states that she is a slave descendent as she does not have anything. So here, we have an account of an economic conceptualisation of slavery. The testimonies reveal that not all respondents believe that all Creoles are descendants of slaves.

Family origins and identity construction

Reference 578 - 0.01% Coverage

RIVIÈRE DU REMPART DISTRICTS) FINDINGS

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

The knowledge of family and

Reference 579 - 0.01% Coverage

go beyond great grandfather (two generations). This is perhaps because, families have moved from one area to another resulting in a cut off from family ties and most probably because of absence or lack of oral transmission of family origins. Interviews revealed that there has been either no or limited transmission of knowledge of family origins. Generational transmission of family history was limited to one to two generations and hence for many people recollections of family history were limited to their grandparents and sometimes to their great grandparents. Although they did not know their origins they identified themselves as of slave descent because of their African phenotype. For example, Rosemay considers herself as being Mauritian of

African descent because of her skin colour, she is Black and hair type is 'frizzy'. For those who do not know their origins, most of them guessed about their family ancestry based on their physical appearance and what their parents told them. Their identification is not derived from knowledge of ancestral origins but rather on shared legacies of slavery such as social experiences and lack of education and opportunities. On the other hand, some informants' identification with the slaves descendant seems also to be founded on racial grounds. This biological identification associates the African phenotype, skin colour (being black) and hair style (frizzy hair) with slave ancestry.

Most did not know the origins of their family. If some had a vague idea it is because they heard their parents discuss among themselves. Before, children did not listen to adult conversations. For some respondents, being Creole is an element that makes the respondents feel that they might be descendent of slaves. Other characteristics are the "frizzy" hair and dark colour of the skin. So here, we understand that there is a biological conceptualisation of slave. However some have written documents from the Nelson Mandela Centre for African Culture which states that her forefather came to Mauritius as a slave. None of the respondents are aware that slaves have ever come from India. Some tend to mix up slavery and "coolie", i.e., indentured labourers. Some indicate that one of their ancestors came from India. The correlation between Creoles and slave descent clearly transpires in the interviews. But the definition of Creole diverged. For some Creoles are descendant of slaves and are of African descent; the Blacks with frizzy hair are the real descendant of slaves.

Poverty is another crucial factor that makes the respondent feel that they are descendants of slaves.

For the respondents, the lives

Reference 580 - 0.01% Coverage

respondents have even grown weaker.

The surface of the land that was lost is very important ones. Had the respondents still owned them today, this would certainly have been an excellent way to better their future and overcome their poverty. Hence, these losses of land have deprived slave descendants from the opportunity of social mobility.

Research also reveals that slave descendants were given land without any document to prove ownership. With time, they simply had no document to prove that they own the land which was being sold. Some respondents also blame the 'manzé-boire' attitude as well as lack of education of their grandparents for the lost of land.

WEST AND SOUTH-WEST (BLACK

Reference 581 - 0.01% Coverage

RIVER AND SAVANNE DISTRICTS) FINDINGS

The issue of land dispossession was also raised in the interviews with almost all the informants pointing out that the slave descendants lost their land. They were dispossessed of their land because they were illiterate and these injustices have to be repaired. The relationship of the latter with land is not solely practical (such as for economic reasons) and physical but also symbolical as indicated by Elizabeth for whom land is not physically important but the symbolism of the land is important because she remembers the sufferings of her ancestors on that land. She does not have any physical attachment to the land and does not want to go back on the land where she was born and where her ancestors lived. But many young people are claiming back the land which was not theirs and which neither belonged to their ancestors. They do not understand the importance of the symbolism of that land.

GENERAL RESEARCH FINDINGS

Almost all

Reference 582 - 0.01% Coverage

Mauritian and Catholic R4
Mauritian

R5 Defined herself as Mauritian and Catholic and as slave descendant. For her, the slaves were those who were ill-treated before.

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

R8 The Creole and Indian communities are those who had produced slave descendants. But respondent sees herself as Mauritian.

R9 Everyone is a descendant of slave. General population + Creole and are all descendants of slaves

R10 Everyone is Mauritian and

Reference 583 - 0.01% Coverage

and defined herself as Mauritian

R13 Hesitated a long time before answering the question but thinks all Creoles are slave descendants

R14 Defines himself as Mauritian; does not know if he is a slave descendant but thinks it's possible.

R15-R17 The three respondents

Reference 584 - 0.01% Coverage

of the word. This

has

necessitated stopping the recording several times to explain the term. Besides, though they had acknowledged themselves as descendant of slaves at the time of selection, it turned out that when questioned, the majority could not elaborate on the subject, as they lacked detailed knowledge. Besides, when they were young, it was prohibited to ask too many questions from elders. It was taboo, or impolite to talk with elders. However, they all considered a having a link with slavery because of their present ethnic belonging. More concretely, they did not identify themselves as slave descendants but thinks their parents or forefathers were.

R18 Define himself as Mauritian and Catholic, but consider himself as descendant of slave, after having heard speaking about this on television and elsewhere. Has no shame to recognize himself as such.

R19 Does not know what is a descendant of slave or how to define a Creole. But considers that in general the Creoles as slave descendants.

Hence defines himself as descendant of slaves and has no shame in stating this. Truth and Justice Commission 29

**VOL 3: PART I – SLAVERY - ORAL HISTORY OF DESCENDANTS OF SLAVES UPPER PLAINES
WILHEMS FINDINGS**

The question «Kouma ou defini

Reference 585 - 0.01% Coverage

I am of mixed blood

R2 Creole. All Creoles are descendants of slaves. A culture, religion had been imposed upon us. Does not feel he had an identity proper. His physiognomy shows his belonging. Today we talk more of Creole than slave descendants

R3 Is considered as Creole in Mauritius but he feels his Mauritian. The Creoles are the sole descendants of slaves

R4 Considers herself as Mauritian

Reference 586 - 0.01% Coverage

this prevents us from living

R11 Mauricienne. Mauritian. Ethnic belonging is linked with religion R12 Catholic R13 Marathi. For him the coolies were slaves R14 Creole R15 Mauritian but is still downtrodden R16 Feels still a slave R17 Slave descendant. They are still badly perceived by society and government R18 Creole. All Creoles are descendants of slaves

R19 Mauritian and also Creole because it's my language. Slave identity is not perceived as a shame

R20 Mauritian

R21 Mauritian but

Reference 587 - 0.01% Coverage

as a shame

R20 Mauritian

R21 Mauritian but also slave descendant « santiman desandan esklav bizin viv li ek li inportan rapel sa bann zanfàn ».

R22 Creole. All Creoles are descendants of slaves

R23 Mauritian but says he has suffered another form of slavery. There are different types of Creole the poor and the «de kouler». (lightskinned Creoles)

R24 Mauritian

R25 Mauritian. Says

Reference 588 - 0.01% Coverage

kouler». (lightskinned Creoles)

R24 Mauritian

R25 Mauritian. Says he is a descendant of slave as his father had talked about it. He knew Liberated Africans who came to Mauritius. «zot ti mars dan kote patron». (They sided with the boss)

R26 Mauritian but also descendant of slave because of her skin colour R27

Mauritian

R28 Not all Creoles

Reference 589 - 0.01% Coverage

her skin colour R27

Mauritian

R28 Not all Creoles are descendants of slaves for there are of mixed origins R29 Creole

Truth and Justice Commission 30

Reference 590 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 30

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

Though a majority consider themselves as Mauritian, Creole identity is very present (in its ethnic sense). R19 believes that speaking Creole makes one Creole. R26 thinks her skin colour is proof she is of slave descent. Slave ancestry is not perceived as shameful but on the contrary as a source of pride. But many stated that this identity is perceived negatively at work. (R8, R15, R17, R20, R21, R23).

LOWER PLAINES WILHEMS FINDINGS Slave ancestry

12/26 finds a link between them and slaves. For 1 respondent, no one in the family ever talked about it. Three more find a link between them and Africa or Madagascar.

R5, R7, R10, R12, R13

Reference 591 - 0.01% Coverage

came from Mozambique to Mauritius.

R15 – R25 looks like Nelson Mandela and considers him as a “brother”. R1 No one in the family ever talked about slavery

Creole

All respondents see themselves

Reference 592 - 0.01% Coverage

feel as a human being.

R12 “I think of my ancestors as slaves from Africa. I have visited Morne and heard my grandparents talk about slavery. I have suffered a lot, so I think I have followed the steps of my ancestors. I consider myself to be a descendant of slaves. I define myself as a Creole and I am proud being a Creole. People used my ancestors as slaves. We have our value.”

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Reference 593 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 31

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

R19 I am a Creole madras (his mother was descendant of a Malagasy slave) and he speaks a little madras. Creole is a métis, mixed

Reference 594 - 0.01% Coverage

Creole music, a mixed music.

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

R25 Creole mixed with madras

Reference 595 - 0.01% Coverage

R25 I am a Mauritian:

R10 I see myself as a Mauritian and part of my family came from India, Madagascar. Long ago, slaves have been sold and came to work for white people and suffered a lot. We come from these people.

R14 I have friends from

Reference 596 - 0.01% Coverage

AND RIVIÈRE DU REMPART DISTRICTS)

In line with the testimonies, the slaves were people that were not paid for their labour, they had no rights and did not consent to come to Mauritius. They slept in common sheds on straw mattresses. They were ill-treated as stated by Joseph, they were treated like animals, enchained and whipped.

It transpired from the testimonies that there is a biological conceptualisation of slavery and slave descent as being genetic and 'passed on' in people's blood. The legacy of slavery, hence, seems to be not only cultural but also genetic. For example, according to Pierre, everyone has slave blood because at a point in time people mixed and there has been interbreeding.

For Joseph, when a man of slave descent marries a Madras woman, the children will be descendant of slaves but if a Madras man marries a woman descendant of slaves, the children will not be of slave descent. His conception of ancestry is rooted in patri-lineal. For Donald, he heard that people who fall under the category General Population are the descendant of slaves but the term General Population is vague hence how to prove that they are descendant of slaves? Furthermore, following interbreeding it may not be possible now to recognise a slave descendant

Also, whilst there are people who are proud of their slave ancestry and claim it, others deny their origins because they do not want to be considered as slave descendants.

For some interviewees, even though they consider themselves as descendants of slaves, they primarily identify themselves as Mauritian such as R2 and R4 although they might be of slave descent they consider themselves as Mauritian. Among the informants who identified themselves as

Truth and Justice Commission 32

Reference 597 - 0.03% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 32

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

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

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

When questioned on identity construction, many informants answered that they consider themselves as Mauritian Creoles because of their African and Malagasy phenotype, their skin colour (they are dark skinned; in other words Black), hair type (they have frizzy hair), culture and food habits. For example, R9 thinks that his ancestors came from Pondicherry and from Africa as well because of this skin colour, hair type and physical appearance. Also, he identifies himself with the suffering of the slaves and is proud of his origins.

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

On the other hand, some informants' identification with the slaves descendent seems also to be founded on racial grounds. This biological identification associates the African phenotype, skin colour (being black) and hair style (frizzy hair) with slave ancestry.

Along the same lines, Black Creoles who are not necessarily of slave ancestry also identified themselves as being of slave descent as they share the same experiences as the descendant of slaves because of their African phenotype. Society's behaviour towards the Afro-Creoles is based on racial grounds with all people of African appearance being considered of slave origins. This is illustrated by R15 declaration. His paternal great grand father was Belgian and on his mother's side they are of Indian origin and maybe of Malagasy origin also. For him there is a difference between being of African and of Malagasy origin since slaves came mostly from Africa than from Madagascar. He considers himself as a descendant of slaves because he is Black and for him all Blacks are of slave descent.

WEST AND SOUTH-WEST (BLACK RIVER AND SAVANNE DISTRICTS) FINDINGS

Conceptualisation of slavery and slave descent

For the informants living in Tamarin, the real descendants of slaves live in Chamarel because their language – the way they speak Kreol – and their lifestyle are different compared to those living in Tamarin. For example, France found that they look like Rasintatane. Since the inhabitants of Chamarel live a rather simple life reclusive from others, they are perceived by the other Creoles as being different because of their way of living that is considered as being similar to that of the slaves.

For Harvey and Daniel, the slaves came from Africa by ship and they did not have names but numbers. They were sold, whipped, chained and were starved (causing high infant mortality and morbidity). When sold they were separated from their families. According to Chris when they came they did not negotiate their working conditions and were dominated by others.

The descendants of slaves are people whose ancestors came as slaves. Some of them have succeeded in life but according to Shirley, those who have achieved success are of mixed European

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Reference 598 - 0.01% Coverage

who have been quite successful.

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

We should distinguish between slavery and slave ancestry for according to Shirley following mixed relationships the notion of pure descendants of slaves is erroneous and with evolution there is a need to remember and preserve the memory of slavery and slave origins. Moreover, for almost all informants, the question of being or not of slave descent is a political discourse and is no more the key issue. Chris stated that it is time to stop talking of slave ancestry and to start considering reparation for the damage and wrong caused to descendants of slaves who were dispossessed of their land and have since been oppressed. Instead of giving money to the descendant of slaves, there are other means to improve their life such as improving.

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Reference 599 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 34

VOL 3: PART I – SLAVERY - ORAL HISTORY OF DESCENDANTS OF SLAVES 6. SLAVERY AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

PORT LOUIS FINDINGS R5 Does not have much to say about the sequels of slavery but is conscious that the poverty of the descendants of slaves is linked with this history; thinks the Creoles still discrimination when it comes to

Reference 600 - 0.01% Coverage

when it comes to recruitment.

R6 Has no opinion on the sequels of slavery. But is conscious that the discriminations the Creole sufferings are linked. Besides does not believe in the ability of Creole politicians to advance the cause of the slave descendants

R7 Have lost their traditions

Reference 601 - 0.01% Coverage

had job security in Chagos

R8 Those that had few means (descendants of slaves) remained in poverty, either because they could not or did not make efforts to get out.

R10 The slave descendants are uprooted. A different lifestyle from others R11 The descendants of slaves are poor and rejected. The sequels of this suffering is still present and

Reference 602 - 0.01% Coverage

them a feeling of marginalisation

R12 The descendants of slaves are penalised in several fields, namely in education and in the field of employment. The feeling here is that access depended less on competence than on skin colour

R13 Had no idea of the sequels of slavery and does not seem to understand the question. Makes no direct link between filial ancestry with slavery and present poverty of Creole.

R14 Slavery has as sequel that many among the population remained backward, illiterate.

R18 Does not well understand the link to establish between slavery and its present consequences

R19 As the slaves had nothing to preserve («Bann esklav pa ti ramas nanye»), it follows that their

Reference 603 - 0.01% Coverage

nothing

UPPER PLAINES WILHEMS FINDINGS

This section was difficult for the investigators as the respondents had difficulties understanding the meaning of the questions. The consequences of slavery are visible today specially in the economic and social field

R10 Poverty is a direct consequence of slavery R15 The descendants of slaves do not have sufficient means to get out R16 Injustice envers n'ont pas assez de moyens pour s'en sortir.

Injustice

R17 Injustice, unemployment, lack

Reference 604 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 35

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R20 There are still those who oppress the others. Today, there is another form of slavery

R21 «Santi nou kraze, lezot

Reference 605 - 0.01% Coverage

oppressed. The others humiliate us

R25 There are other forms of slavery today

R28 «Sibir imiliasion, diskriminasion dan

Reference 606 - 0.01% Coverage

discrimination at work

R29 Miscegenation

LOWER PLAINES WILHEMS FINDINGS Creole mindset and attitude to life: a consequence of slavery (mistrust, credulous)

This respondent has a very deep analysis on his situation. He is conscious of his own fears and autolimitations but he is very creative, has written poems and theatre plays. He explains that those fears are experienced by many Creoles and he sees that as a consequence of slavery. This autocensure is reinforced by the development of power distribution in post- Independent Mauritius.

R5 – R16 fear to undertake

Reference 607 - 0.01% Coverage

as a fully-fledged Mauritian.

Psychological reparation is more important than material. This will not repair the damages caused by slavery; He has been hurt in his mind, flesh, guts, body. Show him he is part of that society everywhere in society and Church.

R4 Slavery has consequences today. There are sequels. Creoles are marginalized. They lack everything, they cannot progress, have no opportunities. To have money, you need to have a little, but if you have nothing, you will still have nothing. I myself am still fighting, have not enough money. I could not go to college because of lack of money. I wanted to further my education. More Creoles are studying. There must be people to advise them. You lack knowledge. You don't know how to do. We did not have ideas, we could not think of business. My family lived from day to day. I could not have any dream. Our focus was on our everyday meal.

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Reference 608 - 0.01% Coverage

of commerce, no economic centre.

R6 There are still many families from slave ancestry who don't even have a house today. Indians came for sugar cane field work and they had priority to have lands. Creoles were left behind. They struggled but had nothing and still have nothing. Creoles are those who don't have houses. The land they lived on was not theirs. They lost it. Many families have lost their lands. We must do research. I have moved 14 times in my life because of cyclones. Today I have a small cité house. Mother bought it after cyclone Gervaise. I have lived in that house for 33 years, but we don't possess it fully because we are still paying for the land. There were 80 houses; these were the first houses to be built after Gervaise (Lakaz letaz - Storeyed House). It was a "sample". People have become owners of their houses 50 years after Carol. Housing is a serious problem. Some children cannot buy land, it is too expensive. And there are too many people on the list.

R9 Slavery had an impact on us. This is the history of my ancestors, they were living in their country, they worked, risked their lives, fought, lost their loved ones. To be healed from that, it needs time. They liberated themselves, created their language, and invented their music to fight the harshness of life. Sega is the intelligence and sweat of our ancestors to regroup and express the hardships of life. Their descendants still suffer from these wounds. They had no one to advise them as indentured labourers had. The French colonists educated the children they had with slaves but there were barriers between those categories of descendants. They are not liberated at 100% today. There are not enough advisors today. I have three children. I want to advise them for a job. Who will I turn to to know about that? How to help orientate them professionally? Creoles that have succeeded don't help others. Other communities do that. R12 and R13: Poverty is a consequence of slavery. R16 As slave descendants, we have inherited nothing, no land, no economic power. 80% of land belongs

Reference 609 - 0.01% Coverage

themselves. He cannot accept himself.

It's a bad start in life. It has been hard for slave descendants, because the slave system is an economic system. The Catholic religion is the official religion of this system. 15 articles on Code Noir talk about the Catholic Church as a partner of this system. It is still damaging the descendants, by stigmatization. You remain tikreol for life whatever successes you have.

R5 The negative role of

Reference 610 - 0.01% Coverage

that is evil with blackness.

R16 Slavery is not the same as indentured labour – slaves did not have a salary – he has been snatched from his country and brought here.

R8 "Long ago, we accepted

Reference 611 - 0.01% Coverage

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for our rights, because we have the same qualifications as others. We react. Creoles were accepting totally their situation. I think this is a sequel of slavery. It made us become obedient (servile). There was so much pressure on us to make us accept everything. After slavery this attitude became that of Creoles. MANY OF THE RESPONDENTS ARE AWARE THAT SLAVERY HAS HAD A NEGATIVE IMPACT ON THE CREOLE MINDSET AND ATTITUDE TO LIFE AND HAS MADE HIM PASSIVE AND OBEDIENT FOR A LONG TIME. HE HAS LOST HIS SELF-ESTEEM, IS FEARFUL TO ENGAGE IN NEW PROJECTS, PRACTICE A DEEP AUTO-CENSURE ON HIMSELF, PARALYZING ALL HIS GOOD WILL AND POTENTIALITIES

Reference 612 - 0.01% Coverage

WILL TAKE A LONG TIME.

The second main consequence is the lack of economic power and social mobility. It is very difficult if not impossible to come out of poverty and climb the social ladder if you have nothing at the start, not the slightest capital. Moreover, slavery and its effects have confined a large proportion of Creoles/slave descendants in the working class.

Property and housing: 300 years after French colonization and 162 years after the abolition of slavery, many very poor descendants of slaves and Creoles in general are still struggling to get a decent house. Creoles did not have the

Reference 613 - 0.01% Coverage

them as in other communities.

R4 declared he could not have any dream. Creoles are criticized for their lack of aspiration, but the psychological impact of slavery and extreme poverty leave no room for that.

The Catholic Church was a partner of the slave and colonial system.

Slavery as a holistic system with a strong economic dimension must be treated in a different way than indentured labour to do justice to those who suffered from both systems.

WEST AND SOUTH WEST (BLACK

Reference 614 - 0.01% Coverage

RIVER AND SAVANNE DISTRICT) FINDINGS

When questioned on the legacy of slaves, the informants mentioned a form of 'couillonisme' (English. Translation Idiocy) and arrogance that the descendant of slaves have inherited from their ancestors and that they perpetuate. For them the Creoles are individualist and "pernickety" such as R6 talked of how there was and there is still cohesion among the Indo-Mauritians who value the importance of education and saving for tomorrow whereas the Creoles are not land owners because they sold their land. The latter are not far sighted and do not have the 'brains' to plan for future generations. Presentism is a philosophy of life that the Creoles (referring to the Creoles as descendant of slaves) have adopted. This philosophical approach to life is a generational transmission that dates back to slavery, when at the abolition of slavery the emancipated slaves adopted a hedonist lifestyle and did not regroup but were divided.

Moreover, based on R15 testimony, there is a generational transmission of jobs which is as well a legacy of slavery. The Indian indentured labourers did not come as slaves but to cultivate land and subsequently their descendants remained in agriculture while the Blacks work mainly in the construction industry as labourers and stone masons.

'...Et plus de Créoles, de

Reference 615 - 0.01% Coverage

failures that bring you there...)

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

They also stressed the need to recognise the history of the slaves

NORTH (PAMPLEMOUSSES AND RIVIÈRE DU

Reference 616 - 0.01% Coverage

now...)

LOWER PLAINES WILHEMS FINDINGS

As per the answers of the respondents, one can say that they had never looked at this dimension of slavery in terms of contribution. If they find a contribution, it is at the personal level, that is in the transmission of a craft and also a cultural heritage (music)

Politically, they feel the Creoles are not represented. There is a lack of persons who put pressure on the political authorities. Politicians only come to them at elections time. For Pour R18, Sylvio Michel represents the Creole community. The descendants of slaves who enter politics end up like all politicians, looking after their own personal interests R17 is a member of FCM for she wants to militate for the uplifting of the Creole community, R25 is a member of l'Organisation Fraternelle. Except for R21 who does not vote, the respondents do not cast their vote according to the ethnicity of the candidate

Economically, even if many agree that the Creoles are poor, they don't deny the fact that poverty hits all communities. Poverty is material (lack of food, of decent lodging) and the reason why they are trapped in that spiral is through lack of education. R1 believes that the descendants of slaves had been kept away from progress through lack of education but also because many had come to accept their situation.

For R2 the Government had

Reference 617 - 0.01% Coverage

boileau, «fandamann», «fey tourtre», «liladpers».

Culturally, they all agree that music, the sega is a heritage from their slave ancestors. R21 thinks we are losing this heritage, this sega ravanne culture as today other instruments are used.

UPPER PLAINES WILHEMS FINDINGS

This

Reference 618 - 0.01% Coverage

used.

UPPER PLAINES WILHEMS FINDINGS

This whole section of the questionnaire on contribution of slaves to economic, political, social and cultural life in Mauritius was very difficult for the respondents. Most of them did not understand what was being expected of them and it was impossible to put the questions in such a detailed manner.

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Reference 619 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 40

VOL 3: PART I – SLAVERY - ORAL HISTORY OF DESCENDANTS OF SLAVES 7. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTION

The way the question was put was not easily understood by the respondents. The notion of “contribution” was understood as a “payment” slaves paid and it was clear that this was impossible. Many understood that the question was about their actual economic situation and it was quite impossible to make them say anything on the topics concerning contribution of slaves.

Generally few respondents have a reflection on politics and when they have one, it is about the post-Independence politics and not about the contribution of slave. It seems that they cannot imagine that they can be part of decision-making

It was evident that respondents had never thought about that dimension, though all a large proportion of them know that their fore parents have worked very hard. This is perceived rather in terms of class relationship with White people. They were the have-nots who had to work in harsh conditions, but they have not reflected on their slave ancestors as having contributed to the development of Mauritius.

One respondent, R14, stated that “by their forced work, slaves developed the country. They have largely contributed to nation-building: there was a time not too far away when most teachers were slave descendants and have educated children from all walks of life. There is a need to acknowledge that contribution.”

R10 Slaves have worked hard.

R26 “When slaves came, there was nothing. They did the hardest work in the beginning. Under the lashes, they did everything that had to be done. Then others came to work. We cannot forget that they were the first to toil the soil of this country. Their work is not acknowledged. Creoles themselves have no recognition, whereas they have been the first to come here. Today Creoles have no place.”

See the FINDINGS on the life history and the consequences of slavery as regards to economy.

CULTURAL CONTRIBUTION Kreol language must

Reference 620 - 0.01% Coverage

in a box. Old technique.

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

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Reference 621 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 41

VOL 3: PART I – SLAVERY - ORAL HISTORY OF DESCENDANTS OF SLAVES of my country. I went to archives to know where I came from.

Lebrasse in Bordeaux University. The first French Lebrasse who came to Mauritius came from Bretagne and he met a slave. There is a lot of phenotypes in my family. We adapt with different languages and milieus. Creole culture is open.

R14 Creoles have contributed to

Reference 622 - 0.01% Coverage

think a lot.

POLITICAL CONTRIBUTION

R14 Creoles are despised because they voted against Independence but this must be analysed in context.

The Labour Party was founded by slave descendants. My father was member of the Labour Party.

Because of the struggle of port workers, social and work laws have progressed. In Free Zone and tourism, black women were called “p” because they dared to work in these sectors.

Generally few respondents have a reflection on politics and when they have one, it is about the post-Independence politics and not about the contribution of slave. It seems that they cannot imagine that they can be part of decision-making. They are preoccupied with basic necessities and the economic dimension of their lives.

The role of politicians is

Reference 623 - 0.01% Coverage

RIVER AND SAVANNE DISTRICTS) FINDINGS

The testimonies diverged on the recognition of the contribution of slaves with some recognising the participation of the slaves to the development of the country

All informants mentioned that the slaves contributed to Mauritian cultural life with the creation of the Sega music and dance, art and creativity, Mauritian cuisine and food habits even if they have evolved and also with the ascription of Le Morne Mountain as a world heritage site. In line with R6 testimony, Creole use skills to express themselves through music and partying and these things are ‘in their blood’ but blood washes away quickly because people are mixing more. These skills are integral to Creole customs. Along this line the informants give to the Creole customs and musical skills biological underpinnings as if they are within people’s blood and genes and with mixed relationships increasing, people are mixing their blood and hence skills are not transmitted to future generations.

But few people made the correlation between the island’s cultural patrimony and local economy. Also, when referring to the cultural legacy of slaves, many mentioned the architectural heritage with the Cathedral, Martello Tower, churches such as the Church of Cassis, the Citadel and other stone buildings as being the tangible inheritance from the slaves and old jobs that have disappeared

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Reference 624 - 0.01% Coverage

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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 625 - 0.02% Coverage

ladans, par la sanson...10

(Eng. Trans.:... They worked lots, they are the first planters; they unconsciously did all the developments because they had to be planters only, only to do that, they are the one who developed the country who did all that. Because when they started growing and selling sugar cane, they earned money and found it a good thing. Then they started developing bigger industries. But it started with them, the slaves... Our greater culture is dance and songs. Because Creoles before, the slaves communicated by singing, by ravanne. Based on what I learnt it is by this means we communicated. This is our real culture it is dancing we express ourselves through dancing and singing...)

Based on R4 and R5 testimonies, our cultural morals and values are a legacy of the slaves. For them we have preserved the ways of living like the slaves without being savages but civilised people. Such a statement is anchored in and brings back the perception that traditions and practices that slaves brought with them and perpetuated were barbarian as they did not conform to western ones. Only western and traditional practices, norms and values were considered as civilised because civilisation was and is still associated to westernisation.

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

Although for some the slaves and descendants of slaves have their input in the economic and political life of the country, they were unable to explain and identify their contributions. Few mentioned that the descendants of slaves participate in political life of the country either by making requests to the government or by voting. For example, for R9, the political contribution of the slaves was through the political involvement of the Creoles like Guy Rozemont, Balancy and Sylvio Michel. For others, the slaves and descendant of slaves contributed the cultural life of the island only.

The responses to the questions on the participation of slaves and slave descendants to the economic, social, cultural and political development of Mauritius indicated that for people these spheres are not interconnected but rather distinct and isolated. Only some informants mentioned that the slave descendants contribute to the economic development of the country by working in the sugar industry as skilled workers and labourers and that the Mauritian culture underpins the 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 interviewees considered the Minister Xavier Luc Duval as an eventual representative of the Creoles descendant of slaves; but before doing so they need to see his track record. He has to show his ability as Minister of Social Integration and Empowerment. However, almost all the people mentioned the need to have a Creole at policy making level, in other words to have a representative at national decision making levels for the advancement of the Creoles. For them, as

Truth and Justice Commission 43

Reference 626 - 0.01% Coverage

RIVIÈRE DU REMPART DISTRICTS) FINDINGS

The informants recognised the contribution of the slaves and their descendants to the development and to the future of the island. For example R1 mentioned that the slaves did not only contribute to the construction of churches but she also believes that they gave the land in Saint Croix for the grave of Father Laval. They were hard workers, carrying heavy loads in the sugar cane plantations. The informants

pointed out that they were the ones who developed the sugar cane plantations in the country such as R3 stressed that the history of the sugar industry is closely related to the history of slavery:
'...Anfin mwa seki mo'nn tande

Reference 627 - 0.01% Coverage

lir, nounn vinn egal...’3

(Eng. Trans.: What I have heard is that the churches that have huge buildings like Notre Dame, Poudre D’Or etc. When I look at these churches I think the slaves built them. They are the one who developed the country when the French and the Colon brought them. These are the developments they brought to the country I do not find anything else. When it was abolished, there was an evolution. If I can read, you also you are reading, we are equal...)

Regarding the political contribution of the slave descendants, only R2 and R3 mentioned that they contribute politically by voting in the elections. By electing people of other communities as Ministers, that demonstrates that Creoles are not racists. For others, even though the slave descendants are represented at political level and have contributed to the local cultural patrimony, yet they are not sufficiently represented at social levels as they do not enjoy freedom of expression against the government.

There is a common perception that when the slaves came to Mauritius they had no culture as if they left their cultural traditions and practices in their mother land and cultural milieus, that they forgot all of their cultural customs and values when they landed in Mauritius and hence that they lived in a vacuum without any cultural marks. For example, Pierre stated that many slave descendants do not have a culture and do not know their culture. It seems that people have difficulties to conceive that slaves were cultural bearers and when they came to Mauritius they formed cultural units. They had to culturally adapt to communicate and survive. There were cultural exchanges and a syncretism of cultural elements to form common cultural practices shared by all such as the Creole language to communicate, the Sega dance as a communication medium and also traditional medicine as healing practices. From this blending of traditions and practices, new cultural forms emerged that over time evolved and changed for survival under modified forms. The slaves came from various regions of Africa and that is why according to R3 Creoles now are underprivileged and face so many problems because they do not have a homogeneous culture.

GENERAL FINDINGS FOR H, I

Reference 628 - 0.01% Coverage

FOR H, I, J, K

This whole section of the questionnaire on contribution of slaves to economic, political, social and cultural life in Mauritius was very difficult for the respondents. Most of them did not understand what was being expected of them and it was impossible to put the questions in such a detailed manner.

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Reference 629 - 0.01% Coverage

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

The way the question was put was not easily understood by the respondents. The notion of “contribution” was understood as a “payment” slaves paid and it was clear that this was impossible. Many understood

that the question was about their actual economic situation and it was quite impossible to make them say anything on the topics concerning contribution of slaves.

Slavery is seen more in terms of suffering and forced labour than in terms of positive contribution to the nation.

There is deep ignorance of

Reference 630 - 0.01% Coverage

very little to refer to

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

The economic contribution is tremendous

Reference 631 - 0.01% Coverage

that their children get education.

Their contribution is also very important on the cultural level. The greatest contribution is the creation of the Creole culture itself. Culturally, they all agree that music, the sega is an heritage from their slave ancestors. R21 thinks we are losing this heritage, this sega ravanne culture as today other instruments are used.

Creoles have contributed to the

Reference 632 - 0.01% Coverage

and still contribute a lot.

In the political sector, Creoles are despised because they voted against Independence but this must be analysed in context. The Labour Party was founded by slave descendants. Because of the struggle of port workers, social and work laws have progressed. Almost all the people mentioned the need to have a Creole at policy making level, in other words to have a representative at national decision making levels for the advancement of the Creoles. For them, as long as they are under-represented in key and influential political positions, the Creoles will stay backward and underprivileged. This conveys the commonly held idea that above all politicians stand for their ethnic group and hence that they promote their community interest before that of their political party. Politically, they feel the Creoles are not represented.

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Reference 633 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 45

VOL 3: PART I – SLAVERY - ORAL HISTORY OF DESCENDANTS OF SLAVES 8. LIFE IN CITÉS
PORT LOUIS FINDINGS R1-R5 Considers life in the cités as normal where there live a majority of Creoles and poor persons who are often descendants of slaves.

R6 The cités are linked in popular imagination to Cyclone Carol and the Creoles. Does not make a difference between the descendants of slaves who live in the cités and those who live elsewhere.

R8 The cités are linked

Reference 634 - 0.01% Coverage

lives namely the créole community.

R18 The cités denote people who have been allocated by the state a place to live; they are more associated with poor people than to the vdescendants of slaves.

R19 Thinks that the cités are inhabited by a majority of Creoles. Sees no difference between the descendants of slaves living in the cités and the descendants of slaves living elsewhere.

UPPER PLAINES WILHEMS FINDINGS

R1

Reference 635 - 0.01% Coverage

especially with regards to poverty.

R2 There is a majority of descendants of slaves in the cités R3 There are more Creoles in the cités though we find other communities R4 The majority of the inhabitants are descendants of slaves. People live like a big family.

R5 The inhabitants of the cités live close to each other, like a family R6 Most of the inhabitants of the cités are Creoles, descendants of slaves.

R8 The government has contempt

Reference 636 - 0.01% Coverage

all communities, except the Chinese.

R11 Many descendants of slaves in the cites R12 For her, the cité is simply a home. R13 There are unfortunate people who live in the cités.

Truth and Justice Commission 46 live in suburbs of towns. Not necessarily linked to slave

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R14 There are many descendants of slaves in the cités R15 The inhabitants of the cités are poor

R16 In the cités everyone

Reference 637 - 0.01% Coverage

the atmosphere of the cité

R18 It's quiet place. It's 45 years since he lives there. There are many descendants of slaves in the cités. There is a difference between them and those from the coasts. The latter are badly dressed and have a different way of life. Does not think he could one day live in a coastal village.

R19 Those who live in the cités have lost their home as a result of Cyclone Carol. There are many descendants of slaves in the cités. The people from the coasts are different from those of the cités. They are more hospitable. All her relatives live on the coast. She would have liked to live there.

R20 The inhabitants of the

Reference 638 - 0.01% Coverage

back to live there again

R23 There is a family life in the cités. There is mutual help. Many descendants of slaves live in the cités. Could live in a coastal village. «dimounn lakot konn fer lekonomi». (People there know how to save money)

R24 It's after Cyclone Carol

Reference 639 - 0.01% Coverage

all communities, except the Chinese

R28 There are many descendants of slaves in the cités but we also find other communities. The descendants of slaves of the cités are different from those of the coast.

R29 There are many Creoles in the cités. Above all it's a place where it's nice to live. Many talk about as a family. The majority of the inhabitants of the cités are slave descendants A concentration of people who had lost all after Cyclone Carol Today we find other communities except the Chinese Those who live there do not think they could live in a coastal villages

Stereotypes of people from the

Reference 640 - 0.01% Coverage

structural facilities and leisure opportunities.

The majority of the inhabitants of the cites are slave descendants But Today we find other communities except the Chinese

The answers of the respondents

Reference 641 - 0.01% Coverage

disadvantage as regards the system.

R6 Feels discrimination from Mauritians of other communities towards slave descendants.

R7 Difference between Chagossians and

Reference 642 - 0.01% Coverage

as he is a driver.

4. Very few know the word 'indentured labourer'. However they know the «coolie». For R23, «travayer angaze pa ti esklav». Indentured labourers were not slaves For R27, «azordi zot desandan minis, avoka. Zot, zot finn bien larg lasenn». Today their descendants are ministers. They've broken their chains all too well.

Truth and Justice Commission 50

Reference 643 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 50

VOL 3: PART I – SLAVERY - ORAL HISTORY OF DESCENDANTS OF SLAVES LOWER PLAINES WILHEMS FINDINGS

1. Whites are seen as being those who were responsible for the fate of slaves. They were cruel and arrogant. They are those who possess 70% of all lands in Mauritius; they have taken lands from Creoles. Médine Sugar Estate is cited as an example. Today Whites are still those who are the masters in hotels. Workers still suffer from them. Many respondents, specially the women, have worked “dan lakour blan”. Those who have French or white ancestors acknowledge it.

2. Indian, African and Malagasy

Reference 644 - 0.01% Coverage

the development of the country.

7. Whites are seen as being those who were responsible for the fate of slaves. They were cruel and arrogant. They are those who possess 70% of all lands in Mauritius.

8. It's politicians who always

Reference 645 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 51

VOL 3: PART I – SLAVERY - ORAL HISTORY OF DESCENDANTS OF SLAVES 10. RACISM
PORT LOUIS FINDINGS R5 Yes, feels there is still racism against dark skinned Creoles R6 There is still much racism in Mauritius against the «nasion» (Descendants of slaves.)

R7 Marriage, way of life

Reference 646 - 0.01% Coverage

communities are faced with racism

R13 Thinks there is much racism against the descendants of slaves. Defines racism as a form of discrimination and exploitation that those who possess (bann ki ena) towards those who do not possess (bann ki pena).

R14 Yes there is racism

Reference 647 - 0.01% Coverage

is discrimination against the Creole

R2 There is discrimination against the slave descendant in the field of work R3 The rich are superior R4 Before there was racism but now it's better. R5 Racists Those who commit crimes, take drugs R6 Racism exists in Mauritius R7 The country is becoming racist R8 Racism is when one looks at someone through his appearance, according to his community

R9 Racism exists. There is

Reference 648 - 0.01% Coverage

who have money live apart.

R23 "Pena mem draw" (Do not have the same rights) Racism is different from communalism. Someone had once called him «Mazanbik». Skin colour is important in Mauritius and there are places where the descendants of slaves cannot reside.

R24 Even if in principle

Reference 649 - 0.01% Coverage

recent history, a communal-economic

intelligentsia has implemented a system of recruitment, promotion and social mobility in society that has marginalized slave descendants. Some have been able to go through but the majority has been ostracized. This anti-African OSTRACISM (young mulattoe girls are secretaries in good jobs without qualification) has been initiated by the emerging catholic non African bourgeoisie – it's only recently that African phenotypes young people have become visible in the private sector. This is reinforced by prejudices that are kept alive by those who see Creoles as an economic threat.

R16 There was a turning

Reference 650 - 0.01% Coverage

fate of Creole civil servants.

There is a political reason and power struggle issue in that. For two of our respondents, a Hindu communal-economic intelligentsia has implemented an unjust system of recruitment, promotion and social mobility in society that has marginalized slave descendants.

EAST AND SOUTH-EAST (FLACQ

Reference 651 - 0.02% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 56

VOL 3: PART I – SLAVERY - ORAL HISTORY OF DESCENDANTS OF SLAVES WEST AND SOUTH-WEST (BLACK RIVER AND SAVANNE DISTRICTS) FINDINGS

The interviews made apparent that in Mauritius to succeed people need to be wealthy and that there are still people who work for 250 rupees for a day's work starting at 6 hrs 30 to 16 hrs. Discrimination, inferiority and superiority views and values are based on occupation, skin colour and name. The Indians and Chinese were abusive and manipulative with them. One of the reasons put forward for the over-representation of Creoles descendant of slaves in absolute and relative poverty is because when freed the slaves received no training and no education and were dispossessed of their land because they were illiterate and not long sighted and were deceived financially.

For example, Shirley's family had a plot of land in Piton which they lost and for Gabriel, the descendants of slaves are still trapped in the vicious circle of poverty as they are still being discriminated against, negatively stereotyped, victimised and considered as being inferior.

All the informants mentioned All the informants mentioned that they do not enjoy the same rights and privileges as others such as when job seeking, as potential employers will take into consideration names (which are religio-ethnic markers), promotional prospects in the public sector are difficult for the descendant of slaves (Creoles) and in hospital the health officers often speak ethnic languages instead of speaking Creole. All Mauritians should enjoy equal rights but there is favouritism. Also, there is a commonly held perception that Creoles are lazy but in fact they are intelligent but there is a form of intimidation exercised on them to make them feel that they cannot achieve success in life. For example, Harvey and Daniel pointed out that there are still submissive house workers who do not have the choice but to comply because they need to work to survive. People were not prepared for this sudden development boom that was too fast whilst people were still subservient in their mind. They are still submissive to the 'Whites', 'Blacks', Chinese (referring to Sino-Mauritians) and Indians (referring to Indo-Mauritians) because they lack education and training.

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

recognition of the history of the slaves which implies looking at their experiences of slavery and subsequently of the slave system from the perspective of the slaves.

Daniel and Harvey two entrepreneurs in the construction industry highlighted that Mauritius has a high level of unemployment but we import labour not because Mauritians refuse to work or are lazy but because they refuse to return to slavery.

The government refuses to increase salaries as they do not know their value. For example, a gardener works for 3,500 rupees per month which currently is worthless and is merely slavery but without chains. For five years Harvey has been working for an estate in conditions of quasi-slavery, working for a meagre living only.

Furthermore, even though the government

Reference 652 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 57

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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 653 - 0.01% Coverage

her cousins are living now.

2. When questioned on the term 'Malaise Creole', R3 stated that initially it referred to the demands for the elimination of discriminations against the descendants of slaves. Education is one of the means for the social mobility of Creoles, for them to progress in life. His statement reflects the perception that Creoles are the only descendants of slaves that hence discarded those that are of non slave descent.

3. The informants working in

Reference 654 - 0.01% Coverage

fate of Creole civil servants.

There is a political reason and power struggle issue in that. For two of our respondents, a Hindu communal-economic intelligentsia has implemented an unjust system of recruitment, promotion and social mobility in society that has marginalized slave descendants.

Truth and Justice Commission 59

Reference 655 - 0.01% Coverage

dark future for grand children.

R5 Great improvement on the personal level and in a general way in relation to the past but thinks life will become more and more difficult in the future. Hopes the state looks a bit more at the slave descendants and their sufferings.

R6 Life was much better

Reference 656 - 0.01% Coverage

to people who need it.

R12 A change in mentality is needed. People are too selfish. There is a need to help the descendants of slaves to find their place in society. There are too many places where some communities are concentrated.

R13 The future will be only for those who work. Hopes that all Mauritians, in particular the descendants of slaves find a roof and what to eat and drink.

R14 On a personal level

Reference 657 - 0.01% Coverage

must change.Means should increase

R11 Il faut porter plus d'intérêt aux descendants d'esclaves. There is a need for greater interests for the slave descendants

R19 Il faut moins d'injustice

Reference 658 - 0.01% Coverage

in a land of peace

R24 « Tir sa mo esklav-la » Takie out this word slave R25 There is a need for more equality

R27 Look after the poor

Reference 659 - 0.01% Coverage

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inform about courses and training that can be followed, even in the Church. Give visibility to those good events. Don't stay in the dark. There must be a change in mentality. Don't stay enclosed in ghettos. Open up. Creoles are open to others. They accept anybody. The doors of others are closed. They have to change. Creoles should not concentrate on the past. Look at the future. Not look always back in slavery but forward to the future.

R3 I don't know. Life

Reference 660 - 0.01% Coverage

our part of the cake.

R14 I cannot name people slave descendants. Because a slave descendant can be a businessman, a middle-class and have a piscine in his yard. But there are those who are poor economically. The process of "ghettoisation" will go on and on if we don't identify the true causes to be able to bring these people out of poverty, and if we don't have an efficient housing policy. Promiscuity is a big problem 3 and 4 generations are living in the same small house. Government does not look into the problem. If this is not coupled with a decent work, all his life will be precarious.

R16 Creoles must be sensitized

Reference 661 - 0.01% Coverage

AND PROSPECTS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

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

Above all it has revealed the existence of a community that is proud of its identity and its achievements despite the acute poverty and deprivation that have characterized its forebears. Though it has revealed no clear definition of what is a descendant of slave, yet there is a strong feeling that Creoles are the descendants of slaves, despite the mixed origins of many from the community.

This research has also shown

Reference 662 - 0.01% Coverage

and that reparation is necessary.

In terms of identity, though they consider themselves Mauritians, they are proud of their slave ancestry and achievements, economic, social and cultural. Moreover, they have no deep resentment against any ethnic group in particular and understand the plural nature of Mauritian society.

However, there is very strong

Reference 663 - 0.01% Coverage

village of Petite Rivière Noire.

To meet its objectives, this research intends to answer the following guiding questions: (1) Are the social and economic conditions of the residents of Cité La Mivoie better than in the 19th century? (2) How has the Cité evolved since the time of slavery to the present day? (3) Have the job patterns evolved since the time of slavery and indentured-ship or are the inhabitants still performing menial jobs and adopting a subservient attitude towards the wealthier residents and new owners of the luxury residences? (4) What can be done to improve this situation?

In line with the objectives

Reference 664 - 0.01% Coverage

illustrated in Map 1 below.

According to inhabitants' testimonies, the region and the local population have, for years, been stigmatised by people living in other parts of the island, as the 'back country' populated essentially by Mauritians presumed to be the descendants of slaves and of the maroon slaves. There is a shared feeling that this stigmatisation has, for many years, negatively impacted on the local social and economic evolution as illustrated in Marie Michele's testimony below:

...parce que tout le monde

Reference 665 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 75

VOL 3: PART I – SLAVERY - FROM SLAVE CAMP CITÉ: LA 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 666 - 0.01% Coverage

communication... (Teelock (2010, p. 51),

According to Teelock (1998), in 1806, 1826 and 1832, the slave population in the Black River district amounted to 4,687; 5,397 and 4,429 respectively.⁶ In 1831, the number of slaves in Black River amounted to 4,642 slaves of which 2,926 were men and 1,716 were women. There were 264 French settlers and 588 'Free Blacks'. At the abolition of slavery, in 1835, most inhabitants (French and Coloured) were still living in the region and between 1835 and 1935; about four percent of the exapprentice population of Mauritius lived in Black River.⁷

Emancipation led to the emigration of two-thirds of the slave population out of the district. 'As the Stipendiary Magistrate stated, only one third of ex-slaves were left and were replaced by other exslaves from other districts as well as by indentured immigrants. However, their exact location is not known. We know they left the large estates because returns from these large estates show only a handful of ex-apprentices listed as working there. Stipendiary Magistrates also reported that few wanted to stay on large plantations, but they probably stayed close to smaller estates or moved to where they could settle or purchase land'.⁸

With the arrival of the

Reference 667 - 0.01% Coverage

settle in the housing estate.

The settlement of the Cité dates to the beginning of the 20th century and the present resident population is composed of majority Creoles presumed to be descendants of slaves and a minority of Hindi-speaking and Marathi-speaking Indo-Mauritians.

In accordance with Marie Michele's

Reference 668 - 0.01% Coverage

did not suffer from starvation.

In line with Teelock (1998, p. 171), these forms of subsistence patterns date back to slavery when, 'slaves traditionally supplemented their rations given by their owner by procuring their own food through a variety of means. There were also periods when the supply of food to slaves was interrupted and slaves left to fend for themselves. Other slaves fished, hunted or simply gathered wild fruit and vegetables'.

After working hours and during

Reference 669 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 84

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

...ki fer apel sa basin

Reference 670 - 0.01% Coverage

bann plas pou kasiet...27

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

Photo 5 Basin Zigret Source

Reference 671 - 0.01% Coverage

over there there were 2...)

According to Nicole, the name Walala dates back to slave time when ‘...sega sa mo sipoze non?...Sega? Bann esklav ti fer sega laba?..’³³ (Eng. trans: I think its Sega no?...Sega? the slaves did Sega over there?) and also that there are more place names in the gorges such as, Basin Sevret (Eng. trans. Pond of fresh water shrimps) and basin Mamzel (Eng. trans. Young Lady Pond), with stories attached to these places. However, the real name is

Reference 672 - 0.01% Coverage

exist in this area.³⁴

Furthermore, based on her testimony, Macabé Forest as well is a potential slave heritage site as there are artefacts in the caves inside the forests.

...Parski, ena enn dimounn ki

Reference 673 - 0.01% Coverage

pann ou le ale...³⁵

(Eng. trans:...Because someone told me but it is far inside the Macabé Forest. In the Macabé Forest...there is a cave, where the slaves lived. Someone that works for the Mauritius Wild Life who told me that. Why he thinks lived in that cave? As he told me he saw bones, then how to say that, a space that they prepared with wood to build a bed. Besides, he saw a stone [fireplace] where they cooked food. Where is Macabé Forest found? It is further inside, in Black River Gorges there. I cannot tell accurately where it is located. It is further inside, it is for the Wild Life, he had the opportunity to go there. He told me that one day he would take me there, but when he told me that there is much to walk, I did not go...)

The Maroon Slave Archaeological Investigation Project Report confirms this statement of Nicole Papeche as artefacts possibly relating to maroonage have been found in these caves.³⁶

...Me enn zafer ki drol

Reference 674 - 0.01% Coverage

voluntarily choose extended residential patterns.

As Teelock (1998) wrote, during slavery multitude family patterns were formed that were not consistent with the western notion of the family. Various forms of social interactions, network relationships, 'family consciousness' and social situations developed to form the 'slave families' and kinship relations.

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Reference 675 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 91

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For example, 'when slaves called each other 'brother', 'sister', 'cousin' it did not necessarily mean a biological relationship but 'implies a greater degree of intimacy and friendship with certain persons than with the rest of the comrades.'⁴⁷

There is a strong correlation

Reference 676 - 0.01% Coverage

women tend to assume prominence.

Even though patriarchy underpins the structure of the social system within the Cité, the family space remains the woman's space as the woman remains the pillar of the family. The feminisation of the domestic space is not a contemporary social feature but according to Burrell (2010) it can be retraced back to slave times when the woman was the dominant figure of the family while the man was relegated to the second place and when he lost his prerogative on his wife, he was denied his dominant role as the family protector.

For the Hindi-speaking and

Reference 677 - 0.01% Coverage

practice disrupt contemporary family lineage.

This naming practice dates back to colonial times such as Arthur Townsend 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 678 - 0.01% Coverage

Ayo declare for me too...)

According to Burrell (2010), disproportionate 'black family' dysfunction is directly linked to American chattel slavery with slave owners having no regard for family attachment. They made a conscious and willing decision to control slaves' minds through decimating the 'black family'. Deconstructing the very concept of the 'black family' was central to massive enterprise to build a new economy and to lay the cornerstones of personal fortunes.

The female-headed families can be conceived as a by-product or a consequence of slavery that destroyed all ancestral family bonds within the 'slave families' (separating families upon their arrival on the island or before their deportation) with the exception of the mothers-children dyad with mothers and children that remained together.

To make the slaves more compliant and submissive, the slave owners destroyed their identity markers.

The deconstruction of

'slave families' can be considered as a strategy used by the

colonisers to destroy the slaves ancestral identity and cultural markers so as to submit the latter to their control and power.

This was achieved through de

Reference 679 - 0.01% Coverage

acculturation that systematically implied the

branding and breaking of ancestral traditions and value systems. Hence, slavery led to changes in family patterns from ancestral male-headed families to families headed by mothers.

The breaking of family and marriage ties among slaves and constant separation of families led to a shift in family patterns and structures that still impact on the contemporary family.

However, how far the present local community structures and family patterns are legacies of slavery have yet to be determined given that they might result from other social, economic, historical and cultural influences dating back to post-slavery period.

Gender relations

Women are the

Reference 680 - 0.01% Coverage

concubinage with his second partner.

In keeping with Teelock (1998), these types of relationships seem to date back to slavery when women were convinced that the route to 'material improvement', social mobility, social recognition and a better standard of living was through a man and especially 'free men that could provide for their subsistence' which implies a man with a higher social status. These relationships were also a means for women to build sense of social image and social respect.

The economic dependence of women also was retraced to slave times when few opportunities of socio-economic mobility were available and women 'were for the most part dependent on the men when they wanted to provide additional comforts and necessities to their children and a path to social advancement.'⁵⁶

There is also a transmission

Reference 681 - 0.01% Coverage

and was beaten to death.

We tend to forget that 'black female' identity was shattered under slavery. Slave women were treated as sexual objects that imply that they were denied sexual integrity and they were the property of their slave master. They had no control over their sexuality and bodies.

Subject to rape and other

Reference 682 - 0.01% Coverage

and affection' and social status.

In line with Burrell (2010), the slave system also negatively affects the 'Black male' identity in that 'slavery and its aftermath constituted an unrelenting assault on black male identity. The trauma was a serious blow to the sense of manhood prevalent in male dominated societies and which many Black men still 'wrestle' with today.

It is impossible to understand our current family crisis without examining the historical ways in which black fathers, mates, brothers and sons were emasculated.' Actually, slavery disrupted gender relations and roles that left the slave men and their descendants with a sense of emasculation that has been internalised and transmitted across generations.

For example, the rape and sexual objectification of slave women and the helplessness of the slave men who watched their wife, sister or daughter being abused are present in the collective memory.

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Reference 683 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 101

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The distribution of work duties on the sugar plantations during slavery as well further disrupted gender roles since, slave women were 'forced into male roles', they 'performed almost all the tasks performed by male slaves'⁵⁷ and were, in reality, subject to harsh corporal punishment.

Indeed, the impact of the long-term trauma and psychological disempowerment of the slave system on contemporary gender relations should not be undermined. Slavery and even post-slavery was a dehumanising and denigrating system whereby slave men were forced to stifle their male identity and it bore prejudice to their sense of manhood.

In other words, slave men were denied their manhood since they were dehumanised and objectified. They had to submit to the oppression of another man, the slave owner, and be docile and subservient.

This sense of emasculation might

Reference 684 - 0.01% Coverage

and in relation to men.

However, considering that slave women constituted the main source of unskilled and menial labour whereas slave men performed skilled work⁶⁰, the shift in job patterns with women nowadays being rather blue-collar workers and skilled workers indicate that women have been able to make use of the opportunities of post-slavery for economic advancement. (See Economic Survey Chapter)

4.6 SETTLEMENT

The villages

Reference 685 - 0.01% Coverage

need to put barbed wires...)

The sites identified can also be reckoned as intermediary spaces between the local intangible and tangible heritage. They constitute the local tangible heritage as, firstly, they are tangible links with the past and their names, the story of these places and the myths and legends attached to them constitute their intangible heritage. Secondly, in contemporary Mauritius, they are perceived as vibrant bearers of past traditional spatial arrangements and organisations that date back to slavery and post-slavery.

For example, Antonio and Nicole narrated some myths and legends linked to Basin Zigret and Rwisio Harrison (Eng.trans. Harrison River) with some of them related to slavery. These myths and social realities, in keeping with Malinowski (Cited in Barnard and Spencer 2010), are functionally related and the former ‘confirm, support and maintain the social state of affairs and provide an account of origins of people and their convictions.’ They can be seen as a ‘partial window’ on the past.

Some local legends: the legend

Reference 686 - 0.01% Coverage

spaces.

3.Traditional Spiritual Practices

It is a commonly held belief that the slaves’ cultures were eradicated by the slave system and by westernisation and Christianisation. However, it transpires practices and values survived under modified and syncritised forms.

from the testimonies that some

Reference 687 - 0.01% Coverage

feature or a physical object.

Camp life is a symbolical entity as well as a physical entity. During slavery, it was the only space that was not invaded by the slave owning class and few ventured in it. Indeed, we have few descriptions of slave camps by any traveller in the 18th century. The same can be observed for the Cité as few outsiders enter it and even officials and private persons (often of a different cultural background with their own prejudices) go in there only to do their business and leave. The Cité is a regeneration of the slave camp, after decades of being moved from camp to camp in the mid 19th and 20th

centuries. It is an autonomous

Reference 688 - 0.01% Coverage

and integrated in future policies.

The ritual presence of the slaves in the camps confers to the spaces their symbolism and heritage significance. It was a space shared by the slaves and they forged camp life with its idiosyncratic arrangements and organisation and inner-structures. This way of life was surely transmitted to the successive generations. Through these spaces the memories of the people who have disappeared remains alive in the collective memory through place-names or anecdotes linked to these spaces.

Truth and Justice Commission 118

Reference 689 - 0.01% Coverage

enjoy when being property owner.

In view of the fact that distribution of individual plots of land to slaves for farming activities was common practice in the later years of slavery¹¹³ a question can be raised, were these families really landowners or was the land under usufruct and with time and attachment to the land, the descendants of these families appropriated it or conceived the land as being theirs?

Indeed, in line with Teelock (1998, p.171), such scenario was feared by the slave-owners who ‘were apprehensive about giving slaves land to farm individually in the eventuality that they begin not only to

develop a certain amount of economic independence but worse, in the planter's mind, begin to look upon the land as their own.'

Therefore, these alleged cases of

Reference 690 - 0.01% Coverage

traditional beliefs, values and practices.

Even though the Slaves Savings Bank existed and the apprentices bought land, the reasons put forward by Shirley why their ancestors lost their land are: lack of knowledge, training, and financial literacy, ignorance, illiteracy, they were not long sighted (they did not think of their future generations) and immediate gratification. For example, her ancestors were landowners in Piton and in Quatre-Bornes. The lands were transmitted across generations until they lost their land in Piton and her father sold their house in Quatre-Bornes.

...kan blan inn ale, inn

Reference 691 - 0.01% Coverage

pa pou arive demin... 114

(Eng. trans:...when the whites left, there are many who gave [land] to the Creoles, who gave land to the Slaves. They told the latter to work the land and to live there. In other words, it is yours. But he [the slave] was illiterate, he did not know anything [and] gave him a plot of

Truth and Justice Commission 138

Reference 692 - 0.02% Coverage

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land, what he would do with that. He did not know what to put on it, he did not know where to get seeds to grow, how to plant how to do, the others that came, the other communities that came, they knew...he [the other communities] did not come as slaves, he came to steal instead, because he came to steal the slaves. When the slaves were no more enslaved, he possessed things, but he did not know what to do with it, he did not know how to use it, because all that time [when slave] he did not go to school. He did not get training, when he was no more a slave, when he was freed, during this transition from slave to Freed he did not get any training, in other words when he was freed he was given a plot of land what he would do with that? He could not eat land; he did not know how to plant, how to build a house. That is why the other communities that came, that knew, said: I give you money you give me this [your land]. [With] money, he could buy food, drinks, but he did not know that when money is finished, it is finished, they [the whites] never explained that to him: that if he worked the land, he would sell [his harvest] that he would succeed, he did not understand that. At most he had 10 arpents of land, he sells 5 arpents, he uses the money he grew [cultivated the land] today he would have 5 arpents of land. But those who came abused him, did not tell him that, they just came just told him I give you some money you give me the land...my grandmother has 121 arpent of sugar cane [field] in Piton, at the last census it was still named Isor field. But, when my grandfather died, when we told her to start the proceedings, she did not want to hear about it. Because she does not know how to read, she said what she would do with that [the sugar cane field]? She will eat sugar cane all day, how she will plant and what she will grow? When the sugar cane has been harvested what will be done with it? She did not know. It means he [the slave] possessed, the slave owned. But she did not know what to do with it, she did not sell it, she did not do anything with it, she abandoned it...Like my father, you do not sell all your land, your whole house! We had a plot of

land let say there was a big house on it, 6 rooms and 3 litchi trees...he sold the house...and he sold a big house like that in Quatre-Bornes town 185,000 rupees, until my death I will not forgive him 185,000 rupees. One month later a Chinese came and offered him 1 million, he had already sold [the house], which means, I think, I apologise for the saying but they [the descendants of slaves] kept this stupidity. It is like that they kept it. You know the slave likes it [this stupidity]...this is for me I do what I want I do not consider what will happen to my children what will happen tomorrow...)

There is an intergenerational transmission

Reference 693 - 0.01% Coverage

their parents through informal education.

Based on the writings of Teelock (1998, p.182), Mauritian society and economy were developed on partly on the exploitation of children that was inherent to the slave system. The slave children were denied 'childhood' and 'although parents tried to limit their children's participation in hard physical labour, child labour was widely practised.'

Child labour was perpetuated under the indenture system and in post-slavery and post-indenture Mauritius. Children continued to constitute a ready pool of labourers working as poultry keeper, cattle herder, bird chaser, weeds picker and performing other menial jobs. A gender dimension was identified in the distribution of work; boys were working in the fields while girls were performing domestic works. Until now children remain vulnerable to child labour and exploitation.

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Reference 694 - 0.01% Coverage

Family patterns and gender relations

There is need to carry an in-depth study on the impact of slavery on the contemporary family and social problems especially, gender relations and family dysfunction.

Sexual education should be mandatory

Reference 695 - 0.01% Coverage

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

A downward shift can be

Reference 696 - 0.01% Coverage

marginalised because of its remoteness.

Consequently, the Cité residents relied on the plantation and fishing economies and on invisible labour that are legacies of slavery in that the local residents continued to work for the surrounding estates and as paid domestic workers and fishermen.

Small Scale Farming:

Field research

Reference 697 - 0.01% Coverage

the horticulturalist in the region.

As indicated by the 1851 and 1871 censuses, it seems that after abolition of slavery and the introduction of the indentured labourers, the agricultural workers were mostly the Indo-Mauritians who outnumbered the 'General population' in agricultural class.

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Reference 698 - 0.01% Coverage

and consumption.

Contemporary occupation patterns

Cité La Mivoie was a fishing village since traditional fishing activities historically such as since slavery constituted a means of subsistence as well as the livelihood for the local population. There is still a generational transmission of traditional fishing techniques and knowledge such as vernacular fishing terms and the names of the various pas (Eng.trans. Natural passages in the lagoon).

...Be Wi se enn zafer

Reference 699 - 0.01% Coverage

still founded on labour exploitation.

In line with the testimonies, those who are at the bottom of the pyramid perceive their situation as a perpetuation of slavery as they still constitute a pool of servile labour force and their working conditions are harsh.

'...dan la realite ena pe

Reference 700 - 0.01% Coverage

never saw a Chinese having

problems quarrelling. He mingles...Creoles are becoming slaves, are oppressed by the others...)

Indeed, all the respondents stated

Reference 701 - 0.01% Coverage

po u pey sirplis...'153

(Eng. trans:...let say, like work, we all have our rights, do they respect us and our rights? There are still who have to work on Sundays, I know in hotels it is something else, but we work (as) domestic workers, on Sundays, do we still have to be their slaves, do their bed, their tea and if we have agreed to these conditions we do not have the right to say no we won't come because we are forced to. Are they paying us our Sundays like in the hotels? Sundays they have a greater salary. For us it is same (salary) we have to be their slave...I think if they paid us we would not be feeling like slaves. Besides the salary we earn we need to manage with that and with them because it's the condition...The salary, there are people who earn 2500, 2000, there are who earn more than Rs 3000 but the work increases...but you never paid for the additional work or for the extra work. But how you take it you, you do not find that they still have this slave mentality because I think that a person who works more he deserves his salary for his

work...Sundays, public holidays, if there are two people, one works on public holidays, one on Sundays, some on the 1st January if they have 2-3 people, they will tell this one to come on the 1st January, the other does not come on the 2nd, each time there is a shift. Slavery does not end, still (exists), still have same salary, never tell you that you will be paid more...)

This practice is a breach

Reference 702 - 0.01% Coverage

12 normal day's basic wage.

For the respondents, despite slavery was abolished in 1835, in fact, it is still perpetuated in Contemporary Mauritius but under modified forms. For them they are still slaves as their employers perpetuate illegal racist, discriminatory practices and subjugate them. They are denied their basic human rights.

For generations they did not

Reference 703 - 0.01% Coverage

koumadir bizin so esklav...154

(Eng. trans:... There are people who tell you they start work from that time to that time, they get nothing they are not allowed to touch thing and especially the foreigners they behave as if it is still slavery...but the person needs to work, he needs to work no because now everyone needs to work. And the Mauritian employers? Yes it is almost the same almost

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Reference 704 - 0.01% Coverage

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the same. But why do they have this mindset? You know however, I can say that the coming generation let say those between 30 years of age and 40 years of age they are nice but there are who are 70-80 who are nice but there are who since their young age who are nasty when he marries he is still nasty how to say he thinks that this person needs to be dominated he needs to dominate the latter how to say the latter needs to be his slave...)

Domestic workers are often 'de

Reference 705 - 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 706 - 0.01% Coverage

status and feel more valuable.

Modernisation is a double-edged-sword in that the Cité residents are now dependent on their employers, the state and civil society for support and their livelihood. From generation to generation since slave times they have been conditioned to accept underprivileged situation with hope of

Reference 707 - 0.01% Coverage

in general of Black children.

School administrators and teachers who participate in these discourses often claim that the lower academic achievement of 'Black students' exists because 'Black children' experience higher rates of poverty living in high crimes communities, unstable single parenting and minimal parental involvement as well as suffering from the negative effects of slavery, segregation, racism and discrimination.

Stinson coined that the dynamics

Reference 708 - 0.01% Coverage

stigmatised because of their differences.

This is sustained by Marie Michèle who used to live in the Cité and who testifies how at school and even later in life she experienced racist prejudices because of her ancestral origins, phenotype and geographical origins; because she is of African phenotype and presumed to be of slave descent and native of Black River.

...Secondaire Swami Sivananda SSS, Bambous

Reference 709 - 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 710 - 0.01% Coverage

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In fact, paid domestic labour is still commonly perceived as unskilled work and this perception is based on a dominant construction of paid domestic work as replacing unpaid family duties that were initially fulfilled by slave women and after by female family members. When paid domestic workers substituted these unpaid domestic jobs, the social and economic value of domestic employment was and is still undermined and under-estimated.

Domestic and manual labour remains

Reference 711 - 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 the capitalist system is rooted in the slave system and is an extension of slavery but under a modified and 'institutionalised' form. The residents of Cité La Mivoie still bear the burden of slavery. It will be a long and hard endeavour to repair the destructive aftermath of slavery and of discriminatory practices.

Reparation starts with work on the memory of slavery and of the slaves' history of abuse for psychological healing purposes. This healing process starts with a de-construction of the deep internalised sense of limitations and powerlessness. Furthermore, other social, cultural and psychological dynamics should take into consideration such as differential socialisation and enculturation processes to understand the Cité inner-structure, subculture and value system.

It is only with time and sincere and genuine political will that we shall be able to break this deeply seated perception that their marginalisation and underprivileged situation are inherent to their being. The recommendations are all made to help address the plight of the residents of Cité La Mivoie and improve their social and economic situation. We should learn from past errors made during post-slavery whereby now there is no living memory of the slaves among the residents. Recommendations are also proposed for the preservation of the local tangible and intangible heritage to ensure that the history of the residents' ancestors do not go in oblivion and ensure that the memories of their ancestors remain alive.

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Reference 712 - 0.01% Coverage

knowledge and skills, land? etc

- How parents and grandparents met? At what age they got married? Why? 3. 'Cité' History and Life: • Identification of important places, Lieu dit, monuments, ceremonies etc • Identification of heritage components, • Lifestyle in the past and now: water, electricity, roads • Houses • Settlement • Childhood memories 4. Experience living in the 'cité': • Any constraining experiences? • What is a 'cité' for you? • Perception of slave descents living in cite/coastal? Image projected? Stereotypes? 5. Economic, social and cultural life of the 'cité':

Economic/Occupations: • Occupations • Employment structure

Reference 713 - 0.01% Coverage

as house workers, gardeners etc?

- Cultural and Social life: • Traditions and customs including traditional religious and spiritual practices • Popular religion (prayers, rituals, ceremonies etc) • Traditional food practices and habits • Infrastructure developments • Road development • Education • Religious places and cemeteries 6. Land-ownership issues • Are you land owner? • Where is your land? How did you get this plot of land? • Were your parents or grandparents landowners? Where? How did they get this plot? • Cases of landownership and causes for loss of land? 7. Evolution of the 'cité' including impact of development and future

developments • How the village/region changed over time and what brought about those changes? • How the economic, social and cultural life of the ‘cité’ evolved? • What Mauritian society can do to help slave descents to feel /be better economically, politically, socially, culturally, etc?

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Reference 714 - 0.01% Coverage

remains inaccessible to the public.

The combined effects of pressure of developers on public institutions managing land and cultural issues have ensured that the management of the site leaves much to be desired as well as the interests of the inhabitants being neglected. One is at pains to understand why the village of Le Morne was not included in the Buffer Zone of the World Cultural Landscape as the inhabitants uphold the traditions bequeathed to them by their slave ancestors who lived in the area. The interests of the inhabitants of the original Le Morne village found on the land what is known as ‘Trou Chenille’ have not been taken into account at all and to date no full archaeological or historical survey carried out on this village which was composed of descendants of slaves having lived in the area for generations.

The conditions in which they

Reference 715 - 0.01% Coverage

agriculture as they used to.

Numerous studies have been undertaken on slavery and on Le Morne but no one had yet been able to state categorically who were the original inhabitants of Le Morne or who was buried in the abandoned cemetery found near the estuary at Le Morne. The answer is to be found in in-depth studies using a multi-disciplinary approach and combining contemporary sources of knowledge and data as well as historical and archaeological sources.

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

The two studies one by Yola Argot Nayekoo, herself a descendant of a family of slaves having lived in Le Morne since early 19th century, if not before, and the archaeological study of Krish Seetah and his team in the abandoned cemetery point to a new facet of the history of Le Morne: aside from being associated with maroonage, Le Morne is also associated with a permanent slave community living and working in the area which need to be further researched. More studies such as that of Yola Nayekoo and Krish Seetah need to be undertaken, in collaboration with institutions and individuals interested in this region.

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Reference 716 - 0.01% Coverage

to fulfill their duties professionally.

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

7. The inhabitants be given

Reference 717 - 0.01% Coverage

duplicate those of other institutions.

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

Connivance of civil servants, board

Reference 718 - 0.01% Coverage

installés très loin, en Europe.

“I am not ashamed of my grandparents for having been slaves. I am only ashamed of myself for having at one time being ashamed.” (Ralph Ellison)

1 Recensement biennal -Plantation Slaves 1-347, état du 16 octobre 1826. 2

3

Baron d’Unienville, Statistiques de

Reference 719 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 225

VOL 3: PART I – SLAVERY – INHABITANTS OF LE MORNE – PAST AND PRESENT REPORT SUMMARY

The report centres on the field survey undertaken between the 19th and 31st of July 2010 at the Le Morne Cemetery Site, Le Morne, Mauritius. The excavations were undertaken under the aegis and commission of the Truth and Justice Commission, Port Louis, with the express desire to gain a clear understanding of who was actually interred in the cemetery. Previous oral knowledge and conjecture about the site had suggested that the buried were of Malagasy origins; our principal objective was to clarify this issue given the significance of the site in relation to Le Morne Cultural Landscape WHS. In addition to this main objective, it was hoped that any remains recovered might be used within the framework of the ‘Health Legacies of Slavery and Indenture’ project directed by Mr Benjamin Moutou, with myself as team leader. The remit of this latter project was to better understand, through comparative study, the impacts (if any) of slavery and indenture on the health of the modern Mauritian population.

This site is remarkable. We

Reference 720 - 0.01% Coverage

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

Fieldwork was carried out between

Reference 721 - 0.01% Coverage

4.2.1.5 Activity

When individuals are habitually involved in manual work, it can leave traces on the skeleton in the form of ossified muscle attachment points. The distribution of these can give some idea of which muscle groups were used most heavily. The skeletal material from Le Morne showed little indication of such activity. Only two enthesophytes were observed. One was present at the insertion of the triceps muscle at the olecranon process of the right ulna of the individual from Structure 8 (fig. 28). The second was on the radius of the lower individual from Structure 33, at the origin of the Flexor digitorum superficialis. The general lack of muscle development is interesting in light of the fact that the population may represent the remains of freed slaves. One possible reason for this lack of evidence for heavy muscle usage is that there was a gendered division of labour, with females engaged in less manual labour; however, this is not borne out by the existence of two other examples of pathological lesions. The young woman from Structure 7 had spondylolysis of the fifth lumbar vertebra (fig. 29). Spondylolysis is a form of stress fracture in which the neural arch of the vertebra separates from the body through the pars inter-articularis. The lesion was well remodelled and healed at the time of death.

Fig. 28 Enthesophyte on right

Reference 722 - 0.01% Coverage

or may have been interred.

Principal amongst these issues is an attempt at defining the religious affiliation of those buried, and by analogy, those individuals who buried their dead. This ties in directly with our desire to understand the origins of those interred. In this instance, one might assume that the interred, of slaves or freed slaves, would have followed a Christian religious life. However, in the case of this cemetery, there is no evidence linking the burial traditions of the buried with Christianity. In fact, the opposite would appear to be the case. The bodies are, in the main, orientated to face (predominantly) West, which – whether by design or serendipity – also faces Le Morne Brabant, and Madagascar. This is the reverse of Christian doctrine. In addition to this, the presence of both the glass bottle (grave 33/U) and coins (grave 7) would be more in keeping with traditional African burial practices as opposed to Christian. Finally, there is no evidence of consecration of this area. Although difficult to determine, the fact that at least three very young juveniles, effectively neonatal or newborn, are buried within the cemetery – individuals that could not possibly have been baptised – indicates that the religious practice adhered to was not a Christian one.

Looking at the graves, their

Reference 723 - 0.03% Coverage

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VOL 3: PART I – SLAVERY – INHABITANTS OF LE MORNE – PAST AND PRESENT 5.3 DISCUSSION OF OSTEOLOGICAL FINDS

The excavation and analysis of the human remains has prompted three key questions that will be discussed in more detail here. Firstly, and perhaps most significantly in light of the World Heritage status

of Le Morne Brabant is the question of whether the skeletons are of slaves or ex-slaves, or whether they represent other portions of the Mauritian population. Secondly, there is the question of the neonatal twins from Structure 6: is infanticide an option or were they natural deaths. Thirdly, what is the significance of the double burial in Structure 1? Is it simply a double burial or does it represent either death in childbirth or a ‘coffin birth’ where the baby is delivered after death due to the decomposition process?

1. Could the skeletons represent the remains of slaves or ex-slaves?

Dating evidence from coins and other material culture suggests that the cemetery at Le Morne was in use up to the mid 1830s, the period when slavery came to an end in the country. The area has since become famous for its association with Maroons – groups of escaped slaves who took advantage of Le Morne Mountain’s inaccessibility. The question of whether the skeletons are of slaves is therefore of extreme cultural significance. To address this, it is necessary to examine evidence of lifestyle and to ask whether this evidence is compatible with a slave origin.

Osteological studies of slavery have so far been largely confined to slaves of considerably earlier periods such as the Roman Empire and to the Caribbean and North America. Of these, it is likely that the plantation-based slavery of the Caribbean and North America will have more relevance to the present case than examples from the ancient world. Studies of New World slavery have identified a number of characteristics that are commonly associated with slave populations, but it must be acknowledged that there is considerable variability, meaning that a ‘shopping list’ approach to the osteology of slavery is to be avoided. Given this caveat, some features that might be relevant in the present case are evidence of nutritional deficiency, the development of skeletal features related to heavy manual labour and evidence of high levels of non-specific infections and skeletal trauma. The last three of these are, of course, dependent on the form which slavery takes. Household slaves would have been involved in different kinds of activities to agricultural slaves and this would have been reflected in the kinds of risks to which they were exposed and hence the kinds of conditions that are visible in the skeleton. A further characteristic of slavery in Mauritius was the over-representation of males. Kuczynsky (1949, cited in Benedict 1976) has calculated that male slaves outnumbered women by two to one until 1826, when the proportion of females began to increase (Benedict 1976: 140). The 1826 registration data records five female slaves and 27 males belonging to the Le Morne Brabant estate (Teelock et al n.d.). Interestingly, these were all adults. The demographic characteristics of the Le Morne sample may therefore also cast some light on this question.

Nutritional deficiency is commonly associated with slave populations because slaves eat a relatively monotonous diet of low-value foods. Whilst it is necessary for slaves to have sufficient food to be able to work, owners are frequently reluctant to invest more than necessary in the provision of a varied diet. This is reflected in both evidence of specific dietary deficiencies and in evidence of childhood stress such as enamel hypoplasias.

Rates of enamel hypoplasia vary considerably between published skeletal slave samples from the US and Caribbean. At a slave cemetery in South Carolina 92% of males and 70% of females had enamel hypoplasias (Rathbun 1987) and in the Newton cemetery in Barbados the figure was 98% (Handler and Corruccini 1983), testifying to very severe stresses placed on the slaves through factors such as calorie or nutrient deficiency or disease. These figures are clearly very high compared with the Le Morne figure of 40% of adults. In contrast, levels were much lower in a series of pooled skeletal samples from Virginia and the Carolinas, at 56% in the eighteenth century and only 29% in the nineteenth century component (Kelley and Angel 1987).

The two most commonly observed

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surprising. Although rickets is typically associated with low-status populations, it is generally found amongst industrial populations where people did not have adequate exposure to sunlight. Given that Mauritian slaves are likely to have spent considerable periods of time working outdoors, evidence for rickets would have been surprising. The similar lack of scurvy suggests that the diet must have included sufficient vitamin C. There is some suggestion that slave diet in Mauritius was based around maize consumption (Grant 1801, cited in Benedict 1976: 139) and this is supported by the results of isotopic study of the Le Morne skeletons. Maize contains a relatively high proportion of vitamin C when harvested as a mature plant (around 1/3 the amount in orange juice, measured gram for gram (Esselen et al 1937: 507)) and this may explain the lack of evidence for scurvy in this population.

A further indication of poor health and nutrition is stature and it is noticeable that the reconstructed statures of the Le Morne individuals were low. Female heights were around 155-160 cm, whilst the reconstructed height of the possible male was 163cm. Although these figures would be seen as markedly low were they to appear in a modern population of European ancestry, they cannot necessarily be seen as abnormally low for those populations that have contributed to the Mauritian population. Modern figures from Malawi, which contributed to the slave population of Mauritius, give mean heights of 155 for females and 166 for males (Msamati and Igbibi 2000). These populations are themselves subject to problems of inadequate diet and poor healthcare and we must therefore acknowledge that such conditions are not limited to slave populations.

It has been possible to compare the reconstructed heights of the Le Morne skeletons to heights of slaves in the southern portion of the island recorded in the registration of 1826 (fig. 31; data kindly provided by Vijaya Teelock of the Truth and Justice Commission (Teelock et al n.d.)). From this it can be seen that the Le Morne skeletons fall right into the middle of the height distribution of the slave population.

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In summary, the Le Morne skeletal population appears to have been reasonably well nourished and to fit with the expected statures of the populations that have contributed to the Mauritian population, but shows evidence of over-use of certain parts of the skeleton. Whilst the lack of evidence of stress and nutritional inadequacy differentiates the Le Morne skeletons from slave samples from the New World, this does not mean that the Le Morne cemetery does not contain slaves. Rather it seems to suggest that the conditions of slavery in the south of Mauritius would have been different to those on the large plantations of the New World. Plantation slavery was certainly common on Mauritius, but the area of Le Morne Brabant is not suitable for such cultivation methods due to its aridity. Instead, subsistence farming with some livestock appears to have been the main activity in this area, and the diet was probably supplemented by hunting and fishing (Teelock, pers. comm.). Such an interpretation is supported by the slave registration of 1826 (Teelock et al n.d.), in which occupations include fisherman, hunter and guardian of cattle as well as the more familiar categories of labourers and servants (although these latter categories dominate the sample).

2. What is the significance

Reference 726 - 0.01% Coverage

prevent movement of the bones.

One reason for suggesting coffin birth as a possibility is the small size of the foetus/neonate, which suggests that it was pre-term at death and may not have been delivered; however, it is also worth considering what the implications of size are in this population. The adult skeletons excavated from Le Morne are all small, and this fits with the height distribution of slaves from the 1826 registration (Teelock

et al n.d.; fig. 31). In a population with small adult height, low birth-weight babies may also have been common and this means that ages calculated from equations developed for babies from European contexts may be too low. If this is the case, the double burial in Structure 1 may merely represent the remains of a mother who died in childbirth and her baby.

Analysis of the bones themselves

Reference 727 - 0.01% Coverage

clear indications of dietary deficiency.

In addition, and again turning to the recovered finds, it would appear that the dead were buried in relatively well constructed coffins, clothed, and with clearly delineated grave outlined constructed in their memory. These lines of evidence would seem to indicate that the interred were freed 'peoples', but whether initially slaves or not is hard to decipher. Thanks to the isotopic analysis we can be clear that they were all from the same region geographically; however, at this stage it is unclear whether the interred arrived, within their lifetime, from further afield or were born and raised in Mauritius.

What is clear, and what

Reference 728 - 0.01% Coverage

be increased in the future.

Report has been kept relatively brief, presenting limited archaeological details. This has been done with the express desire to emphasize the results. This is a remarkable site, primarily for the local and wider Mauritian population. The site and the recovered remains are the first such finds for the Republic of Mauritius and would seemingly provide some of the most tangible links to a collective ancestral population. The purpose of archaeology is to connect modern with ancient: the site of the Le Morne Cemetery allows us, for the first time ever, to visualise the use, reuse, and reverence that this cemetery held for an enigmatic ancestral Mauritian community. While so much of Mauritius' past is intertwined within paradigms of slavery and indenture, hardship and toil, at least this aspect appears free of that; we should do all we can to learn more about this facet of past lives.

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Reference 729 - 0.01% Coverage

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

"...America has given the Negro

Reference 730 - 0.01% Coverage

benefit

from a multi-disciplinary

approach, which ought to (but not limited to) include philosophy, psychology, history, sociology and law. It makes sense to compare the study of reparations in Mauritius to reparations movement in the United States for the Mauritian case has no legal precedent moreover; the multi-cultural nature of the population in the U.S is also very similar to Mauritius. However the reparations movement in the United States is

privately initiated and brought about by individuals or groups of people who filed legal suits for compensatory reparations for the harms of slavery. Conversely the Mauritian study for the reparation of the harms caused by slavery is a governmental endeavour enacted by the parliament. It is part of a Truth and Justice Commission and among its many objectives is the study of the effects of slavery on the descendants of slaves in a historical, sociological and economic context. The Mauritian reparations study is in fact very similar to the United States Congressman Conyers H.R. 40 bill, which is still infamously lingering in congressional sub-committee since its introduction in 1989. Congressman Conyers perennially re-introduces the bill and each time it garners yawns of boredom from the floor followed by a predictable defeat.

The H.R.40 is

Reference 731 - 0.01% Coverage

for an apology from the institutions that profited from slavery or an immediate, outright financial compensation for descendants of slaves but for the establishment of a commission to study slavery and its subsequent racial and economic discrimination against freed slaves, and the impact of these forces on today's African Americans. Among the aims of H.R 40 bill is to make recommendations to Congress for appropriate remedies to redress the harm inflicted on living African Americans. The Mauritian reparations study is a far cry from the H.R 40 bill and would probably represent a dream come true for the reparations activists in the United States. Slavery pervaded all aspects of the slaves' lives and the slave-owners', it involved kidnapping, forced migration, assault and battery, rape, denial of religious freedom, prohibition to converse in one's native tongue, destruction of the family unit, deprivation of 4 status and the list goes on. These forms of abuse did not only affect the body but also the psyche; in jurisprudence these are described collectively as "Torts". Any person nowadays who undergoes any of these forms of torture and who files suit would surely collect compensatory damages and the offender (if convicted) would most certainly be imprisoned. However these abuses happened more than a century ago, in Mauritius, slavery was abolished in 1835 and any claim for reparations whether in terms of compensatory damages or punitive damages would entail filing derivative claims by someone other than the victim. In this case, descendants of slaves would file the law suit on behalf of their ancestors (who are long deceased) against victimizers who are deceased. The problem is that in American jurisprudence, Tort doctrine is not receptive to derivative claims because only the victim can file a suit for damages and the damages should be noticeable in some ways or easily assessed, verified by psychiatric and or medical professionals. Moreover the claimant has a set period to file the lawsuit for damages called a statute of limitation. So far the African American reparations suits were defeated on the procedural major profited from slavery and the roadblocks such as statute of

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of the ways the beneficiaries extent/amount of their profits be made public and this according to Hylton has the potential to clarify the social costs of slavery and the oppressive regime that appeared in it awake which is Jim Crow segregation laws in the United States. The institution of slavery existed in a moral vacuum by today's standards and legally speaking, the institution although sanctioned by law functioned on the margins of legality. According to Keith Hylton Social Torts are "most damaging to slave descendants because, like a constantly mutating virus

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contends that the cultural values transmitted from slave to slave from one generation to another, have the power to change and adapt to the social, political and cultural climate specific to each generation. James R. Hackney argues that “slavery has severely decimated African Americans race capital”; the concept that race is cultural capital is borrowed from Bourdieu’s theory which proposes that a group is an amalgam of cultural, social and economic capital, and wherever slavery existed, it had a heavy impact on the people, laws, norms and values in that particular society.

SLAVERY AND ITS LEGACY ON THE BLACK SELF The psychologist Adelbert Jenkins calls for a shift in our perspective from an external to an introspective look into how descendants of slaves conceptualize and shape their reality in a world where economic opportunities and social status are still ascribed on race. Jenkins does not reject that slavery brought unspeakable harm upon slaves and their African American descendants however contends that they are mere puppets or victims of their environments. He posits that Blacks have a say in their destinies as opposed to the Mechanist perspective which is a philosophical approach that considers people to be products of their environments. Jenkins explains that people are complex and sometimes the concepts used to account for their behaviours may often oversimplify rather than take into account the complexities that make the human person.

The definition of the term

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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

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writing on women to the conspicuous absence of Blacks in classical philosophy. He points out that a collection of explicitly racist statements about Blacks quoted from major works in the Anglo-American canon would not be a particularly thick document.⁴ The relationship of Blacks and Whites in American society is always set in terms of polarity, those termed Whites have the moral, religious and judicial standing that has lifted them above the other “races” and they have been the expropriators while others have been the expropriated. They have been the Slave-owners while others have been Slaves.⁵ However, the problem of Mauritius is much more complex than that; the polarity between Whites and Blacks exists although not as prevalent as in the United States because Whites represent a very small minority in the population (albeit a very affluent one) and by virtue of their higher economic status, they can afford to forfeit the use of some services such as public bus system and

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conceptions, patterns of socialization, morals,

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governmental public hospital. The Mauritian complication resides not only in the polarity between Whites and Blacks but between Blacks and other “communal groups” as well. The communal group termed “General Population” includes descendants of White slave-owners as well as descendants of slaves, who by the way refer to themselves as Creoles. It seems that the only commonality between Whites and Blacks in Mauritius is Christianity or at least the local perception is that both groups are said to be Catholics.⁶ Economically speaking, these two groups are at opposite ends of the economic spectrum; descendants of slaves belong to the lowest social classes whereas the descendants of

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lowest social

classes whereas the

descendants of slave owners enjoy the highest social status in Mauritius. A study sponsored by Cassam Uteem, former President of Mauritius shows that the “Black members” of the General Population suffer from “exclusion”, that they do not enjoy the same educational, economic opportunities as the other communities. So here is the hitch: by being included under the same denomination as the most affluent component of the General Population, the problems of the economically impoverished descendants of slaves are masked.

We can all agree that

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the mid 1990s, hinted to

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

contrast to the Mechanists' philosophical approach which sees human beings as constantly shaped by external circumstances with little input of their own.⁸

In Mauritius, the study on

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is a higher rate of

failure in inner-city public primary schools and one of its findings was that at the end of six years of primary school Creole children were still illiterate. Comparatively African American children from inner-city public schools in great urban areas such as Watts in Los Angeles or East Harlem in New York City, encounter the same problems. Jenkins' theory of humanistic approach calls for a study of inclusion rather than exclusion, which focuses on how people view their cultural world, how they transmit knowledge and interpret them. A major problem, I have with Jenkins' perspective is its diachronic in nature (although it is understandable that one cannot analyze a dead person's psyche) Jenkins does not discuss the historical impact of slavery on African Americans' as a major factor which can influence their choice making and subsequent interpretation of the world around them. Cross-cultural psychology on the other hand provides more straightforward answers; it suggests that cultural transmission is vital in people's choice making. If cultural transmission of the torts of

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slavery is a way to account for the present generation suffering the social torts of slavery then we can actually study these problems in a historical context and how articulate their choice making.

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

The section entitled Reparations in the United States looks at class-action lawsuits filed on behalf of African Americans against the government, American and international corporations. This section gives the political and legal background to the different reparations suits and the social context in which they took place. Callie House and the National Ex-Slave Mutual Relief, Bounty and Pension Association reparations suit discusses the role of the church in grassroots movements and the ex-slaves' movement attempts to sue government agencies for monetary compensation for unpaid slave labour. The Dred Scott case analyzes the institution of slavery and the legal status of the slave in the ante-bellum jurisprudence. This section also investigates the question of citizenship of the African American slave in a pre-civil war context. It also explores the influence of Justice Tanney's opinion in the subsequent racial policies enacted such as Jim Crow in southern states post civil war. This section also uncovers similarities and differences between the early 20th century and the 21st century lawsuits and how the demands of the reparations activists changed over time.

Section two explores the Japanese

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Victims Reparations suit and the introduction of the H.R 40 bill which it inspired and their influence on modern reparations suits. This section gives details of each reparations suit and discusses the judges' opinions in relation to Keith Hylton's argument on the Social Torts of slavery and how they apply to the American context. This section also discusses the reparations of slavery within the Rule of Law. According to Dr. Kaimipono D. Wenger, the Rule of Law is an important and widely accepted idea, integral to most understandings of how society interacts with the law. The Rule of law is the idea that laws are equally applied, knowable, and distinct from arbitrary power and it is an imprecisely defined concept. Dr. Wenger discusses in his essay how slavery was a breach of the Rule of Law therefore reparations are an important way to address that breach. This essay analyzes Hylton theory concerning the social torts of slavery as causation for the problems encountered by descendants of slaves in relationship with Wenger's theory of reparations within the Rule of Law.

Section three gives the political

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

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class action suit in the

United States to the state sponsored study on reparations which is part of the Truth and Justice Commission. It looks at similarities between the Farmer-Paellmann class-action suits and the present state-sponsored study on reparations in Mauritius and makes recommendations based on Prof Hylton's theory on Social Torts and Dr. Wenger's discussion of reparations as a way to redress the breach in the Rule of Law caused by slavery. This section discusses the pertinence of using a multidisciplinary approach to the study of slavery and reparations for the Truth and Justice Commission.

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citizenship was addressed in the famous opinion of Justice Roger B. Tanney that slaves being of a race different from the Caucasian Americans and Native Americans could not be citizens of the United States. The Dred Scott case will be discussed in further details in the subsequent chapter.

THE DRED SCOTT CASE 1854 TO 1857 - SLAVERY AND CITIZENSHIP Dred Scott was born in Southampton County, Virginia, his exact birth date is not known and

existing records indicate the year

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and slightly built; unlike the many other male slaves belonging to the Blow family group, he was not a mulatto. His short stature was associated to a bout of disease he suffered in childhood, which decided his owner to set to work in the house rather than on the plantation with the other slave children. Short of cash and his wife sick of a lingering disease that would ultimately claim her life, Peter Blow sold many young male slaves among them was Dred Scott who legally became property of Dr Emerson in 1833. In 1833, Dr John Emerson

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Fort Armstrong, located in Rock Island, Illinois. The territory of Illinois was known as a free territory with the passage of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 however it is not clear whether Dred Scott knew the implications that living in a free state where slavery was not upheld would have on his life.¹⁴ Emerson on the other hand fully understood the situation but chose to bring his slave with him anyway. At the time, it was common for Southern Army officers to bring along their slaves to their Army postings whether it was; in a Free State or Slave state. In 1836, Dr. Emerson was reassigned to Fort Snelling on the Mississippi River, which was located in Michigan Territory now Saint Paul, Minnesota, then a vast area later subdivided into five states; Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, North and South Dakota. Slavery was not recognized in the Michigan territory either furthermore, the Missouri Compromise strictly prohibited slavery in that region.¹⁵ At Fort Snelling, Dred Scott met and married a black woman known as Harriet Robinson who was attached as servant to Major Taliaferro, a local Indian agent who also presided over their civil union as Justice of the Peace. Scott travelled to Louisiana and Texas with his family and often without his master and they did not escape. After the death of his master, Dred Scott, his wife and two daughters travelled to Missouri with the widow Emerson. There Scott brought suit against his owner to gain freedom for himself, his wife and their two children. The reasons may have been that the widow Emerson needed money and wanted to separate the Scott family by selling either the parents or the children to different owners. In his lawsuit, Scott claimed that the state of Missouri had the longstanding principle of “once free, always free” and that applied to him and his family because they had resided in the free territory for years, his daughter Eliza was born in the free territory and that once a slave took residence in the Free State he was immediately set free.

This case had a legal

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to James Somerset made the same argument that a slave became free once he resided in a free state. The case of *Rachel v. Walker* in 1836 brought to the Circuit Court of St Louis, Missouri also used the James Somerset argument and the court ruled in favour of the slave woman named Rachel. Rachel’s claim was that having lived in free territory where slavery did not exist, she was automatically freed. The verdict came a month after Dred Scott’s move to Fort Snelling in May 1836. We do not know the reasons why Dred Scott did not bring that suit sooner but the fact that his family would be torn apart was a very strong incentive. The widow Emerson surrendered all of her property rights to Dred Scott to her brother John F. Sandford and this is how the case came to be known as *Scott v. Sandford* rather than *Emerson*.

It was recorded that the

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by the Missouri Supreme Court but Sandford appealed and the case went to the United States Supreme Court, the case was decided in 1856 with Justice Roger B. Tanney reading his famous opinion on the case. The verdict took everyone aback; the abolitionists north and the pro-slavery south alike furthermore the verdict had many legal implications for the status of the person of African descent and for northern politics.

First, Justice Tanney redefined the

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African descent whether free or

enslaved as inferior and by virtue of their African ancestry, they could never attain full citizenship in the Union. Justice Tanney's legal definition of the slave was very much in conformation with the French Code Noir which defined the slave as a "bien meuble", which would mean that the slave was just private property and the owner could do whatever he wished with him, the court could not intervene because the owner was in his rights. Second, Justice Tanney stated that the Framers of the Constitution did not intend to include the Black man in the article of the constitution and that the phrase "All men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights..." did not refer to the Black man and invoking the racist mindset of the framers, Justice Tanney asserted that if they did not intend to include the Black man as being part of the human family they were intending to define and in the case they did intend to include those of African descent they would have suffered "universal rebuke and reprobation."¹⁶

Furthermore Justice Tanney proclaimed that

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bring suit in federal court

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

Justice Tanney's opinion also nullified

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riots and Justice Tanney's opinion,

Northern abolitionist sentiments. New states like Kansas were settled by both slave owning whites and abolitionists

exacerbated the problem. On July 9, 1868, Congress ratified the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution declaring among other things, that all persons born or naturalized in the United States were United States citizens and citizens of the state in which they resided. Section 1 of this Amendment effectively overruled the Supreme Court's Dred Scott decision, ultimately making freed slaves citizens of

the United States. Finally, on February 3, 1870, Congress ratified the Fifteenth Amendment with the intention of granting African-Americans the right of suffrage. The Fifteenth Amendment provides, in part: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, colour, or previous condition of servitude." U.S. Const. amend XV, § 1. Concerned with the possibility that individual states may attempt to circumvent the purpose behind the Civil War Amendments, Congress included an enabling clause in all three of the Civil War Amendments, giving it the exclusive power to enforce the Amendments with appropriate legislation. See U.S. Const. amend XIII, § 2; see also U.S. Const. amend XIV, § 5; U.S. Const. amend XV, § 2.

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VOL 3: PART I – SLAVERY - REPARATIONS EARLY REPARATIONS MOVEMENT There were also early efforts attempts for a modicum of relief for ex-slaves. In 1865, Union Major General William T. Sherman declared that abandoned or confiscated land along the southeast coast, be set aside for freed slaves with families at a rental for three years. They were entitled up to 40 acres, hence the expression, "forty acres and a mule". However, this policy did not expand to the Deep South; after Lincoln's assassination, President Andrew Jackson halted this movement in an effort to pacify the defeated confederate states. In June 1865, President Andrew Jackson ordered 40,000 Freedmen from their homesteads allowing the rebel white southerners to reclaim the land. The federal Government established the Freedmen's Bureau to provide assistance to former slaves.

Major General Oliver Otis Howard

Reference 753 - 0.01% Coverage

Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, which was headquartered in Washington D.C.¹⁸ The bureau's assistants and agents carried out the daily operations in the former confederate and the Union states, of registering freed slaves for relief. The Bureau helped the ex-slaves with clothing, issued rations, operated hospitals and refugee camps. The Bureau also managed apprenticeship disputes (precisely the type that occurred during Callie House's childhood), assisted benevolent societies in establishing schools, helped freedmen legalized marriages contracted during slavery and provided transportation to reunite with their family or relocate to other parts of the country. Congress extended the life of the Bureau and added other duties, such as assisting Black soldiers and sailors in obtaining back pay, bounty payments, and pensions. When the Bureau was discontinued in 1872, its remaining functions were transferred to the Freedmen's Branch of the Adjutant General's Office.¹⁹

The Reparation movement is not

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early as 1870, a white southerner, democrat and businessman named Walter R. Vaughan wrote to congress to appeal for a pension fund to help aging ex-slaves. Vaughan based his model on the pension fund already in use for Union veterans' soldiers, he was the first to suggest that being enslaved is tantamount to sustaining personal injury and that the government should compensate the ex-slaves for the repeated injuries they suffered during slavery. Vaughan worked closely with Congressman William J. Connell on the 1890 bill also known as the Mason bill which would provide ex-slaves a pension based on a scale.²³ Seeing that

his efforts were fruitless with the Congress, Vaughan decided to appeal to public opinion Blacks and whites on the need to have an ex-slaves pension fund to support aging slaves who cannot support themselves through work. In 1891, he published his views in small book entitled, Vaughan's Freedmen's Pension Bill: A plea for American Freedmen and a Rational Proposition to Grant Pensions to Persons of Colour Emancipated from Slavery. Vaughan's book was an instant bestseller in the South, ex-slaves collected money to buy it, those who could read, read aloud to entire gatherings. According to Charles P. Henry, Vaughan's book was remarkable in its historical scope, it described great accomplishments of Blacks in Africa for instance in Ancient Egypt and included contemporary biographies of successful Black men who had been slaves. However Professor Frances Berry contends this portrayal of Vaughan, she postulates that he wanted to revitalize the southern economy which was severely weakened by the civil war.²⁰ Demanding a pension fund for ex-slaves would help the south recover from the ravages of the civil war, in Vaughan's opinion helping the freedmen recover would benefit the whole white society in the long run because enabling them with the means of consumption would boost the economy, creating more demand for consumer goods.

Regardless of Vaughan's true motives

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Freedmen's pension; one has to admire his thoughtfulness, incisive intellect to see beyond the very immediate confines of race to imagine how the south would benefit from the implementation of such a radical bill. Vaughan and the leaders of the National Ex-Slaves Mutual Relief, Bounty Association worked together closely at first to push for congress to adopt the Mason bill. However internal problems arose, Vaughan decided to announce that only he and Congressman Connell were responsible for drafting the Freedmen's pension bill and that anyone not approved by him was deemed a fraud. He denounced the elected secretary Callie House and the general manager of the National Ex-Slaves, Isaiah H. Dickerson as frauds in southern papers and warning the public not to give them money for the passing of the bill as it would be fraudulent.

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heavily influenced the first Black organization The National Ex-Slave Mutual Relief, Bounty Association that sought reparations for unpaid wages during slavery. The organization sought pensions for African-American ex- slaves based on the type of pensions offered to Union soldiers; the organization targeted \$68 million in taxes levied on seized cotton from the defeated southern states, a sum which would amount to \$1.2 billion in 2005 according to Prof. Frances Berry's estimates.²¹ One of the pioneers for the Reparation Movement was Mrs. Callie House born Callie Guy into slavery in 1861 and was still a small child at the time of emancipation.²² After the abolition of slavery, many owners in Tennessee would refuse to let the ex-slaves' children go with their parents; keeping them as apprentices without parental authorization.²³ Callie House became a widow very young; it must have been difficult to care for her five children on a washerwoman's salary. Callie knew the daily struggles of the ex-slaves; it was definitely worse for those who were too old to work. There was a collective need for self help within the former slave community. The National Ex-Slaves Mutual Relief Bounty Association functioned as a mutual help society; there were monthly dues for those who could contribute, which went towards helping the destitute old or disabled ex-slaves for their medical and living expenses as well as burial aid. The rest of the contributions went towards stationery, stamps and the general administrative work surrounded writing and collecting petitions for congress to help Freedmen and to help pass the Mason Bill. Much of the information concerning the slaves were obtained through door to door interviews with former slaves which Callie

conducted herself; she listened to their woes about the present, and their fears concerning the future. She exhorted anyone especially the older slaves to write to congress to petition for a pension and it clear to them that it was their right and privilege as American citizen to do. Callie and the other officials from the association collected and submitted these petitions to Congress.²⁴

The activities of the Association were not solely confined to Nashville Tennessee but soon spread in the south and in North America where the ex-slaves settled after 1865. There were chapters in Atlanta, Georgia, Louisiana, Missouri, and Washington D.C. Callie House and the leader Isaiah Dickerson travelled a lot while organizing for the association when House and Dickerson were arrested for fraud, they were questioned at length on the origin of their travel funds. A lot of the Association's members had never met Callie House or Dickerson in person and there were rumours of people going around collecting money impersonating them. Prof Berry suggests that these people were either rumours spread around from the Post Office Administration in D.C or by people who did not like the idea of African Americans organizing themselves at a community level for self-help and personal betterment. Callie House's impersonator was described as a thin-faced, well-spoken, slender mulatto woman who had an elegant handwriting, which was very far from the truth. Callie was a full figured, dark skin woman with a primary school education but she was very intelligent and often gave public lectures on reparations.

Callie House worked closely with

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it would not allow it.

Jones made himself a target of persecution when he filed this class action suit against the treasury department. Moreover, Jones and Callie House greatly publicized the suit among ex-slaves and their families in the various chapters around the country and to do that they had to use the mail. This gave more fuel for the Post office department to persecute Callie House, the Association and Cornelius Jones. The Post Office department presented the invitation to contribute in the lawsuit as an evidence of the Association's criminality. Jones was indicted for money and mail fraud as he was filing the appeal in the Supreme Court.

The harassment from the postmaster

Reference 758 - 0.01% Coverage

when she wrote to Acting

Assistant District Attorney Barrett, telling him that she was an American citizen and it was in her rights to petition Congress to redress the dreadful situation African Americans found themselves in after the Civil War. People like Barrett and those who actively sought to silence Callie and the Association could not fathom that Blacks were entitled to rights and citizenship; they were still in the same "world" as described in Justice Roger B. Tanney's opinion in the Dred Scott case in 1856. Justice Tanney made it plain when talking about Dred Scott that being a black man, he could not be a citizen of any state because he was a negro whose ancestors were of pure African blood and who were imported into the Union and sold as slaves. Furthermore a black man had no rights to sue a white man in a court of law because these were the rights and privileges of a citizen to which he could not aspire. Justice Tanney went on to describe African Americans as "beings of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations; and so far inferior, that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect; and that the negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for his benefit. He was brought and sold and treated as an ordinary article of merchandise and traffic, whenever a profit could be made by it. This opinion was at that time fixed and universal in the civilized portion of the white race."²⁶

Callie House's demise, the ultimately

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help association and the failure

of the Mason bill in subcommittee shows that slavery ended only to replaced with Jim Crow which brought disenfranchisement and segregation. In the case of Dred Scott, few years before Callie House was born; Justice B. Tanney wrote his opinion on the case based on his own views but also it reflected the sentiments of the white society of the time. Similarly the true motive behind federal government's arrest and prosecution of Callie house was to silence her and any demands from the Black population to a better life. The treatment that she had to undergo because of her activities to obtain a better life for African Americans materialized the words of Judge Tanney that the "negro was so far inferior that they had no rights which a white man was bound to respect; and that the negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for his benefit." These words reflected the negative sentiments, attitudes and perceptions the white society harboured for African Americans who were considered in the words of the philosopher Charles W. Mills as subpersons. Although a generation separated slavery from Callie House's prosecution, the attitude of white society towards African Americans had not changed.

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constituents were inspired by the Reparations for the Japanese internment victims of World War II which was awarded in 1988. The H.R 40 bill is very different from the one authorized by the factfinding congressional sub-committee on Japanese Americans Internment victims; it is rather timidly phrased as only a study to the possibility of Reparations for descendants of slaves. H.R 40 so eloquently titled after "the forty acres and a mule" phrase does not even ask for reparations, an apology or compensation in the form of scholarship fund or individualized monetary award like it was in the case of Japanese Americans. What is baffling with American society is that even such a modest attempt to study race relations is very rudely ignored and some predict that it might stay in the sub-committee level indefinitely unless a miraculous change of mind occurs both on the Republican and Democrat side.

The case was argued in

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Francisco, CA and was dismissed

by Judge Sandra B. Armstrong; district Judge in District Court for the Northern District of California.

The plaintiffs appealed their complaints against the United States that as descendants of slaves they have suffered damages from the enslavement of Africans and have suffered racial discrimination based on their African ancestry, which was a cause in their inability to muster the same economic, educational opportunities as their white counterparts. The plaintiffs appealed in the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit in December of 1995 In Forma Pauperis and demanded reparations for the damages they claimed they have suffered and a formal apology for slavery from the United States government.

The case was dismissed based

Reference 762 - 0.01% Coverage

Treasury Department without any problem.

Re- African American Slave Descendants Litigation is a class action suit initially filed in federal court in March 26, 2002 New York by a group of lawyers such as Prof. Charles Ogletree Jr. a professor at Harvard Law School and co-chairman of the Reparations Coordinating Committee and the late Johnnie Cochran, a Los Angeles-based lawyer. The lawsuit entitled Farmer-Paellmann v. FleetBoston named Deadria Farmer-Paellmann, Executive Director of the Restitution Study Group, the Chicago chapter of the Reparation movement, was filed on behalf of all African-Americans seeks compensation from a number of defendants for profits earned through slave labor and slave trade. The suit named a few corporations such as FleetBoston Financial Corporation, Aetna Insurance Company and CSX (a railroad company) and was joined later by Merryl Lynch now owned by Bank of America and New York Life Insurance as the reparations committee progressed in their historical investigation. The Committee worked towards including quite a few educational institutions such as Brown, Yale and Harvard Universities which according to Prof Charles Ogletree have made headlines as beneficiaries of grants and endowments which could be traced back to slavery.²⁹ Like in the Cato v. United States and Johnson v. McAdoo, Professor Ogletree also named the United States government as a defendant, he claimed that the government through public officials guaranteed that slavery and Jim Crow segregation laws were feasible. The movement cited the example of South Africa where the Truth and Reconciliation Commission has made monetary compensation a central part of their mission, which seeks to compensate people with clear material needs who suffered under apartheid because of race. It was also in South Africa, in the 2001 conference on racism that the United Nations named slavery a crime against humanity which Prof Ogletree asserts is a legal definition that may enable the reparations movement to extend its reach to international forums but so far the movement is U.S based only.

Farmer-Paellmann v. FleetBoston Financial

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Manufacturers Bank of New York, and New York Life Insurance Co. Made huge profits from holding insurance contracts on slaves and used slaves as collateral prior to 1865.³⁰ The state of California as a plaintiff sued FleetBoston Financial Corp. in 2003 because it claimed that FleetBoston Financial Corp profited in slave trading even after the abolition of slave trade and that the corporation held insurance policies on slaves. The effect of writing slave life insurance policy was to provide the financial means to, and incentive to, purchase more slaves, the slave owners worked the slaves extra hard so as to extract the most profit from his labour. The insurance company on the other hand so as to maximize profit would ask a mandatory medical exam of the slave then write the insurance policy on only three quarter of the market value of the slave. Hence the scheme was profitable to both parties.

JP Morgan Chase Manhattan Bank recognize its role in the slavery era but did not specify its involvement, the bank issued an apology and established a \$5 million scholarship fund for students living in the state of Louisiana. The gesture was characterized as an insult and a lukewarm apology as the company's assets are valued in the hundredths of billions of American dollars and as such there were calls to boycott the college funds. The question is how modern companies can today be accountable for the unethical and immoral measures (such as ensuring slaves or using them as collateral for loans) that their predecessors have committed during the era of slavery? The answer lies in the Slave Era Disclosure Laws enacted in several states such as California, Iowa, and Massachusetts to name a few, have established that the "Predecessor Company" shall own all the rights, duties, benefits, liabilities in an uninterrupted chain of succession which are transferred in the merger for instance, JP Morgan Chase acquired all of the benefits and liabilities of Canal Bank and Citizens Bank, which are known to have accepted slaves as collateral for loans disbursed to slave owners. Let's examine a short bio of the said mergers:

In 1831 Canal Bank was

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of Citizens Bank in the same state. In 1924 the Canal Bank and Citizens Bank merged to form the Canal Commercial Trust and Savings Bank better known under the acronym CCTSB. In 1931 Chase Bank took over the CCTSB and in 1933 at the height of the Great Depression CCTSB went into liquidation. In 1933, CCTSB passed on some of its deposits and loans to the newly formed National Bank of Commerce and in 1971 the subsequent bank was renamed First National Bank of Commerce and in 1998 the latter merged with Bank One Louisiana. In 2004 Bank One merged with JP Morgan Chase & Co and is known as such today. Under the Slave Era Disclosure Law, JP Morgan Chase & Co is liable for issuing loans to slaveholders using slaves as collateral as well as responsible for every other action performed by the defunct companies it absorbed.
The Farmer-Paellmann v. United

Reference 765 - 0.01% Coverage

roadblock over and over again that is the Statutes of limitations have long expired and that the plaintiffs cannot establish the alleged misconducts to the defendants. In plain English, there are no indications in this day and age that the plaintiffs can point to the person or persons employed at FleetBoston, Merrill Lynch or JP Morgan Chase who actually wrote the slaves insurance policies or disbursed loans to slave holders using slaves as collateral. And for that matter, the said slaves who were obviously the recipients of the tort are all long deceased and so are the people who processed the so-called loans and other financial transactions. To put it succinctly, one has to say that in the event of an “absence of plaintiffs as well as an absence of perpetrators” there can be no crime.
In the appeal to the

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disconnect between the victims and

Reference 767 - 0.01% Coverage

were clearly not born in 1865 when slavery was abolished following this line of thought; the claims could not be brought up by those who incurred those injuries. Secondly their alleged injuries have to be derivative also; they claim that they suffer from racial discrimination in its entire spectrum, which permeated (to the present) in every single aspects of their lives that they have comparatively (to the white population) lower economic, educational, social status and all because of their ancestry to African slaves.
In the case of the litigations, Re-descendants of African slaves/Farmer-Paellmann suits, the defendants are not clearly identifiable, they are said to be present day corporations which merged with defunct corporations, which conducted slave based business deals prior to or in 1865. The injuries themselves are rather nebulous according to the plaintiffs the defendants cause them harm by profiting from business deals with slaveholders and using slaves as collateral. However the plaintiffs fail to clearly

identify how and when the injuries came about. Nor were they able to identify how many times they were hurt and how serious their injuries were.

To better understand this argument

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litigants in the reparations suits

should instead concentrate on the Social Torts, that slavery involves a category of Social Torts which are according to him more harmful and to which the tort law appears to be an inadequate means of seeking damages. Among these social torts is the denial to the slaves the right to marry, deprivation of status, denial of religious freedom, etc. Hylton suggests that Social Torts are most damaging to descendants of slaves because they are “like a constantly mutating virus, they have the capacity to injure successive generations”. The comparatively lower economic, educational, social and legal standing in society based on African American ascendancy to African Slaves are actually derivative of the social torts of slavery. By consequence of the above-mentioned social torts, descendants of slaves have a difficult time overcoming the branding of inferiority that the institution of slavery has bestowed upon them by virtue of their phenotypic appearance which

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recall their ascendancy to African slaves; they are de facto relegated to an inferior status in all of the institutions of society.

Hylton also proposes another resolution

Reference 770 - 0.01% Coverage

some potential in social gain,

reparations claims have to demand an accounting on slavery’s beneficiaries and precisely how they profited from this institution and the findings should be made public. In his article, Hackney deplores that it might be a simple task to identify individual slave owners but “there is no continually existing entity (such as a corporation) to answer for these claims”. It might be hard to find a corporation that could answer these claims in the United States but in Mauritius, the case is very different. The Mauritius Commercial Bank, a consortium was founded in 1838 from compensatory funds obtained from the British Government as reparations for the loss of slaves after the abolition of slavery.³⁷ The compensation money was invested in the new Mauritius Commercial Bank but also 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, reparations in the United States ought to demand an accounting of the businesses that benefited from slavery and that the findings should be public knowledge. The political entity of Mauritius like the United States of America was founded on slave labour; the book “Les Défricheurs de L’île Maurice” gives a list of the French families and individuals who came to Mauritius then Isle De France as colonists. The above-mentioned book however, concentrates only on the French period and does not give us much information on the Dutch or British periods of colonization.

Slavery in Mauritius was abolished on February, 1, 1835 which was thirty years before the

abolition of slavery in the United States; furthermore there was no formal reconstruction period as in the United States where special funds were disbursed by the legislative to relieve and help White Americans from the disastrous effects of the Civil War had on the

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had on the economy. Mauritian historiography points out that the first British governor Robert Farquhar was particularly friendly to the French slave-owners and that he used all his influence to accommodate their needs such as French legal code was retained as well as the colonists' right to keep slaves; they were not forced to convert from Catholicism to the Church of England.³⁸ There was the Treaty of friendship of 1817 signed with King Radama the 1st from the Imerina kingdom from central highlands of Madagascar to whom tactical and military means were given to in him in the hope of establishing himself as sole King of the Island of Madagascar.³⁹

Farquhar did not enforce the Slave Trade Abolition Act, which 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 772 - 0.01% Coverage

most British generated policies especially those which dealt with slavery such as registration of slaves ordered on September 24, 1814 and enacted in Mauritius in 1815. Teelock writes that slave-owners in Mauritius vociferously protested and boycotted registration, the French population feared slave rebellions more than anything and any amelioration laws were met with resistance.

The hostility and resistance to

Reference 773 - 0.01% Coverage

by French colonists was translated through the steadfast hold of French cultural values which had slavery being at its very core. The attitude that slaves were inferior therefore were to be "bien meuble" that is, mere pieces of property, as it is worded in the Code Noir; was the nucleus of the so-called French cultural values. British Colonizers were not opposed to slavery either for instance; Charles Telfair was one of the largest and wealthiest slave-owner in the island. Private property was at the very centre of the slave-owning mentality and when slavery was abolished in 1835, slave-owners most certainly saw themselves as being robbed of their property. The threat of losing their personal property

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the property” of the colonists.

When one analyses from the perspective of causation that is how the torts which the slaves suffered from were easily transferred to their children and each generation passed these onto the present day generation. In other words there is a direct correlation between the poor economic status of African Americans nowadays and the economic and social depravity of the slaves. James R. Hackney Jr. seems to cite conservative writer John McWhorter who attributes the inequalities suffered by African Americans to their differing cultural values and on the negative incentive effects of the welfare system.³⁶ McWhorter means differing in the sense that African Americans hold values which differ from the normative White Americans cultural values. McWhorter’s assertion imputes the responsibility of causation on African Americans; he sees them both as victims and as perpetrators of their own demise through over-reliance on welfare and their inability to adjust or change their cultural values to par with mainstream White America.

Despite Hylton’s argumentative brilliance on

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economic, cultural and symbolic capital, and how race capital of any ethnic group represents an amalgam of all forms of capital proposed by Bourdieu. Hackney argues that “slavery has severely decimated African Americans’ race capital”. Setting aside the use of the verb “decimated” (from the verb to decimate, which actually means to kill a tenth of) Hackney is close to making a point here, that slavery has a lot to do with African American status in this day and age (and based on the same model, descendants of African slaves in Mauritius too). In Bourdieu’s theory of social

Reference 776 - 0.01% Coverage

the noxious nature of the

Social Torts change and adapt to affect successive generations of African Americans. However, Schönplüg talks about a strong willingness to learn as well as a strong willingness to teach those cultural components. So the problem is this why is the onus solely on the descendants of slaves in this rhetoric? One can understand that children, young as well as older people in all ethnic groups will transmit and accept values within their community and even outside the community. But what about the people who are not descendants of slaves, in the United States the majority being whites or Caucasian Americans, are they an amorphous mass that do not transmit their ancestors’ values i.e. “slaveholders’ values”. Slaveholders are human beings too, no punch lines intended here; they will transmit values to the subsequent generations of their own offspring and anyone coming into contact with them and accepting what they transmit. In a strange way, slaves did a strange and twisted way accepted their subordinate inferior status that is one of the reasons why the system flourished for so long. The abusers impose their values on the abused and by not denouncing or outwardly rebelling against the abusers they become tacit accomplices to their own ill treatment. There were rebellions in all slave-based societies (even in Mauritius, the historiography is very quiet on it though) with the exception of Haiti, none of them managed to overthrow the slaveholding regime. The abuser v. abused model is very similar to the abusive parent and abused child relationship, which is a toxic but mutually dependent bond. Abusive behaviour like any type of behaviour according to Schönplüg follows a horizontal transmission mode, based on this model slaveholders’ transmit their abusiveness through their children and their victims who subsequently can become abusers themselves and transmit this type of behaviour to their children and so forth. In the light of Hylton’s argument on Social Torts; transmission of abusive behaviour would indeed be a very toxic, contagious and rapidly mutating virus that can affect whole generations of people.

RACE IN PHILOSOPHY AND PSYCHOLOGY

Reference 777 - 0.01% Coverage

in his collection of essays

entitled “Blackness Visible” discusses the invisibility of blacks in American society. The issue of reparations is ultimately a question of how to guarantee that the civil rights of a few despite the opposition of a majority. The irony in American ‘exceptionalism’ is that it supports reparation bills for crimes perpetrated outside the United States and on foreign victims such as the Holocaust while it rejects a reparation bill for slavery, which was a crime perpetuated over centuries on American soil.³⁹

Slavery has an ambiguous status in the constitution of the United States to say the least; slavery as a term is not even mentioned in the constitution⁴⁰ regardless of the fact that slaves were used as the yardstick for wealth and power.⁴¹ The word Slave itself was completely omitted from the Constitution, the only time that the word appears is in the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution which actually abolishes the institution of Slavery. Liberal Individualism prohibits for instance the reference to group characteristics like race and that is why any positive discrimination such as Affirmative Action based on race, gender, caste of a said group to have access to the similar standards as the majority is in theory unconstitutional and has been repealed in some states such as California. The Slave is carefully avoided in the articles of the Constitution and instead slaves are referred to as “other persons”, “such persons” and “persons held to service or labor”.⁴² With Justice Tanney’s opinion in mind; make no mistake, white society knew who “such persons” referred to.

The notion of private property

Reference 778 - 0.01% Coverage

individualism enunciated by John Locke

has deeply influenced the Founding Fathers and the drafting of the constitution. John Locke like his predecessor Thomas Hobbes agree that the state has to defend the rights of property of its citizen; Locke says for instance, that when a person uses his own labour to make something out of what was originally communal property, he lays claim to it.⁴³ Lockean thought like the other ‘contractarian’ philosophers does not include the black man as a citizen actually in John Locke’s reasoning the black slaves were not people at all, they were commodities similar to the Code Noir from Colbert in which the slaves were referred to as “bien meuble”.⁴⁴

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VOL 3: PART I – SLAVERY - REPARATIONS Taxation and representation in the legislature was tied to the presence of slaves which

states that three fifth of the number of slaves in any state would count towards the number of congressmen, and three-fifth of them would count toward how much in taxes the state would have to pay when the congress passed a direct tax. Raising revenue or taxes in the wording of the constitution was restricted to the House of Representatives rather than the Senate, it is in effect a democratic measure because the power to levy taxes rests on the elected members of the lower house of the legislative rather than on the Senate. However the three-fifth law also meant that the slave owners could decide when to levy taxes, by how much and on whom and also the power to eliminate any more taxes on themselves. The power of taxation and slavery was

in effect

intertwined. The Congress

Reference 780 - 0.01% Coverage

and slavery was
in effect

intertwined. The Congress had also the power to levy taxes on import, export and to regulate trade between the states and with other nations. The southern states grew mostly, tobacco, indigo, cotton, sugarcane and rice which were cash crops marketed abroad; this meant that the slave owners would have the power to make sure that their particular products would not be overridden by senators with abolitionists tendencies and/or from states where the economy did not depend exclusively on slave labour. Furthermore slave owning congressional representatives could prevent a rise in taxation on slave traffic by taxing the staple goods produced with slave labour such as tobacco, indigo and later cotton. The three-fifth rule ensured the hegemony of southern slave owners in the Congress and their influence on the election of the president.

Reparations for the damages incurred by slaves and their descendants comes after a formal apology but words are cheap

Reference 781 - 0.01% Coverage

to death and destruction.”⁴⁵

ORAL HISTORY AND PSYCHOLOGY 1 Ex-slaves had their own system of beliefs which is most of the time was shoved under the rugs because of an outdated

Reference 782 - 0.01% Coverage

and can lead to conviction.

The practice of traditional religions in Mauritius is a legacy of slavery; it is a prime example of human resilience, and pervasiveness of self-expression despite the prohibition of 1843.⁴⁷

The
antiquated piece of legislation

Reference 783 - 0.01% Coverage

Buddhism from the Chinese lineage.

Although it is true that some people are duped by healers who reveal themselves to be crooks, I believe that a system of registration as a small business and taxation as it is the case in Reunion Island and the United States should be put in place to regulate the trade. I think that if this practice still exists even after slavery was abolished and the formal prohibition of 1843 could not get rid of it, it means that some people believe in it and that for them it really works.

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investigated. Callie House was particularly stung by the allegation of fraud and misappropriation of funds; she wrote a very stern letter to Barrett explaining her rights as an American and she made apologies for her work. She provided a detailed explanation of the movement's mission and actions. "We tell them we don't know whether they will ever get anything or not but there is something due them and if they are willing to risk their money in defraying the expenses of getting up the petition to Congress they are at liberty to do so." She explained to Barrett: "First, we are organizing ourselves together as a race of people who feels that they have been wronged. They had a perfect right as ex-slaves to gather and organize our race together to petition the government for a compensation to alleviate our old decrepit men and women who are bent up with rheumatism from the exposure they undergone (underwent) in the dark days of slavery. I am an American born woman and was born in the proud old state of Tennessee and I am considered a law abiding citizen of that state anyone that work honestly and earnestly for the up building of their own race would like for it to be recognize that way let it be a white man or whit woman are a black man or a black woman.". She went on to denounce the accusation of money fraud : "My face is black is true but it's not my fault but I love my name and my honesty in dealing with my fellow man....My whole soul and body are for this slave movement and are (am) willing to sacrifices (sacrifice) for it.". Page 128.

25 Ibid. 26 Dred Scott, Plaintiff in Error, v. John F. A. Sanford. Supreme Court of the United States 60 U.S 393; 15 L. Ed. 691; 1856 U.S.Lexis 472; 19 How 393, March 5 1857, Decided December 1856 Term page 13 of printed document. This case started in 1854 after Dred Scott a slave belonging to Mr. John Sandford sued the latter for striking his wife Harriet, daughter Eliza and Lizzie. His defence was that he Dred Scott was a free man since he was brought to live in the free state of Illinois for many years with his former owner Dr. John Emerson (who was Sandford's brother-in-Law) where he met and married his wife Harriet and their eldest daughter Lizzie was born on the river Mississippi between state line in the free territory. He claimed that since he lived in the free territory then brought back to Missouri where slavery was legal; he was no longer a slave because of his extended stay as a free person.

27

Congressman John Conyers from

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VOL 3: PART I – SLAVERY – PROPOSAL FOR AN INTERCONTINENTAL MUSEUM OF SLAVERY I. HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY, CONTEXTUALIZATION AND JUSTIFICATION

The idea for a Slavery Museum originated as early as 2000 during discussions for the Origins Project in Mauritius and during the Conference of Slave Routes and Oral Tradition in Southeastern Africa in 2004. In both Mozambique and Mauritius, despite all efforts, for various reasons, no museum ever saw the light of day. In 2009 the Truth and Justice Commission began its activities. One of the key components was research towards the memorialisation of the slave trade, slavery and indentured immigration. The idea was thus re-launched and discussions to finalise this project resumed in 2010. In April 2011, the Truth and Justice Commission organized an International Conference on the Slave Trade. This presented the ideal opportunity and appropriate forum to collect the views of many persons from all walks of life on the subject of slavery, the slave trade and representations and allowed those who conceived this project to update the project and infuse it with a new dynamism. A few countries in South Eastern Africa already house slavery museums: the Rabai Museum in Mombasa, Kenya and the Museu da Escravatura in Luanda, Angola are some examples. Our research through the various projects undertaken since 2000 (Origins Project, Slave Routes Project, Truth and Justice Commission, etc

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is a need for an intercontinental museum linking the countries such as Mozambique, Mauritius and Madagascar, as they all formed part of the slave trade network in the 18th and 19th centuries. They are also the countries that have played a key role in the Indian Ocean Slave trade. Conservative estimates are that Madagascar exported over 125,325 slaves and Eastern Africa, over 180,000 slaves. France traded the bulk of these slaves (over 335,000) followed by the other European countries, Portugal, Holland and England approximately between 10,000 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 country in Africa and the world to have a Truth and Justice Commission investigating the history of slavery and its consequences and to accept the principle that reparations are required. Mauritius has currently also all

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first intercontinental museum in Africa. The Intercontinental Slavery Museum endeavors to be primarily, an institution directed towards cultural preservation and studying the phenomenon of slavery and slave trade in the Indian Ocean. In addition, various factors explain the main function, usefulness and historical value of this institution:

- (i) the Slavery Museum aims to be an institution to promote cultural exchange, the culture of peace and union among peoples of several continents involved in this process;
- (ii) this institution will strive

Reference 788 - 0.01% Coverage

of educational and pedagogical materials;

- (iii) the Slavery Museum will constitute a driving factor for developing cultural tourism and the construction of economic and social infrastructures;
- (iv) from the scientific point

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VOL 3: PART I – SLAVERY – PROPOSAL FOR AN INTERCONTINENTAL MUSEUM OF SLAVERY

II. RELEVANCE AND BENEFICIARIES 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 will be: (i) students of all educational levels; (ii) educational institutions; (iii) communities that are part of the slave routes itinerary; (iv) researchers, teachers and academicians; (v) governmental institutions such as the ministry of tourism; (vi) civil society (vii) Countries in the region directly and indirectly affected by the Slave trade and slavery will be able to gain from increased understanding and knowledge of this process and how it continues to affect our societies today.
(viii) International visitors and tourists

Reference 790 - 0.01% Coverage

and endeavors among other aspects:

- (i) to give logical continuity to the first phase of the Slave Routes Project in Mozambique and Origins Project in Mauritius. Both projects included book publications ('History, Memory, Identity' and 'Slave Routes and Oral Tradition in Southeastern Africa', audiovisuals and other materials; and
- (ii) to be an inclusive

Reference 791 - 0.01% Coverage

of the term "intercontinental museum."

IV. OBJECTIVES OF THE SLAVERY MUSEUM

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

V. IMPLEMENTATION

Concerning implementation, we

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VOL 3: PART I – SLAVERY – PROPOSAL FOR AN INTERCONTINENTAL MUSEUM OF SLAVERY VI. SITE OF MUSEUM

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

The site par excellence is the complex on the eastern side of Port Louis comprised of historical buildings all found on State land and currently neglected and found in the Buffer Zone of the Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage Site. The Military Hospital complex will provide sufficient space for this and especially as one wing will house the National Art Gallery, a project also to be initiated by the Prime Minister's Office. This Hospital was built by slaves and indeed housed sick slaves on one floor. It is surrounded by other buildings of direct relation to slavery: the Post Office on which site existed the Bagne for Maroon slaves, the Granary where port workers (descendants of slaves) loaded and unloaded rice, the Customs House where slaves and Liberated Africans passed through when they first arrived in Mauritius in the 18th and 19th centuries, amongst others. Ratsitanina, the Malagasy Prince, exiled to and executed in Mauritius was imprisoned in the Bagne.

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Dated 26 May 2011

CATEGORY

Objective 1: To carry out preparatory activities for the establishment of the Intercontinental Slavery Museum

Consultancy fees: (60,000=2

Reference 794 - 0.01% Coverage

in Museology, conservation and others

Equipment to supply the Slavery Museum's preliminary offices in Maputo and Mauritius

SUB-TOTAL OBJECTIVE 1

Objective

Reference 795 - 0.01% Coverage

Mauritius

SUB-TOTAL OBJECTIVE 1

Objective 2: To establish and institutionalize the Intercontinental Slavery Museum

Survey studies that include topographic

Reference 796 - 0.01% Coverage

supplies SUB-TOTAL OBJECTIVE 2

Objective 3: To stimulate research on the slave routes in SouthWest Indian Ocean and to contribute to the gradual revision of school manuals and curricula at all educational levels of schools in regions concerned

Revision of manuals and programs

Reference 797 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 301

VOL 3: PART I – SLAVERY – PROPOSAL FOR AN INTERCONTINENTAL MUSEUM OF SLAVERY Production of maps

Development of partnerships related to slavery

SUB-TOTAL OBJECTIVE 3

Objective

Reference 798 - 0.01% Coverage

material SUB-TOTAL OBJECTIVE 4

Objective 5: To organize joint activities with institutions to promote cultural programs related to slavery and slave trade Cultural festival

Permanent Exhibition Itinerant Exhibition
SUB

Reference 799 - 0.01% Coverage

hundred US\$
in South-West

To preserve written documentation on the slave Indian Ocean, and to catalogue tangible heritage
Creation of a Website

Reference 800 - 0.01% Coverage

INTRODUCTION Vijayalakshmi Teelock, Vice Chairperson

The aim of this section devoted to descendants of Indian immigrants aims to highlight, as for slave populations the necessity of every family knowing and understanding his or her family origins. In the very delicate fabric that Mauritian society is made up of and being a newly emerging society, it has become abundantly clear that this type of knowledge makes Mauritians feel more 'Mauritian' and at the same time distinguished Mauritians from other nationalities. There are inherent difficulties however in tracing one's history: documents since the French and British period have not been well kept and even today numerous problems face the family historian.

These family histories and life

Reference 801 - 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 802 - 0.01% Coverage

this experience by scholars possible.

The objectives of the Commission are also to ensure the memory of Mauritians particularly of indentured and slave descent are not forgotten and thus the creation of Oral History database is considered absolutely essential for the preservation of the nation's memory.

Truth and Justice Commission 331

Reference 803 - 0.02% 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 ignore the cultural customs and practices of elderly sugar estate workers is to ignore a vital dimension of the “consequences” of the indentured labour period in Mauritius. However, I would beg to differ from this view. As many scholars would agree, culture is an autonomous product of the mind, and cannot so easily be reduced to either physical or material constraints, or the direct effects of working in the Mauritian sugar industry. By this, I do not mean to suggest that working and living conditions in Mauritius during the indentured labour period did not have any effect in shaping the cultural customs of Indian immigrants and their descendents. To do so would be very short sighted. But it is another thing entirely to argue that Indian immigrants came to Mauritius, empty-headed as it were, and let their lives be completely dictated to them by sugar planters. Culture, no doubt, was one of the few areas in which sugar planters found it more difficult to interfere in the lives of their employees. The example of African slaves who were brought to Mauritius before indentured labourers came from India and other parts of the world is an apt illustration. Many of their rights may have been denied to them as human chattel by slave owners, but that did not prevent African slaves and their descendents from finding ways to express themselves through music and dance or to cease practicing their spiritual beliefs.

The main benefit that stems

Reference 804 - 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 805 - 0.01% Coverage

AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF DESCENDANTS

lodgings of slave labourers. The Royal Commissioners state that most dwellings in estate camps were made of thatch and straw, but they also visited several estates that had stone range barracks, among them “Mont Choisy”, “Bois

Reference 806 - 0.01% Coverage

SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF DESCENDANTS RECOMMENDATIONS

It is thus essential to cease to conflate the conduct of the managerial staff and personnel who have played a key role in running sugar estates in Mauritius with the presumed ethnicity of the stakeholders in that industry. This not only risks exacerbating racial and ethnic tensions, but it also does a disservice to those people who it is presumed share the same ethnicity and hence interests, as those who manage the affairs of the Mauritian sugar industry. By the same token, it would be equally advisable to cease conflating the identity of sugar estate workers with their presumed ethnicity or ancestry, as this not only ends up downplaying the uniqueness of their experiences and the heterogeneity of this workforce, but it also risks inciting the ire of other Mauritians who believe they share a similar cultural background. In the final analysis, it is personnel in the sugar industry, and not “Franco-Mauritians” per se, who are responsible for having perpetrated the abuses that sugar estate workers have had to endure since the end of indenture. Perhaps during the period of slavery, one could more easily have described the society existing at the time in Mauritius as consisting of two relatively homogenous groups, that is, slaves and planters. But since then, Mauritian society has become highly diversified, no more so than in the last one hundred years, and consequently it is important to distinguish who is responsible for committing acts that might be considered unjust or morally reprehensible.

From the claims that have

Reference 807 - 0.01% Coverage

of capital from metropolitan country.

During the 18th and 19th centuries, slaves from Madagascar, the African and neighbouring Continents constituted the main source of free labour capital until the 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 808 - 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 809 - 0.01% Coverage

of the Capitalism production system.

According to Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund, the importation of Indian labourers between 1829 and the first half of 1834 was a failure and it is only as from the second half of 1834 and following the official abolition of slavery in 1835 that large-scale immigration of Indian indentured labourers spurred. Except for temporary suspensions, during the indenture-ship period, between 1834 and 1924 (the system was

officially abolished in 1939), the AGTF recorded that approximately 450,000 Indian labourers migrated to Mauritius with some 290,000 remained permanently on the island and approximately 160,000 returning in their home country and others migrating to other countries.

The importation of Indian indentured

Reference 810 - 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 811 - 0.01% Coverage

did not receive any compensation.

The degree of the punishment was not as harsh as during the slave period. Such practices exemplify the gap that existed between the Law and the application of the Law.

3. LIVING CONDITIONS Subsistence

Motivated

Reference 812 - 0.01% Coverage

with white and red soil.

At night, they were so tired after a day's work that they did not have much time for family discussions.

Usually, storytelling time was after dinner and during bad weather, when people could not go to work.

The elders, most of the time, narrated stories lor la miser (about their harsh living conditions), on their childhood memories and on religio-cultural traditions and practices. None of the respondents stated that their elders narrated stories on indentured-ship or slavery.

For example, when Goinsamy was

Reference 813 - 0.01% Coverage

Mauritian Kreol, the term has

two meanings. On the one hand, it can refer to a runaway slave or a maroon. On the other hand, it can refer to someone who is marked as being absent without notice. Consequently, there may be an etymological link between the two meanings, and indeed, it is quite possible that the latter meaning derives from the term's prior association with runaway slaves in Mauritius. 64

65 66

Interview 09/340

Reference 814 - 0.01% Coverage

Kendrick's Report. But according to

Balfour, it was only after the advent of the use of microscopes to examine stool samples that it was possible to determine the true extent of infection rates. This raises an important question: was ankylostomiasis brought to Mauritius by slaves or indentured labourers? It could not have existed in

Mauritius prior to human settlement, as it has evolved in symbiosis with human populations and cannot survive without a host to reproduce itself. And evidence indicates that of the two types of ankylostomiasis that exist, that is, *Necator americanus* and *Ancylostoma duodenale*, neither are found in Europe or colder regions of the world, as these parasites can only survive in tropical climates. It is most likely then that African or Indian slaves brought it to Mauritius or that it was brought by indentured labourers from India, Africa or China. 98

I was not able to

Reference 815 - 0.01% Coverage

to the factory manager's house.

When he joined Mon Trésor Mon Désert Sugar Estates, Mr. Cyril used to wake up at 5 a.m. and reached work around 6 a.m. He always prayed before going to work and asked God to help him with the day ahead. At around 9 a.m., he used to go home, eat a piece of bread, and return to his workplace. Most days his work was over at 4 p.m. Normally, he had to work for 8 hours. When problems like sugarcane fields caught fire or a wagon had derailed, he had to go to work even at night time. He said that Sugar Estates no longer face these problems. He also revealed that when he was working, there were many prejudices. As a worker of the Sugar Estate, he could not go abroad for holidays. In fact, he did not have any holidays. According to Mr. Cyril, workers were subject to a form of slavery.

4.4 Marriage and Home

Reference 816 - 0.01% Coverage

but rather like an animal.

Upon landing in Mauritius, Mr. Dookhit Deewan said that his grandfather continued to be mistreated. "enn bann blan" brought his grandfather to a Sugar Estate-the name of which he does not know. The owner of the Sugar Estate made his grandfather work. His grandfather lived in camps for many years. Eventually his grandfather was able to save some money with which he bought a small plot of land in the village of Plaines des Papayes once "slavery" (that is, indentured labour) had been abolished.

Mr. Dookhit Deewan's father worked

Reference 817 - 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 818 - 0.01% Coverage

relatively large areas of land.

Rodrigues is a case on its own, being essentially a ‘Creole’ island, where colonization, slavery and indentured labour appear to have left a relatively small imprint on the people’s psyche. Instead of striving for group identity, or strong individual identity, the Rodriguans seek some kind of ‘island’ regional identity. There is less concern with such appellations as ‘descendants of slaves’ or Gens de couleur today among the islanders, and a fair degree of intermarrying between communities (the Rouges – descendants of White

Reference 819 - 0.01% Coverage

Libres de couleur – and the Montagnards – true descendants of manumitted slaves) indicates that the political and cultural, albeit not the social, divisions are blurred. This is confirmed by interviews with individuals from long-standing families on the island and other research. Truth and Justice Commission 444

Reference 820 - 0.01% Coverage

of the ‘Coloured Population’ (Gens de couleur or population de couleur) in order to assess whether they suffered, in any way, from the consequences of slavery during the French and British periods and in post-Independence Mauritius. The period under study is, accordingly, wide-ranging (1715-2011), and the subject extraordinarily complex. Since the project was set in motion very late in the proceedings of the Truth and Justice Commission, as late as February 2011, and because the researchers had a little over four months, to complete a challenging task, to say the least, some restrictions have had to be put into place. For example, the number of semi-structured interviews has necessarily been limited, to 17 for Mauritius, and 7 for Rodrigues. However, this was a conscious choice, namely to focus on in-depth interviews with knowledgeable and interesting representatives of ‘Coloured’ families on both islands. Rather than go for quantity, we opted for quality, as the analysis of the interviews will demonstrate in Chapter 7, the sample being most representative of age, gender and experience in life. Gens de Couleur or the

Reference 821 - 0.01% Coverage

for the ‘Coloureds’ as it was for descendants of slaves and manumitted slaves. Indeed, the lines of demarcation are so blurred during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, that it is hard to say that ‘Libres de couleur’ were better off, at least not until the 1830s. Although they were able to

Reference 822 - 0.01% Coverage

social, economic and cultural identities, are addressed throughout this project. Access to education remained a clear priority from 1800 onwards, through the 1820s and 1830s, when petitions were repeatedly presented to British Governors such as Sir Lowry Cole (1823-1828), Sir Charles Colville (1828-1833) and Sir William Nicolay (1833-1840), for the creation of primary schools and colleges for disadvantaged coloured boys and girls, in specific deprived areas such as Plaines Wilhems. Archival evidence is provided to back up the claim that the ‘Coloured

Population' was, as Evenor Hitié has claimed, "subject to a form of moral slavery", downtrodden and denied the basic right to free education. 2 Reverend Jean Lebrun, the London Missionary Society, and later, in the 1840s, Bishop Collier and the eight Loreto Sisters, who arrived in Mauritius on Monday 8 September, 1845, as well as the Christian Brothers, were to restore a semblance of balance in favour of a 'Coloured community' that lagged far behind the 'Whites', although, they enjoyed far more privileges than the indentured families.

With the 'Coloured' intelligentsia knocking

Reference 823 - 0.01% Coverage

uniformity (see Chapter 6).

Perhaps,

there is a lesson to be learnt from Rodrigues: 'Group belonging' ostensibly matters to Rodriguans less than individual identity and national identity. The consequences of slavery and a 'demeaning past' seem to have impacted less on the island, precisely because the people's first priority is to cope with the harsh realities and problems of survival on a daily basis.

But, on the other hand

Reference 824 - 0.01% Coverage

But, on the other hand,

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

Education appears to many people

Reference 825 - 0.01% Coverage

Commission as an exercise in

whitewashing the past indignities and sufferings of such communities as that of 'Libres de couleur', and descendants of slaves.

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Reference 826 - 0.01% Coverage

a brownish yellow complexion." 11

Likewise, a 'tragic mulatto' is a phrase that describes "an archetypical biracial person, or fictional character, usually of African and European descent, who is assumed to be sad, mentally ill, destructive, or

suicidal.” 12 Though not self-destructive nor suicidal, Alexandre Dumas’ Georges (1843) in a novel set in Mauritius, is the mid-twenty year old son of a wealthy mulatto, who has a large plantation and is the owner of several hundred slaves. The ‘mulatto’, Dumas himself being one, bears considerable scars and is regarded, in Mauritius, as being clearly inferior to the Whites. Dumas’ maternal great-grandfather was a descendant of African slaves, and the author may have wished to raise awareness of racial
The different shades of métis

Reference 827 - 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 828 - 0.01% Coverage

disappeared, all was destroyed.” 23

St. Pierre’s charge is backed up by evidence brought forward by Chan Low (1994), of gender imbalance and of a lack of police control. Chan Low thus stressed the presence of quarrelsome soldiers, bad citizens and rascals, under the influence of Bacchus, who harassed female slaves (23 October 1994, p. 15).

escaping

Nor were early French

Reference 829 - 0.01% Coverage

women.

Likewise, many French Some

married freed slaves - such later on was the case of Benoît Ollier from the Lyon region, who arrived in 1789 and later married Julie, a freed slave born in Mauritius; they gave birth to Rémy Ollier, who was to become one of our greatest journalists, in 1816. 24 Mésalliances and de facto relationships were the direct result of an imbalance between settler men and women. Between 1717 and 1770, as noted by J.-M. André, a total of 1,718 contractual workers from France arrived; they were carpenters, bricklayers, masons, blacksmiths and other artisans. 25 Yet, those men generally came alone; families, as a rule, only arrived in Isle de France from French ports from 1743 onwards. There was, thus, a serious disequilibrium between genders at the peaks of La Bourdonnais’ efforts to import a workforce (1743: 161; 1744: 128 workers).

Chan Low provides the following

Reference 830 - 0.01% Coverage

white women out of a

total white population of 4,417; in 1809, white women numbered 2,671 out of a white population of 6,227 (27 November, 1994, p. 15). Rampant promiscuity and mésalliances led to the emergence of a mulatto and métis class. De l’Estrac also highlights the arrival from Pondicherry of free Indian contractual

workers; others came from Karikal, at La Bourdonnais' instigation, as well as Indian slaves from the Coromandel Coast. 26 At the peak of Dupleix's glory in Pondicherry, there was a population of 70,000, of whom 2,000 were Europeans and 2,000 métis.

27 Not only did a

Reference 831 - 0.01% Coverage

27 Not only did a

considerable number of those métis reach Mauritius, but Indian free settlers, or later freed Indian slaves, contracted liaisons or marriages with petits blancs or Coloured individuals. The Conseil de Pondichéry sent 300 workers on three-year contracts to Isles de France and Bourbon in 1729; 100 approximately had left from Chandernagor in December 1728 and the rest came from other Indian districts. 28 Indian contractual workers trickled in well until the end of the French period (1810), and many married into other classes and groups, since, for the most part, the men travelled alone.

While in 1735, the population of Isle de France consisted of 648 slaves and 190 Whites (de l'Estrac, I, p. 118), by 1766, the total population had risen to 20,098, of whom Nagapen notes the following:

Colonists and families Truth and

Reference 832 - 0.01% Coverage

b) Slaves

: 14,100. 29

De l'Estrac, for his part, refers to the presence of many petits blancs who subsisted in poverty and married freed slaves; thus, in 1776, the Census showed that among a White resident population of 3,431, 1,738 were artisans (902 men and 337 women; 305 boys and 194 girls). Half of this White population was made up of what was commonly known as petits blancs who worked as carpenters, ship-builders, masons, stone-cutters, and others as servants on large estates. They married freed slaves, when they could not find White partners.

As a result of 'concubinage'

Reference 833 - 0.01% Coverage

result of 'concubinage' [cohabitation] or mixed marriages, there were born "those enfants de mille races" [multiracial children], who would later be called "Gens de Couleur". The gap between the so-called pure Whites and the petits blancs and coloured off-springs grew wider. 30 The material conditions in which lived the petits blancs and the shortage of white women in their group, as well as their lack of access to 'Whites', made them succumb easily to the charms of freed slaves or Coloured women.

It is to be noted

Reference 834 - 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 835 - 0.01% Coverage

settlers or French officers from infringing the express wish of the monarch. Nor was the punishment enforced; rather, the French authorities turned a blind eye both to the debauchery prevalent at that time, and to the cohabitation between slaves, freed or otherwise, and masters, or freed slaves and slaves still in chains. The arrival of Indian workers, settlers and slaves during the French period has been referred to above. It added

Reference 836 - 0.01% Coverage

mothers, came from Pondichéry. Portuguese

métis bore the names of: Antoinette de Monty, Philippe du Rosaire and François Xavier Termillion and were among the free Indians to settle here. The first known work contract was signed by Apen Candury and is dated 9 April, 1734. 37 So many Indian workers were present that the French authorities resolved to appoint a 'Chef des Malabars', or a 'liaison officer'; the first, according to de l'Estrac, to occupy this post was Denis Pitchen, a slave owner and the son of an Indian couple, freed and baptized as Catholics. 38 Pitchen is derived from Pitcha, an early Tamil settler and a stone-mason, whose grave, inscribed in Tamil, is to be found at the Cimetière de l'Ouest. The family grew fast, married both into the 'Coloured Population', and in the Tamil community. An appendix to this chapter is provided on the marriages of the Pitcha/Pitchen family in the 1880s and 1890s.

1.5. Chinese and other

Reference 837 - 0.01% Coverage

accordingly, there occurred what de l'Estrac calls a "brassage de toutes les races" which gave rise to the 'Gens de Couleur', "an expression which is also used to designate the totality of the 'Libres'." 39 That the white masters were particularly attracted to Indian slave women in the eighteenth century is known; often, the latter became concubines and wives of their masters, according to statistics provided in Musleem Jumeer's thesis. 40 The concubines were generally freed Indian slaves; thus, between 1768 and 1789, out of 347 freed slaves, 188 gained their freedom from their white masters; of those 188 women, 138 had given birth to 244 children. They are known also to have acquired land and properties, and métis Indian concubines seem to have played a significant role in the emergence of the 'Coloured community' in the eighteenth century. This was the direct result, according to Jumeer, once more of the imbalance between genders; in 1776, for each woman, there were three men on the island. 41 the 'Coloured Population'. One should

Reference 838 - 0.01% Coverage

Tio Fane-Pineo and Edouard

Lim Fat have pointed out that, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there was a reluctance, on the part of Chinese women, to accompany their emigrating partners. 42 De l'Estrac, for his part, drew attention to the fact that there were a number of Chinese artisans, marine carpenters and sailors, who had settled in Isle de France before, and during, La Bourdonnais' governorship. 43 Very early on, only "a few Chinese had married local women, hence the majority of the immigrants had to evolve a mode of life devoid of the soothing presence of womenfolk," concluded Ly Tio Fane and Lim Fat. 44 It is reported by Joseph Tsang Man King (viva voce) that the very first Chinese settler in the 1720s married a Monty, probably of Tamil origins, giving rise to a mixed family. No doubt, despite the absence of archival evidence, there were mixed marriages or various degrees of cohabitation between early Chinese workers or settlers and individual women belonging to the freed slave or Coloured community, but a detailed study is required on this.

1.6.

Métis and the

Reference 839 - 0.01% Coverage

DE COULEUR – THE 'COLOURED POPULATION'

6,227 Blancs 7,133 Libres (including former Indian slaves) 55, 422 Slaves. 45

Freed Coloured slaves were beginning to gain advancement through concessions of 156 arpents of land.46 'Libres' gradually became known as 'Gens de couleur', but were not recognized as deserving of political or educational, or basic human rights. At the end of the eighteenth century, Mauritius was already a multiethnic and multiracial society, but the privileges belonged to a minority of Whites who declared themselves to be of pure French blood. 'Creoles', including mulattoes, in the modern sense of the word, as Danielle Palmyre defines them, 47 were seen as outside good White French society, since it was the "groupe le plus métissé, ouvert à tous les brassages," in the words of Jean-Claude Véder.

48 The 'Coloured people' displayed

Reference 840 - 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 841 - 0.01% Coverage

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, 53 increased in the early nineteenth century. By 1833, there were:

66,000 Slaves 8,000 Whites 18,000 'Hommes de couleur' 54 The causes of this white antagonism was, partly, rivalry between the two groups of women, Various actions by the 'Coloured Population' to The most shocking example of

Reference 842 - 0.01% Coverage

apartheid' policy, was the funeral rites and practices for the White and Coloured or Slave Populations. In l'Esclavage à Isle de France (Ile Maurice, de 1715 à 1810), Karl Noël waxes indignant, and rightly so, at the Church's discriminatory practice of underlining, through funerals, the inferiority of the Black and 'Coloured Populations' right up to the 1830s. Coffins of slaves and free Coloured individuals were placed on two stones, at some distance from the Church and exposed to the gazes of passers-by and to the mercy of the elements. Moreover, the case of M

Reference 843 - 0.01% Coverage

between the Whites and the 'Coloured Population'. Archival documents support this, and Evenor Hitié refers to those practices of interment at length. 56 He recalls that, according to an Ordinance of 1783, ratified by the Vicomte de Souillac (6 February, 1783, Article 6), bodies of slaves, and presumably 'Coloured people', had to be carried to the Cross or the Church's entrance, where the funeral rites would be administered. Then, they would be left on two stones at some distance from the Church, until such time as the priest would collect them for burial. 57 Hitié too expressed indignation: "One can understand that men, imbued with prejudices could contribute to this Ordinance, but how could members of the Mauritian Clergy sanction it, since it went against the very fundamental principles of a religion which they professed?" 58 Among papers relating to the

Reference 844 - 0.01% Coverage

325 96,272 96,779
Slaves 55,000
79,943 63,432 69

Reference 845 - 0.01% Coverage

more difficult to establish the growth of the 'Coloured Population', but a few local historians have left us statistics that are significant. According to de l'Estrac, quoting Pitot's tableau for 1833, the population consisted of: 66,000 slaves; 8,000 Whites and 18,000 'Coloured people'. 71 In Evenor Hitié's estimation, out of a population of roughly 400,000 [in fact, 316,042], 20,000 were white and 35 to 40,000 Coloured. 72 This figure, in Hitié's thinking, would also include descendants of the white English population married to Coloured women. individuals to vote, out of

Reference 846 - 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 847 - 0.01% Coverage

not to baptize, without due consideration, the slaves who, then known into general ‘concubinage’, would not be able to receive the sacrament of marriage.” It was only on 11 March, 1725, three years after colonisation, that the first slave couple was baptized: Pierre alias Laverdure and Marie Madeleine. On the same day, the Vice-Préfet Apostolique, M. Borthon, blessed their marriage. 80 From that point on, Catholicism became generally the religion of slaves and of their descendants, including Coloured children born either of cohabitation with white masters, or from other social communities. It is not necessary to

Reference 848 - 0.01% Coverage

82 In the 1840s, 1850s and 1860s, the vital role played by the ‘Bienheureux Père Laval’ (1841-1864), in his apostolate and dealings with freed slaves and ‘Coloured people’, cannot be over-emphasized. He manifestly deserves to be

Reference 849 - 0.01% Coverage

Education for white children was provided by private and fee-paying schools. Girls were generally educated at home by governesses or tutors. Yet, in his Memoirs of 1740, Governor La Bourdonnais had expressed to Contrôleur Général Orry the need to open up education to as many local children as possible: “It is high time, I think, for you to consider a College in the Isles where our youths would be educated and taught to read, write, and even Latin and Mathematics. A school for orphaned girls would also be desirable.”⁹³ Research, however, indicates that, with a few exceptions, freed slaves, their descendants and Coloured children, did not benefit greatly from this innovative idea under the French. It is reported that Joseph

Reference 850 - 0.01% Coverage

and half of this for external students, it is unlikely that Coloured or freed slave children, would have attended the school. 96 Without going over the same

Reference 851 - 0.01% Coverage

Rivière du In this

The

Reverend, however, asks the Government to send twelve sponsored students at the cost of £50 per annum each, from “among the most distressed and meritorious people”, that is descendants of slaves and Coloured children. The less than generous Sir Lowry Cole, who never entirely espoused the Coloured cause, does not appear to have acceded to this request, 98 even though the Prospectus spelt out the urgent need for Education in the Rivière du Rempart District: “Il existe au quartier de la Rivière du Rempart un nombre assez considérable d’enfants auxquels les pères noirs ne peuvent donner une éducation [...]” 99 Strictly because of Reverend Le

Reference 852 - 0.01% Coverage

of primary schools were founded and blossomed by 1851 (see Appendix I to this section). Le Brun was, at the time, in Hitié’s opinion, looked upon by the freed slaves and the ‘Coloured Population’, as “the architect of their intellectual emancipation.” 100 However, the political struggle for access to Education for the Truth and Justice Commission 463

Reference 853 - 0.01% Coverage

1820’s were ‘real mulattoes’, according to Evenor Hitié, namely: Jean-Baptiste La Bonté, the son of a Frenchman from Auvergne and a freed slave woman, Ova; Félix Jacmin and Jean-Baptiste Tabardin. 105 La Bonté, in particular, was a forceful and eloquent leader, who went to see Governor Farquhar to plead the Coloured cause and their need for more extensive rights, notably in Education. Farquhar, being sympathetic in 1820

Reference 854 - 0.01% Coverage

Education. Farquhar, being sympathetic in 1820, had a quiet word with Telfair, the same Charles Telfair, who set up a school for slaves at his Bel Ombre Estate from 1823 onwards. 106 Hitié points out that Telfair assisted with the drafting of the ‘Prospectus’ of 1826, referred to above. 107 For all that, at the time, there was little movement forward towards a College for Coloured adolescents under Sir Lowry Cole’s administration (1823-1829). A little too emotionally perhaps

Reference 855 - 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 856 - 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 857 - 0.01% Coverage

suffered from the same repression and the Whites’ prejudicial conduct towards them as free slaves. An Ordinance of King Louis XV, ratified at Compiègne on 20 August, 1766, reiterated the contents of the Lettres patentes of 1723 and forbade all priests in Isles de France and Bourbon to baptize any children of ‘Coloured people’ as free, unless the mothers could provide irrefutable evidence that they were born free. 123 Ordinance 224 in the Code Delaleu repeats verbatim the Lettres patentes of 1723, for example forbidding marriages between Whites and slaves, as well as cohabitation (Article 5).
Yet, during a short period following the Convention’s abolition 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 858 - 0.01% Coverage

on 3 December, 1793. 127
With the advent of the restoration of slavery by Napoleon I, 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 859 - 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'Épinay, 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 860 - 0.01% Coverage

had the British Government not

granted the 'Coloured Population' its rights between 1810 and 1833? This is good point, perhaps. 131 Fuelled by the representations of 'Coloured people', supported by some high-profile Ministers in London, the controversy raged on and the campaign for the rights of the Coloured and Freed slaves intensified.

On 19 February, 1833, the

Reference 861 - 0.01% Coverage

society, and that nothing could,

accordingly, be worst received than such an announcement that is likely to divide Mauritian Society." 132

The reference here is to the Ordinance of 1829 that recognized only two classes: Slaves and Free people.

In another article in *Le*

Reference 862 - 0.01% Coverage

white conservatives, such as M.

Mallac, Procureur Général in 1824, who wrote to Colonel Barry, Secretary-in-Chief, against the enfranchisement of slaves through marriage, on 30 December, 1824: "People benefit then from the ease with which slaves can be enfranchised through marriage – this is an abuse [of the Law of 1814]". 134 The only way to remedy this is to ask for evidence that: the free white man has owned the slave woman he wishes to marry for three years; that she has been legally transferred to him and registered, and enforce that enfranchisement by marriage costs of 100 piastres, to be paid into the Caisse de Bienfaisance.

Ordinance No. 57 of 1829

Reference 863 - 0.01% Coverage

there would be only two

different statuses: free persons, whether by birth or enfranchisement, and the other, the slave population. By Order of Council of 30 January, 1826, published in September, 1826, all owners of slaves were forced to provide to the Registrar “an account” of their
135 This was to create

Reference 864 - 0.01% Coverage

was to create the very first official Registry of slaves and of freed slaves, including their Coloured descendants. The first article was vital: “Les Registres de l’état civil, destinés à inscrire les déclarations de naissances, mariages et décès, ne seront, à l’avenir, que sous deux titres, l’un pour la population libre, soit par naissance, soit par affranchissement, l’autre pour la population esclave.”
For all that, the pressing

Reference 865 - 0.01% Coverage

between all those interest groups.
“[After 1810] the free slaves and the free Coloured expected, from the new Government, a more liberal recognition of their rights. It is certain that self-interest was the first motivation of those who offered their services. The reactions were based on individual needs.” 138 Though betraying some anti-Coloured bias, this assessment is not far from the truth.
slaves, their births, enfranchisement or deaths; there would be a bi-annual return of slaves, to take effect from 1 January, 1830. Signed by G. A. Barry, Chief-Secretary to the Government Council, this Ordinance was published on 19 December, 1829 in the Government Gazette.
Truth and Justice Commission 468

Reference 866 - 0.01% Coverage

census for the first 189 time in 1767 (one year after the enforcement of the Code Noir). It was mainly composed of freed slaves and indentured labourers from India.
While blood-mixing ('métissage') prevailed

Reference 867 - 0.01% Coverage

closed between the two groups.
Economic alliances took place, mostly by way of inter-group mixing and wedlock. Some white merchants married 'Coloured' women, which allowed the 'Coloured' to enter into the profession of merchant, while they were at that time excluded from the professions of 'négociant' and planter, which remained monopolized by the Whites. For instance, Benoît Ollier, a white merchant arrived on the island in 1789, married a freed slave born on the island, called Julie. They gave birth to the first 'Coloured' political activist, Rémy Ollier (1816-1845).
191 'Coloured'
The 'Libres de

Reference 868 - 0.01% Coverage

position

within 192 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%.

The limited access of 'Libres

Reference 869 - 0.01% Coverage

elite during the French period.

French Revolution, on the ground of a common interest for the fight against maroonage (as both groups were slave-owners). (See below 5.2).

As a result of their

Reference 870 - 0.01% Coverage

As a consequence of this,

they were obliged to sell their plots of land. The massive cession of lands was called 'Petit Morcellement' (1839-1846). Thanks to the 'Petit Morcellement', the 'Coloured' landowners were augmented with freed slaves who thus gained access to land. However, the number of freed slaves (apprentices) who obtained lands remained limited. Allen says that only one-third of the buyers were freed slaves and that their plots were very small (46 % were less than 2 arpents).

195 One major consequence of

Reference 871 - 0.01% Coverage

the gap between the sugar

plantation economy, dominated by the Whites and some wealthy 'Coloured' landowners on the one hand, and the 'secteur vivrier hors plantation', which became mainly the property of the poor 'Coloured population' and Creoles (descendants of slaves and apprentices).

Within the 'Coloured population', the

Reference 872 - 0.01% Coverage

'colour bar' between the White

group and the 'Libres de couleur'. In 1846, the two groups were mingled into one single category called 'Population Générale' in the census (while the freed slaves were then still categorized separately). The 'Coloured population', therefore,

gained access to secondary education

Reference 873 - 0.01% Coverage

one side to the other,

towards the 'Coloured' group. As a consequence of this, the 'Coloured' group was constantly increased by the numbers of White people who 'fell' into it. Of course, this has to be understood within the context of a plural society, inherited from the system of slavery, in which the society is considered to be structured vertically, according to a hierarchy combining the two criteria of colour and wealth.

Although the colour bar was

Reference 874 - 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 875 - 0.01% Coverage

of the 1789 Constituent Assembly.

'couleur' was the result of a common concern of the two groups, who were both landowners and slave-owners, about a possible upheaval of the slaves, as in Haïti. The fear that the slaves (who then represented 80% of the total population of the island) could become a menace, as in the Caribbean, and opposition to the abolition of slavery, were two major factors which contributed to forging greater solidarity between the Whites and the 'Libres de couleur'.

207 Truth and Justice Commission

Reference 876 - 0.01% Coverage

the Whites were also conditioned

by their relationship with the other groups of the Mauritian plural society. During the slavery system (1766-1834), when the common 'enemy' of both the Whites and 'Libres de couleur' was the slave group (suspected of potential uprising and 'marronnage'), the two groups were political allies. But with the development of the sugar mono-culture (1825), leading to fierce competition over capital and resources, the Whites entered into political, matrimonial and financial alliances with the British, who were purveyors of capital.

220 Conversely, the 'Coloured people'

Reference 877 - 0.01% Coverage

landing at Anse aux Anglais.

'start-stop-start' colonisation under the British, as agriculturalists and fishermen from Mauritius made their way over to the small island. In his excellent study, J.-F. Dupon declared: "After a period of military occupation, the colonization of the island, thenceforth British, was to start anew, led by colonists from Mauritius who used slaves from the coast of Mozambique and the East Coast of Madagascar." 223

6.2. Early European 'White'

Reference 878 - 0.01% Coverage

his wife's, can still be visited today at L'Orangerie where he lived till his death in 1826. His daughter, Séraphine, born there on 30 July, 1802, lived with her parents until 1826, after she had married a businessman from Port Louis, Charles Pierre François Pipon. She became the owner of L'Orangerie in 1826, had 66 slaves and 17 free children. When she left for Mauritius, she gave permission to her slaves to live on her land, Jardin Mamzelle that became a squatting area for emancipated slaves. 225 Séraphine Pipon died at La Chaumière, Savanne, in 1892.

When Marragon carried out his first Census in 1804, he found 82 slaves and 22 'Whites' on Rodrigues, of whom at least

Reference 879 - 0.01% Coverage

DE COULEUR – THE 'COLOURED POPULATION'

1816, when Marragon took over. 228 For his part, Michel Gorry made his living from the land rather than the sea; he had settled at Oyster Bay, with Roger and Boulerot, both fishermen. When they left for Isle de France, Gorry moved up country to a property called 'Les Choux'; there, he first grew indigo but, later, confined his activities to growing only what satisfied his family's needs. Early settlers, who relied on fishing for their livelihood, included D. Raffin who settled in 1803 and started a fishery, with 20 slaves, as well as Lecloud and Gautier.

229 Lecloud had arrived earlier

Reference 880 - 0.01% Coverage

229 Lecloud had arrived earlier than Raffin with 16 slaves. Most of the early colonists were of European origins and regarded themselves as 'Whites', but it is known that several were métis themselves or cohabited with female slaves or mulâtresses, as was the case with Rostaing. Commenting on the relatively 'recent populating' of Rodrigues, Dupon wrote: "Some of these colonists engaged in, for some time, a direct slave trade and disregarded the British legislation." 230

Reference 881 - 0.01% Coverage

COULEUR – THE 'COLOURED POPULATION' (i)

Madame Pipon's, [Marragon's daughter, who was then owner of L'Orangerie] with 66 slaves and 17 free children.

(ii) Messrs. Bessière and Husson's, on land formerly belonging to Gorry, with 36 slaves and 17 free children.

(iii)

Mr. Eudes', at Grand

Reference 882 - 0.01% Coverage

and 17 free children.

(iii)

Mr. Eudes', at Grand Baie and Sygangue, with 19 slaves and 8 free children. Ninety-nine of these slaves were predial. In addition, Gabriel Bégué, who had settled on the land now

Reference 883 - 0.01% Coverage

woman had three or four

especially among slaves, from the start; Bertuchi, who visited the island much later in the 1920s, remarked that in the early days, "great immorality prevailed.

husbands, in some cases as many as six. The children were brought up together, the husband in power at the time exercising the role of father to all." 241 Many descendants of slaves took to the hills after the Abolition of Slavery (proclaimed and diffused in Mauritius and Rodrigues in 1839) and became known both as 'Montagnards', and, according to Dupon, also as 'planteurs', 'habitants', 'laboueurs', 'piti nation', "désinane vénielle, beaucoup moins péjorative que celle franchement insultante de 'mouzambique'." 242 Several of the descendants of 'Whites' or métis, whom we interviewed, used the word Zabitants for descendants of slaves, but they did not mean any insult by it.

As for families of European

Reference 884 - 0.01% Coverage

marriages and baptized 400 individuals

and descendants of slaves and 'mulâtresses' was common, not least because of the infrequent visits of priests to Rodrigues.

during his six-month stay

Reference 885 - 0.01% Coverage

the In his Chapter, 'The

Abolition of Slavery had been announced in Rodrigues, there were 350 non-baptised individuals, and a hundred 'Catholic' Mauritians who had come to trade in salt fish. 255

Churches and the Schools', Alfred

Reference 886 - 0.01% Coverage

emerged. As early as August

1876, Anglicans petitioned the Mauritian Government for a clergyman to be sent to Rodrigues. Early Anglican families included such métis as the Waterstones, Vandorous, Bennetts and Capdors, among others. 259 Some had been descendants of British officers; others still were shipwrecked and decided to stay on the island, such as William Vandorous. One or two came as clergymen, as was the case with William Waterstone and C.A. Capdor, in 1881. 260 Bishop Peter Royston visited Rodrigues in 1881, and afterwards, a catechist, Edward Francis, was sent in March 1883, to be followed, in March 1886, by Pierre Edmé Gellé who had been a missionary in Madagascar. 261 What is apparent from any sojourn in Rodrigues today is that 'Montagnards' and 'Rouges', and 'Anglicans', other Christians, and Catholics cohabit in peaceful harmony; hence, religion has been more of 'cement', than a source of disunity, in

Rodrigues between classes and communities. As for ‘nuances’ and ‘hidden prejudices’, these are only detectable to the sharp-eyed observer, such as Dupon who comments: “Aujourd’hui encore, les éléments asiatiques mis à part, de subtiles nuances distinguent les Rodriguais et d’une façon générale, les plus clairs d’entre eux, de fait souvent pêcheurs, qui allient parfois les yeux bleus de quelque ancêtre picard à une peau bien pigmentée, professent un amical mépris à l’endroit des plus sombres, ceux de l’intérieur [...]” 262 And, while nowadays habitations of both groups show a remarkable similarity, when Bertuchi visited the island in the 1920s, he noticed that some of the inhabitants’ houses were made of vacoas, acacia poles and latanier palm leaves, while “the more prosperous construct[ed] their houses entirely of wood.” These had wooden floors, which became the fashion, on account of the Rodriguans’ passion for dancing. 263 For all the homogenization sought and achieved through religion, and the democratic ideals of some of the people, the scars of slavery remained in the early colonization period even if slaves, according to individuals spoken to during the research trip, were well treated by such owners as Marragon and Séraphine Pipon. In fact, Marragon was so kind to his workers that Rochetaing “complained bitterly about Marragon’s attitude and the lawlessness of his run-away slaves.” 264

6.4. Present descendants of

Reference 887 - 0.01% Coverage

in the past and today?

‘Coloured Population’ in the nineteenth century and at present? (c) Whether they felt that slavery and its abolition had left an indelible mark on Rodriguan customs and lifestyles? The individuals interviewed in this context will be referred to as ‘X., Y., Z.’

6.4.1. A member

Reference 888 - 0.01% Coverage

long passage of 19 days.

great-grandfather may have come from Brittany, and was the father of Jean-Baptiste Ithier, who married Miss Eva Hombrasing. They had thirteen children. Whilst the ancestor [Victor] is said to have been a sea captain, Jean-Baptiste Ithier had settled on a concession of 14/15 arpents at La Ferme, 266 where the family still owns land today. X., the interviewed person, pointed out that his own father was a pastoralist and agriculturalist who owned a farm called ‘La Ferme Piments’ at La Ferme, land which, on his father’s death in 1976, was divided between his children whom he had by a Miss Meunier – another very common ‘Rouge’ name in Rodrigues. The Ithier family, from JeanBaptiste onwards, grew such crops as maize, haricots, vegetables, as well as keeping cattle. They originally had, in their employ, descendants of previous slaves, all freed since the family did not settle at La Ferme until the 1880s.

A brother of Jean-Baptiste’s

Reference 889 - 0.01% Coverage

fostered education among the families.

As for the descendants of freed slaves, they were treated as domestics, given the right to build their own homes on

Reference 890 - 0.01% Coverage

and used workers who were

descendants of slaves, but these were well treated. Slavery has, in the interviewee's viewpoint, left little impact on the psyche of the Rodriguan population today.

Emigration to Mauritius has already

Reference 891 - 0.01% Coverage

stressed the importance of Rodriguan

'séga' and accordion music as a unifying factor that was inherited from both slavery and French colonists.

Explaining who the 'Gens de

Reference 892 - 0.01% Coverage

were, he indicated that many

freed slaves were offered the opportunity to return to Mauritius, but that they refused, preferring to squat on some high lands. Mme Pipon's slaves [Séraphine Pipon, nee Marragon] were reportedly in that position, but chose to stay on Jardin Mamzelle, after her departure, cultivating maize and manioc, and living in huts.

'Montagnards' or even 'Noirs', Y

Reference 893 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 488

The terms used for descendants of slaves, 'Zhabitants' and 'Bène

At La

VOL3: PART II

Reference 894 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 489

VOL3: PART II – GENS DE COULEUR – THE 'COLOURED POPULATION' In his youth, Y. stated, slavery was not an issue, nor 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 895 - 0.01% Coverage

in some areas. Yet, many

descendants of freed slaves worked 'under the yoke of early colonialists', namely rich merchants. When they succeeded in freeing themselves from this yoke, they took refuge in the hills, either to become 'their own masters', or to 'lord over others'. However, today, in schools, divisions are not noticeable and a

certain ‘fellowship’ prevails. Workers nowadays share jobs in hand without any reticence, and at a social level, there are few problems. Balls attract people from all communities

Reference 896 - 0.01% Coverage

Z. assumes, they are discouraged.

6.4.4. Impact of slavery Slavery, it would appear, has not left an indelible imprint on the psyche or character of

descendants of slaves. X., Y. and Z. pointed out that, rarely – if ever – had he heard ‘Campagnards’ state: “I am a descendant of slaves.” Local historians do not dwell on slavery, and no one seems to

Truth and Justice Commission 490

Reference 897 - 0.01% Coverage

DE COULEUR – THE ‘COLOURED POPULATION’

discuss at length the implications of the ‘Truth and Justice Commission’. Artists in Rodrigues even look at slavery with a pinch of salt and have published amusing tales concerning freed slaves, according to Z. As for local politicians, they do not put undue emphasis on communalism or the legacy of slavery. For all that, to a candid observer on a visit, Rodrigues does suffer considerably in its present infrastructures (social, physical and educational) 272 from the fact that it has been, and is largely, a ‘Creole’ island blighted by its past. Would the island lag so far behind, if it had been populated by large numbers of Hindu/Moslem labourers, or indeed ‘White’ colonists?

It is manifest that Rodrigues

Reference 898 - 0.01% Coverage

they belong, with other groups.

Gens de Couleur in Mauritius include descendants of manumitted slaves and of free coloured immigrants to the island

Reference 899 - 0.01% Coverage

history should emphasise the contribution

of all A simplified version of the history of slavery and indentured labour, could communities/groups to the

development of the Mauritian nation

Reference 900 - 0.01% Coverage

the ‘Coloured Population’ for any

ancestors who may have been slave-owners, is unthinkable, since the Gens de couleur are themselves partly descendants of slaves, and the distribution of ‘White’ and ‘slave’ blood is impossible to evaluate. Any such attempt at labelling the Gens de couleur as descendants of esclavagistes should be discarded altogether and will have a thoroughly divisive and psychologically negative impact.

BIBLIOGRAPHY 1. Books and Articles

Reference 901 - 0.01% Coverage

honest account of the present.

Secondly, elsewhere (and as one of the team members for this research project noted), in the South Africa, where there was a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), ‘a context where pluralism is seen as a fragile matrix, discussion of inter-racial discord is seen as a negative, destabilising peace (Kayser 2005:18)’ (Mngomezulu 2011). Thus this report also argues (apart from the fact that the Government of Mauritius has approved the creation of a Truth and Justice Commission), that developing societies need to achieve both social and economic advancement. No society can claim to have ‘progressed’, if it has a significant percentage of its population either living in poverty and/or experiencing racial marginalisation on a daily basis (Das, Kleinman, Ramphela, Reynolds 2001). It is the finding of this team that the negative legacies of slavery and indenture are still evident in Mauritius and continue to impede social justice and economic progress.

Truth and Justice Commission 523

Reference 902 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 523

VOL 3: PART III – CONSEQUENCES OF SLAVERY AND INDENTURE – RACISM DISCOURSE, POLICY, PRACTICE AND EXPERIENCE

The data collected for, and presented in, this report specifically focuses on the descendants of slaves and the descendants of indentured labourers. As is noted in the report, it is not easy to clearly and definitively distinguish between these two categories mainly because slavery has been abolished for nearly two centuries in Mauritius and also because the population of Mauritius has experienced significant interethnic mixing since the abolition of slavery. However, in the course of this research, there were individuals who identified themselves as descendants of slaves or descendants of indentured labourers, referring to either phenotype or immigration records to assert a particular identity. In compiling this report, we have remained sensitive to issues of identity construction and assertion but have not lost sight of the fact that a significant percentage of slave descendants and indentured labour descendants exist in Mauritius and that these identities, as well as the fact that the experiences that flow from these are real.

The data collected for the

Reference 903 - 0.02% Coverage

the researchers on this project.

The report begins with an analysis of the origins of race discourse, tracing this back to the mid 1450s, when Pope Nicholas V endorsed a Papal Bull which enabled the Portuguese to enslave black Africans in the Congo. While slavery itself predates the 15th century, it was from this time onwards that Europeans became ‘involved’ more systematically in the enslavement of black Africans. With regard to Mauritius, it is noted that from the beginning of the Enlightenment era in Europe, Science was used to assert the existence of races and their unequal treatment. Prominent scientists of the day, such as George Cuvier, Johannes Blumenbach and Carl Linnaeus, set the foundation for racist thinking. Literary giants, such as Voltaire, also promoted racist thinking, ranking black Africans lower than all other identified racial groups. The works of these scholars promoted a trait-based concept of race in which members of a particular race group are believed to be geographically located. Thus, racial groups are the way they are

because they evolved separately in different geographical locations. In doing so, they also developed particular physical and intellectual capacities.

The work of these scientists and scholars emerged into the public sphere, influencing public opinion, social discourse and ultimately the Law. In 1804, Napoleon Bonaparte's reassertion of the Code Noir in France's territories (a set of laws designed to regulate the slave system and categorise black slaves as property), led to the consolidation of racist practices in society. The Code Noir was implemented in Mauritius and attempted to fully control the lives of slaves and their descendants.

Who were these slaves? Although this report does not offer a substantive account of that history, it is important to note that there were also slaves of Indian origins in Mauritius. From what we gather from secondary sources on the treatment of slaves in general, these individuals must have also experienced the same hardships as those coming from Africa. Furthermore, the abolition of slavery in 1835 and the arrival of indentured labourers from the subcontinent of India in Mauritius continued the legacy of slave practices. As historians on Mauritius, such as Megan Vaughan, Vijaya Teelock and Marina Carter, remind us - the system of apprenticeship ensured the oppression of slave descendants and then indentured labourers after abolition.

A key argument made in this report (as well as most of the evidence supplied in this report) suggests that Mauritians with a visually discernable African ancestry have experienced, and continue to experience racism more directly and regularly than others in Mauritian society. These individuals, today discussed as slave descendants, find it difficult to experience belonging to a Mauritian society and also experience discrimination in various social and economic spaces across the island. Secondly, it is argued that there is a similar experience among those who may be identified as indentured labour descendants. For the latter, however, there is also discrimination on the basis of caste, such that (and the Social Stratification project should provide further information on this), caste becomes an essential category with biological overtones. A further argument made in this report is that race relations in Mauritius are cut across by age and gender. Therefore, to address the issue of racial inequality and discrimination in Mauritius, the Government and/or other responsible bodies will need to factor in these cross-cutting issues. Lastly, the report discusses the long-term psychological and social consequences of racism in Mauritius, specifically the entrenchment of racist thinking and practice and the normalisation of these.

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Finally, the above noted quotation is taken from a literary analysis of Alexandre Dumas, novel entitled *Georges* which was published in 1843 and which concerns the racial fortunes of a mulatto man in Mauritius. This story illustrates the difficulties involved in overcoming racism and racist thought in Mauritius. The fortunes of Georges also indicate the complexity of race in Mauritian society during the time of slavery. This report documents a continuation of this social complexity and of the embedding of racism in Mauritian society. Unlike Dumas' novel, however, this report offers recommendations for the Mauritius Truth and Justice Commission.

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social justice in the society.

Mauritius is a young democracy which forms part of a global society that prides itself on the protection and advancement of Human Rights. Mauritius also aspires to be a model society and economy among the

developing countries of the global South. To achieve these important objectives, it is important for the current and democratically elected government, to pursue not only economic partnerships with emerging and established economies, but also social justice. To this end, the Government of Mauritius has, following the example of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), mandated a Truth and Justice Commission to investigate the legacies of slavery and indentured labour.

This report should be read in conjunction with the nine other reports commissioned by the Mauritius Government on the subject of the legacies of slavery and indentured labour in Mauritius. The report does not pretend to offer an exhaustive account of the myriad ways in which the much maligned concept of race has been abused and utilised to entrench power and privilege in Mauritius. Nor does it claim to offer data that is unknown in Mauritius regarding the issue of race in the country. This is because the purpose of this research is not completely academic but rather applied, in which there is an effort to discover and reveal to the Mauritian public the various facets and implications of racism in Mauritius and to suggest ways in which to eradicate racism.

Thus, many of the stories

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The Rationale for the Study

Reflecting on transatlantic slavery and its impact on slaves and their descendants, the author, James Dawkins² notes that in the 1800s: [...] the British Government and Crown [...] sanctioned the use of racism in order to rationalise the existence of the slave trade, justify the forced subjugation of Africans, and to mitigate rising public dissent towards the profitable enterprise, (BBC 2007, cited in Dawkins 2010:8). Another source clearly indicates the profit made by slave owners in the British Empire. In 1838 some 800,000 people were freed throughout the Empire. The slave owners were paid some 20 million pounds Sterling for the loss of their labour. This amounted to approximately 40 percent of Britain's national budget at the time or some 1.34 billion pounds Sterling in today's money. The slaves received nothing (BBC online 2007). It would be 'easy' to argue that all that slave descendants (and those who suffered under slavery and indenture) need is monetary compensation. However, this report documents the long term non-fiscal damage which racism has wrought in Mauritius. Thus (and as the research team argues) there is a real need for more substantive work and research on the range of reparations needed to heal Mauritian society.

Referring to a range of sources, Dawkins argues that racism dramatically impoverished African slaves and their descendants. Citing the work of Crawford (2003), Dawkins (2010: 18) argues that, 'the oppressive and forcefully inhumane conditions that were imposed on Africans, generated cultures of fear, mistrust, uncertainty, racial resentment, sexual objectification and self-hate upon slave plantations. They also created conditions of abject poverty, profound mortality via the gross overworking of slaves, ignorance through the strict prohibition of reading and writing, and mental, spiritual and material dependence on the slave master'. These pathologies, Dawkin argues, continue into the present day. In the United States, the descendants of African slaves are still among the poorest of Americans; they experience high

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rates of incarceration and single

parenthood, as well as drug addictions. While members of this research team do not believe that slave descendants and those categorised as the descendants of indentured labourers did not possess any resilience in the face of such horrors.

We do agree that similar

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necessary and very long overdue.

This project, identified as Project 4, forms a part of the Culture and Ethnicity project of the Truth and Justice Commission (TJC). Following the inscription of Le Morne mountain (a symbol of liberation from slavery and oppression in Mauritius) as a World Heritage, the Mauritius Government mandated the creation of a Truth and Justice Commission to investigate the legacies of slavery and indentured labour in Mauritius and to produce recommendations regarding the nature of reparations to these disaffected populations.

The purpose of Project 4 is to investigate the contemporary discourse, policy, practice and experience of race in Mauritius. The investigation of racial experiences via the above-noted 'frames' is necessary, as it hopes to determine, in a holistic manner, the particular legacies of slavery and indenture in Mauritius.

We chose to examine 'discourse'

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and potential as human beings.

In our research, we found that racial 'discourse' is based on, and fed by, assumptions and ideas about those perceived to be racially different from the Self. We also found that the system of slavery in Mauritius and the continued oppression of slave descendants are largely justified by racist discourse. As the slave system became less palatable to enslaving nations, it became necessary to promote racist discourse. If those enslaved were fundamentally different from, and inferior to, the enslavers, 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 of evolution and natural selection (Social Darwinism) and Truth and Justice Commission 527 In the period of slavery, justification for the

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the subsequent development of scientific racism in Europe and America. Black Africans were socially constructed as an inferior race in need of civilisation and Christianisation. In the postabolition phase and after independence, racist discourse includes the promotion of more subtle, but still pernicious, ideas about the intellectual capacity and rationality of slave descendants. We also note that in this period, there are increasingly complex assumptions about the purported inferiority of the African phenotype and involves the construction of racial difference as real. Thus people would argue that they find it difficult to 'understand' slave descendants because they are so 'different' from 'us'.

We also chose to examine

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rather their interpretation by Mauritians.

Those who have conducted research for this report are fully cognizant of the fact that the achievement of reparations involves a complex process. Part of the rationale for this project is that we wanted to investigate some of the social complexities that the TJC would have to confront. From the perspective of this project for instance, we are aware that it is near impossible to assess what the legal experts call the quantum of damage caused by slavery and indentured labour or one could say that it is impossible to

calculate the depth and breadth of damage caused by the institutions of slavery and indentured labour. The trauma, mistrust, poor levels of community cooperation, self-doubt and other pathologies of oppression are difficult to quantify and may be passed on (as we note in Part 4 of this report), from one generation to the next. What our research hopefully does is to shed light on this complexity so that a multilevel and multipronged approach can be taken in addressing the legacies of slavery and indentured labour.

This report, however difficult this is, also makes an attempt to distinguish between the experiences of slavery and indentured labour. While the TJC Bill suggests that these two experiences may have been familiar and that both experiences are important to our understanding of the legacies of slavery and indentured labour; it is our contention that there is a qualitative difference between the racial experiences of slave descendants and the experiences of indentured labour descendants. Put very succinctly, those identified as slave descendants or more accurately as Creoles, experience racism more directly if not more profoundly

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we were observing and hearing.

This ‘discovery’ presents a challenge (as we argue at the end of this report) to fully and properly conclude a discussion regarding reparations. Furthermore (and this is also discussed), the issue of who is a slave descendant and who is an indentured labour descendant also needs clarification. The research revealed that only a few have internalised these categories of identification. Creoles were more likely to appropriate and speak about slave descendants. Others often referred to them as just ‘Creoles.’ Creoles rarely referred to themselves as Afro-Mauritians (Benoit 1985).

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Another reason for doing this research is to show that, in contrast to what some Mauritians may believe, ethnic and racial categories are not easily delineated. For example, indentured labourer descendants may have slave descendent and slave owner ancestry and those who are considered as Franco-Mauritians or as the visibly identifiable descendants of Europeans on the island also have mixed ethnic and racial ancestry. In our research among Franco-Mauritians we found that this topic was assiduously avoided or that white ancestry was rigorously asserted.

In short, it is not

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that racial identity is not

imposed on or assumed by Mauritians. Our research revealed that an African or black identity was/is regularly imposed on Creoles regardless of their mixed heritage and that Creoles themselves readily accepted this racial label as a way of attaining a meaningful space and identity in Mauritian society. Similarly, we found that Franco-Mauritians were keen to assert a pure ‘white’ racial identity as a way of securing a fixed identity and the prestige that comes with it. Ultimately, the view of this research group is that the TJC and the Government of Mauritius needs to focus on the political question of reparations and

to perceive reparations as a moral duty to the past of suffering primarily endured by those of slave and indentured descent, rather than attempt to identify people on the basis of their purported race.

A careful and critical response

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of mutual respect and recognition.

Thus, this report is critical of compensation, not in the sense (as we shall reveal in more detail later), that it should not happen at all but that those involved in the provision of reparations remain aware that financial compensation may not achieve 'full' reparations or that it might reduce the potential for full and deep reconciliation in our society. Deep reconciliation is also important because the present generation of slave descendants and indentured labourer descendants also have to manage their existence in a social setting that this cut across by other forms of boundary making and discrimination. There is also a deeply entrenched patriarchy (rule of society by men) in Mauritius and there is also the achievement of social stratification via caste classification.

The research is also motivated by the broader (but no less important issue) of the protection of Human Rights in Mauritius. As is noted in this report, discrimination in general (i.e. on the grounds of ethnicity, culture, gender and age), diminishes the protection of Human Rights both nationally and internationally. In its Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the United Nations is concerned to eradicate discrimination and to decrease the possibilities for acts of extreme prejudice (i.e. genocide, xenophobia and ethnocide). As a signatory to various conventions of the UN regarding the protection and advancement of Human Rights, the onus is on the Mauritius Government to critically review the legacies of slavery and indentured labour and to determine the extent to which these legacies affect the implementation

of a Human Rights culture

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of further orientation.

Scientific Racism

Scientific racism, although not apparently prominent in Mauritius in the 18th century, served to justify the system of slavery and the oppression of Africans. Scientific racism is a form of racial discrimination which uses science to rationalise the placing of people on a hierarchy according to skin colour. In most cases, this process involves the down-trodding of blacks and the elevation of whites. The basis of scientific racism has been thoroughly and continuously challenged by social scientists, who point to both bias and flaws in the arguments put forward by scientific racists (see for example Alland 2002, Gould 1984 and Montagu 1999).

By the time that Carl

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In Gould (1984) it is argued that 'scientists' in the Americas (in this case, Stanley Cartwright) went as far as to define psychological conditions particular to black and at that time, the slave population. One of the conditions identified, was Drapetomania – which Cartwright defined as the insane desire to run away!

There were also climatologists,

religious individuals, politicians,
immigration officials

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also climatologists,
religious individuals, politicians,
immigration officials and medics who helped to categorise racial groups and to associate them with specific behavioural tendencies and capacities. In Cartwright's view for example, it was imperative to make slaves work hard for long hours because this would assist in developing the lung capacity of blacks, who in his view were an indolent people affected by the humid and tropical climate of Africa.
Cranometry, the measuring of brain

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to increase the Aryan race.
Many of the arguments put forward by scientific racists were used, not only to justify slavery, but also to justify the continued oppression of people of colour. In America, race was medicalized. Sterilization of the poor was instituted to improve white racial stock (Alland 2002). In brief, the discourse of race in science was purveyed as a source of Truth about human beings and the world and was used to promote systems of oppression such as slavery. Science was construed as rational reflection on the world, and scientific research went largely unquestioned, perceived as an objective and politically neutral endeavour. What the literature also reveals is that race discourse is forged, not only by the use of science, but also art, fiction, traveller accounts and philosophy. During the Enlightenment period in Europe, there was deep focus on what it means to be human, to be moral, educated and civilized. This period of reflection produced great works of art, music, literature and philosophy. Such reflection is clearly and deeply evident today in the many artistic and cultural exhibitions which tourists visit in Europe. However, and as the historians remind us, the time and space to reflect was 'sponsored' by the slave system, which generated substantial profits that enriched merchants and the landed gentry in Europe. The merchants and other wealthy patrons, paid artists to produce the works of art we see today. The artistic production of this time can still be viewed in many parts of Europe and some of these (such as representations of identity and of Africans at the Africa Museum in Tervuren, Brussels) are not politically neutral pieces. They too serve to confirm a discourse on Europe and Caucasians as superior.
In Mauritius the traveller accounts of Bernardin de St. Pierre (in the 1700s in Mauritius), while producing a very rich account of Mauritius society in those early years, reinforced literary stereotypes of blacks as labourers and slaves and whites as owners and managers. However, de StPierre did pay attention to detail and in doing so, he disrupted certain racial stereotypes, particularly stereotypes of Franco-Mauritians as a culturally and economically homogeneous group characterised by their civilized behaviour. What de St-Pierre revealed is that there were high levels of decadence and laissez-faire among the propertied classes in Mauritius in the 1700s and that the
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Franco-Mauritians were not a homogeneous group. Their distance from the metropole of France, isolation on the islands, the youth of those sent to the island as well as the unequal nature of the society produced an internally differentiated group in which there were continuous efforts to maintain or achieve privilege. Although there appear to be no detailed studies of the gender profile of the early settlers, studies done in Brazil, another place in which slavery thrived, shows that the high ratio of settler men to women resulted in a more brutal system of slavery in that country and also how life chances are linked to skin colour in that society (Lovell & Wood 1998).

The spread of social as

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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

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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

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discuss and seek ways descendants.

Our interest lies in the social and political legacy of these inequalities. One finds that in Mauritius in which there was the experience of slavery, those at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder today are also those who do not possess the means of production. They rarely have access to land, equipment and other vital material resources. Instead they are inserted into the economy as labourers and workers. Their 'race' is used to justify and perpetuate their oppression. The maintenance of this group at the margins of the society serves a double purpose. It reaffirms discourses of superiority and inferiority and it maintains the capitalist system, which relies on an oppressed working class to generate profits.

'Beneath' this group is yet another layer, a set of people considered the underclass. As one woman at a famous IRS in Mauritius told me very casually, Truth and Justice Commission 533 to achieve reparations for slave and indentured labour

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these are 'the unemployed and

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report experiences of racial discrimination.

In Maylam's discussion on racism in post-apartheid South Africa, he notes that although class division still marks the landscape, there, 'Racial assumptions continue to pervade public discourse... racism is rigorously proscribed – instances of racism draw wide media attention. At the same time popular understandings of South African society remain heavily racialised, even if more implicitly than explicitly' (Maylam 2004:139). Mauritius is different to South Africa. There was no institutionalisation of apartheid in Mauritius, except in the period of slavery and indenture and in the period leading up to 1928. After that, we note a more complex picture of class in Mauritian society. As in South Africa, the end of segregation did not mean that racism disappears. As we show in this report, racism continues to flourish both explicitly and implicitly.

While decades of integration in

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euphemism used to disguise race.

An interrogation of race and racism in Mauritius needs to offer definitions of the concept. For Mauritius it is possible to argue that definitions of race derived from the country of origin gained precedence on the island. In the period of slavery the works of famous French scientists such as Georges Cuvier and (racist) philosophers such as Voltaire were not always available or accessible to all. However the fascination with racial difference was. This is evidenced in the parading of the South African born Saartjie Baartman, renamed the Venus Hottentot in Paris and London in the early 1800s. Baartman became part of the kind of freak shows popular across Europe at the time and was perceived by the scientists to be an example of her racial stock. There was prurient interest in the genitalia of Baartman and when she died, Cuvier and his colleagues surgically extracted her genitalia and preserved it in the Musée de l'Homme in Paris. In the accounts of Cuvier and Voltaire, races evolved separately in different regions of the world and black races were perceived as less talented and less intelligent than the Europeans.

This view of separate evolution

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African or Indian descendants' ancestry.

Most recently, there was significant debate on the forensic use of DNA in Mauritius. As far as we know, members of parliament overwhelmingly rejected the use of this science for purposes other than the tracing and arresting of criminals (Law Reform Commission Discussion paper April 2009).⁶ There was also opposition to the retention of a database in which the DNA of those convicted would be kept for a specified period. The argument is that doing so would promote the criminalisation of Mauritians. In the research we found that there are many people who could be interested in using this science to learn more about their ancestry. This is especially significant when it is considered that the historical data we have on slave (and perhaps to a lesser extent) indentured descendants is insufficient.

Although there were no such

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history of the Dominican Republic.

Simmons argues that we come to understand who we are in racial terms by a process of racial enculturation. Without that, we may not develop a racial identity. She also argues that racial categorization and processes of racial enculturation are contextually specific. The Dominican Republic, as she found out, has a long history of indigenous and immigrant population. This is in contrast to the United States where racial enculturation is informed by the historical experience of slavery as well as past law. The Jim Crow laws and the 'One Drop' rule in the US for instance, forced the categorization of all those with African ancestry as black, regardless of variation in skin colour in this population. In the Dominican Republic on the other hand, those who would otherwise be considered as black in the US, perceived themselves as 'mixed' in the Dominican Republic. This is because racial enculturation in the Dominican Republic includes references to indigenous or Carib identity (Indio). Those in the Dominican Republic however, Haitians (their poorer neighbours across the island of Hispaniola) are perceived (by the Dominicans) as black. What also interesting in the latter is the conflation of blackness, geography and poverty.

In conducting this research it is evident that there are multiple processes of racial enculturation in Mauritius. In the first instance, this happens with reference to the historical process of slavery. At that point in time, a clear distinction was made between white and black. This distinction was not necessarily hierarchical, for, as we understand it, in the time of slavery there were also very wealthy black Malagasy people who owned slaves and occupied the upper echelons of Mauritian society. Racial identity is also constructed at the level of the community. In some churches for example, the 'white' members of the congregation still sit at the front or separate from the 'black' members of the congregation, creating the impression of fundamental racial difference.

Aversive Racism

However, most recently

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President's Initiative on Race, 1998).

In Africa, scholars on racism note the integral role of the state in the creation of ethnicity and race (see for example the work of Abebe Zegeye 2001) and the difficulty of addressing the legacy of racism (Hamber and Kibble 1998). According to Valji (1998) a telephone survey conducted among White South Africans in 1997 to determine their view on the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), 44 percent stated that the former (apartheid) system was not unjust and 46 percent of whites surveyed believed the TRC was a ruling party 'witch hunt' to discredit the former government. In the case of this research this is not the case because it is the present government which has implemented the process of a TJC and whatever its motives, it and the Mauritian public will have to come to terms with or address the results of the research produced on the legacy of slavery and indenture.

One of the questions asked by historians involved in the process included whether the TRC in South Africa had not created a 'homogenized internal identity of victimhood' (see Valji 1998, note 6). Quoting Colin Bundy (2000), Nahla Valji says that South Africans 'intended to build one unified nation... [but may have risked legitimising] the formation of an "increasingly deracialised insiders and persistently black outsiders"'. The proposed research examines a range of contributions made by the slave descendant and indentured labourer population, as well as the injustices experienced. By doing this, it is hoped that the researchers will avert the potential pitfall noted by Valji.

Another significant finding of the

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poor' or as 'poor blacks'.

An important element of this research was to investigate the contributions of slave descendants and indentured labourer descendants to Mauritian society. Given the generally divisive nature of slavery and indentured labour, it is interesting to see to how these institutions have brought a diversity of people together and how people have made important contributions to society despite the hardships faced by them and their ancestors. Investigating contributions will allow the TJC to avoid homogenising the population as victims. Teelock (1998) and Nwulia's (1981) account of maroon communities and slavery strongly suggests that the population endured many hardships and surmounted them in creative and lasting ways.

In the following section we

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for the overall project was:

What are the legacies of racism and experiences of racism by slave descendants and indentured labour descendants in Mauritius? Related questions which were asked in the course of research included:

1. What social policies existed or currently promote racism in Mauritius since the abolition of slavery?
2. What are the rights

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and racism in contemporary Mauritius?

11. What is the experience of mixed race slave descendants/indentured labour descendants in contemporary Mauritius?
12. What does the prevalence

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of racism stress in Mauritius?

13. What are the particular racial experiences of slave descendant and indentured labourer descendant women in Mauritian society?

These questions were allocated to

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relations in Mauritius.

Research Sites

The research sites for this project were carefully chosen. The objective of the team was to obtain a representative sample of slave descendants and indentured labourer descendants, in order to fully document the experiences of these segments of the Mauritian population. However, this was not the only concern. In investigating the discourses and experiences of racism in Mauritius, it was important to interview also Mauritians beyond the above-noted categories. How do those who do not identify with slave or indentured labour descent view and construct identity in Mauritius? How do these constructions influence self-perception and interaction between those designated as marginal and the rest of society? What social networks exist which enable, as one blogger put it, 'cultural navigation'? What scope exists for social and ultimately economic mobility? Do specific sites impact on the construction of identity and the experience of race?

To address these complex questions

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Research on Mauritians in General

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

It is documented that, historically (as recently as 6 years ago), Black River Village was a simple fishing village composed essentially of Creoles assumed to be of slave descent and commonly referred to as Afro-Creoles or Black Creoles and of Marathi that have migrated from the Black River Gorges, Cascavell (located before Flic-en-Flac), Henrietta and other regions to Black River and of a small community of 'Franco-Mauritians'⁷ that were the big estate owners in the region such as the Maingard Family, Maurel Family, Pilot Family and De Ravel Family.

The demographic profile of this

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ti seve seve mozanbik...'¹⁰

(Eng. Trans.:...Because if we consider the term religion mostly Creoles were Catholic and Creoles in Mauritius they give the Creole identity mainly to the slave descendants that is the Afro-Mauritians and it comes a little how would say that on skin colour and hair type primarily...hair type...it is when we say brown skin not black skin we say brown skin and black hair we say frizzy hair short hair Mozambican hair...)

'...Par les cheveux surtout pour

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Mauritius in 1928 appeared to pave the way for a more racially-integrated society. However, and despite this important change, racism remained institutionalised or at least a very salient feature in Mauritius. Politicians remained largely male, white and wealthy. Businesses in the 1930s remained mostly white-owned and male-run. It was only in 1947 that the vote was extended to the literate in Mauritius and this

saw the gradual transformation of a racially-oriented political system. But even so, the underlying discourse then was that only literate people could understand the meaning of equality and of democracy. Women were largely excluded from this newly-enfranchised population and the many illiterate slave descendants and descendants of indentured labourers were excluded.

In the 1980s, there was

Reference 936 - 0.01% Coverage

pays ils sont originaires...13

(Eng. Trans.:... That is during the first period of the MMM between 1969 and we shall say 1982, there was mass awareness of all this, when shame started to disappear, where the slave descendants accepted (their descent), they said “yes I am a slave descendant, the descendants of indentured labourers also accepted it”, hence it was a great period which saw the real construction of identity and of a national culture and there was no shame in it. Hence it was a great period. And then there was a reconstruction as from 1983 when in fact they wanted to preserve divisions and as from then there was another awareness building in parallel in the Hindu community that was a large mass somewhat homogeneous. But as from 1983 subdivision started to appear...to reappear. We started to talk of Telegu, of Marathi, Tamil etc etc. Rajput, groups will be set up. Where it means this kind of mass cohesion won't exist anymore. Each component of the Hindu community will find his bearings. But among the Creole it won't be possible as there are no elements to know their exact country of origin...)

Discourses in the construction of

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race in the Creole community.

The conceptualisation of who is a Creole and of Creolité (English Translation: Creolity) differs from one informant to another but two perspectives can be identified from the information gathered. The first reveals a biological definition of Creolité, emphasising the ‘Pure-bred Creole’. From this perspective for someone to be identified as a Creole, they have to possess specific phenotypical features. In other words, that person needs to have ‘black’ skin and other characteristics associated with the African phenotype, this is because: ‘...kreol ces desendan esklav, kan nou pe koz kreol ces afrikain...’¹⁴ (English Translation:...Creole is a descendant of slave, when we talk of Creole we are talking about an African person...)

The second perspective emphasises biological

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a person of identity altogether.

In the following extracts we note the reconstruction of Creole identity via the discourse of victimhood in the story of slavery. It is our view that this is happening because there is a ‘need’ to reassert boundaries around the Creole community and to give it value (by establishing a definitive source of identity and history of Creoles) in the culture-conscious space of Mauritius.

It is possible, however, to also cynically argue that some Creoles have appropriated and transformed the discourse of victimisation and suffering apparent in the story of slavery and that they are now reinterpreting the story to argue that their ancestors were resilient and that this resilience is now helping them to confront the legacy of slavery. The discourse of resilience and freedom have now replaced the historical discourse on slavery as an experienced marked by humiliation and suffering. Those intent on using the transformed discourse for political purposes are now doing so, as a way of gaining leverage and

support from the slave descendant population. It is also our view that the transformation of the discourse of slavery is not the sole project of selected Creole politicians but rather the work of politicians and scholars who actively search for, and promote, narratives of resilience in the history of slavery. Here we run into some difficulties. For, a closer look at the historical literature on the story of slavery in Mauritius strongly suggests to us that the story of slavery and the involvement of Creoles in it were something that has long been suppressed. Thus, it is our counterargument that, the ‘new’ discourse on slavery as a time of resilience and search for freedom, is an important part of Truth and Justice Commission 551

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the process of providing counter-narratives about race in Mauritius. Such narratives seek to displace the negative stereotyping of slave and indentured labour descendants. They are positive discourses in the sense that they seek to restore dignity and hope to those who have experienced marginalisation. The latter is very important because in Mauritius, there is rarely a discussion on how scholarly work might contribute to the reconstruction of racial discourses. If we consider how (in the past), scholarly and scientific outputs were important to the consolidation of scientific and social racism, we should not be so quick to dispense with scholarly work on identity issues in Mauritius. We shall return to the issue of discourse and identity construction at the end of this report in the section on recommendations. For the moment, we are focused on that the fact that the transformation of the discourse of victimisation is a potent means of rejecting popular, negative (and racist) discourse about Creoles:

In line with the above testimony and further substantiated by Claudine’s statement, the descendants of slaves have embraced the Creole identity, whereas others have not. Some Creoles have also transformed this identity into one of racism and suffering. This is why the term Creole is now commonly associated with the Mauritians of African descendants.

‘...tou dimunn ki res lor

Reference 940 - 0.01% Coverage

kreol la...’17

in pran

(Eng. Trans.:...All people who live on an island are Creoles but we have the tendency to say that we slave descendants we took it since the start. That is when a person looks at me, there is no need to say who (I) am (I) am a Creole, as we use to say in our language, it’s a Creole, it’s an Indian, it’s a Chinese, it’s a white. When they see me, my face tells them that I am Creole, because we are descendant of slaves since our birth, we say we are Creoles, that is we are rooted in this Creole identity...)

This tendency to Africanise the

Reference 941 - 0.01% Coverage

class from which he comes...)

The above extracts suggest that socioeconomic mobility can encourage dissociation from one’s economic and cultural roots. Among Creoles, this dissociation is perceived as a betrayal of the group in favour of a lifestyle and the social world in which the ‘real’ Creoles are excluded. Dissociation is also contrived as a form of aversive racism because dissociation implies disdain for, and a rejection of, a former lifestyle and

of former associates. However, those leaving their 'old' world behind do not consciously leave but are doing so unconsciously and under pressure from the demands of the new social and economic situation. It is also noted by one of our researchers however that '...people's knowledge of their origins is limited to their grandparents and most of those interviewed did not have exact information about their origins but guessed their family ancestry based on their phenotype and on what they have learned or read on Mauritian history.' This means that informants may argue that their ancestors came from Africa or Madagascar because of their perceived physical traits but also because the story of slavery has become an integral part of the nationalist discourse:

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mo enn desandan esklav?... '20

(Eng. Trans.: ... everyone will call me a descendant of slaves because my name is Georges Cangy, my hair is half frizzy, I play ravanne, I sing sega. Won't they say that I am a descendant of slaves?...)

Interestingly, the association with slave descent is not only one that is reinforced and maintained in nationalist discourse, but also via certain experiences. As the following interviewee suggests, that it is not only external definition but experience of contemporary hardship (possibly because of 'race') that qualifies an individual as a slave descendant person:

'...Li ti bann Baho non

Reference 943 - 0.01% Coverage

esklav la, li ekziste... '21

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

What of the other groups

Reference 944 - 0.01% Coverage

they take an English, French...)

However, as we indicate further on, in our discussion on the youths and socialisation, the integration of the Chinese descendants is not as easy as is claimed by the previous informant. The identification of them as 'different' and in some cases, sub-human (see for example the racial epithet regarding people of Chinese descent), sets them apart from other communities in Mauritius and encourages racial exclusivity within the group. This presents an interesting issue for the TJC. The Bill requires an investigation into the legacy of slavery and indentured labour and our task is to investigate the historical and contemporary experience of racism. What do we do about those who fall into neither of these categories but experience either direct or aversive racism because they live in a pigmentocracy and culturally conservative society in which whiteness is privileged?

In our research, it was

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of race or their phenotype.

On the contrary, and what the following extracts from the individual research reports suggest, is that it is for a particular group of slave descendants in which all the elements of a stigmatised identity converge (poverty, stigmatised phenotype and place of residence) the experience of racism is most intense. For these individuals, racism is part of daily experience and is experienced in direct ways – encounters on the street, in the municipal offices, schools and hospitals. With regard to the above- noted quotations it is evident that just as there are different categories of black in Mauritius (i.e. we have those associated with the highest levels of poverty and are considered in public discourse as the ti Creole), also have categories of white in the country. Thus, a person of Chinese descent may be, by virtue of their middle-class status, considered white in Mauritius society. This is certainly apparent in the discussion presented in the following extract:

Whilst some Sino Mauritians are

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sa bann melanz la...’28

(Eng. Trans:...How got Mulattos? The white ‘masters’ abused women slave African descendants or Indians and then they mixed. But now they cannot abuse, they get married, it is how this Mulatto population was born. If each one respected its type, there would be only 2 or 3 types, there would have been no Mulattos...)

But they are not accepted

Reference 947 - 0.01% Coverage

is a victim of crime.

However, it is also important to note that the overlapping identities serve other purposes. These identities are also useful in creating a sense of Self in a society that is multilingual, multicultural and diverse. The diversely-situated and negotiated sense of Self allows and encourages communication and interaction in the diverse society of Mauritius. For example, knowledge of, and respect for, local religious events allows non-adherents to live in relative harmony with their neighbours. But it goes further than this, publicly acknowledging and accepting one’s multiple identities softens the perceived ethnic or racial edge of one’s identity, allowing for others to communicate with and interact with a person. This practice is apparent among slave descendants, as the ‘fact’ of slavery is sometimes too hard to ‘deal’ with and to publicly articulate. Thus, we note that in social circumstances, race can disappear, as familiarity between, and knowledge of, one another grows and as individuals suppress or enhance other aspects of their identity in order to ‘escape’ the burden of race.

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as young people become adults.

Pheno-typical factors influence ‘race’ and lighter skinned Creoles often identify themselves with the Franco-Mauritians, while darker skinned Creoles identify with descendants of slaves.

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Reference 949 - 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 950 - 0.01% Coverage

PROVE that they are so.

Prestige and privilege are also attached to ancestry (in terms of origins) and clannish or family ties are significant markers of Franco-Mauritian identity. One Franco-Mauritian interviewed argued that family/clannish ties are not solely responsible for success and prestige – some are self-made men. Others have never owned land, “We have never had one knot in a sugar cane plant” (PG, Grand Baie, 7 June 2010). There is also ascension to hierarchy of Gens des Couleur through education and marriage – by participating in a form of strategic endogamy (marrying within the group) they are able to form a new class of ‘white’, one that does not necessarily have historical ties to land ownership or slavery. However, it seems to the research team that the Gens des couleur are trying to belong to a community (i.e. the white community) in which they are not accepted. The ‘white non-whites’ have the economic status but cannot assimilate to this group (of white people) because they are not considered pure white. In the extreme, it is not physical characteristics which matter, but name that does.

Perceptions of Franco-Mauritians range from negative to complacent. Indian descendants and Creole domestic workers who work for Franco-Mauritians make references to a kind of master-slave relationship. They moan that they are not fed by their employers and that they are not treated well. In an interview with a Franco-Mauritian, however, it was also said that by far the most named group in society to be labelled as ‘racist’ have been the Franco-Mauritians⁴¹. However, we cannot take it for granted that all Franco-Mauritians are racist. From what the research team gathers, even within the Franco-Mauritian community, there are in-group fighting and competitive partnerships with others.

CONCLUSION TO SECTION 1

It

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formal interviews, informal conversations and

observations, the team found that the youths are frustrated by the continuation of a pigmentocracy (social hierarchy based on the privileging of whiteness) in Mauritius. They are also frustrated by the lack of civil society engagement in challenging the continued construction of Mauritius as a racialised space. Some feel that the only way to retain one’s sanity is by leaving the country, despite the fact that Mauritius needs well-trained professionals in all spheres of the economy to sustain development and modernisation.

Among Creoles and those who openly accepted the designation of slave descendants, an important view was that the situation of Creoles (and ultimately of slave descendants) was negatively affected by the majority/minority politics in the country. The view articulated was that, as a significant minority, Creoles could never obtain advantages or even basic rights in Mauritian society. To clarify this, it continues to be

difficult for Creoles to obtain employment in various spheres of the economy because those who are already established in those sectors, tend to employ members of their own ethnic group or they offer employment to those individuals who have the support of prominent business people or politicians. The youths referred to this support as ‘backing’.

To sum up, the research

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developed the habit. (Interview021_25062010)

The above extract part of a discussion which took place in a focus group meeting in Valegie Church, a fraternity group aimed at 14-20 year olds. The above extract was the first assertion that was made, when asked what it meant to be Creole. The self-deprecating stereotype of Creoles as busbeaters was very interesting to witness amongst urban youths. It appears as though years of negative stereotyping have infiltrated Creole self-image to the extent that young Creoles automatically respond with negative views of Creole identity. Whilst some students focused on religion, an open culture, and friendly disposition as charactering Creole identity, at the schools it was also found that when asked the same question, the overwhelming responses were of alcoholism, drug use, aggressive, being a spendthrift, and that Creoles love partying to their detriment. It is common knowledge that the years of negative stereotyping have influenced the negative view of African descent in Mauritius. Inferiority of slave descent still circulates in selfdefinitions by Creoles, where the terms Nasyon and Mazambik are used as a pejorative terms to refer to African ancestry (Project 4: Individual TJC Report on Youth and Racisms).

This view of perpetual inferiority due to slave descent is not helped by the lack of historical instruction on the agency and resistance by Creoles on the island. We found for example that some school text-books promoted the negative stereotyping of slave descendants:

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

Consistently I found that actions carried by slaves were cast as delinquency whilst European activities were cast

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positive role models for Creoles:

Further questions were asked about whether students learned about Creole leaders at school, and apart from Martin Luther King and Nelson Mandela, the students couldn’t name any influential black or African icons either from Mauritius or abroad. Even contemporary Creole movements such as the Organisation of Creoles, Africans and Malagasy (OCAM), the Association Socio-cultural African and Malagasy (ASM) and the Fédération Créole Mauricien (FCM) were not known by the students nor were they mentioned in history or sociology text books. Comparatively European history is valorised and all example images in the text book were only of Indian people. In the entire history book, the only images of Creoles/Black people were in the instance of slavery and there was only one picture of a Creole represented as a professional. The invisibility of Creole representation in school

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Report on Youth and Racisms).

It is not only this that is transferred but also the fears, concerns and self-limitations. This is clearly illustrated in the next extract, which reveals how slave descended Mauritians, as well as those who do not consider themselves part of the Hindu majority, perceive their situation in Mauritius.

Researcher: Do you think that

Reference 955 - 0.01% Coverage

to killing football in Mauritius.

Association with particular schools and also the situation of slave descendant families in impoverished areas also foster racial stigma. Residence in these areas also means that the Creoles and members of the working class are confined to, and expected to participate in, class and 'race' specific leisure activities. Unfortunately, these are also activities which reinforce negative stereotyping. For example, drinking alcohol in taverns or setting up parties and entertainment which involves the consumption of alcohol. In contrast, we found that for the middle classes and some Franco-Mauritians, the construction of the racial stereotype involved leisure activities which reinforce positive stereotyping. For example, sporting and leisure activities for the FrancoMauritian and middle-class youths involves golf, windsurfing, sailing and for the very wealthy: hunting, tennis, etc. To refine this even further, even the consumption of particular types of alcohol is stereotyped. Thus, most of what is consumed by the lower classes is deemed to be of inferior quality and reinforces the inferiority of the lower classes, whereas the setting (exclusive clubs such as the Suffren for example), as well as what is consumed by the middle classes, reinforces their superior sense of taste as well as their inherent superiority in terms of class and race.

The pressure to conform

The

Reference 956 - 0.01% Coverage

to a certain extent, isolation.

Furthermore, the right to religion is also a fundamental right, supported by the Mauritian Constitution. However, we asked whether this was not problematic because such schools have a big impact on identity and some have argued (see Boswell 2006) that these institutions carry particular discourses of suffering – which encourage slave descendants to accept their lot (via a theology of suffering which includes statements such as 'blessed are the poor' for instance), as a marginal people. The churches also elevated the French language above Kreol, as most Catholic services are still conducted in French. This indirectly implies that the latter (i.e. Kreol) is not good enough for the business of worship:

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kind.

CONCLUSION TO SECTION 2

It is our conclusion that socialisation from a very young age, plays a major role in determining the experiences of slave descendants and descendants of indentured labourers. While the latter may not be expected to consume alcohol, it is found that their social lives are also constrained by the expectations of the older generation, the religious authorities, the school context and the places in which they reside. Thus, all these factors conspire to foster a relatively restricted existence for the youths of Mauritius. Indeed, in the school context itself, we found that the youths are able to experience a measure of freedom

from these constraints. But once outside the school context, they are expected to conform and perform their assigned 'racial' or ethnic identity. Conflict arises when the individual does not conform as expected by family, friends and religious community.

This is exemplified by the

Reference 958 - 0.01% Coverage

fall of the Franco-Mauritian,

BLC: It is mainly the White who came to develop the country and then imported the slaves to work and so on. So they had the privilege at that time of getting land from the previous Government, French Government or English Government. So they had this privilege to get the land from that time and then let's say, when they imported the Indian to work here, they were not imported as slaves. They were imported as coolies, as workers in the many sugar cane fields and so on and also then when they abolished the slavery, they benefited from some land as well.

Researcher: The Indians?

BLC: The

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something like that. That's it.

The above extracts also suggest that it is not only historical perception of white privileges, but that members of the 'community' also see themselves as possessing inherent qualities that enable them to achieve prosperity. This myth of intellectual and ultimately racial superiority pervades the discussion on Franco-Mauritian achievements. There is the stereotyped and racist belief that whites are better at investing and safeguarding their assets. Moreover, they achieved their wealth with very 'little' support since it is argued that whites did not receive much in the time of slavery and colonisation, especially with regard to 'pieces' of land obtained.

In the latter part of

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sector it is very obvious...)

The informants, as testified by Kathy and Claudine, pointed out that even though slavery has been abolished, the Blacks are still being treated as slaves because they are exploited by their employers, and their working conditions are harsh as they are underpaid and work long hours to earn a meagre salary for subsistence only. The Blacks refer to both the Indo-Mauritians and the Creoles who constitute the servile labour force.

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Gender Relations and Racism Interact

It was our intention to fully investigate the cross-cutting implications of gender relations and racism. Our research encompassed both women and men. However, given the scale of this project and the fact that we did not have sufficiently qualified personnel to initiate the research on gender, we were not able to obtain significant observations or interviews on the subject. However, we have noted the following issues,

especially as they pertain to young Creole or slave descendant women. First, black skinned women in Mauritius experience the worst of racism. They are often the ones to be harassed and harangued. They receive the poorest levels of service. They are most discriminated against in public and government spaces. They experience racism from family members and in their marriage (from their in-laws). They find it difficult to obtain decently-paid work and are encouraged by a positive discourse on whiteness (the privileging of whiteness) to alter their appearance so as to appear more white. Extracting and summarising from the interim monthly reports of our replacement researchers (Ms. Teelwah and Ms. Chacoory), it was found that at hair salons in Mauritius, black skinned Creoles are likely to receive very poor treatment and inferior

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UNDERSTANDING THE BURDENS OF RACISM

In this section of our report, we wish to draw attention to the following issues and questions. What are the long-term consequences of racism on the population of slave descendants and the descendants of indentured labourers? How is long-term trauma of this nature articulated among the affected populations? What services exist in Mauritius today, to assist those in need of therapy to cope with racist experiences? It is evident from our reflections on those experiencing psychological trauma from racist experiences, that this can cause debilitating symptoms and long-term damage to the psyche. The following section is structured as follows: First we offer a brief overview of the possible links between post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and the experiences and behaviours to be found among slave descendants. Second, we offer an outline of the Mental Health Services to be found in Mauritius today, as per the overview of the clinical psychologist on the team. Third, we discuss evidence for destructive behaviours and the possible reasons for maintaining these. Finally, we discuss racist events in Mauritius and the ways in which people have responded to these.

The Issue of PTSD among Slave Descendants

According to the Social Worker, Joy Degruy Leary, African Americans, who are descended from slaves, may continue to experience what she calls, Post-Traumatic slave disorder (PTSS) a variation of the well-known syndrome of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). She says, 'On September 11, 2001, Americans became more familiar with PTSD. Lots of citizens were reported to be suffering from the disorder as a result of witnessing the destruction of the World Trade Towers and those trapped inside'. With what is known about trauma, is it probable that significant numbers of African slaves experienced a sufficient amount of trauma to warrant a diagnosis of PTSD? The following are a list of some of the conditions that give rise to mental and/or emotional traumas which justify the diagnosis of PTSD and which are consistent with the slave experience:

- A serious threat or harm

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is of human design.'⁵⁰

It is her view that the experience of slavery has produced certain 'survival' behavior among African Americans, which continue to affect their quality of life today. The issue and the experience of slavery was never substantially dealt with in the US and, in fact, the situation of African Americans was exacerbated with the institution of the Jim Crow Laws, which barred African descendants from access to good schooling and medical care and severely controlled freedom of association and interracial marriage until 1954. The passing of time and the compounding of the effects of the legacy of slavery are important, not only to the story of the US, but also to the story and legacy of

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was bad” (almost meaning barbaric).

At the beginning stage of my field work, the response that there is no racism in Mauritius made me feel that by talking about racism (not so much slavery and indenture), I am bring forth divisions within a community living in harmony. By virtue of coming from a country with a history of institutionalized racism, I felt burden to explain how South Africa dealt with it or continuously deals with these issues. I psychologically had to remind myself and monitor my own responses. I therefore found myself using words such as discrimination, unfairness, emotional response to discriminations interchangeably, in an effort to conceal the nature of my enquiry.

Thus, and as noted previously

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language is not in school...”

In addition, those interviewed who consider themselves Franco-Mauritians commented on political marginalization of Franco-Mauritians too; however they consider Creole’s social, economic and political marginalization as the worse in the sense that it continuous from slavery period to contemporary times.

When asked what their identity

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to be independent from ideologies.”

As it has been highlighted earlier not all participants acknowledged with easy that ethnic discrimination or prejudices exist in Mauritian society. Those who easily agreed they generally voiced out that; it will take time for people to change their mind about others especially towards the general population thus referring to Creole community. Participants had knowledge and awareness of widely held stereotypes in Mauritian society. They explained these stereotypes from a historical perspective. When speaking of Creoles, participants typically saw the long lasting impact of slavery as an issue for this community. Popular stereotypes portray Creoles as lazy, drug addicts and lacking positional drive to succeed. Professionals highlighted that when “you look at the history of slavery you understand impact of racism, you understand why they're that way, they got nothing to hang on to . . . The Hindus . . . could hold on to their tradition and their religion, that's why it's easier for them to go up the ladder, the cultural and social ladder and it's easy for them to have a culture of education that the Creole don't have. They don't have a base and you can't even blame them. That doesn't mean it's an excuse for what's not happening to them . . . But as a group, it's understandable that they're the ones who are poorer and . . .it's been built-up from what had happened to the culture itself, their absence of culture”

The researcher interpreted this as follows. She argues that in a way, Creoles (that is slave descendants) had their identity stolen from them in the course of enslavement. It is her initial view that perhaps, as Creoles do not have ‘culture’, they are unable to have something of value upon which to build their identity and aspirations. One could interpret this data differently. It is possible to argue that because a fixed identity and known heritage are very important in Mauritian society and are considered significant in the kind of contribution that an ethnic group can make to the construction of the nation and, if Creoles are deemed not to have an identity, then they are generally perceived as unimportant and have nothing of value to offer in the making of the society in which they live. This can have devastating consequences for an individual or a group because what they do offer is not publicly valued and in general they are perceived as not ‘useful’ in the society.

This disregard generates poor self

Reference 967 - 0.01% Coverage

The Experience of Micro-aggressions

In the courses of research done by this team, it was found that Creoles, who are currently defined as slave descendants, routinely experienced racist attacks. It is our view that the experience of these events is cumulative because very few of our interviewees expressed the view that they were seeking assistance or counseling for these incidents. The research on racist events (large-scale ones at least) suggest that victims tend to repress their emotional and other responses to such events. They also ‘endure’ day-to-day micro-aggressions – verbal insults, invalidations, stereotyping etc.

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it, some ten years later.

But it is not only the exceptional racist events that we should pay attention to. We ought to also interrogate the daily experiences of racism, micro-racial events which in the long run accumulate and dramatically affect the psychological state of the individual. In the period of slavery in the US, there must have been a number of people who felt that the subjugation of black Africans and their torture on a regular basis was perfectly normal and acceptable. Similarly, as we noted in the overview of daily experiences of racism among slave descendants in Mauritius (see for example the above noted case [Section 4] of the black professional who was barred from entering company property because he is black), there are some people who feel that what some Creoles are experiencing is to be expected and perfectly normal. In the following extract from a report of the Clinical Psychologist on the team, the following was documented in respect of the experiences of domestic workers:

For those who spoke of

Reference 969 - 0.01% Coverage

be racially different from them.

The same Manageress also relayed a story regarding reverse racism which she witnessed at BelleMare beach on the East coast of the Island. She suggested that even victims are capable of initiating racist events. She explained that she was taking a group of colleagues and visitors to the beach and she came upon a group of young Creole men offloading beer crates from a truck. Amongst them was a Franco-Mauritian youth also assisting with the offloading of the crates. It appeared to the Manageress that the sight of white man doing hard labour was so unusual that one of the Creole men said: “Hey, we have just commemorated the 1st February (abolition of slavery), now we have a white guy working for us, lifting things. Hey, are you gonna flog us?” The haranguing of the Franco-Mauritian and reminiscence of the role of ‘his ancestors’ as slave owners, carried on for a quite a while and the Manageress was astonished at the intensity of the abuse. However, as she was with tourists and people who did not understand Kreol however, she did not feel that it was her place to intervene and left the young men to their own devices. It is our view, however, that even if the Manageress had been on her own, it would have been near impossible (and unadvisable) for her intervene, as she is of a different ethnic and racial group to the men and she is woman. As we discuss further on, race and gender converge to produce a particularly volatile mix in Mauritius where women of colour (in particular) experience higher levels of discrimination.

Vera, Hernan and Feagin (2004)

Reference 970 - 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 971 - 0.01% Coverage

racist/communal attitudes towards others.

For example, for Hansley, the Whites and Indo-Mauritians are racist because they do not like Creoles but the latter are not racist. He feels that he is racially victimised and discriminated against because he is Black and of slave descent.

CONCLUSION TO SECTION 4

The

Reference 972 - 0.01% Coverage

descent.

CONCLUSION TO SECTION 4

The burdens of racism are many. In this report, we have noted a few of the more significant burdens which Mauritians of all skin colours continue to experience today. The impact of the emotional and psychological burden of racism cannot, in our view, be underestimated. For many people of slave descent and also those of indentured descent, racists impose a continuous feeling of inadequacy, inferiority and marginality on the least favoured in our society. Slave descendants and the least favoured among the indentured descendants need to continually respond to this victimisation in an attempt to salvage their dignity. The victimisation happens despite the guarantee of basic human rights to dignity and equality in the Mauritian Constitution. In our next section, we argue that the Mauritius Government, together with Civil Society and international institutions interested in supporting our country to achieve true democracy, need to address, not only issues of structural, but also social inequality in Mauritius.

Truth and Justice Commission 603

Reference 973 - 0.01% Coverage

critical and scholarly reflection.

In

our work, we have found that those victimized by racial discrimination in Mauritius use a range of strategies of means to resist and subvert stereotyping. In brief, they use what James Scott (1990) calls 'hidden resistance' to subvert and oppose the impositions of the powerful. In our accounts, we have not highlighted these methods of resistance, mainly because it is thoroughly documented elsewhere (C.f. Boswell 2006 and Vaughan 2005). In music, dance, poetry, oratory, story-telling, acts of defiance and personal success, slave descendants in Mauritius, as well as the most impoverished and marginalised of the Indian Indentured labourers, continue to fight oppression and racial invectives (Reddy 2001).

In the discussion on Truth

Reference 974 - 0.01% Coverage

rights.

We recommend: 1.

2.

That financial reparation is sought by the Government from the historical slave trading nations (Netherland, England, France) for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of communities and settlements where slave descendents are in the majority.

That financial reparation is provided

Reference 975 - 0.01% Coverage

the worst

circumstances in 3.

suggesting that the system of slavery has been most pernicious 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 976 - 0.01% Coverage

specified period of years.

4.

There should be a thorough revision and amendment of employment policy in Mauritius. Employers contravening Constitutional Rights (i.e. right to employment?) should be fined or prosecuted. In our research, we came across several companies refusing to employ slave descendants or members of lower castes in positions of authority on the basis that these individuals would compromise the 'comfort' presently enjoyed by employees. The use of the word 'comfort' masks efforts to maintain a racially exclusive workplace. It also bars access to those individuals who would make our society more democratic and racially inclusive.

5.

The membership policy (written

Reference 977 - 0.01% Coverage

their own political careers.

7.

There should be a thorough and critical survey of resources allocated for Education per region. At present, the areas mostly inhabited by slave descendants and members of the lower caste are receiving less investment. This is apparent in the South

Reference 978 - 0.01% Coverage

registered teachers must be thoroughly scrutinised, if not abolished/made illegal. This is because we have found that teachers are not giving their best in their classes, reserving the crucial information needed by scholars for the time of private lessons. Poorer members of our community, also the lower-caste members of indentured descent, as well as slave descendants, are not able to pay for these additional classes. This produces poorer examination results among this cohort. Ultimately, the system of private lessons also infringes on the scholars' Constitutional Rights to education and, ultimately, their right to play as children in our society.

11.

Discrimination at any level

Reference 979 - 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 descendants 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 980 - 0.01% Coverage

some of realities of indenture.

One must acknowledge that, through ignorance or political strategies, the public discourse on indenture has given birth to many strong myths of identity, often historically inaccurate or farfetched. Indentured s have been presented in various forms: as kidnapped slaves (Tinker 1974) or, on the contrary, as proud conquerors coming to Mauritius to bring their India's wisdom and age-old civilization (Benoist 1989, Hazareesingh 1973) and as 'scab labour' depressing the wages of exslaves.

In all cases, indenture stands

Reference 981 - 0.01% Coverage

indenture realities of the immigrants.

As Marina Carter (1995) explains, sordid realism (describing indenture as just another Slave Trade) or, on the contrary, revisionist temptations (s as colonists), have blurred historical visions. The first important

point lies in the evolution of indenture during the whole period. Indenture in the 1830s was radically different from indenture twenty years later, not to mention the last decades, of the beginning of the 20th century. One must also remember that, as is the case for slavery, there is no such thing as a unique history and experience of indenture.

Individual situations were very different

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Truth and Justice Commission 628

VOL 3: PART III – CONSEQUENCES OF SLAVERY AND INDENTURE –THE EVOLUTION OF THE CASTE SYSTEM IN MAURITIAN SOCIETY

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

Upward mobility was also possible

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Truth and Justice Commission 663

VOL 3: PART III – CONSEQUENCES OF SLAVERY AND INDENTURE –THE EVOLUTION OF THE CASTE SYSTEM IN MAURITIAN SOCIETY

So-called “Indo-Mauritians” are all “Mauritians” before anything else and, nonetheless the recent (and respectable) popularity of root-tracing, their relation to India does not interfere with their loyalty to Mauritius. But the tendency of a growingly ambiguous relation to India, used to differentiate Hindu Mauritians with Creoles descendants of African slaves, mainly, must be taken with much caution. The more Hindu Mauritians will feel “Indo-Mauritian”, the more they will be prone to respect and reintroduce caste logics and barriers. Our recommendation would then be to suppress or change census categories so as to allow Mauritians to identify themselves with categories other than “Indians” and to control the existence, activity and financing of so-called “socio-cultural associations”.

No positive evidence has been

Reference 984 - 0.01% Coverage

in a definitely Mauritian identity.

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

Reference 985 - 0.01% Coverage

together in the Mauritian nation.

Patrimonial sites are communalist-biased and commemorations there are increasingly religious (Hindu sacrificial prayers on November 2nd at the Aapravasi Ghat, and claims for the Morne mountain to become a Catholic “sacred mountain”). The memories of slavery, as the memories of indenture, being dealt with separately, rapidly become rivals.

Promoting museums, sites and institutions

Reference 986 - 0.01% Coverage

of the Black River District.

2) Psycho-social aspects in studies done in the Republic of Mauritius and other countries having experienced slavery and/or racism and discrimination based on ethnic differentiation.

3) Statistical data in some relevant sectors, compiled and analyzed according to ethnic origins. This section is more like probing more objectively the given assertion that slave descendants are excluded from mainstream development. Given more time, analysis would have taken on board precise evolutions across time, relating data to social, economic, political dynamics as well as emergence and consolidation of cultural pressure groups. In itself, this would have constituted a whole thesis program. In spite of these limitations, it is an enterprise that has required patience, perseverance and resilience. First of all, to obtain the data, to select and afterwards, to disaggregate them according to the ethnic communities. For this time consuming exercise, the only way of operating was to go through each list of names and note down the community according to family and first names (baptism names mainly). Family names in some cases of our target population are of no particular relevance. Some minor errors may have been introduced in this lengthy compilation, based on some subjective interpretation of names. But overall, the research assistants have been very meticulous and cautious. We are thankful to them.

Truth and Justice Commission 675

Reference 987 - 0.01% Coverage

distorted perception of the community.

The negative stereotypical portrayal of blacks, especially those from slave descent has had detrimental effects on the psyche of members of these communities, who are constantly associated with negative and demeaning images of themselves. Not strong enough to resist negative psychological attributes, they internalize these negatives as truths. These, in turn, influence the perception that other communities have, adversely affecting

relationships which structure social and

Reference 988 - 0.01% Coverage

Complexity of inter-related factors

Suppression of slavery history in the Republic of Mauritius has helped to keep their descendants in a state of instability, confusion, and self-loathing. This has produced and maintained low self - esteem, feelings of inadequacy and low self-image, generating a low regard for those who are of the same community, creating an environment of envy, distrust, disloyalty, and hatred within the community. These are

complex processes at the heart of the dynamics involved in the relationships between the individual, groups of affiliation and society, at large.

Institutionalized adverse conditions, discrimination creating

Reference 989 - 0.01% Coverage

3.7%, unspecified 0.3%

Though limited, because of lack of time, we hope that this report will generate both more objectivity and interest in researching psycho-social dynamics at work in situations of deprivation and powerlessness; specially, when historical trauma, as in the case of slavery, continues to affect a whole community. It is our interest as a nation to come to terms with these powerful mechanisms, which, repressed, are all the more powerful in suppressing hope and fighting spirit, deepening structural marginalization processes in modern Mauritius. This is the real issue

3.3. Terminology

For the

Reference 990 - 0.01% Coverage

Interpretations 4.2.1 Housing

Historical conditions to land access in 1872 for the Indian indentured labourers by the Royal Commission have been a major factor in the setting up of housing plans for individuals as well as the community, pulling together resources for long term goals. Lack of economic opportunities offered to “ex-apprentices” from the slave population as well as absence of provision for them as far as land was concerned have contributed to “nomadism”, transitory dwellings according to job opportunities. Unstable labour market coupled with absence of “enracinement” that a permanent house can foster have contributed to lack of savings for investment in housing from slave descendants. They are the most destitute in this sector and inhabit mostly “Cités”.

Housing conditions and environments, as

Reference 991 - 0.01% Coverage

in getting out of squatting.

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

Housing like education are fundamental

Reference 992 - 0.01% Coverage

these prejudices and bring change.

h) Some researchers (Cf. first section of "Breaking the Psychological Chains of Slavery", Akbar (1996) state that slave descendants still carry the attitude they had towards "work" during slavery. Reference is to the toilsome and unprofitable work of slaves on a daily basis, to the fact that Sundays and holidays were a

transitory emancipation from work. Hence, the association of work with enslavement, not working with freedom and a continuous state of mind hindering entrepreneurship.

i) Restructuration in the labour

Reference 993 - 0.01% Coverage

high occurrence of risk behaviors.

Poverty, multi-faceted, cuts across all communities. It is an extremely difficult exercise to pin-point what is its exact link with slavery. However, what can be said from studies done on this subject from structural trends and indicators as well as field studies, mentioned before, is that an aggregate of indicators show more massive marginalization processes affecting Creole communities²⁰. Some “specific” features can be observed:

- Poor, not really poor, could

Reference 994 - 0.01% Coverage

diagnosed affectively disordered. Researchers observe that the overall notion that slaves are subhuman and intellectually inferior has proven to be detrimental to their mental health. Williams and Williams-Morris (2000), postulating that African Americans have been the victims of both institutional and internalized racism examined their internalized impact. Living in a segregated environment that impedes socioeconomic mobility, the slave descendants show acceptance of the negative societal beliefs and stereotypes linked to their ancestry and this type of acceptance often leads to anxiety, feelings of worthlessness and powerlessness²³.

Again, the negative impact of

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Sterlin (1993) also studied transmission mechanisms of the impact of slavery. In the first stages, slavery generated an extinction of life drive (Eros) among slaves. Such an aggression, physical as well as psychological, remodeled all the energy of the person with consequences on memory, sexuality, aggressiveness/passivity patterns (See further: Reversal into the opposite).

Coping with reactivations of these

Reference 996 - 0.01% Coverage

be undertaken in this field.

Sense of legitimacy, dispossession of self, cognitive dissonance, inner conflicts are interwoven. They result from the social structure of slavery. On a more individual level, they are linked with a wide spectrum of factors:

Impossibility to position oneself in

Reference 997 - 0.01% Coverage

position oneself in a lineage

We know from anthropological studies made in Africa and Madagascar the importance of lineage, ancestors and the dead ones in the definition of self. Personality is not conceived as in the Western world: dependency is not given a negative value and search for protection is constant to avoid feeling of being abandoned (Cf. for example Mannoni, rééd. 1997). Self in traditional agrarian societies has its saliency through family roots and most importantly, from the encounter of two lineages. The vertical symbols that they embody through rituals mark the different generations. In the case of slavery, these ruptures in the succession of

as Truth and Justice Commission

Reference 998 - 0.01% Coverage

Fear and Search for protection

In the traditional world, sense of self is borne and reinforced through communion with the exterior (L'Afrique symptôme, 2009). Social cohesion is pursued and valued in that it fosters self-esteem. In the case of slavery, identification mechanisms through lineage and community cannot operate, resulting in deterioration or destruction of identity, loss of reference and dysfunction of self. Threats and fear are generated, not only from the social system, causing deprivation of freedom, public as well as private rights. They are also produced by dislocations of the personality system itself, resulting in incapacity to think in terms of self-protection²⁶. Fear of threats from the outside, the occult or divine forces invades all sectors of life and challenges all logics for protection (Eve, 1992; Boswell, 2006). These irrational fears are destructive forces and all sorts of “arrangement”, implying affective, economic means are designed to counteract immediate or future threats. Instead of fighting against a system, energies are devoted to the search for protection, physical, emotional and spiritual.

The different generations of slave descendants have coped with these hardships, the first generation bearing the brunt of much distress, the second one with reactive behaviors to the shock encountered initially, and successive generations with more or less coping strategies to fend off the trauma of lost origins and loss in nothingness.

3) Importance of occult forces

Reference 999 - 0.01% Coverage

the definition of the person.

- All popular cultures, because they are produced in distressful living conditions have some “magical component”. In the context of slavery, this “pensée magique” is magnified by the destruction of ancestral origins, hence creating dualities and conflicts between needs rooted in the core personality and more objective elements.

Reversal into the opposite

Reversal

Reference 1000 - 0.01% Coverage

stigma of inferiority and resilience

We know from existing studies on slavery in Mauritius and elsewhere that the denial of human liberties stripped individuals of any sense of self-sufficiency, both physically and mentally. AntiAfrican prejudices and stigmatization have and still operate inter and intra-communities.

Still nowadays, among poor citizens of the Republic of Mauritius, stereotypes prevail on Creole communities, which stress their lack of ambition, a “certain philosophy of life” which reduces their chances of getting out of poverty²⁸. Collective support in distress cases among Indians, Muslims and

Chinese populations is a strong factor in providing basic elements for recovering sense of self-sufficiency and pride. But the sub-conscious doubts about one's legitimacy, sense of worth are destructive forces drawn from the coercive system of slavery.

The historical enforcement of a

Reference 1001 - 0.01% Coverage

threat of facing harsh reprisals, acceptance of lost opportunities for self-development and upward mobility, undermining efforts to achieve self-actualization. The psychological beatings experienced by many slaves have forced them to surrender silently to the forces of severe chastisement for those seeking self-improvement and freedom from the plantations. What is best known today is the legal and social structure which denies all rights to slaves.

We need to deepen our

Reference 1002 - 0.01% Coverage

rivals – inter- and intra-communities-

as for example, under the subtle social hierarchies slowly being set down between field-slaves v/s house-slaves, Truth and Justice Commission 703

VOL 3: PART III – CONSEQUENCES OF SLAVERY AND INDENTURE – THE PSYCHOLOGICAL SCAR OF SLAVERY ON DESCENDANTS

between slaves and Indian labourers²⁹. These hierarchies, as will be mentioned later, have been set up to foster dissension and ensure supreme rule over potential rebellions.

Negative mental conditioning was reinforced by their owners and much of the rest of white society, through harsh treatment, and brutal reprisals, for seeking any form of knowledge of themselves or the world at large. Men were stripped of any form of pride and or self-respect, by being humiliated in front of their families for any attempt at seeking any resemblance of justice. Women were often taken from their husbands and raped at their owner's discretion. This further diminished the male's sense of self-worth as well as the women's (Du Bois, 1903). Being forced to work without compensation dragged slave descendants further into the psychological quagmire of self-loathing and depression. It is generally accepted today that one of the most damaging aspects of the institution of slavery and oppression is the development of self-loathing, with people starting to believe that they deserve the treatment that they receive.

This sub-conscious inferiority complex

Reference 1003 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 704

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peers. In addition, over 50% of them expressed their feeling of inferiority to their European American counterparts. According to Latif and Latif (1994), slavery produced a psychic trauma for African Americans. Counselors have to assist

African Americans in recognizing some

Reference 1004 - 0.01% Coverage

studies done on trans-oceanic

slavery communities, have pointed out,

worldwide, a fragmented social identity through division within these communities. Two of the biggest dividers are economic status and skin. Lighter skinned slaves or labourers from India were given the most lucrative jobs within the slave community, such as working as servants within the slave-owners home, running errands outside of plantation grounds, usually better dressed and fed than those of darker skin. The masters boosted the ego of the lighterskinned slaves who in turn despised those working in the fields or as woodcutters, stone cutters, coming mainly from Mozambique (Moutou, 2003). Darker skinned slaves and those with more pronounced Negroid features would usually encounter more difficult living conditions on the plantation. Deemed to be the most inferior of the supposedly inferior race, treated as such, they were usually housed far from the plantation house, and in close proximity to the fields in which they were forced to work. They were given the most demanding jobs, the most basic living quarters, and the least appealing clothing. In consequence, the act of giving better treatment to the lighter skinned slaves served as a tool in which slave owners kept an element of dissension and strife among the slaves. This difference in treatment between the lighter skinned slaves and those of darker skin had tremendous psychological effects on slaves and free blacks years after the abolishment of slavery. The preference and status given to lighter skinned blacks had the effect of influencing the latter that they were indeed superior to the darker skinned blacks. In many instances, they would willingly inform their owners on the activities of the others. Rewards given to them for informing reinforced their loyalty to the slave owner and increased the distrust and disdain between the two groups of slaves. The repeated incidents of informing, reward, and punishment, created a psychosomatic cycle in which field workers and servants were continuously at odds with each other, thus making it easier for the slave owner to control the slave community.

To divide the community as

Reference 1005 - 0.01% Coverage

turn the hate inward. After

extended periods of mistreatment, dark skinned slaves, reaching psychological exhaustion began to accept the belief that they were inferior to the lighter skinned blacks, reinforcing an inferiority complex, which in turn affected their behavior towards other dark skinned slaves. Displaying an attitude of submissiveness towards the lighter skinned slaves, they would have no qualms about becoming informants, taking sides against other dark skinned slaves.

If these different social stratifications

Reference 1006 - 0.01% Coverage

who will become the “elite”

and those freed after 1835, i.e. the bulk of slave descendants, more importantly, economic competition after 1835

Reference 1007 - 0.01% Coverage

in the search of identity

Religion is a powerful reference system that moulds personality from early childhood. It permeates family and social values; their transmission is both informal and formal. Beliefs, core religious messages are translated into words, interiorized and transmitted according to cultures, both in terms of civilizations and

class cultures. In the case of slaves and their descendants, Christian faith encompasses all sorts of contradictions. With the intrinsic spiritual message, it had and still has to compose with the political and social - elite / popular -components.

5.1.2.1 Disqualification

Reference 1008 - 0.01% Coverage

traditions and freedom from alienation.

Almost all studies on slavery have pointed out the problematic rejection of core spiritual African/Malagasy beliefs and compulsion to cope with alien Christian faith (Nagapen, 1999; Moutou, 1996; Palmyre, 2007). Traces of these traditional beliefs are being slowly unveiled and rehabilitated as having inner logics and no longer considered as mere superstition. But this process, rehabilitation of popular culture within an “inculturation” approach, is new and needs to go further.

In comparison with Indian indentured labourers, who could practice their religious beliefs without encountering affective and cognitive dissonance, embracing an alien faith was for the slaves an enterprise of self-destruction, a denial of self, dissolving basic structuring of personality.

At the same time, the slavery system fostered fascination with what was dominant as system of reference. We should be able today to consider reasonably the havoc made in such conflicting inner situations, in the incapacity to share totally a single valued system of beliefs, giving sense and direction to one’s life. Once these beliefs destroyed and new ones internalized through coercion and obedience to authority, personalities can be border-line and 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 1009 - 0.01% Coverage

New forms of religious identity

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

Search of collective identity and

Reference 1010 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 707

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We are at a period of history where, everywhere, people renegotiate their multiple identities, at loss for new references. This process is transnational. What is specific in our case is that in addition to structural factors that compel to reassess ourselves, Creole communities feel somehow abandoned by the very institutions which represented and still represent their way out of despair. Institutional mediations are

thought to be too complex. In a world of disruptions at all levels, a more simple approach to religion and taking on board traditional beliefs captures the minds, affects and souls of new converts, disillusioned by traditional faith. The often utilitarian role of religion as provider of identity, social promotion and protection from the “mal”, in spite of shifts in the religious institutions, remains unchanged. We assist at the same overpowering influence of fear in the psyche of slave descendants.

Rites, pilgrimages, sanctuaries are coherent

Reference 1011 - 0.01% Coverage

jealousy and lack of solidarity

The psycho-social dynamics generated at the time of slavery have produced, as with black communities in the West Indies, Brazil or the USA, an «implosion» of Creole communities. Violence against the dominant system is repressed and transformed into violence against Self. (J.G. Leary, 2005).

Social competition and social comparison are dynamics inherent in any society, be it monocultural or multi-cultural, egalitarian or not. Social performances and positioning of social groups are closely linked to a sense of belonging and affiliating processes. These are related with sense of gratification, through concrete or symbolic gains or rewards, immediate or long term. Group or collective identification rests on contextual factors, tactics and strategies within a global social framework. Seeds of dissension, division, as mentioned earlier, have been deliberately sown at the period of slavery and after 1835, between the “ex-engagés” and “ex-apprentices” and are present still today, as we have seen in many studies, specially related with poverty. The following, however, can be observed:

5.2.1.1 Solidarity

Reference 1012 - 0.01% Coverage

survival: inter and intra generations

Solidarity, based on survival, as a value enacted already between slaves and “marrons”³⁶ shows itself through the following patterns:

- Grandparents taking care of young

Reference 1013 - 0.01% Coverage

and identification with “natural” leaders.

In several studies across countries, slave descendants have shown division and fragmentation in their social and political struggles. In the USA for example, until the recent election of President Obama, research has shown that within the black community, leaders were been put down by their own people. Two factors, according to scholars could explain such a rejection. The first one is that during slavery, slave leaders were either eliminated, isolated, killed, or ridiculed as "slave bodies with master heads." In other words, the leader was nothing more than the master's pawn. The second one is that in slavery, "the clown" was an essential tool for survival. Playing the clown saved slaves from feeling the wrath of their masters. Being entertaining was a coveted status because from nothingness, slaves could emerge in the master's favour. This identification process is still ongoing through comedy or entertainment rather than in the intellectual sphere. Funny and entertaining are attributes expected from role models, to such an extent that Black organizations are not only fragmented but have been reduced to the stereotype of "party and dine". Counter role models not confined to the entertaining stereotype and encompassing other skills than athletics are gradually rebuilding aspirations of younger generations, mitigating the dramatic effects of slavery on leadership.

Until this rebuilding is complete

Reference 1014 - 0.01% Coverage

project and reinforce within society.

This particular legacy from slavery time is a crucial issue. Uncovering the dynamics that have generated and maintained negative associations of slave descendants' organizations while fostering new ones is essential to liberate proper empowering forces from both inside and outside the community.

Empowerment of leaders within Creole communities therefore goes hand in hand with empowerment of the whole community, especially in the analysis of inherited associations and images of leaders and leadership. Significant others in the political, economic fields use this inherited weakness, and today as in the years of slavery, "congenital inferiority" implicitly underlies many social discourses and actions. This vicious circle has to be broken at the conscious or unconscious level. New symbols of leadership are necessary to instill ambitions, sustainable life projects which lift up individuals as well as the community. In a brief comparison within Asian communities (Indian, Muslim, Chinese) in Mauritius, their "natural" leaders have never been in such an "illegitimate" position as were slave leaders or "marrons" who could unite and provoke rebellion. Asian communities, in spite of intracommunity dissension or competition endorse their leaders; in return, based on this mutual contract, leaders have less intra-community fighting to deal with and can concentrate all their energies on group fundamental issues of social and political issues. Identity creation and claims are less problematic both at individual and collective levels.

5.2.2 Contrasting patterns

Reference 1015 - 0.01% Coverage

of caste, intelligence or education.

Less pressure towards assimilation in dominant Christian beliefs, rejection by slave descendants of Indian immigrants in the social competition for goods, services and esteem of the dominant led to a more unified identity. More collective day-to-day cooperation could be reinforced, since at source, no conflicting system of values and identification as in the case of slaves, acted as regressive forces to deter from social upward mobility.

Social competition to obtain the

Reference 1016 - 0.01% Coverage

the positioning of all parties.

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

Reference 1017 - 0.01% Coverage

shards of life strung together

Social ills in Mauritius cut across ethnic communities. The same structural causes (lack of financial means and education, unemployment, housing and promiscuity, etc.) are at the root of their production. However, in all field work, local and elsewhere, these combined causes have had deeper effects among slave descendants in that slavery, as most researchers agree on, has affected the family the most.

Truth and Justice Commission 712

Reference 1018 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 712

VOL 3: PART III – CONSEQUENCES OF SLAVERY AND INDENTURE – THE PSYCHOLOGICAL SCAR OF SLAVERY ON DESCENDANTS

The selective breeding of the biggest and strongest slaves was a profitable endeavor for the slave owner but devastated the slave family structure. It was a method that reinforced the idea that slaves were little more than human livestock, which were to be used and / or abused at their owners' whim. The psychological toil that the practice of selective breeding took on slaves is presumably immeasurable, and a valuable tool with which to wage psychological warfare against slaves. Due to selective breeding, some slaves were deprived of the right to develop monogamous family relationships. Through it, slaves could be forced to copulate with those that the master deemed suitable for breeding purposes, in order to ensure that he had a ready supply of strong able-bodied slaves to perform labor at the highest rate possible. Psychologically, selective breeding influenced slaves to believe that family relationships were of little value, and fostered insecurity and anxiety within the slave psyche concerning the stability of a family unit. Fornication and adultery were eventually seen as everyday facts of life, especially for the stronger slaves who were more likely forced to engage in the selective breeding process. Hatred and rivalry could develop between the stronger slaves and the weaker slaves. Weaker slaves would more than likely suffer severe psychological trauma, when and if their mates were forced to copulate with one or more of the stronger male slaves. They would invariably suffer from feelings of inadequacy due to their limited mate selection and/or copulation opportunities, while the stronger males would most likely take on the alpha male persona, and tend to dominate most aspects of slave community life. The struggle between the stronger and weaker males could lead to assaults, suicide, murder, thefts and nervous breakdowns. Nervous breakdowns would most likely occur in the weaker male slaves, due the psychological pressure of being dominated by the stronger males within the slave community, as well as the slave owners and white society as a whole.

Female slaves forced to copulate with the stronger males would also most likely suffer psychologically, especially in the area of self-esteem.

Single parent households of today

Reference 1019 - 0.01% Coverage

Missing fathers and lone mothers

Hegemonic forces of the slavery system, colonisation and post 1835 work policies affected slave descendant males more negatively through isolation and fewer resources to contribute positively to the acquisition of a respected status.

A man's identity is, in

Reference 1020 - 0.01% Coverage

of frustration within the individual.

The symptom of single headed families with the marked absence of the father and children from different partners is related, according to many authors, to the destruction of the role of the father during slavery. Since men could not do the basic things such as provide and protect his family, their role having been eliminated or disqualified, they have just stopped caring. They go from place to place having children and moving on to the next one. Today, precarious jobs, unemployment, rejection on the labour market increase

Reference 1021 - 0.01% Coverage

the labour market increase this

disqualification process. The mother's role was destroyed because, during slavery, a mother could not properly nurture and protect her children from the slave master. Now, slave descendants' women continue to have children at a young age, not knowing how to take care of them, hence perpetuating the cycle of the missing father and the lone mother. The

Truth and Justice Commission 713

Reference 1022 - 0.01% Coverage

do not match today's demands.

Without attributing undue importance "une détermination en dernière instance" to slavery as source of present family dislocations, we have to acknowledge that it contributed a lot to the disjointed quality of family relationships. Psycho-social Studies on memory and transmission of behavior patterns compel us to consider the impact of images, both explicit and subliminal, when they are anchored in a collective memory.

The psychological stress experienced by many slave descendants' males goes unnoticed by mainstream society until it manifests itself in the form of drug and alcohol abuse, domestic violence, psychosis, suicides, etc. The internal and external tension experienced also lead to health issues such as hypertension, cancer, and mental disorders, which only exasperate an already fragile condition.

Difficulties in finding their ways on the labour market add to a fragile ego, trying to exercise authority. Again, here it may be symptomatic that Male GP are almost one-third (31%) of all inmates with same ailment (87 out of 280). Cf. section on statistics.

Machismo is in part responsible

Reference 1023 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 714

VOL 3: PART III – CONSEQUENCES OF SLAVERY AND INDENTURE – THE PSYCHOLOGICAL SCAR OF SLAVERY ON DESCENDANTS

Risk behaviours leading to juvenile delinquency, gang formation, prostitution, early pregnancies (Lew-Fai, 1998, 1999) "we have nothing to lose", while constant in all poor and popular environments can be greater in scale and frequency because of a constellation of disruptions which have long been harboured from generation to generation. Ours is not a fatalistic approach. Nor is it one which lends to slavery all the origins of "malaise" or "mal être", poverty and associated social ills. It has been a traumatic event and we need sense of measure and will (Garland, 2002) to discern more carefully the added injury it has inflicted over years in order to re-establish self and collective pride, foster resilience among new generations of boys and girls that their dreams of "normality" may be fulfilled i.e. to leave the margins of society and not perpetuate life on its margins.

6. The Challenge

The successive

Reference 1024 - 0.01% Coverage

recombination of identity and society.

As long as slavery and the multiple trauma that it brought along are repressed and do not enter national social representations as symbolically significant and dynamic, social identity of slave descendants will remain in a vacuum, with no basic valued components to build upon

Reference 1025 - 0.01% Coverage

the whole of Mauritian society.

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

7. Recommendations for Empowering Mauritians

Reference 1026 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 715

VOL 3: PART III – CONSEQUENCES OF SLAVERY AND INDENTURE – THE PSYCHOLOGICAL SCAR OF SLAVERY ON DESCENDANTS

- To bring about change in feelings of shame and hurt through recomposition of inherited or internalized negative associations with slavery

7.2 Setting up of

Reference 1027 - 0.01% Coverage

common desires, aspirations and projects.

- To work with children on specific themes related to slavery and resilience - To offer to youngsters identity support programs, adapted to meet their needs and rituals on entering adulthood. Identity construction and healthier management of identity crisis would be ensured instead of transiting through gangs, delinquency, violence, misbehaviors

- To develop clear strategies which

Reference 1028 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 716

VOL 3: PART III – CONSEQUENCES OF SLAVERY AND INDENTURE – THE PSYCHOLOGICAL SCAR OF SLAVERY ON DESCENDANTS

7.5 Need to work on discriminations, stereotypes, internalization of negative images, building of self and group esteem - To have more research done on explicit or implicit structural discrimination and social stereotypes and prejudices affecting slave descendants

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To foster self and group

Reference 1029 - 0.01% Coverage

Creoles to • land and housing

- labour and its division from slavery, post 1835 for “ex-apprentices” in manual, semi-skilled and skilled work
- social and economic networks (from

Reference 1030 - 0.01% Coverage

poverty, a vector of social

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

The education team of the

Reference 1031 - 0.01% Coverage

amongst a number of other

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

In order to answer the

Reference 1032 - 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

Reference 1033 - 0.01% Coverage

particularly those of Creole background.

Whilst 'illiteracy' is no longer enforced as during the slave period, the former still prevails amongst a relatively important section of the population. Enforced illiteracy had several consequences such as: a lack of opportunity to acquire assets, dispossession of land, denial of political rights, and these impacted on future generations in multiple ways. But illiteracy is the result of a system failing the children. Children fail the Certificate of Primary Education (C.P.E) exams without having mastered the skills of reading and writing. Schooling in Mauritius has not favoured an oral culture, which is generally closely tied to the 'being' of the child. Working-class children, particularly those of slave descent, have experienced multiple forms of identity repression and denial, making it hard for them to connect to schools with middle-class values and ethos.

resources and, in some cases

Reference 1034 - 0.01% Coverage

deprived zones have

Prioritaire) important

conglomerations of families of both indentured and slave descent but the latter are more predominant.

Given the high failure rates, the State has opened up a number of pre-vocational classes/schools to cater for those who do not make it in the last year of primary schooling. The fact that Pre-vocational Education (PVE) schools capture large numbers of children from both slave and indenture descent, particularly those belonging to the working class, the education team also undertook a survey of the PVE schools to establish the extent to which these schools actually provide a second chance to the more deprived. The reality of the PVE School, however, is a sad one. The way in which education is organised and delivered shows that the emphasis is on access, with little concern, if at all, for equitable outcomes.

The debate on 'reparations' is a complex and a rather ethnicised one. Some segments of Mauritian society believe that the descendants of slaves have enough privileges and resources from the State and that there is no need for more, while others are of the view that the legacy of slavery is such that it demands reparation. Without the latter, peace and reconciliation will be threatened.

The methodology adopted for the

Reference 1035 - 0.01% Coverage

combination of both quantitative and

qualitative methods. Primary data was obtained through a survey of pre-vocational schools, and a voice was given to some of the main actors in the educational process, particularly the students of the pre-vocational sector, through the use of Focus Group Discussions (FGD). Plans, policy documents, newspaper cuttings, the Hansards, as well as some relevant hearings, were also used. In addition, the education team organised 2 major workshops – one on the theme of Consequences of slavery and indentured labour and their implications for contemporary Mauritius, the other on Consequences of

slavery and indentured labour – Social Justice, where former Ministers of Education gave their views on how the past has informed the present in the educational field.

Truth and Justice Commission 729

Reference 1036 - 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

Reference 1037 - 0.01% Coverage

enforced illiteracy', the non-inclusion

of an oral culture, the conditions in which the people of slave and indentured labour descent obtained education, the report emphasises the articulations between the past and the present. In so doing, it seeks to examine key questions such as what are the ingredients necessary to bring about durable peace and cohesion, give credence to national unity rather than simply talking about unity and remain divided. It will also explore the complexities associated with educational policymaking that make it so hard to move towards a genuine and true widening of opportunities for our children, while taking into consideration their multiple talents, their cultures and emotional intelligences. Whether Mauritian education has contributed to the emergence of a national identity and to Mauritianness is also a key question of concern and relevance to the education team.

Reconciliation is fundamental to the

Reference 1038 - 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 1039 - 0.01% Coverage

which History has informed contemporary

Mauritian education and the potential of the latter to constitute a tool of reparation, the education team has focussed on several dimensions of the Mauritian education system, whilst allowing the past to articulate with the present. The education team has also chosen to undertake a study of the prevocational sector in Mauritius so as to highlight how contemporary in-school processes speak to the persistent alienation of the children of slave and indentured descent, particularly those of the working class. The report is therefore built around the following outline:

- Introduction • Chapter 1: Broad Aims and Objectives of Education • Chapter 2: Methodology • Chapter 3: Slavery and Indentured Labour - Commonalities and Differences - the Broad Consequences of same on Education
- Chapter 4: Patterns of Exclusion

Reference 1040 - 0.01% Coverage

and the Focus Group Discussions.

highlighting the wounds and the injustices as well as how educational policies are shaped and formulated at different periods of time. Two workshops were also organised with a broad range of stakeholders, including some former Ministers of Education and a survey of the prevocational sector was undertaken as part of the research plan and methodology. Since the prevocational sector captures large segments of children of working class slave and indentured descent, it was deemed appropriate to target them for the study.

labour.

Chapter three examines the

Reference 1041 - 0.01% Coverage

them for the study.

labour.

Chapter three examines the commonalities and differences between slavery and indentured It argues that, whilst both constitute two important economic systems based on exploitation and oppression, slavery has had worse consequences with huge implications for the psyche of the individual. Slavery, which has been described as a ‘crime against humanity’, and ‘indentured labour’ show us the extent to which people emanating from these two groups have been deprived of certain fundamental Human Rights – including the right to education. More importantly, the impact and implications of these two systems on people’s identities and the disconnect that emerged between them as ‘beings’ and the larger system and sub-systems such as schooling are discussed.

Truth and Justice Commission 731

Reference 1042 - 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

Reference 1043 - 0.01% Coverage

shows how despite the fact that more resources have been pumped into the educational sector, the latter remains highly inequitable. Those who are most hit are the children of the disadvantaged groups, made up largely of children of Creole background. The chapter also examines the reasons behind the high rates of failure amongst the Creole children and thereby shows the articulations between their slave past and their contemporary plight.

Chapter six is the Case

Reference 1044 - 0.01% Coverage

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

Chapter eight is the concluding

Reference 1045 - 0.01% Coverage

also makes some recommendations. The argument is that for contemporary modern Mauritius to become a more cohesive and just society and unshackle itself from the downside of its slave and indenture past, it should rethink its education and educational policy-making. A number of recommendations are made in that direction. It is the collective responsibility of a wide range of stakeholders to ensure that these are implemented.

Truth and Justice Commission 732

Reference 1046 - 0.01% Coverage

times in the country's history but the way that education impacts on the different segments of society has been largely informed by the historical and socio-economic development of the country. In trying to analyse the consequences of slavery and indentured labour for education in Mauritius, one inevitably has to look at the way education was organised and delivered during the different historical periods.

1.2 The Right to

Reference 1047 - 0.01% Coverage

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 1048 - 0.01% Coverage

it captures a large number of children of slave and indentured descent) within a broad case study framework. Qualitative methods consisted of unstructured interviews and FGDs.

2.1 Primary and Secondary

Reference 1049 - 0.01% Coverage

as their themes "Consequences of Slavery and Indentured Labour and its implications for Contemporary Mauritius" and "Consequences of Slavery and Indentured Labour on Education in Contemporary Mauritius - Social Justice and Education". The second workshop brought some of the former Ministers of Education to the same platform and assisted the researchers with a further appreciation of how educational policy-making is arrived at and its implications for Mauritian society.

2.7 Research Ethics

One

Reference 1050 - 0.01% Coverage

TOOL FOR REPARATION CHAPTER THREE
THE SEQUELS OF SLAVERY AND INDENTURED LABOUR AND THEIR IMPACT ON THE
EDUCATION OF DESCENDANTS IN MAURITIUS

3.1 Introduction Slavery and indentured

labour are two distinctive oppressive

Reference 1051 - 0.01% Coverage

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

Reference 1052 - 0.01% Coverage

As Manning (2007, 16) states:

“The past is gone and will not return, yet it weighs on our lives today. It influences not only the facts of our existence but the interpretation we give to them. The work of historians, therefore, is not only to study the past itself, but to assess the legacy of the past. This second task of historians, the assessment of legacy, is made more complex by its dependence on both the past and the present. The case of slavery – the legacy it has passed on to succeeding generations – is a question not only of understanding past enslavement, but of understanding how the effects of past injustice linger in a world where slavery is condemned and largely eliminated.”

Talking today about the sequels or legacy of slavery and 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 past of slavery. Why do the descendants of slaves encounter obstacles to enjoying full citizenship in modern nations? Does slave ancestry provide a lasting stigma, passed on to subsequent generations? “These questions arise repeatedly, not only because of the specifics of slavery, but because slavery—the subjugation of people into abject submission before their owners—serves as a compelling metaphor for all the social problems of inequality and oppression.” (Manning 2007, 17). This explains why different oppressed groups, including many among the descendents of indentured labourers, compare the situation of their ancestors to that of slaves.

Nevertheless, it is crucial to

Reference 1053 - 0.01% Coverage

Commission not only to capture the similarities in conditions of work and living between the two groups, but also to acknowledge that there is an ontological difference, a difference of nature between slavery and indentured labour. Otherwise, the sequels of slavery and of indenture would not be assessed in a fair manner and the relevancy of the whole Black/Creole struggle for reparation would just be erased.

Truth and Justice Commission 737

Reference 1054 - 0.01% Coverage

AS A TOOL FOR REPARATION

3.2 Slavery and indentured Labour in Mauritius. Differences and commonalities. Presenting the differences and commonalities between slavery and indentured labour in table-form may help capture the main issues dealt with in this chapter. Slavery Indentured labour Presence or absence of contract

The fundamental difference between

The

Reference 1055 - 0.01% Coverage

contract

The fundamental difference between

The question of free-will and choice did not exist for slaves. The absence of any contract was a first indication of how their rights were being violated.

slavery and
indentured labour is that in

Reference 1056 - 0.01% Coverage

wages.

Procurement process and trade

The procurement process of slaves was through rapt in African countries and trade between Africans and Europeans. The slaves showed their freedom of choice by leaving their masters' estates at the risk of death (marooning), Le Morne being the symbol of that fight for freedom.

There was no contract or Protector at the start of the modern slave trade under the French period. Under British rule, Protectors (Thomas in 1829 following the Colebrook Commission, Jeremie in 1832) were sent to improve the conditions of slaves but could not enforce any measures due to the French colonists' resistance.

Slaves were violently uprooted from their countries of origin with no possibility of ever going back. The idea of a homeland or ancestral land was therefore lost forever.

Slaves brought to Isle de France came from various areas of Africa and spoke different languages which they could not keep in such adverse conditions. Their languages were repressed and lost. The Code Noir (1723) imposed the Catholic religion on all slaves as soon as they reached the island. The British enforced the same rule. Religion was a control mechanism tool and formed part of the "deculturalisation" process of slaves.

They came from different backgrounds

Reference 1057 - 0.01% Coverage

place of arrival, duly notified.

Protector of slaves and indentured labour

Many reports were written against

Reference 1058 - 0.01% Coverage

AS A TOOL FOR REPARATION

severed. Slaves were atomised and alienated, with strong implications for identity because the family, as the main cultural transmitter and socialising agent, did not exist, and this had a devastating impact on children of slaves and generations after them.

Slaves were considered as a mere workforce and were paid no wages or salary. No capital accumulation was

possible under the slave

system. This made land and any form of property acquisition very difficult even after Abolition, when slave owners were compensated and exslaves abandoned to poverty.

women to 100 men should

Reference 1059 - 0.01% Coverage

economic development.

Reification and control

Slavery denied the humanity of some human beings by reducing them to the status of ‘goods and chattels’ (Code Noir, art. 39)

to be sold,
traded, used

Reference 1060 - 0.01% Coverage

art. 39)

to be sold,

traded, used, thrown away or punished with mutilation and torture. A special Legal Code (Code Noir) controlled the minutiae of a slave’s life in all its aspects, and exercised coercion over his mind.

Slaves were considered a sub-human workforce, at the service of the owner’s economic power. These methods were still in force under British rule.

Property and land acquisition

Slaves

Reference 1061 - 0.01% Coverage

rule.

Property and land acquisition

Slaves could not own any form of property or inheritance (Code Noir, article 21). Under British rule, (1829, Ordinance 43, 23), they could buy land but only through their master and with his approval.

Indians became landowners during the

Reference 1062 - 0.01% Coverage

estate owners.

Human Rights Issue

Slaves were deprived of what are considered today 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 illiteracy on the descendants of slaves and indentured labourers

Many slave-holders deliberately imposed the “no education policy” as an enslavement tool

and, as such, vigorously enforced tactics designed to prevent slaves from learning to read and write and

deliberately kept them away from employment in services that involved writing. Slave-owners understood

and knew that “knowledge is power” and if slaves were to gain any form of knowledge they would start

contesting and challenging the system in place. As Paige and Witty (2003, 83) note: “ignorance was a

valuable control mechanism, many

illiteracy.” The latter has had many consequences for the slaves and in many ways; some of these

consequences impacted on subsequent generations.

3.3.1 Internalization of

Reference 1063 - 0.01% Coverage

Colonial Authorities. The latter also

imposed limiting their mobility. passes with affixed photographs slave-owners strictly enforced Truth and Justice Commission 739

VOL 3: PART IV – EDUCATION – EDUCATION AS A TOOL FOR REPARATION Slaves were made to believe that they were not intelligent and could not cope with academic studies. In order to

Reference 1064 - 0.01% Coverage

acquire formal and written knowledge.

3.3.2 No opportunity for acquisition of assets and asset-building Enforced illiteracy also cut off the opportunity for asset-building for slaves and many generations of poor Creoles after

Reference 1065 - 0.01% Coverage

and leaders from popular class

Creoles. This, in turn, prevented them from developing their own role models. The socially available models were always outside their own people, and they could not identify themselves with these models (White and Upper-class Creoles or 'Gens de couleur', and later on Indians and Muslims). Education is a powerful tool for the emergence of an organic elite and role models who might have given an impetus to the development of slave descendants.

3.3.4 Lack of social capital networks As the slaves were violently uprooted from their cultural, religious, ancestral and family capital and a new reality

Reference 1066 - 0.01% Coverage

impoverishment and low-class status.

3.3.5 Deprivation of political rights Last but not least, enforced illiteracy deprived slaves and their descendants of access to their political rights. The Mackenzie-Kennedy Constitution, of 1947, allowed all citizens aged 21 who were literate enough to write a few lines in any language, the right to vote. It was mostly Mauritians of Indian origin who could seize the opportunity and hence enjoy political emancipation, whereas slave descendants could not do so. This meant that the Creoles were largely deprived of the possibility for political mobilization and advancement of their conditions.

3.4 Socio-psychological impact of slavery Slavery is deeply embedded in the unconscious mind. Most historical studies rely on documents or interviews in which texts and written speech are analyzed. This is quite insufficient as written material was produced by the masters, while the human experience and reality of slavery were suffered by the victims and buried in the subconscious. It is that subconscious that must be tapped and brought to expression. It is there that lies the foundational Creole identity based on the slave trader complex and its master-slave relationship, as well as ancestral stories and the mediation of the reality of the Other. The slave system induced a problematic construction of identity in which the self is forced to deny itself (Benoist, 1996). The mimetic relationship with the master can bring the slave's own self-destruction as he violently denies part of his own self that recalls the master. The question of identity is always problematic.

Mauritian society was built on

Reference 1067 - 0.01% Coverage

have painfully reacted to that 'undignification' process by psychic postures born in a spirit of resistance. Creole subconscious arises from this first trauma, from this fragmentation, from the loss of the maternal languages and the desubjectivation process which were inherent to the slave system.

Truth and Justice Commission 740

Reference 1068 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 740

VOL 3: PART IV – EDUCATION – EDUCATION AS A TOOL FOR REPARATION In the study of the sequels of slavery, new concepts such as the "Post-Traumatic Slave Syndrome" (Crawford & DeGruy Leary, 2003) have been devised to address the physical and psychological health problems, self-destructive impulses, family and relational difficulties of slave descendants. From the experiences collected in the study and cure of victims of rape, war veterans, victims of heart-attacks, victims of natural disasters and serious accidents, researchers have forged the concept of "Post-traumatic Stress Syndrome" (PTSS). Multigenerational trauma is also known through experiences of human groups who have experienced genocides, mass persecution and massacres in history. Regarding slavery as the starting traumatic experience, the "Post-Traumatic Slave Syndrome" captures its devastating effects that have been internalized from generation to generation and continuously reinforced by systemic racism and discrimination on the social level. It means that slavery has consequences for all parties and for the whole of society sharing that history. One of the most important concepts linked to the slave status is shame. Shame fuels the behaviour of the descendants of slaves, the shame of oneself and the shame to live. Thus the PTSS reveals a social illness that cannot be healed only through the treatment of individuals or of a group. Mauritian society has built its social relationships and representations and maintained a system of injustice which perpetuates the initial trauma and demand collective healing. "The PTSS requires not only personal, mental, emotional and spiritual healing but social justice." There is no healing without the latter.

3.5 Socio-economic disempowerment

Reference 1069 - 0.01% Coverage

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

3.6 Indian presence before Abolition and Indentured labour Indians were present in the island since the Dutch 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 1070 - 0.01% Coverage

mass importation of indentured labourers

The Apprenticeship System was a tentative attempt to keep the 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 1071 - 0.01% Coverage

economic empowerment and social emancipation.

3.8 Slaves' and ex-slaves' identity construction and role of the Creole elite The Indians' difficult path is unique and quite different from that of slaves who were deprived of their assets from

Reference 1072 - 0.01% Coverage

of trans-ethnic Mauritian identity.

3.9 Different education paths / trajectories 3.9.1 Absence of mobility and persistent social injustice The paths of slave and indentured descents were different and depended on a large number of factors. Nevertheless, in post-Independence Mauritius, and the democratization of access to education, inequalities were revealed and even consolidated. Although poor children of indentured labourers also suffer from the system, the situation has developed in such a way that it is mainly generations of Creole children who have been, and still are, the victims of a series of decisions which go back to the slave period where the policy was to provide no education, and even enforce illiteracy as a means of control. The lack of economic resources and of political power, as well as their marginalization, caused by persistent social injustice, have disempowered Creoles even more, preventing them from achieving upward mobility.

The democratization of access to

Reference 1073 - 0.01% Coverage

implementation that would bring reparation.

3.10 Conclusion As a ‘crime against Humanity’ perpetrated in the past, slavery has contributed to the psycho-social reality of individuals and groups who experienced it, and it still has devastating effects today. The consequences or sequels of slavery are disorders persisting after the injury inflicted by slavery, and there is room for an analysis of

Reference 1074 - 0.01% Coverage

psycho-social reality of the descendants of slaves today and for opening up new tracks towards their individual and collective healing. Treated as marginalized citizens, the descendants of slaves are struggling for the recognition of their Human Rights, according to the different United Nations Conventions signed by the Mauritian State. Indentured labourers’ descendants have been

Reference 1075 - 0.01% Coverage

AS A TOOL FOR REPARATION

essential component and sets considerable knowledge of, and respect for, the cultures and spiritual values of different civilizations as a much-needed counterweight to a globalization of the world. If this is not urgently done, globalisation will reveal even more dramatically the inequalities of Mauritian society and paralyse it, as worldwide changes require new competencies and polyvalence on the labour market. This can polarize Mauritian society further and ethnic turmoil cannot be excluded. It is only through education, encompassed within a large vision of Mauritianness, that slave and indentured labour, descendants can finally unite within one Mauritian nation and make history.

Truth and Justice Commission 745

Reference 1076 - 0.01% Coverage

1975).

The Code Noir, whilst

insisting on the obligation for the slave masters to have their slaves baptised, did not, however, make any educational provisions for the slaves.

“The main concern of the

Reference 1077 - 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 1078 - 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 1079 - 0.01% Coverage

of British people settling in the country. As a result, there was no significant change in the composition of the population. With regard to the slave population, although the slave trade became illegal under British rule, real politics triumphed and early British colonisation

Reference 1080 - 0.01% Coverage

by a period of political positioning of the new colonizers than real concerns for the lots of the slaves. The 1814 Treaty of Paris awarded the island, together with the Seychelles and Rodrigues, to Britain. The Treaty allowed the residents the right to keep their property, to enjoy their own religion, and laws and customs prevailing before the conquest (Napal, 1984, p.2).

Truth and Justice Commission 747

Reference 1081 - 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 1082 - 0.02% 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 Education Fund or The aborted inclusion In 1827, under the pressure of British humanitarians, a slavery amelioration policy was adopted but the indulgence of early British Governors towards the opposition of the White planters contributed to the collapse of the implementation of the policy. The English planter Charles Telfair was the first to introduce education for slaves on his estate at Bel Ombre in 1829 (Quenette, 1982). The arrival of Thomas, a Protector of Slaves, in 1829 following the recommendation of the Colebrook Commission did not bring real improvement in the conditions of the slaves. Thomas met with strong resistance and defiance from the slave-owners. The hostile attitude of both the coloured people and the White against the new Protector, John Jeremie, in 1832 further demonstrates the deep aversion that prevailed against the Blacks.

Initial attempts at the inclusion of the slave population 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

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Reference 1083 - 0.01% Coverage

AS A TOOL FOR REPARATION

former slaves into 'an industrious peasantry' (Kalla, 1998), and not for mainstream education. The Mico Schools aimed at combining "religious instruction and moral training with the general enlightenment of the native mind."

The Mico Trustees entrusted the

Reference 1084 - 0.01% Coverage

education, as he also conducted

Sunday Schools with the study of the Bible. This was very much in line with what is called today "missionary literacy" (Pennycook, 2005), whereby reading and writing were made through the study of the Bible. However, not much could be achieved in terms of basic educational achievements for the slave population. The Negro Education Fund could then be considered as an aborted inclusion. Finally, it was the coloured population who benefited most from the schools of Lebrun and from other measures to improve the lot of the slaves (Teelock, 1998).

Quenette (1982) gives a thorough

Reference 1085 - 0.01% Coverage

of the coloured people who, after having benefitted much from Lebrun, would afterwards shift their allegiance to the Catholic Church. Lebrun invested much in the fight for the recognition of the rights of the coloured people. In fact, very few slave masters were in favour of sending the children of the slaves to Lebrun's schools, and access by the apprentices was quite limited. According to Quenette (1982), the threat represented by Rev Jean Lebrun forced both Anglican and Catholic Churches to become objective allies and they made it a common cause to close down Lebrun's schools. Thus, sectarian jealousies seriously impeded the progress of education amongst the slave population. But it was also a class struggle. The coloured people represented the emergence of a new middle class who aspired to education and social mobility. Soon, the coloured population allied itself with the White masters who had denied them access to the Royal College.

By 1842, the Parliamentary grant

Reference 1086 - 0.01% Coverage

the Mico Schools, was discontinued.

In 1843, the Mico Schools were handed over to the State. This led then to the need for an ordered system of education, and the focus was no longer on the education of the slaves but on the provision of education to all. This 'concern for all' led to the neglect of the specific educational needs of the slaves. The demise of the Mico Charity schools and the Negro Education Fund represents a real tragedy for the slave population because they disappeared just four years after the end of the Apprenticeship period (1839), at a time when former slaves needed education as a tool for social mobility. With the abolition of slavery and the end of Apprenticeship, a new economy emerged in which the ex-slaves were superseded by Indian indentured labour. This systemic change inevitably led to a 'systemic exclusion' of the former slave population. It provoked a change in the priorities of the British colonisers with regard to its subjects. Indian immigrants became the new subjects of His / Her Majesty.

4.5.4 Indian Immigrants

Reference 1087 - 0.01% Coverage

of school age attended school

because they had to work. In 1908, however, a Labour Act was passed, which raised the age from 10 to 13 years at which minors might enter into a written contract. With this provision, the establishment of more schools and the improving economic conditions of Indians paved the way for future advances in Indian education (Ramdoyal, 1977, p.89). The Indian children continued to go to vernacular schools, and progressively their defiance against English and French subsided. Moreover, an analysis of the role of the Catholic Church in its missionary education during the British period would help to understand better the mechanisms of exclusion of the slave and Indian immigrants.

4.5.6 The Catholic

Reference 1088 - 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 Church’s concern for the education of the slave descendants can also be explained by the deep-seated bias against Creoles of African and Malagasy origins. The Church structures are not immune from this black racism as its hierarchy and clergy have been dominantly White and descendants of slave masters. Its lay establishment has long been composed of middle-class Catholics who used to distinguish itself from the ‘Creoles’, who are debased and were often referred to as ‘nwar cholo’ (rough and rogue). Mgr Amedée Nagapen (1984) explains this as the rule of the ‘pigmentocratie’, based on the colour of the skin and which governs all social relations. Early forms of anti-black racism of the slavery days were in fact transformed into ‘anti-kreol racism’. Such forms of ostracism in society were obviously present in Catholic educational institutions, and even in other institutions or movements.

In 1856, an Ordinance was

Reference 1089 - 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 find 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 1090 - 0.01% Coverage

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 1091 - 0.01% Coverage

in the Church, mainly during awakening'. The slave descendants till then, did not have any form of social, political and cultural organisation. Sunday mass and other celebrations, and this could at least have been a platform for them. But Church structures did not provide Creoles with any form of social organisation where they could address the societal issues with which they had to grapple with. The creation of the Union Catholique in 1877 did address social issues, but this organisation acted mainly as a powerful lobbying group of the bourgeoisie and it played a key role in the preservation of the interests of Catholic schools. Education of slave descendants was not at all the concern of this organisation.

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Reference 1092 - 0.01% Coverage

education. Many benefited from the free tuitions given by middle-class Creole teachers. But no leadership emanating from the Creole people advocated the emancipation of the poorest. The Creole peasantry was destroyed at the time of emancipation. Very few managed to save, acquire and keep plots of land. The poor economic situation prolonged the day-to-day lifestyle that prevailed during slavery. For the poorest, education was not, and could not be, a priority. Everyday food had to be found and this was possible only through work. No economic or socio-cultural organization could support collective initiatives. The class-colour divide between Creoles played an important role in the marginalization of the poorest. While there were solidarity and support from first Indian immigrants towards the late-comers, this did not exist for the slave descendants in a highly hierarchical racist social organization which was the legacy of the French period.

4.6.2 Cultural Exclusion

Reference 1093 - 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 1094 - 0.01% Coverage

greatest handicap to successful education.”

Today, children of slave and Indian immigrants’ descent are still deprived of a mothertongue based curriculum. This situation explains persistent class inequalities in our educational system.

English has been kept as

Reference 1095 - 0.01% Coverage

is a foreign language for

the majority of Mauritians. In fact, it is a key element in reproducing social inequality (ADEA Report, 2005). We also consider that the exclusion of Mauritian Kreol as a medium of instruction in our educational system, by the time that it has emerged as the lingua franca of all slaves and indentured labour descendants, has caused great prejudice to the Mauritian child. The harm is still being done. It has been much more pronounced for children of slave descent who represent a majority of the working class and the down-trodden.

Truth and Justice Commission 753

Reference 1096 - 0.01% Coverage

recognition of Mauritian Kreol at

national level since Independence. It is now being introduced as an optional language in primary schools. In spite of the benefits, in terms of cultural reparation for children of slave and indentured labour descents, yet, it is too premature to assess what would be the significance of this measure. Given that Mauritian Kreol is still not introduced as a medium of instruction, it still does not enhance the democratisation of our educational system.

4.7 CONCLUSION Hence, the

Reference 1097 - 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

Reference 1098 - 0.01% Coverage

to promote Technical and Vocational

Educational after the World Bank launched a 'new' educational policy with a strong vocational content (World Bank, 1974). A number of projects were financed by the World Bank, but the end of the 1971–1975 Plan, Vocational education had not achieved the desired results, namely to reduce unemployment. Critics went as far as to say that Vocational Education did not even get off the ground, in spite of the Government's effort. The question of Pre-Vocational Education constitutes an important element of this study since it is a platform that caters for large numbers of disadvantaged children of slave and indentured descent.

The fifth objective has little

Reference 1099 - 0.01% Coverage

free but very often the

poor cannot afford private tuition, which impacts on their performance. In a system where reward and recognition are largely based on academic performance, working-class children of slave and indentured descent have very little chance to succeed.

Mr. N. Virasawmy, Parliamentarian, in

Reference 1100 - 0.01% Coverage

had unintended benefits for the

Mauritian population, e.g. for the poor, particularly girls and women (Bunwaree, 2005). Those who would not have been able to afford education manage to send their children to school. This provoked a big generational shift for some segments of Mauritian society. Education has therefore been an important tool of mobility for some. But the question that needs to be posed are: how and why have working-class children of slave descent been able to benefit to the same extent as working-class children of indenture descent?

While a number of Universities

Reference 1101 - 0.01% Coverage

is undertaken. While children of

the working class are the ones who constitute the bulk of those who fail, the vast majority of them are Creoles. How can one speak of a just and cohesive society when so many young people are pushed to the margins of society, with futures unplanned? The situation of the Creole children failing has not changed much over the years. The situation seems to be rather alarming in some localities. The District of Black River is a case in point and largely inhabited by slave descendants. Since 1982, attention has been drawn to the plight of children in Black River, but the situation has changed very little over the years, as reflected by the high failure rates at C.P.E. in Black River. A Parliamentarian intervening in 1982 had the following to say: "Les enseignants et le maître d'école de Case Noyale RCA leur a demandé. Là, ils m'ont raconté le drame des enfants de Rivière Noire. A leur avis, les élèves ne sont pas intéressés aux sujets académiques enseignés à cause du programme de C.P.E. qui est très chargé et aussi, peut-être, à cause de la présente méthode d'enseignement. Ils ont suggéré que des écoles techniques, des écoles pratiques, soient mises sur pied et qu'on adopte une méthode d'enseignement spéciale pour les enfants — les fils de pêcheurs et de laboureurs — qui vivent une vie tout-à-fait différente des autres Mauriciens. A travers cette rencontre, M. le Président, j'ai appris beaucoup de choses. Il y a un fort pourcentage d'absentéisme de la part des élèves, car beaucoup vont à la pêche ou dans les bois pour chercher du fourrage ou faire du charbon en compagnie de leurs parents, pendant les heures de classe. Ils ne comprennent pas la nécessité

de l'instruction. Figurez-vous aussi, M. le Président, que beaucoup de ces élèves sont déjà ivres le matin, en entrant dans la salle

Truth and Justice Commission 761

Reference 1102 - 0.01% Coverage

the Government as poverty zones.

Poverty zones are not inhabited by people of slave descent only. Some descendants of indentured labour, particularly those of the working class, also inhabit the poor neighbourhoods. Social dislocation such as prostitution, high rates of teenage pregnancy, alcoholism, high level of unemployment, often compound the problems of the poor. In these conditions, poverty becomes more complex and no doubt affects the school performance of children living in the deprived zones. The map below shows the poor performing schools, located in the deprived zones.

5.11 Decentralisation of Universities

Reference 1103 - 0.01% Coverage

decentralisation of Universities, with the

view of democratising education further, but those who fail C.P.E will not be able to aspire to attending those Universities. While those new Universities have already been ear-marked and there may well be certain deprived zones (as per the list above) not too far away from the sites, the poor children of slave and indenture descent will still not be able to access the Tertiary Sector. Admitting students to Institutions of Higher Learning in Mauritius requires that they satisfy certain criteria and passes in Higher School Certificate, but many young people of Creole background are already out of the system at a much earlier level of the schooling system and therefore have no chance of making it to University.

Democratising Education requires an understanding

Reference 1104 - 0.01% Coverage

part of its vision of

Education but families of slave and indenture descent, particularly those who are poor and also continue to suffer from social dislocations and poverty-linked pathologies mentioned earlier, will hardly ever be able to fit into the above vision. The system fails them at a rather young age, and they may not even be able to dream of being at a University.

It is true that the

Reference 1105 - 0.01% Coverage

efforts towards greater democratisation by

building more schools and making transport free for all students, but if democratisation is to be more meaningful, there needs to be a fundamental reform of the system. This reform has become even more urgent, now that the country is aspiring to become a Knowledge Intensive Economy, with greater emphasis on the mental rather than on the manual. Emerging sectors of the economy demand new skills and aptitudes which only a few possess. Addressing the mismatch between the products of the Education Sector and the labour market requires that policies directly relevant to the children and youth of disadvantaged groups, particularly those of slave descent, should be borne in mind. In other words,

policies speaking to equitable education, allowing for the utilisation of the full potential of the child and allowing for a more just society, should be urgently developed and implemented.

Truth and Justice Commission 763

Reference 1106 - 0.01% Coverage

failed C.P.E twice.

This failure represents many of the injustices of the system. The reasons of why children fail have been established in the previous chapter. PVE is supposed to offer a second chance for children from the disadvantaged segments of Mauritian society, the vast majority of whom being of slave descent.

6.1 The Nature of

Reference 1107 - 0.01% Coverage

equipped to teach children from disadvantaged backgrounds, particularly those of slave descent and indentured labour descent attending the PVE.

(2) To assess whether in

Reference 1108 - 0.01% Coverage

of students/ the perceptions of

slavery and indentured labour; the experiences of primary schooling; what prevoc is doing for them, the aspirations and expectation; the knowledge of what generally happens to students who leave prevoc; the understanding of the notion of (i) citizenship (ii) being a patriot and patriotism and (iii) 'Ile durable'; the views on the use of Creole as a medium of instruction and as a fully-fledged language to be introduced in the school; parents' involvement in the education of their children, reading and reading habits; curriculum at prevoc and subjects the students can study.

Before presenting the findings of

Reference 1109 - 0.01% Coverage

working-class backgrounds, often those

not having the 'habitus' and 'ethos' required by the school. Children of slave descent are disproportionately present within this group; this highlights the fact that the chances for disadvantaged Creole children to be upwardly mobile remain very slim. Can contemporary Mauritian Education bring some kind of reparations? Is the PVE Sector helping to remedy some of the problems and assisting in the empowerment of the child?

6.6 Findings from FGDs: Giving a voice to children of slave and indentured descent

FGDs were carried out with

Reference 1110 - 0.01% Coverage

far corner of the classroom.

FGDs and other interviews assisted in obtaining some kind of triangulation. A summary of the responses to each FGD theme has been made below: 6.6.1 Identity of students/ the perceptions of slavery and indentured labour Many students described themselves as Creoles or Indians. Some of the Creole children called themselves Catholic but very few could actually connect with their slave or indentured past. Creole students reported that certain 'pejorative' (sometimes seen as racist) terms were used by other non-Creole groups in describing and/or addressing them.

Truth and Justice Commission 766

Reference 1111 - 0.01% Coverage

encounters and the production or reproduction of similarities and difference, as those who move or who are moved always tend to position themselves or be positioned in relation to those they meet. Slaves were not only moved; they were uprooted and this uprooting has had several consequences, the most important one perhaps being the loss of traditions and cultures, one's heritage and identity, as already discussed earlier. The Indian indentured labourers were also moved but there was an element of choice here; they may have been pushed by some harsh circumstances but the final decision was theirs. There was some space for 'free choice and decision-making' in their movement, and this forms the basis of some of the differences that exist between these 2 systems, and which have been discussed earlier.

Cultures, with the power to

Reference 1112 - 0.01% Coverage

of reparation for the descendants of slaves arose out of the 'malaise Créole', referred to earlier. This malaise is itself a legacy of slavery and the neglect of Creole community by the State in the post-Independence period. Discussing the notion of reparations and compensation in Mauritius can have some kind of ethnic connotations; it is often perceived as the Creole community asking for more. Accompanying that is the stereotyping that goes with it, basically suggesting that the Creole community spends most of the time merry-making and do not work hard enough. An article which featured in the Mauritius Times of 26 February 2004 notes: "There is no case for compensation at all. The descendants of slaves have received more than whatever compensation is now being requested for. Since the days of SSR, they have been receiving all sorts of privileges; for e.g low-cost housing and the various funds that have been established to dish out all manner of assistance to them. The present government and its predecessor have established the Fishermen welfare fund, a 'nou dibou ensam', different micro credits, and provided assistance to sand diggers, ZEP (Zone d'Education Prioritaire' and set up other funds. Has any accountant ever calculated the enormous amount of money making up these funds and the assistance? This should be sufficient enough in terms of compensation and reparations."

Truth and Justice Commission 771

Reference 1113 - 0.01% Coverage

that look at community development [...]"

7.3 Education as an asset for social, economic and cultural empowerment Those made voiceless, powerless, assetless and futureless by slavery and indentured labour should look upon Education as

Reference 1114 - 0.01% Coverage

assets of modern times. Reparations within the world of education can revalorize the identity of the person, can make him or her upwardly mobile, can give him/her tools and knowledge to integrate the economy, in short can empower the descendants of slaves culturally, economically and socially.

7.4 The Pertinence of

Reference 1115 - 0.01% Coverage

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

While the Mauritius Truth and

Reference 1116 - 0.01% Coverage

been asked to look into the consequences of both slavery and indentured labour on Education, the Education Team's findings point clearly to the fact that people of slave descent have been more exploited than descendants of the indenture labour and continue to remain more marginalized and discriminated against than other group. The fact that ethnicity is

Reference 1117 - 0.01% Coverage

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 1118 - 0.01% Coverage

and cultural injustice, the discriminatory

practices and prejudices that children of slave descent have to face in the schooling system. They see this as largely responsible for the students' failures and exclusion. Some people of indentured descent also deponed, but there was very little connection made to the education question.

A number of deponents of slave descent have also evoked the high failure rates of children at C.P.E. level

Reference 1119 - 0.01% Coverage

they will make most progress... .

Only some of the hearings have been selected. But it is clear that they all highlight the gross injustices that poor children of slave descent face within and outside the educational system.

Truth and Justice Commission 773

Reference 1120 - 0.01% Coverage

the stories unfolding from the

data obtained, it is important to understand that Education will only be able to constitute a tool for reparation if a multi-pronged approach is used. The latter will draw from symbolic action, Affirmative Action and institutional re-engineering to bring about transformation. While the next chapter details out the recommendations proposed by the Education Team towards reparation, it is important to note that the Education Team is of the opinion that the injustices and violations of rights associated with slavery and indentured labour cannot be monetized and therefore proposes the setting up of some kind of fund from which resources can be obtained to implement the recommendations proposed.

Truth and Justice Commission 774

Reference 1121 - 0.01% Coverage

haunt a society, it is

important that those who have been responsible in some way or other, directly or indirectly present, an apology to the victims. It is therefore important that the Church, the State and the Corporate World present an apology to the descendants of slaves and indentured labour. This, though symbolical, can contribute to addressing wounds which run deep and can facilitate the healing process.

2. The Creole Language, Politics

Reference 1122 - 0.01% Coverage

and social justice, albeit indirectly.

8. Revisit Teacher Recruitment and the Need for Innovative Teacher Training- (needs to be more relevant to slavery and indentured labour)

These would be the greatest

Reference 1123 - 0.01% Coverage

realities of the local context.

9. Turn the PVES into NEW ACADEMIES. Optimising on the Creative Potential of Mauritian Youth (needs to be more relevant to slavery and indentured labour)

It will be necessary to

Reference 1124 - 0.01% Coverage

half of the Twentieth Century.

From the time of the French occupation of the island of Mauritius, the trend was to give privileges to the higher classes and to those affiliated to the Christian Church. No one cared about the humble and poor people who were brought in mostly to work in the sugar cane fields. Indian immigration, which started even before the abolition of slavery, reached its peak in the middle of the nineteenth century, so much so that they soon formed the majority of the population on the island.

Literacy, education and such academic developments were meant only for the privileged classes. During the nineteenth Century and the first part of the twentieth Century, there was absolutely no question of promoting the welfare and advancement of the descendants of slaves and later of the Indian immigrants.

And the divide between Christians and non Christians was too wide a gap which, at a later stage, caused the non Christians to rise against the injustices caused to them. They were unfortunate enough because culturally they did not belong, were meant to be kept apart and to be ignored except as labourers.

Once the Indians settled on the island, they set up their own social network of baitkas, evening schools and language tuition as well as madrassa for the Muslims. That was part of their culture. They did not wait for the Government to educate their young ones. Descendants of slaves had come under the influence of the Catholic Church. They were taught that their duty was manual work and obedience to the privileged classes. God had to be obeyed and it was the will of God that they spend their lives serving their masters.

EDUCATING THE DESCENDANTS The second

Reference 1125 - 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, and between 1642 and 1835 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 than 75% of the island's population between the 1730s and the 1820s, information about most aspects of slave life remains sketchy, especially during the 18th century, but relatively more information became available for the indentured labourers under the British administration. However, available information on food rations, diet and nutritional deficiency diseases was usually incomplete and sketchy. Moreover, during the 18th and 19th centuries, not much was known about food and its relationship to health and disease. However, the nutritional requirements of slaves and indentured in the 18th and 19th centuries, were similar to what people require today, and they too needed a balanced diet (Allen 1999).

The owners most probably knew

Reference 1126 - 0.01% Coverage

their field workers, and therefore their own profit, were related to their workers' diet, but they knew nothing of basic nutrition. Few people at that time understood what vitamins were and their connection to diseases. Hardly any slave owners knew how to create a balanced diet with appropriate amounts of nutrients. It should be noted, though, that slaves relied almost totally on their owners for their food provisions, whereas indentured labourers were given a food ration plus a basic wage. Some slaves and indentured could sometimes supplement their diet with food from provision grounds, fishing or gathering wild vegetables and fruits, although both groups frequently complained of inadequate or irregular food rations provided by the owners (Boodhoo 2010, Teelock 1998).

The nutrition of slaves and indentured will be described and analysed under the following headings: (i) Food supplies and consumption and dietary pattern; (ii) Malnutrition and nutritional deficiencies; (iii) Alcohol consumption, and (iv) Nutrition and Health Education. Regarding food supplies and consumption and dietary pattern, the information will be presented under the following periods; (i) Slavery during the French period; (ii) Slavery during the British period, (iii) Indentured 1835-1900, and (iv) The 20th century. Regarding the other sections

Reference 1127 - 0.01% Coverage

imported from India and Madagascar.

Le Code Noir (or the Black Code) of 1685 enjoined slave-owners to provide food to their slaves as follows:

- Slaves aged 10 years and above: every week 2½ 'pots, mesure de Paris' of manioc flour or three cassava roots weighing at least 2½ pounds each, or equivalent foods, with 2 pounds of salted beef or 3 pounds of fish, or other foods in similar proportion. Provision of alcoholic drinks to slaves for subsistence was prohibited.
- Children from weaning age to

Reference 1128 - 0.01% Coverage

500 kcal for children) was definitely inadequate to meet the total daily needs of the slaves who therefore had to produce or look for additional foods to supplement their rations. In fact, the land grants in the French period stipulated that one third of the land had to be planted in provisions for slaves (Teelock 1998). The fact that Le Code Noir contained clauses related to punishments for stealing food products and animals suggests that the foods rations were insufficient and that slaves had to steal for their subsistence. However, the stipulations of the Code Noir were rarely respected (Fokeer 1922).

The revised Code Noir of

Reference 1129 - 0.01% Coverage

France and Isle Bourbon in

1735, there were 2,760 inhabitants on the island, including 1,448 slaves. When he left the Island in 1746, there were 3,000 whites, 600 Indian immigrants and coloured, and 14,400 slaves (Filliot 1974).

During the French occupation, Mascarene

Reference 1130 - 0.01% Coverage

than agricultural interests (Allen 1999).

Diet of slaves

Slaves were generally fed on high carbohydrate foods like manioc, sweet potatoes and maize, and for protein foods, they relied on lagoon fishing for fish, and some raised livestock for animal produce.

According to Bernardin de St. Pierre, slaves were given 3 lbs of manioc daily (about 2,000 Kcal, negligible protein) or 2 lbs of maize (3,500 Kcal, moderate in protein).

Usually the slaves

started work at day-break with only a meal of boiled maize or manioc cake. After having laboured the whole day, the slave was obliged to search for his food in the woods and lived on unwholesome roots.

White inhabitants did not eat maize or manioc, giving it instead to slaves, cattle and poultry (Filliot 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 until the British conquest as follows:- 1735: 648 slaves,

1767: 15,207 slaves, 1787: 33,382 slaves, 1807: 65,367 slaves. In 1807, there were also 6,489 Whites and 5,912 free coloured inhabitants (See Chapter on "Disease Pattern").

2.2 Slavery during the British Period (1810-1835) The formal incorporation of Mauritius into the British Empire in 1810 brought an end to the

island's role as an important

Reference 1131 - 0.01% Coverage

was under way (Allen 1999).

The local slave regime was, by many accounts, a rigorous one marked by high rates of mortality; it was also a regime which apparently became more oppressive as the cultivation of

Truth and Justice Commission 807

Reference 1132 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 807

sugar spread, the aim of the colonists being "to extract from the slave the utmost possible amount of labour" (Allen 1999).

2.2.1 Sea voyage During their long ship voyages from the African coast to Mauritius, 30-40 days, slaves were

fed on rice or maize

Reference 1133 - 0.01% Coverage

caused huge mortality (Baker 1996).

2.2.2 Food production and food supplies to slaves Food imports Although prior to the Indian immigration in 1834, the French and African populations lived partially on locally produced wheat, maize, potatoes, beef, pork goat and milk (Wilson 1946), the shift to a single cash crop economy was accompanied by much increased imports of rice and wheat from Madagascar, India, South Africa and other countries. Even so, the massive contraction of land producing any other crop than sugar cane must have severely limited the variety of foods eaten by slaves, thus reducing the quality of their diet (Baker 1996).

Food supplies to slaves The British administration took a keen interest to ensure the slave food provisions.

food habits continued on from

Reference 1134 - 0.01% Coverage

on from the 18th century.

slaves were used: i. Distribution of rations every day or every week;

ii. Allocation of a plot of land (prescribed by Law) to slaves for cultivation of staples (this dated from the French period);

iii. Slaves were permitted to farm individual plots of land and grow their own provisions and rear cattle and poultry.

None of these could actually ensure an adequate supply and variety of food to slaves.

Owners who preferred to distribute

Reference 1135 - 0.01% Coverage

this was sufficient. (Teelock 1998).

A 70-kg. male slave working on a rice plantation is estimated to expend about 4,400 kcal during an “easy day” of repair work and 8,700 kcal on a “hard day” during the harvest, making an average energy expenditure of 5,500 kcal over the year in order to maintain the slave’s body weight and strength (Blogen 2004). So, if we suppose that a male adult slave in Mauritius weighing 60 kg., he would need between 3,800 to 7,500 kcal per day with an average of 4,700 kcal. It is known that work on the sugar plantations was more intense compared to other cultivations. The duration and amount of labour required by each slave varied with the season; hence, the slaves’ energy expenditure also changed with seasons.

Therefore, the rations provided were barely sufficient and slaves had to produce, steal or gather in the wild, foods to supplement their rations. The task system allowed time to slaves who finished early and still had the strength; they were able to attend to personal tasks like gardening, fishing or gathering wild foods to add supplemental foods to their diets; however, the system was unfair to the weaker or older slaves. But there is no evidence of the types and amounts of those supplemental foods. This supplementation allowed the slaves a more varied diet than just the rationed food they were given (Blogen 2004).

Despite the variety of methods employed to provide food for slaves, their diet was nutritionally inadequate: the aim was to barely cover the caloric needs but the diet was inadequate

Truth and Justice Commission 808 Slave The following systems of food procurement for in protein (especially if they

Reference 1136 - 0.01% Coverage

collect wild fruits and vegetables).

Changes in diet 1810-1833 The staples of the slave diet were rice, mainly imported from India, and loaves or cakes

made from the locally-grown

Reference 1137 - 0.01% Coverage

to supply maize, which had

been displaced as the main local food crop when manioc was introduced by Labourdonnais. Potatoes were also a common item but green vegetables only rarely supplied. Protein was occasionally available in the form of salted meat or fish but infrequently enough to be regarded as a special treat. Typical festive provisions for New Year's day were a bowl of salt, three bowls of rice, a little meat and a glass of 'arrack' for each slave. Rice and maize were the two principal food items in the slave diet. The sheer monotony of the diet was indeed the commonest impression at that time. The manioc cake was quite unpalatable and had to be gulped down by drinking large quantities of water (Anti-Slavery Reporter 1831, Baker 1996, Telfair 1830).

With all its minor variations, the diet of slaves seriously threatened their physical well-being. The slave diet was deficient in the calories necessary for physical labour, in protein needed to rebuild and repair body tissues and in vitamins to ward off infections and deficiency diseases. If the slaves' diet ever approached adequate standards for maintaining health and sustaining hard labour, it was through their own efforts rather than through their masters' indulgence. Protein was much more likely to come from fishing or from livestock such as pigs and fowls reared in their own time, than from their masters' food allowances. Green vegetables which they grew themselves were the likeliest sources of vitamins and other nutrients (Baker 1996).

Manioc cakes were less nutritious

Reference 1138 - 0.01% Coverage

an 'epidemic' scale (Baker 1996).

Food rations Food provision to slaves consisted of maize, rice, manioc, sweet potatoes and was distributed by owners according to their availability. Food rations were normally distributed to slaves on a daily or weekly basis. The 2 lbs of maize given in the 'French' period were converted by the British as being equivalent to 5 lbs of manioc or 30 ounces of prepared manioc, or 5 lbs of sweet potato (patate) which was not available in the rainy season between October and February. When these were not available, it was substituted by 1½ lbs of rice. On some estates, rations would be distributed straight after work in the evenings, so that slaves could begin preparing dinner. Sundays were also ration days. This daily ration provided 2,500 to 3,500 kcal of high bulk and high carbohydrate food; while maize and rice contained moderate amounts of protein, manioc had negligible amounts. Therefore, the slaves had to supplement their diet with other foods (protein, vegetables and fruits) by their own means. Telfair claimed he provided each slave with 600 pounds of rice or 1,000 pounds of maize per year, i.e. equivalent to 3,000 to 5,000 kcal per day, apart from vegetables, yams, cambards, sweet potatoes, and groundnuts grown on his estate. But the slave ration consisting of only 1.25 pounds of maize or 3 pounds of manioc was also reported by Governor Cole in 1825 (Allen 1999, Teelock 1998, Telfair 1830).

Rice was given when other

Reference 1139 - 0.01% Coverage

estates, rice was given once

a week on Sundays, while on weekdays, they were fed manioc. Aside from manioc, slaves received half a herring and 1 lb of salt every Sunday. Disputes with owners occurred over the measurement of rations, with complaints being lodged about smaller measures being used (Teelock 1998, Boodhoo 2010).

On large plantations, slaves also received salt, 2 ounces of salted fish or meat

(occasionally) and a cup of 'arrack'. On some estates, slaves could take as much cane juice as they liked.

Women who were nursing were fed from 'the master's table' for 2-3 months.

Slaves also

grew their own provisions: brède (greens) while those in forest estates could hunt for the tandrac

(hedgehog). Coastal estates had many slaves employed as fishermen and others picking 'bambaras' ('sea slug') (Teelock 1998).

Truth and Justice Commission 809

Reference 1140 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 809

If food supplies to slaves on small estates were deficient, it was felt that this was Some slaves had access to provision grounds, while others

compensated for by the less

Reference 1141 - 0.01% Coverage

estate land for planting food

provisions for slaves was not widespread and many estates were in a state of abandon. Sugar cane became more popular and profitable and because of the labour shortage, slaves were not allocated to subsistence crops that would not yield revenue. Between 1808 and 1830, land devoted to sugar production more than quadrupled to 11% of the island surface area and over the same period, the area of cultivation of manioc or cassava (a staple of the slave diet) had been more than halved. Far more spectacularly, the area under cultivation of the various grain crops almost disappeared. Therefore, when required, sugar estate owners bought food supplies from Government or small estates to feed their slaves (Baker 1996, Teelock 1998).

Between a third and a

Reference 1142 - 0.01% Coverage

and the rest in other

cash crops (cloves and coffee) or food crops (manioc, maize, sweet potato) or animal farming (cattle, pig, poultry) or covered with forest. Food crops were probably planted by able slaves, after the sugar harvest, with the weak slaves employed in cattle and poultry farming (Teelock 1998).

Supplementing the food ration of slaves A feature that developed in later years of slavery was the practice of providing slaves on

sugar estates with individual plots to farm for their own provisions to supplement their food rations. The slaves produced mainly root crops (high in carbohydrate) and some vegetables, but the type and amount of food produced varied widely from estate to estate. Other slaves fished, hunted or simply gathered wild fruits and vegetables: brèdes (greens) which grew in abundance all over the island. Therefore, slaves had traditionally supplemented the rations given by the owner by procuring their own food through a variety of means. A Civil Commissary observed that the quality of food was good by looking at the 'state of the slaves' (Teelock 1998).

A wide variety of some

Reference 1143 - 0.01% Coverage

Island but it is not

known whether slaves, in fact, enjoyed the same variety in their diet on a regular basis (Telfair 1830, Baker 1996).

The smallest estates produced only what was necessary for subsistence. The living conditions of the slave and owner were not vastly different and many of the owners were themselves destitute and could not feed slaves. In smaller estates that have enough land, it was common practice to allow slaves as much as they liked. However, there were wide differences in the amount and variety of food available between, and within, sugar producing districts, as well as between large and small estates (Teelock 1998).

On the sugar estates, slaves were allowed to consume sugar cane and sugar, adding considerable calories to their diet. So, despite their heavy work, they were reported to appear 'well-nourished'. On some estates, slaves freely drank molasses and cane juice with a marked increase in their calorie intake, as carbohydrate-rich sugar provides considerable energy (Teelock 1998).

Women and children Males outnumbered females and only a small proportion of adult slaves lived in family

groups, while the majority was single-parent, overwhelmingly female headed. Slave women faced immense difficulties to be able to care for, or even feed, their young children. Slave women often complained of ill-treatment, sexual exploitation, were obliged to work unduly hours despite having young children to care. And the insecurity of women necessarily increased the vulnerability of children and the impermanence of family life. If babies suffered from inadequate maternal care, they did not remain babies for long. As children, they soon faced directly the mistreatment (e.g. they were put in chains, flogged) which had made maternal care so difficult. Clearly, the nature of

Truth and Justice Commission 810

Reference 1144 - 0.01% Coverage

to their masters (Baker 1996).

Slaves were provided mainly with starchy foods in their rations. But if meat became available, plantation labourers were first

Reference 1145 - 0.01% Coverage

nutrition for growth (Teelock 1998).

Slave women had to carry out their domestic tasks in addition to their agricultural work.

Based on a study in

Reference 1146 - 0.01% Coverage

often done away with altogether.

supplied cooked food and other uncooked food to reduce the time allowed for meal break so that slaves would not waste time preparing it, although the slaves would have preferred otherwise (Baker 1996, Teelock 1998).

There were also many complaints

Reference 1147 - 0.01% Coverage

flogging with leather hide) for stealing or allegedly stealing food (mostly for personal consumption or friends and rarely for sale). Punishments were also meted out to children for stealing or alleged stealing, or even to slaves for complaining. On some estates, the denial of food became a form of punishment. Slaves placed in the stocks or in prison, for example, often went for days on nothing more than manioc root and water (Teelock 1998).

2.3 Indentured labourers 1835-1900 Despite the clandestine importation of more than 30,000 slaves 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 1148 - 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 1149 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 812

century), were mostly semi-vegetarians, whereas ex-slaves consumed mainly rice, brèdes (greens), salted fish or boiled salted beef. The Whites ate rice, salted beef and fish, and a lot of vegetables. The Typical Indian meals included rice, dhol, vegetable curry and salted fish, garnished with chutney (Boodhoo 2010).

Food rations were provided to

Reference 1150 - 0.02% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 817

3 MALNUTRITION AND NUTRITIONAL DEFICIENCIES 3.1 Malnutrition 3.1.1 Slaves

Diet and mortality Even with the abolition of the slave trade in 1807, there was no improvement in the thus, little changed regarding slave nutrition and health (Boodhoo 2010, Teelock 1998).

conditions of slaves on the plantations. The 1832 Census showed high mortality amongst slaves;

During the British period, owners normally gave priority to slave labour for food provisions at the expense of children. The vicious cycle of malnutrition and infectious diseases resulted in high mortality and growth retardation in the early years of childhood. It was only when children entered the labour force

that the slave-owners would provide them with a more varied diet. It was also possible that slave parents supplemented their children's diet but the extent of this is not known (Teelock 1998).

Slaves in Mauritius, whether male or female, did not often live longer than middle age. If high mortality rates reflect harsh living conditions, the Mauritian slave regime was particularly cruel at this level (Valentine 2000).

Height of slaves Height-for-age of children is accepted as an indicator of the long-term (chronic) nutritional

status in childhood. There is evidence that the nutrition of Mauritian slaves was inadequate. Adult human height is the result of both genetic and nutrition: height is affected by occurrences in childhood as well as by genetic inheritance. A lack of suitable food, disease and too much physical activity — such as overwork — in childhood all reduce the nutrients available to the growing body, and result in decreasing average heights (Baker 1996, Teelock 1998, Valentine 2000, WHO ...).

A comparison of the heights of 3,739 slave children aged 4 to 18 years, with the NCHS2

Growth Charts made in 1826, showed that the heights of Mauritian slave children were significantly below the NCHS reference throughout the age range studied. These differences in heights may have a genetic component, particularly since some Mauritian children had Indian and Malay ancestry, but it seems likely that malnutrition, disease, and hard work played a part in keeping the slave children short in stature. At 18 years of age, boys were about 25 cm shorter and girls about 15 cm shorter than the NCHS reference for the respective sex (Valentine 2000). Both slave boys' and girls' growth curves started to level off much earlier than the NCHS growth curves, indicating that the nutrition of slave children was inadequate to support growth, as well as hard physical labour to which they were subjected at a young age. Figure 1 compares the heights of Mauritian Creole slaves (i.e. born in Mauritius), and modern-day Mauritian Creole adults and US adults. It is obvious that Creole slaves were shorter than even their modern-day descendants as a result of the chronic under nutrition, hard labour and disease prevalence which they experienced during the slavery days.

2 The United States National

Reference 1151 - 0.01% Coverage

as far as health care

and the supply of food were concerned. There was a correlation between sugar production and slave mortality, due to, among other reasons, severe labour, insufficient food and living conditions. The 1832 Census revealed continued persistent high mortality figures in most estates, as a result of little improvement in the provision of food and health care for slaves (Teelock 1998).

The average height of 120

Reference 1152 - 0.01% Coverage

UNICEF 1988). This trend is

further confirmed by the 2004 NCD/Nutrition Survey on children 5-18 years, which shows that the height growth curves for both groups are almost the same and close to the WHO reference curve for both males and females. However, Creole children were taller than Indo-Mauritian children after puberty (see Figures 3 and 4). This shows that the linear growth of children of both ethnic groups has equally caught up with the WHO norms since the first generation of children of slaves or indentured labourers. It is known that linear growth of children is influenced by both genetic and environmental factors, particularly the state of health and nutrition of the children and their mothers.

3.1.4 Malnutrition and

Reference 1153 - 0.01% Coverage

of nutrient deficiencies overlap. Dermatitis can result from deficiencies of zinc, riboflavin, or niacin. Muscle weakness and fatigue are symptoms of vitamin C, riboflavin, niacin, vitamin B6, and folate deficiencies. A loss of appetite can be the result of many different vitamin deficiencies. Mental symptoms can occur with a niacin or vitamin B12 deficiency. Inadequate protein intake on a regular basis would have led to a protein deficiency, resulting in a weakened immune system; deficiencies of vitamins A and C also results in a weakened immune system and an increased susceptibility to infection. Skin problems could have been worsened by the wet conditions that the slaves and indentured worked in throughout the planting season, making them more susceptible to infection (Blonigen 2004). As many of these symptoms were prevalent before the 1950s, it can be concluded that the working population in fact suffered from multiple micronutrient deficiencies, although all could not be diagnosed at that time.

3.2.2 Thiamine (B1)

Reference 1154 - 0.01% Coverage

litres (Balfour 1921, Kuczynski 1949).

High alcohol consumption had been the cause of sickness and mortality among slaves, apprentices and troops. During the 1825-40s period of sugar expansion, the widespread distribution of liquor to slaves as an incentive to work proved to be detrimental as slaves turned into alcoholics. The amount and frequency of arrack distribution differed on each estate but ranged from as little Truth and Justice Commission 826

Reference 1155 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 826

as once a week to several glasses a day. Liquor became cheap and freely available as slaves began to distil it in their huts and sell it to other slaves.

during the crop season and affected both men and women. It led to various social ills including fighting among slaves, general disorderliness, theft, lateness at work, insubordination, accidents and, even sometimes, suicides. There were also many unlicensed liquor shops in the districts (Teelock 1998).

Alcohol abuse also became the

Reference 1156 - 0.01% Coverage

Labourdonnais

Early British period (1810-1830)

British period (1835-1900s) British period (1940s to 1968) 1980 - 2000 Maize was the main staple of slaves Manioc displaced maize as the main staple of slaves

Shift to sugar mono-crop economy and rice became the staple food of slaves followed by maize and manioc

Rice established as the main

Reference 1157 - 0.01% Coverage

to the Second World War

Rice and wheat flour became equally important staples During the French and early British periods, the working population was mostly slaves of Madagascar or East African origin. Slaves during the French period were fed on locally-produced manioc (cassava) and sweet potatoes, and locally-produced or imported maize, occasionally supplemented with a little salted fish or salted meat. Many slaves could obtain additional protein foods from fishing or keeping livestock in their own time; vegetables were rarely supplied and slaves relied on wild vegetables (brèdes

Reference 1158 - 0.01% Coverage

became less abundant, with the increasing mobilisation of land for sugar cane plantation. Apart from the poor diet of adult slaves, slave women faced immense difficulties to care for, or properly feed, their young children leading to child malnutrition and high mortality. With the transformation of the

Reference 1159 - 0.01% Coverage

in the early part of the British occupation, local food production was largely abandoned and rice was imported to feed the slaves. Rice and maize became the two principal food items, followed by manioc, in the slave's monotonous and tasteless diet, with occasional animal protein foods and small quantities of vegetables. The massive arrival of Indian immigrants from 1834 onwards reinforced the position of rice as the main local staple for the whole population, although after WWII, wheat flour rivalled with rice as the second staple. During WW2 the population also had to face a severe food stress. The Hindu section of the population mostly used pulses to supplement their diet in protein, although fish (salted or fresh) was also occasionally consumed. In addition, other sections of the population (Creoles, Muslims and Chinese) also occasionally consumed meat. Milk consumption was low. Vegetables and fruits (mostly seasonal) were commonly consumed. Labourers who freely drank cane juice experienced a marked increase in calories as carbohydrate-rich sugar provided Truth and Justice Commission 829

Reference 1160 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 829 considerable energy. Although African slaves and Indian immigrants came with their own traditional food habits, this evolved over time, with considerable blending in the dietary pattern of the population. The diet of the working

Reference 1161 - 0.01% Coverage

colonial period was predominantly vegetarian and very small quantities of animal products were consumed. Milk consumption was particularly low. In general, the diet was high in carbohydrate, low to moderate in total protein, and very low in animal protein (considered to be of high-biological value) and fats. Consumption of vegetables and fruits was variable, depending on availability and seasonality. Calcium and iron also appeared to be generally deficient. Deficiencies of vitamins A, D and C were sometimes reported but deficiency of the B-vitamins

was much more common. In fine, while the diet more or less covered the minimal energy requirements of the working population (and probably inadequate during periods of intense activity as during harvest time), it could not be considered nutritionally adequate. It was generally a bulky diet that lacked variety and nutritious foods. A bulky diet had a low energy and nutrient density, and the workers felt replete before ingesting sufficient amount of energy and nutrients to meet their nutritional needs. Moreover, both slaves and indentured labourers often complained that they were given less food than the amount stated as food ration, and their distributions were not always regular.

So, throughout the whole period of colonisation, the diet of slaves, ex-slaves and Indian immigrants contained essentially high amounts

Reference 1162 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 830

Alcohol consumption was high among slaves and ex-slaves, although later on it also became a problem among Indian labourers. With the consumption of salted meat and salted fish, the sodium intake of slaves and ex-slaves would tend to be on the high side.

The Committee on Nutrition in

Reference 1163 - 0.01% Coverage

malnutrition and repeated infectious diseases.

As a result of chronic malnutrition and hard physical labour at a young age, slave children were subjected to severe growth retardation, as evidenced by their short stature by age 18. Figures 3 and 4 show that the heights of Mauritian slaves' children (both boys and girls) (in 1826) were far below the WHO Reference throughout the age range 5 to 18 years, while contemporary Mauritian children (Creoles and Indians) (in 2004) have caught up with the WHO Reference), except for the post pubescent difference between Creoles and Indians. It is known that stunted growth among children is related to chronic protein-energy deficiency as well as to repeated episodes of infectious diseases. In 1942, a small number of primary school children were found to weigh much below European norms at that time and Indian children had lower weight-for-height than Creole children. Newly arrived Indian adult male immigrants were also less tall than male Creole slaves (159 and 161 cms respectively) although the heights of contemporary adult male Creoles and Indians are close (168 and 167.5 cms respectively). That is, early generations Creole slaves and Indian immigrants were of short stature, but the descendants of both groups gained several centimetres by 2004 and nearly caught up with the WHO norms.

Apart from poor diet and

Reference 1164 - 0.01% Coverage

can be summarised as follows:

- a. The slaves of African origin were on a mostly vegetarian high bulk diet, having high carbohydrate and low protein content, with occasional consumption of salted fish or meat. Alcohol consumption was high among slaves, especially on weekends. They needed high caloric intake in order to meet the energy requirements for their intensive labour. Their caloric intake barely met their needs, resulting in chronic under-nutrition of both adults and children, as evidenced by stunted height of both adults and children. The diet was monotonous and deficient in various vitamins and minerals. Overall mortality was very high and life expectancy very low (hardly reaching middle age).
- b. The Indian indentured labourers were mostly vegetarian, with occasional consumption of animal protein and little milk. Their diet was high bulk, high carbohydrate and low to moderate in protein. Vegetable

consumption was higher than among slaves. B-vitamins deficiencies and iron deficiency anaemia were prevalent. Their caloric intake barely met minimal needs resulting in chronic under-nutrition. Both overall and infant mortalities were high and life expectancy was low. Indian labourers in the 1940s had poor physique and low work performance related to their poor diet and recurrent diseases, and seemed to suffer premature ageing. The prevalence of malnutrition, coupled with Malaria and other infectious diseases (including hookworm infestation), gave rise to a sick and debilitated population. Faulty infant feeding, especially weaning was a cause of malnutrition and high infant mortality.

c.From 1950s to 1980s

Reference 1165 - 0.01% Coverage

and nutrition status of the descendants of slaves and of indentured labourers. Their nutritional status improved with increased protein intake, a more varied diet, free distribution of food supplements to the vulnerable groups and Government subsidies on staple foods. Prevalence of vitamin deficiencies decreased gradually, although anaemia among adolescent girls was still common and prevalence of child underweight (particularly among Indo-Mauritians) remained relatively high. The average diet remained relatively high in refined carbohydrate, although the fat content had increased considerably. Infant mortality was rapidly decreasing and life expectancy was increasing as a result of better health and nutrition.

d.After the 1980s the

Reference 1166 - 0.01% Coverage

59020 77768 97847 86272 91826

The food consumed by the slaves consisted of cassava mixed with vegetables and meat cooked under unhygienic conditions. The daily intake of this insipid food was a possible source of ill health to the consumers. The climate with frequent passage from hot to cold weather and vice versa was another common cause of illness among the slaves who did not wear appropriate protective clothing.

Their lifestyle which included abuse

Reference 1167 - 0.01% Coverage

resulting in fatigue and exhaustion.

The clinical manifestations of common diseases prevalent among the slaves in “Ile Bourbon” (Reunion Island) and “Ile de

Reference 1168 - 0.01% Coverage

practices and behaviour of individuals.

The abolition of slavery created the need to look for alternative sources of labour, to cope They with the ever increasing demands

Reference 1169 - 0.01% Coverage

to appear. introduced from Mozambique.

Leprosy came to Mauritius in 1770 with the slaves from Madagascar, where it was In 1781 a commission was set up to inquire into the prevalence of the disease and in 1803

Reference 1170 - 0.01% Coverage

1771. But the first major epidemic occurred in June 1792, when a slave ship from South India reached Port Louis with smallpox on board. The disease spread rapidly among the population, amidst heated debate over the practice of inoculation. Some slave owners asserted their right to inoculate their slaves, while others were vehemently against this practice because of the possibility of the inoculated person developing a severe infection and transmitting smallpox to others.
Megan Vaughan of Nuffield College

Reference 1171 - 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 from Africa, India, and Madagascar. We have little direct historical evidence for these, but we do know that many slaves came from areas in which forms of smallpox inoculation were known and practised.”
By September 1792, the death

Reference 1172 - 0.01% Coverage

4,000 in a total population of 98,000. The authorities were alarmed with this turn of events and decided for the inoculation of all the slaves. By January 1793, the epidemic was finally brought under control. In addition, two other severe

Reference 1173 - 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 1174 - 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 discernable. Raiding, abysmally shocking transactions over their capture, physical and emotional suffering, beating and battering, injuries, and undernourishment were not alien to the treatment meted out to the slaves before, during and after their immigration to the island (Barker). The indentured labour had a different set of conditions for their recruitment, voyage to Mauritius, care and treatment and their housing and contractual working agreements (Teelock 2009, Boodhoo 2010).

In 1920, C.E.A

Reference 1175 - 0.01% Coverage

the maintenance of good health.

This paper will try to examine the factors that shaped the state of health or ill-health of the slave population, the indentured labour and their descendants till Mauritius gained Independence in 1968. The last section will cover the period of post-independence health developments in the Island.

Truth and Justice Commission 867

Reference 1176 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 867

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 occupier-residents initially brought slaves mainly from Mozambique, Madagascar, East Coast of Africa and some from India. Altogether, some 100,000 slaves were brought in during the period 1715-1810. With the abolition of slavery in 1833, the British, through the British East India Company, looked towards India as a source of cheap labour to lubricate the economic machinery they were establishing in the country to pursue the leftover work of the slave population.

3. POPULATION AND HEALTH DURING

Reference 1177 - 0.01% Coverage

and 387 blacks (Balfour 1921).

4. HEALTH CONDITIONS, CARE AND TREATMENT OF SLAVES

This section will focus mainly on the health conditions, care and treatment of the slaves from their port of origin to the time of their liberation from bondage that runs beyond abolition of slavery in 1834 during the transition period that indentured labour supplanted them.

Before dwelling on the subject, two points need clarification: (1) literature on the health situation of the slaves in the eighteenth century is scanty (Teelock, UOM) and of doubtful reliability (Valentine 2000); and (2) a culture of medical practice existed in the home environment of the slaves which they carried with them in their new environment. For example, inoculation against cholera was practiced by the slaves. And in 1888, Dr. Daruty de Grandpré mentions of elderly creoles knowing cures for leprosy and other cutaneous diseases.

The history of slavery is the history of inhuman treatment, misery, exploitation and violation of human rights scarring the dignity and self-esteem of individuals in the innermost sanctum of their body.

Historians concur on this thread of slaves' life-course journey.

Anthony J Barker in *Slavery and Antislavery in Mauritius, 1810-33*, describes a livid picture of the treatment the slave population had to endure from the time of their capture and throughout their stay in the island until emancipation. 'Shock and detachment' are the words used by Stanley Elkins to describe the ordeal most slaves were subjected to, before embarkation on their journey to their new destinations. Kidnapping, raiding, trading, fierce discipline on board over-cramped vessels, often flogging, chained and underfed were common features for the slaves. To dissuade any 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 possessed by their 'masters', the slaves were put to their tasks – majority of them in the agriculture sector and the rest as artisans or domestic workers. Under both conditions, the hours of work were long and arduous, typically from dawn to dusk.

Despite all efforts of peopling

Reference 1178 - 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 1179 - 0.01% Coverage

the city of Port-Louis.

At the time of the departure of Labourdonnais in 1764, the population was, according to Abbé Raynal, estimated at 3,163 white, 587 freed slaves and 15,022 slaves. By 1830, Mauritius had the third largest number of slaves in the British Empire.

4.1 Shifts in the

Reference 1180 - 0.01% Coverage

the minds of the colonists.

The following tables show the proportion of the whites decreasing from 16.9% to 8.3% between 1767 and 1807 whilst the free coloured increased from 3.1% to 7.6%. The proportion of the slaves increased from 80.0% to 84.1%.

The slave population increased by 77% (15,027 to 65,367) over the four decades compared to 51.2% for the whites (3163 to 6489) and 9.0% (587 to 5912) for the free coloured.

As early as the 1740s and throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the island had a disproportionate average of eight slaves for each of its white inhabitants. Runaway fugitives were reported to pose a serious threat to life, limb and property. They also coupled murder, arson and kidnapping with plundering and destruction of crops, livestock and buildings.

Truth and Justice Commission 869

Reference 1181 - 0.01% Coverage

100 100 100 100 100

4.2 Health of Slaves

Writing about the health of slaves in 1772, Dazille postulated that long hours of work, poor nutrition, insalubrious water and their in-adaptation to the humid and torrid climate put their physical resistance to the limit of fatigue. Little time was allowed for recuperation and they often fell victims to and suffered from irascibility. They could not resist exhaustion and succumbed to a host of diseases. Most common diseases were typhoid, worm infestations, bronchial infections, intestinal affectations of diarrhoea and dysentery and depression. To overcome these maladies and to let off the steam, the slaves spent their little night time unwinding in sex and alcohol. The result was a vicious cycle of hard work, exhaustion and free lifestyle.

The most common form of

Reference 1182 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 870

Discrimination against the slaves during their living was oppressive. Even after death, on a visit to Mauritius and South Africa in March 1844, James Backhouse wrote: 'The place of sepulture is divided into several compartments, to accommodate the prejudices of the living, for these even separate the ashes of the dead. The main burial-ground is surrounded by a wall, and another separates the portion occupied by persons of white skin, professing Christianity, from that in which the coloured people are interred! So strong is the prejudice that slavery has nursed'

5. FRENCH COLONIZATION

In a

Reference 1183 - 0.01% Coverage

on the Ruby with 65

slaves comprised of 27 men, 18 boys and 20 women. Almost immediately, 15 men and 4 boys became maroons. Why? The story of the dark ages of slaves in Mauritius unfolds in all its dimensions.

The historiography of slavery, under all three administrations (Dutch 1638-1710, French

1715-1810 and British from 1810 until abolition of slavery on 1 February 1835, is replete with cases of maroonage, desertion and vagrancy. By early 1820s, maroonage rates had climbed to a stunning 11-13 per cent. (Richard B Allen). Even after abolition of slavery, maroonage persisted. An average of 7.7 per cent of the island's apprentices was apprehended for desertion each year between 1838-37.

Running away from their masters

Reference 1184 - 0.01% Coverage

the misery by Vijaya Teelock.

and ill-treatment meted out to extract the physical labour of the slaves⁴. What were the harsh conditions imposed upon the slaves are covered in great detail

Maladministration of justice, denial of rights in-human treatment, non-application of anti-slavery act, perpetration of 'illegal' entry of slaves from Madagascar in the 1820's, innumerable complaints to the Protector and failure to apply the manumission of slaves in 1812 left an indelible scar, physically and psychologically. According to Barbara Valentine three ways out of slavery were: maroonage, manumission and mortality and most common of these in Mauritius was death. How all these conditions impacted on the health of slaves are reflected in their numerous complaints made and ultimately in the levels of mortality.

5.1 Mortality

Seven episodes

Reference 1185 - 0.01% Coverage

of mortality.

5.1 Mortality

Seven episodes of epidemics struck the Island during the French administration in 1742, 1754, 1756, 1770-72, 1782-83 and 1792-93 leaving behind heavy casualties. It is reported that the epidemic in 1756 killed 50% of the slaves and 20% in 1770. Mortality of slaves was always very high. A yearly death rate of 30 per thousand was reported during the period 1767-1824 (D'Unienville).

The graph 9 shows that deaths outnumbered births at all times during the years 1767-1792. High mortality, preponderance of males among the immigrants and the general segregation of keeping male and female slaves apart did not allow family formation leave aside stable families.

Truth and Justice Commission 871

Reference 1186 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 871

Graph 9: Number of Births and Deaths in the slave population 1767-1792

Understanding the real nature and extent of the harsh conditions of slavery is fraught with inaccuracy as different writers on the historiography of slaves have presented facts and figures that are fragmentary, lacking in accuracy or contradictory. Vijaya Teelock, in 'Breaking the Wall of Silence' posits that the sources were planter centered, mainly official records, or European travellers' writings. Also, planters' families did not keep many records and, if they did, would not likely share them with non-white historians. Seemingly no slave-based sources existed, and so also no way of ever reaching the "inner world" of the slaves.

Moreover, tracking of demographic events was not easy for the slave population, as civil registration of births, deaths and marriages was introduced in the Island in March 1793 nearing the end of French colonization. Previous to the promulgation of the decree, records of baptism, marriages and burials were

the responsibility of the parishes. It was in July 1805 that Governor Decaen issued a decree providing for the registration of births and deaths of slaves.

6. HEALTH CONDITIONS OF INDENTURED

Reference 1187 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 872

the abolition of slavery in 1834 that gave an impetus for large scale immigration of cheap labour from India.

Recruitment of labour had its

Reference 1188 - 0.01% Coverage

ample supply of good water.

Early contracts made in India did not specifically mention that lodgings be provided to the immigrants. However, as for the slaves, it was generally understood that accommodation should have, de-facto, been provided by the planter employers. It was through the proclamation of Ordinances that the employers were made to provide labourers with 'sufficient and wholesome lodging according to the usage of the colony'.

The outcome was evident. Visiting

Reference 1189 - 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 1190 - 0.01% Coverage

to be accepted as such'.

In fact, non observance of the terms of the Labourer's Contract on housing, medical care and treatment facilities, food and payment of wages were the sources of resentment expressed by the immigrants. The Royal Commission Report of 1875 is very candid on the recruitment process. At paragraph 4044, the whole system of recruitment in India was denounced on the following counts: (1) The recruiters in India, (2) The Protector in Mauritius, (3) The employers of labour (4) The Police, (5) The Magistrates and (6) The Legislative Council as the framers of the Labour Laws. On the last point, the Report found that in matters of the application of a New Labour Law of 1867 to address the issues of vagrancy, idleness, improvidence, inhumanity towards each other during epidemics, filthy habits and, participation in the crime of dacoitee, the 'Law was enforced both by the police and the Magistrates in such a reckless and indiscreet manner as to cause cruel hardship to a number of the Majesty's subjects' and that 'the spirit of the law was too often overlooked and even the letter of the law was often far out-stepped by the manner in which it was carried out'. Investigating on the form of treatment expended to the immigrants, William E Frere and Victor A. Williamson had acknowledged that the 'traditions of slavery' still prevailed on the island's Indian residents modelled on old fugitive slave laws.

How these affected the health

Reference 1191 - 0.01% Coverage

great injustice and hardship caused.

According to their contracts, lodgings were to be provided to the immigrants on the estates they were recruited. The camps were often stuffy and damp with no openings to allow circulation of fresh air. Around the 1930's the labourers occupied the accommodation previously used by the slaves. With the arrival of the big wave of workers in the late nineteenth century, the housing situation became very alarming causing great harm to their health. The Royal Commission found great diversity in the arrangements of the camps. Some, constructed at great cost were of good

Truth and Justice Commission 874

Reference 1192 - 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-of-the-art cutting edge technologies are creating qualitative and quantitative 'medical system stress' for the future.

Building a foundation for medical

Reference 1193 - 0.01% Coverage

by R. R. Kuczynski (Vol

11), Oxford University Press, 1949, presents a very comprehensive set of data on the population and vital events from 1753 till the mid 1940s. Time series data, though incomplete, for births, deaths and marriages for the slaves, Indian migrants, free coloured, and the Whites are available. However, the information becomes more complete and meaningful with compulsory reporting and registration of vital events and the holding of population censuses. An Order in Council of 30 January 1826 required that information on all births and deaths shall be communicated to the Registrar within a month of the event. After abolition of slavery in 1835, registration of vital events

Truth and Justice Commission 877

Reference 1194 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 877

was unified in 1837, putting an end to all distinctions among the population thus limiting the scope for disaggregation of data by status, slave/indenture. The first population census was conducted in 1846.

Measures taken to improve the

Reference 1195 - 0.01% Coverage

Survey of the British Colonial

Empire gives a very detailed and comprehensive demographic presentation of facts and figures between 1753-1946 and covering the Dutch, French and British occupation of Mauritius. The demographic data, disaggregated often by origin and sex on slaves and the indenture, reconciled, corrected and updated on analysis of other authors on the subject matter are as complete and accurate as was available then.

□

Social Policies and population Growth

Reference 1196 - 0.01% Coverage

target date of 2015.

CONCLUSION

1. Ill-health took a heavy toll of lives of slaves and indentured immigrants. 2. Access to health services was not easily and adequately available.
3. Often denied of adequate

Reference 1197 - 0.01% Coverage

or alternative means of treatment.

For the purpose of this study, three main theories will be looked into to explain worldviews, beliefs and practices among slaves and Indian immigrants to Mauritius:

1. The theory of spirit

Reference 1198 - 0.01% Coverage

ill, and supplanted traditional medicine.

3. SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ATTITUDE/BEHAVIOUR OF SLAVES AND INDENTURED TOWARDS DISEASES AND HEALTH SERVICES

Anthropological studies show that the notion of hospital was alien to both slaves and indentured labourers. In both African

Reference 1199 - 0.01% Coverage

the course of the rivers”.

- 3.1 The social stigmas and diseases The origins of diseases as well as their propagation were attributed to slaves and Indian immigrants as they were most afflicted by them. They were not perceived as victims of the oppressive systems but as vectors of diseases. The evils of working and living conditions which the systems imposed on them were rarely questioned by the authorities. If any measures were taken, they were haphazard for instance in the case of leprosy. Leprosy was introduced into Madagascar from the Mozambique Coast at the commencement of the eighteenth century and the disease came to Mauritius with the slaves in 1770. Tombe who visited Ile de France in 1801 says that he saw “many lepers amongst the black population of

the Island”, which consisted of 60,000 slaves, two-thirds being Mozambiques, and one-third Malagasies and Indians (Anderson, 1854).

Although a Commission on Leprosy

Reference 1200 - 0.01% Coverage

the time of the outbreak”.

3.3 Lifestyle, food and clothing Dazille deplores the living conditions of slaves and attributes the causes of diseases to poor

food, inadequate clothing for a tropical climate, libertinage, overwork and extreme physical exhaustion, little rest and liberal consumption of strong liqueurs such as guldives and taldia. He says that the root of manioc and especially the way it was prepared for consumption by slaves were the main cause of malnutrition and the high mortality rate among the Negro population of Isle de France.

Slaves were afflicted by many types of diseases and died relatively young. Their life expectancy was short compared to

Reference 1201 - 0.01% Coverage

and water were popularly used.

Slaves and indentured labourers had their own repertoires of medicines and healthcare practices which they had recourse to in times of sickness and epidemics. They relied entirely on their own knowledge, judgement and skills and on nature’s bounty in the island. They sought plants and materials they were familiar with and shared experience handed over across generations in their lands of origins. Each group had its own pharmacopeia and rituals. The slaves originating from Madagascar contributed immensely to traditional medicine which includes plant therapy, invocation ceremonies, ancestor worship, trances, gris gris or cri -cri.

The indentured labourers had come

Reference 1202 - 0.01% Coverage

Unani medical systems among others.

Slaves as well as indentured labourers, arriving in the new land completely different from their homelands, adapted to new forms of healing and they constituted new pharmacopoeias. Plants had been introduced by naturalists and travellers and were acclimatized. Poivre, Daruty, Aublet, Rouillard, Guého and recently A. Gurib-Fakim have inventoried some of these plants. Names of plants that had been used by slaves and indentured labourers, and those that are still used to day by their descendants have been listed in the text.

According to Guy Rouillard and

Reference 1203 - 0.01% Coverage

practices of healing with plants.

In his account of his voyage to Isle de France in 1812, Milbert observed that the rich biodiversity of the island was harnessed in view of curing a number of diseases. He refers to Le lilas des Indes and the following plants and their uses in the Isle de France which are indicative of medicines used by slaves, Coloured, and Whites:

1. Le Palma-christi, dont

Reference 1204 - 0.01% Coverage

de l'isle de France (1812), speaks about a species of “ceterach », which Malagasies used at that time. This plant is prepared in infusion /decoction and is taken by breast-feeding women (mothers, and nannies, often slaves), whose milk is improper for feeding babies. Daruty indicates its use as “dépurative et calmant” in case of hepatitis, tambave and cough.

Bois d'harrange (Haronga madagascariensis): A

Reference 1205 - 0.01% Coverage

medical domain, it is an emollient, has cooling properties and is indicated in cases of inflammation. 4.2 Information based on field work/interviews Some plants were used by slaves, indentured labourers and the General population for healing. These have become part

Reference 1206 - 0.01% Coverage

authority...” (Jerningham, pp. 16 -18)

The section below on 18th century medical treatment with special reference to the slaves and traditional medicine shows that

Reference 1207 - 0.01% Coverage

corn flour, custard and soups.

Ulcer – camphor and sorrel leaves The poorer classes which comprised descendants of former slaves and indentured labourers were often afflicted by

Reference 1208 - 0.01% Coverage

V: MENTAL HEALTH 1.INTRODUCTION

The Commission has to make recommendations to improve the health and quality of life of descendants of slaves and indentured labourers. To achieve this end, it was important to probe deep into the treatment meted out to their ancestors, as regards the provision of food, excess alcohol consumption, housing conditions, health care and working conditions, etc.

Ill-treatment meted out to the slave population and of indentured labourers and its bearings upon both types of immigrants and their descendants up to this day. The inhuman treatment meted out to the slaves from their capture and shipment in frail sailing vessels was characterized by a high mortality rate, up to 30% from West Africa, and an average of 12% for those captured from the Eastern side of the continent and from Madagascar. descriptions by historians (e.g Filliot).

This has been the subject

Reference 1209 - 0.01% Coverage

the survival of the fittest.

The main interest, at that time, was to have slaves and indentured labourers who were in good physical health, and no one was too concerned about their mental health, unless the person in question was absolutely mad. When did we start to recognize the psychological effects of slavery and the consequences of the illtreatment suffered by the indentured labourers? Did the patients and their families seek help for their psychological ailments?

If we are looking at what can be done to improve the mental health programme in Mauritius, we need to ask some important questions, such as: •Which mental disorders affected the slaves and indentured labourers? •Whether there was racial inequity in the delivery of mental health services? •What aspects of racism and discrimination caused emotional and psychological harm to victims, including Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder?

•Whether there are risks and resilient factors among the descendants of slaves and indentured labourers? We have searched through reports and stories about slaves in Mauritius, and we have not come across any writings about the psychological trauma of the slaves in Mauritius.

We are trying to look into what could have happened to them or what marked the slaves, without much evidence to substantiate this work. Hence, the scarcity of information, records and reports on psychiatric treatments have tested our efforts to produce this paper.

Previously, only acute cases and

Reference 1210 - 0.01% Coverage

persons or regions of Mauritius.

We suggest that a study be done, at a later stage, of specified groups of descendants of slaves and indentured labourers, to identify disorders and risk factors for mental illnesses. important and relevant to gather more data about their resilience to mental illnesses.

But it is more

3

Reference 1211 - 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 1212 - 0.01% Coverage

in the system.

11. CONCLUSION

The idea of slavery is often visualized as prisoners with chains, subject to bondage and harsh punishment or physical abuse. However, most people fail to realize that the most powerful type of slavery is “Mental

Slavery”, as described by Noble Drew Ali. This type of abuse is often not identified as abuse because the victims do not realize they are being abused, since there being no physical pain being inflicted. The deceptive tactics of “Mental slavery “embeds itself within the deeper regions of the subconscious, while disconnecting the higher faculties of consciousness to create a “Social Zombie”.

This “Social Zombie” refuses to

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Truth and Justice Commission 918

VOL 3: PART V – EDUCATION – THE HEALTH OF SLAVES, INDENTURED AND THEIR DESCENDANTS IN MAURITIUS internal direction to ensure future progression and the reduction of a self-defeating mind state.

Often, a well-respected “Doctor” is needed before the sceptic begins to take select theories as fact. In this case, a book written by Dr. Joy De Gruy Leary has emerged as a scholarly defence against sceptics that perpetuate the feeling that “mental slavery” does not exist. The following has been stated:” While African Americans managed to emerge from chattel slavery and the oppressive decades that followed with great strength and resiliency, they did not emerge unscathed. Slavery produced centuries of physical, psychological and spiritual injury. Post-Traumatic Slave Syndrome: America’s Legacy of Enduring Injury and Healing lays the groundwork for understanding how the past has influenced the present, and opens up the discussion of how we can use the strengths we have gained to heal”.

We would like to stress the fact that we are not in a position to pretend that we know the psychological problems which affected the descendants of slaves and indentured labourers, as we have no documented reports of these.

From the book Slavery and Antislavery in Mauritius, 1810-33, there are many paragraphs relating to the psychological traumas inflicted on the slaves and their detailed behaviours, such as regression and inability to work. Some were so dehumanised that they committed suicide. It was unfortunately seen by some as a normal consequence or fate.

The ill-treatment of slaves and indentured labourers, obviously affected them at the time, but they had to be resilient and continued to fight for their survival.

We can recommend that a study be carried out on a group of individuals who are descendants of slaves and indentured labourers, where we can then identify risk factors for mental illnesses and resilient factors, which have helped them to survive the difficulties which their ancestors had sustained.

May be we could look

Reference 1214 - 0.01% Coverage

more about their coping skills.

We cannot assume that the consumption of daily ration of alcohol by the slaves have made future generations turn out to be alcoholics. There is no evidence of this, although we know that alcoholism can have a genetic effect.

This study will demand more resources, both human and financial, and will only be possible, if a sample of that population made up of descendants of slaves and indentured labourers were to be identified.

Acknowledgements Our thanks to: Mr

Reference 1215 - 0.01% Coverage

Mauritius witnessed a tremendous transformation

in its social, economic and political landscape as well as its demographic and racial composition, the epidemiology of diseases and lifestyle pattern of its population. Mauritius had no native population. When it was colonized by the French in 1735, there were less than 1,000 inhabitants; they used the island mainly as a free port and warehouse. When the British took over the island in 1810 there were about 80,000 inhabitants and at the time of abolition of slavery in 1835 the population was estimated at 91,000 inhabitants. Throughout those periods, more than 75% of the inhabitants were African slaves and the rest mostly European colonists. In order to service the fast expanding sugar island economy, cheap indentured labour was imported from India.

The total population rapidly increased

Reference 1216 - 0.01% Coverage

introduced inadvertently by the early settlers. Outbreaks of measles, cholera and smallpox in the later French period caused heavy casualties. The population density was very low and was made up mainly of African slaves working for the trading economy and agriculture. As health facilities were minimal, the inhabitants commonly used traditional medicinal remedies. Mortality among slaves (which outnumbered births) was high as a result of diseases and harsh conditions.

ii. This was followed by

Reference 1217 - 0.01% Coverage

topic.

The mandate of the

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

There are many myths and

Reference 1218 - 0.01% Coverage

Commissioners acted as Team Leaders.

The most important set of studies for the Commission has been those which directly examined the situation of 'descendants' of slaves and indentured labourers and which sought their views. However, it was important also to study descendants of slave owners as well, since slavery is both about slaves and slave owners. Among descendants of slave and indentured labourers, métissage has led to difficulties in identifying who were descendants, and it is clear in Mauritius, that phenotype is the popular delimiting factor in deciding who may be a descendant of a slave or indentured labourer. Yet these stereotypes are not only misleading but dangerous and need to be vigorously corrected. Not all 'blan' (white) are descendants of slave owners, as not all those with an African phenotype are descendants of slaves, and not all Indians were indentured labourers. For the population of mixed origins, we have used the term

'gens de couleur' to refer to descendants of the following relationships: a) whites and Afro-Malagasy and b) whites and any other group. These represent also persons of a higher social class.

It is, above all, the

Reference 1219 - 0.03% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 2

VOL 4 : PART VI – SLAVE TRADE AND SLAVERY – SLAVE TRADE 1720s TO 1820s

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

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

The Commission, having noted that so few Mauritians know their history, have adopted the approach of providing as large a spectrum of Mauritians with the information and tools to study Mauritian history and especially the history of slavery and indenture. The Commission believes that 'knowledge is power' and empowering Mauritians to guard against the forces of reaction is the safest way to ensure that systems such as indenture and slavery do not repeat themselves on Mauritian soil. Mauritians must have the tools as well as the information to research their own history in a scientific manner. Although much research has been undertaken in Mauritius and overseas on slavery and the slave trade, it is nevertheless true that many of these searches reflect personal academic interests and opinions, often based outside Mauritius and do not address the concerns of Mauritians. The Commission has been privileged to have the support of many historians in Mauritians and overseas who have understood the need of Mauritians and responded to its work positively.

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

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 19th century 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 these facts be known and acknowledged and that memorialisation in daily life and in a permanent way is established. The TJC has focused on accumulating historical data on the 18th century as these are lesser known in Mauritius as most archives are located out of Mauritius. Some of the

information gathered has been inputted in the form of databases and made public through the International Conference on the Slave Trade launched by the Prime Minister of the Republic of Mauritius on 11 April 2011. Popularisation of research will allow for more targeted historical research and more voices to be heard. It will allow also for more memorialisation policies and activities that are more historically accurate.

In addition to understand better the slave trade, the TJC has undertaken selected studies of French slavery in Isle de France. The economic contribution of slaves and their cultural heterogeneity is

Truth and Justice Commission 3

Reference 1220 - 0.01% Coverage

of these questions. For example,

Where do I come from? It is generally felt that of all groups in Mauritian society, those descended from slavery are unable to trace their ancestry. The Origins project has gone some way towards answering this question in Mauritius but more needs to be done to attempt to identify more precisely the villages from where slaves came. In addition, TJC has collected many Civil Status Records as possible on the slave population with the help of Mr. Patrick Drack in France and hope to recommend the establishment of a Genealogy Centre in Mauritius.

Where did slaves disembark? This has been a perennial question and with reason. Public perception goes as follows: The French can claim to have first landed in Vieux Grand Port the Indians at Port Louis at Aapravasi Ghat, but what of slaves? There is no memorial except the one at Pointe Canon chosen for no other reason than the availability of space. It is important to memorialize; if no site is found, the Memory group will make suggestions as to what is an appropriate place.

How many slaves came to Mauritius? This is a question that has never been answered, and to which academic historians have stated was impossible to find an answer, given slave ships carried slaves to both Mauritius and Réunion. A slave trade database is being compiled so that Mauritians can access at the click of a mouse all ships arriving in Mauritius, as well as those undertaking coastal shipping i.e., from Souillac, Mahebourg to Port Louis.

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 in Mauritius.

It is rarely seen as

Reference 1221 - 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 1222 - 0.01% Coverage

the 1770s?

Organisation of Report

The Slave Trade report is therefore divided into three parts: a review of the slave trade, a proposal for a slave trade database, and an inventory of sources on the slave trade and slavery found in one of the most major repositories in France. As parts of the work of the TJC is presented in electronic format, only a description and summary of the contents of the databases and inventory are given here. The databases are found in volume 5 of the final report.

Truth and Justice Commission 4

Reference 1223 - 0.01% Coverage

OCEAN IS NOT THE ATLANTIC

The study of slavery and the slave trade in the Indian Ocean has more often than not been based on previous studies of the Atlantic world. Yet these were, and are, two vastly different worlds.

As far as Mauritius is concerned, it is the specificity of the nature of the European slave trading in the Indian Ocean that interests us and the differences with the Atlantic world. Given the short time span available to the Commission, searches have been concentrated on selected themes in relation to the slave trade. Recommendations for further studies are made. Because the focus of slave trade studies was on the Atlantic, the ports which traded in slaves from those heavily involved in this Atlantic trade have been studied in far greater depth and publicised. The Indian Ocean trade, and in particular the Mascarenes trade, have been neglected even though Mauritius with its excellent and safe harbour (compared to Réunion), became in the 18th century the headquarters for the European slave trade.

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.¹

France was without question the

Reference 1224 - 0.01% Coverage

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.²

It is also contended by

Reference 1225 - 0.01% Coverage

than in the British ones.

In past research, the methodology traditionally employed in studying the French slave trade in the Indian Ocean was based on studies of the Atlantic trade. The structure of the slave trade, the itineraries, financing, arming, networking and type of trading were studied. However, this ignored the fact that while the slave trade was a specialist's activity for the British, French ships were, by contrast, used both for the slave trade and direct trade with the West Indies. In the Americas, the French needed slaves for their plantations and so, according to Daudin, "As buying slaves was the main reason why plantation owners in the West Indies had to go into debt, the slave trade was more prone than other trades to long repayment

periods. As the financial position of plantation owners declined continuously during the eighteenth century, their debts were more and more difficult to recover for French traders”. Footnote missing
The slave trade has often been described as a ‘triangular trade’ and this refers mainly to the Atlantic. This was not necessarily the case in the Indian Ocean or for Mauritius. Evidence of ‘quadrangular trade’ appears more and more in the recent literature.³

While we can find the list of ships arriving in Port Louis or departing from French ports, we do not know yet how many of these went to East Africa and Madagascar and procured slaves as most of the time, the cargo is not listed. The sources relating to these will have to be studied as well.

2.THE DISAGGREGATION OF FIGURES

Reference 1226 - 0.01% Coverage

2.THE DISAGGREGATION OF FIGURES

Up to 2009, it was not possible to say exactly how many slaves came to Mauritius. Figures were always aggregated with Reunion island. Disaggregation of figures for Mauritius and Reunion has been started and needs to continue. It will only be possible to arrive at a disaggregated figure once entries in the database are complete. Only then, when the total number of slaves actually brought and sold in Mauritius is known, will we be better able to understand and assess the social, economic, demographic and cultural impact of slavery on the island.

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Reference 1227 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 7

VOL 4 : PART VI – SLAVE TRADE AND SLAVERY – SLAVE TRADE 1720s TO 1820s Assessing importance of the slave trade through a database

To assess the importance of the slave trade, knowledge of French commerce and trade is also necessary. However, because sometimes the slave trade was activity carried out surreptitiously, it is not always known whether ships carried slaves or not, as they are not listed as ‘passengers’, but as cargo. We need to know and determine how many ships in general traded with, and arrived in Mauritius and assess which may have brought slaves. The differences in figures between the various works of historians and others are largely due to different sources being tapped in different countries. There exists no single study that has so far collected and put these various sources together and attempted a holistic analysis. At the Truth and Justice Commission, in Mauritius, we have initiated this work and we expect that this work will be continued by institutions and scholars in the future in Mauritius. Thomas Vernet from France and Benigna Zimba from Mozambique have been kindly assisting us with this research, and we expect these two persons to be closely connected to future projects on the slave trade. Thomas Vernet, Anwar Chuttoo and Sharonne Philips have designed, and contributed to, a comprehensive database of all ships arriving in Mauritius since 1721, and in the search for additional information on potential ‘slave’ ships. Jean Yves Le Lan has voluntarily contributed his database on Lorient. The aim is to collect, as far as it is possible, all potential slave voyages from the various repositories in France, Mauritius, Portugal, India and the UK. Currently, the TJC has focused its research on material available in Mauritius and France.

Recent research with aggregated figures

Reference 1228 - 0.01% Coverage

total

41,875 - 83,750

43,965 - 66,465 slaves 10,525 - 12,539 slaves 334,936 - 384,040 slaves

However, this figure does not include those slaves who never made it on board the ships. Those who were captured or traded but did not survive the march or the captivity in the slave depot are not accounted and cannot be accurately calculated as yet, given lack of information.

3. BRIEF REVIEW OF EXISTING

Reference 1229 - 0.01% Coverage

BRIEF REVIEW OF EXISTING LITERATURE

The difficulties encountered by scholars in the past are being slowly overcome with the advent of new technologies and means of communication. There is also a better mastery of two of the three required languages to study the slave trade: many French historians are now fluent in English and similarly, Anglophones are becoming conversant in French. Access to Portuguese-language archives is no longer a barrier as it used to be. Digital databases, some online, mean that slave ship data and Truth and Justice Commission 8

Reference 1230 - 0.01% Coverage

historiography.

Earlier historians of Mauritius

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

Toussaint concluded that by far

Reference 1231 - 0.01% Coverage

Le Havre and La Rochelle.

Jean Marie Filliot was the first historian to focus exclusively on the slave trade; he conducted a detailed survey of the trade to the Mascarenes, with a periodisation that is still used today by most historians of the slave trade.

More generally, Daget and Mettas

Reference 1232 - 0.01% Coverage

data on ships leaving France.

It would be fair to say that most studies have concentrated on the periods for which most data is available fairly easily i.e., after 1767 when the Royal Government took over the island. As yet, we know very little on the pre-1767 slave trade and on the illegal trade after 1810. Toussaint stated that he was not able to find any sources for the pre-Royal period, except for the pre-Labourdonnais period. The only historian to have worked on it was Albert Lougnon, and no other scholar has attempted to estimate figures of the trade, still less the slave trade.⁴

Recent work such as that

Reference 1233 - 0.01% Coverage

about the post-1767 trade.

Only Le Lan has focused on Company Trade, thus allowing us an insight into trade before 1767, as his research is carried out in Lorient. He has generously provided the Commission with a list of ships belonging to the FEIC practising the slave trade between 1720 and 1756 and

Reference 1234 - 0.01% Coverage

1756 and thus was the

second, after Albert Lounon, to attempt to examine the pre-1767 period. For departures from Lorient and from the Mascarenes up to 1760 he uses Filliot and Mettas: 46,000 slaves were traded in total without counting those ships starting from the Mascarenes.

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Reference 1235 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 9

VOL 4 : PART VI – SLAVE TRADE AND SLAVERY – SLAVE TRADE 1720s TO 1820s

More recently, Richard Allen's research shows that Mauritius not only played a central role in the expansion of the French slave trade in the Indian Ocean, but that the volume of the slave trade to the Mascarene Islands was much larger than previously believed.

Secondary sources

As stated previously

Reference 1236 - 0.01% Coverage

than previously believed.

Secondary sources

As stated previously, a quantitative study of the slave trade is difficult, given the absence of statistics and accurate figures, especially for the early period. However, this will be attempted. An excellent review of statistical material available for the 18th century exists in Toussaint's *La Route des Iles*. Recent research that may improve Toussaint's observations on 18th century material and possibilities for future research is being investigated.

Toussaint recommended several studies as an initial 'preview' of French trade. These are also valid for the slave trade. According to Toussaint, Arnould's Commercial handbook contains a good chapter on French islands⁵

, while Pierre Blancard's opinion

Reference 1237 - 0.01% Coverage

by nationaux, grands caboteurs, étrangers.

As far as particular ports' contribution to Mascarene trade is concerned, Toussaint has noted Rambert's list of ships leaving Marseille for the Indian Ocean between 1767 and 1785, of which 18 were bound for the Mascarenes. For 1785 to 1789, Toussaint gives the figure of 33 ships for the Mascarenes. Dermigny,

in Cargaisons Indiennes, listed ships also from Marseilles and more particularly gave an insight into the workings of the slave trade through the papers of the Solier family between 1781 and 1791, of which 6 voyages included Mauritius. For the period 1769 to 1785, 147 ships left French ports bound for Mascarenes. He even studies the ships leaving the Mascarenes to engage in the slave trade in East Africa. Other more recent secondary sources

Reference 1238 - 0.01% Coverage

Sannier for Nantes. An exhaustive

The focus of Richard Allen has been on the period between 1768 and 1810, when according to the latest figures, there was a total of 641 confirmed slaving voyages made between 1768-1809. He has thus added to Toussaint's original 515 voyages by a re-reading of the Déclaration d'arrivées and by adding further sources derived from British lists. According to him, the dramatic increase in the volume of the slave trade between 1768-1809 may be due to three principal causes:

In 1769, the islands were

Reference 1239 - 0.01% Coverage

to all other foreign nationals.

These events turned the Mascarene Islands into a major regional commercial entrepôt and into an important centre for slave trading, not only in the Southwestern Indian Ocean, but also a base from which slave trading expeditions to South Africa and the Americas were launched.

According to Richard Allen, the 549 vessels currently known to have transported slaves to the Mascarenes between 1768 -1809 may represent 50-55 per cent of all such voyages during this period (See Table 2).⁶

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Reference 1240 - 0.01% Coverage

of statistics'.⁷

Economic and

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

This

self-laudatory approach ignores

Reference 1241 - 0.01% Coverage

history 'without passing judgement'.

This

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

It is extremely useful, however

Reference 1242 - 0.01% Coverage

especially international maritime trade.⁸

- The négrier which was a vessel engaged in the slave trade.
- Nègre Pièce d'Inde : a slave between the ages of 15 and about 25 to 30 years, in good health, not limping and with a full set of teeth.
- Négrillon/capors: young male slave between ten and 14 years. Négritte/caporine: young female slave between ten and 14 years.
- Captains were not only responsible

Reference 1243 - 0.01% Coverage

slavers and the planters.⁹

- Indiennes: cloth imported from India used in the slave trade
- Mise hors means to equip a ship; in the case of a slave trading ship, it is to collect all the goods, crew and find the funds to equip the ship.
- The Calfats or Caulkers were

Reference 1244 - 0.01% Coverage

and of its good conservation

to prevent any type of contamination that could result in the loss of both slaves and the crew members.

- The Carpenter was the one in charge of the laying out and fitting of the ship, mainly for the transportation of slaves.
- The Chirurgien was assigned to protect and insure the crew members and the slaves against diseases; he was very often in charge of the branding of the slaves too.
- The Cuisinier was in charge for feeding the crew and essentially of hundreds of slaves aboard.
- The Mousse or Mate was

Reference 1245 - 0.01% Coverage

and ammunitions during the voyages.

- Mise hors means to equip a ship; in the case of a slave trading ship' it is to collect all the goods, crew and find the funds to equip the ship.

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Reference 1246 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 12

VOL 4 : PART VI – SLAVE TRADE AND SLAVERY – SLAVE TRADE 1720s TO 1820s 5.

PERIODISATION

It is important to establish a periodisation to understand better the slave trade, whether it be the operation of the trade, the numbers and origins of slaves, as well as the sources of information. A preliminary periodisation for the Mascarenes was established by Filliot.¹³

the Mauritian situation as follows

Reference 1247 - 0.01% Coverage

governed by Bourbon or Pondichéry

In 1721 the Ruby is sent to trade in slaves in Madagascar. Mauritius was given the right to trade directly with Madagascar.

Arrival of Governor Labourdonnais.
Administration

Reference 1248 - 0.01% Coverage

Madagascar.

Arrival of Governor Labourdonnais.

Administration of Governor Labourdonnais. He was expanding the slave trade.

instrumental in

Conseil supérieur regulates

Reference 1249 - 0.01% Coverage

the slave trade.

instrumental in

Conseil supérieur regulates the slave trade: Article 12, for example. Company will charge 200 piastres per slave for bringing slaves from India, also for the distribution of slaves arrived, rewards were offered to officers.

1741-1744 1746-1767 1746

Reference 1250 - 0.01% Coverage

the post-Labourdonnais Company administration.

Less precise information is available and a decrease in numbers of slaves imported is noted and a shortage of slaves is felt on the island

After 1750, the slave trade resumed.

Reward given by Governor David to officers bringing in slaves stopped.

Post-1767 is

1762 – 1766

Reference 1251 - 0.01% Coverage

slaves stopped.

Post-1767 is

1762 – 1766 Filliot found no statistics for this period but that does not mean there were no slaves imported.

Marked difference in the data

Reference 1252 - 0.01% Coverage

voluminous. However, these sources are board. Hence, the need to collect all ship whether they could be carrying slaves or not. 1767-1790 1787 1790-1803

Reference 1253 - 0.01% Coverage

1802
1810-1825 1807 1825
silent about the number of slaves on lists
and then analyse
Royal Government

Reference 1254 - 0.01% Coverage

the revolt in Saint Domingue.
Slave trade ban but numerous violations occur with the help of corsairs. Napoleonic administration 30 Floreal An X (20 Mai 1802); the slave trade was permitted again on the grounds that cultivation and prosperity were suffering.¹⁴
Beginning of British rule The slave trade became illegal but it continued. It is the passing of Trade Bill that effectively ended the slave trade This has been adapted to Truth and Justice Commission 13
VOL 4 : PART VI – SLAVE TRADE AND SLAVERY – SLAVE TRADE 1720s TO 1820s 6. THE SOURCES
Primary sources are scattered between Europe, the Mascarenes, Eastern Africa and India. The most obvious of sources on slaves arriving would have been Customs Records on arrivals of slaves for tax purposes. These are totally missing for the earlier period. Toussaint found that most statistics covered the post-1767 period. Toussaint's La Route des Iles gives an excellent account and description of the type of goods imported but next to nothing about slaves, except the figures. These, however, are not reliable. Illegal trading, fraud and falsification of documents were also rampant, leading us to question the sources. A holistic approach and understanding the mechanisms of fraud in Illegal trading will help us make more accurate assessments of the numbers involved.
Toussaint found several discrepancies in

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Police and Service des Ports.
However, in assessing slave trade figures, other statistics need to be used, as well as Census returns, Maroonage Registers, advertisements for sales of slaves, genealogical and demographic data to estimate how many arrived or were born locally.
 Déclarations d'arrivées and congés de

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contain commissions given to ships.
Unresearched as yet are the notarial records recording slaves and purchases of slaves. Customs Records

Customs records only start at 1797; so it is not clear where slave tax records were kept, if they were paid at all. Even after the establishment of the Customs Department, there is no evidence that duties were paid by ships on arrival at Ile de France, especially as this was an unstable period for the island.

□ Bâtiments arrivés à l'île de

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Appendix 1).

□ French National Archives

Preliminary research has been undertaken at the National Archives in Paris, in Bordeaux at the Archives Departementales and Ministère de la Marine. The C4 series were consulted, and an inventory was compiled relating to slavery in Isle de France and published. This series has yielded much material and constitutes a gold mine for scholars of 18th-century Isle de France. It is to be hoped that the inventory of the remaining microfilms will be completed in the implementation phase of the TJC recommendations.

Due to lack of time

Reference 1258 - 0.01% Coverage

found in Appendix 2. □ Bordeaux

As Bordeaux was the prime slave trading port for the Indian Ocean, these were the first Archives outside Paris to be consulted. Private Archives were also consulted for information on slave trading companies. A complete set from the Fonds Monneron in the Fond Privés at the Archives Municipales de Bordeaux was copied and inventoried to allow for an in-depth study of one family (list in Appendix 3).

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since it was less profitable.

The French East India Company participated directly and indirectly in the slave trade. When it was not profitable for the Company to engage in it, they relinquished their rights to private traders from whom they also derived financial benefits in the form of a duty of 13 livres per slave introduced in the islands. Because they had a monopoly over trade in Asia, they were able to obtain goods used in the slave trade at very cheap prices and sell these to the slave traders who needed goods to exchange for slaves, as well as to clothe slaves.²¹

Indian textiles were preferred by slave traders to French textiles.²²

There were three main destinations for the slaves: Louisiana, St. Domingue and the Mascarenes. The King instructed Captains to bring back certificates for each slave arriving and for each slave sale, to enable the Company to receive 13 or 15 livres raised by the King for every slave. In exchange, they benefited from exemptions for port duties and duties on goods used in the slave trade, as well as on sugar.²³

In addition the Company also owned slaves who worked in various capacities. When the King took over the island in 1765, the slaves belonging to the Company were ceded to the King. There were in 1769: 162 Malagasies, 436 Guineans, 345 Creoles, 254 Mozambicans, 25 Indians, 2 Creoles from Bourbon, 1 from Pondichéry and 3 from Macao for a total of 1,228 slaves. They were divided into 662 men, 139 boys, 21 young male children, 271 women, 126 girls and 9 nine female infants.²⁴

French slave trading in the South West Indian Ocean was started in Madagascar to supply Bourbon island, colonised earlier in

bbbb. The slaves engaged in agriculture and the women among them married, or cohabited with French

Reference 1260 - 0.01% Coverage

first time in Bourbon.²⁵

It is there that slavery,
as it is understood in

Reference 1261 - 0.01% Coverage

as property.²⁶

1721-1735

On 20th September 1715, when Guillaume Dufresne D'Arsel took possession of Mauritius in the name of the King, slavery and the slave trade were already established in neighbouring Reunion (Bourbon).

It started in earnest in

Reference 1262 - 0.01% Coverage

2 foreign ships were noted.

A total of 650 slaves, according to Filliot, were brought to Mauritius from Madagascar, Mozambique, India and West Africa.²⁹

Between 1721 and 1727, Mauritius was governed from Reunion (Bourbon) or Pondichéry, and thus traders could not bring slaves directly to Mauritius. However, a letter of Governor Denyon dated 4th November 1722, notes that on 11th September, the Ruby, Captain Grenier, arrived in Port Bourbon on 4 November from a slaving voyage in Madagascar. He had left on 7 October.³⁰

directives were not being followed

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came between 1727 to 1734?

In 1732, M. Teinturier de Gennicourt, an inhabitant of Ile de France requested the Governor that he be allowed to bring slaves at 100 livres each. He also advised that Madagascar was a surer source of supply rather than the Guinea coast because Malagasy slaves were better workers and 'more intelligent'.

He sold slaves from India at 3 to 4 piastres d'achat and 1 piastre for food during the voyage.³¹

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

1735-1746

The period between

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throughout Mauritian history.

1735-1746

The period between 1735 and 1746 is crucial for the establishment of the slave trade, since Governor Labourdonnais chose Mauritius, rather than Reunion, as his base of operations to expand French influence

in the Indian Ocean. Vast infrastructural works were envisaged to transform Port Louis into a capital, port, warehousing and commercial centre. Slave labour was seen as the most reliable source of labour, although a certain amount of free labour was also brought in, in the form of French engagés, and skilled Malagasy and Indian workers and artisans.³²

history focus on the 'Founding

Reference 1265 - 0.01% Coverage

colony remains as yet unrecognised.

When Labourdonnais arrived in Mauritius in 1735, there were 638 slaves among the 838 persons living in Mauritius. He personally took charge of acquiring slaves for the island and undertook the massive construction projects in Mauritius: roads, houses, the port, a naval base, the Botanic Gardens etc. Labour from France, Madagascar, Mozambique, West Africa and India was tapped.

According to Filliot, 1,200 to 1,300 slaves were brought annually (Filliot 71). Within five years, the number of slaves had quadrupled to 2,612, while the number of French had barely doubled.³³

From

Port Louis, several voyages

Reference 1266 - 0.01% Coverage

had barely doubled.³³

From

Port Louis, several voyages were made to procure slaves in India, Madagascar, and Mozambique, while Company ships brought slaves from West Africa.

Toussaint has stated, however, that

Reference 1267 - 0.01% Coverage

34

probably have access to.

A letter, for example, from Labourdonnais states that the the ship le Mozambique arrived with 360 slaves, of whom 260 had died.³⁵

The Duc d'Anjou came back from Madagascar on 22 June 'et Truth and Justice Commission 17 Certain figures can be gleaned from the C4 series which Toussaint did not Of these, most were Company ships, according to Clearly, Company Slaves from Guinea had the tendency to maroon and be perfides. The FEIC has also While books on Mauritian

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nous remit de sa traite

Reference 1268 - 0.01% Coverage

de riz en paille.'³⁶

Labourdonnais also wrote of the slaving mission of the Aigle :

« L'Aigle partit d'ici le 27

Reference 1269 - 0.01% Coverage

millier de riz blanc. »38

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

Slavery in French economic history

In Mauritius the Code Noir is often quoted as a measure introduced to protect slaves and thereby, the humanity of this law is often applauded. This view is not justified, if one analyses the reasons why it was introduced. The logic was purely financial and responded to the need to declare slaves as a good which could be insured so that any loss of slaves could be compensated for.

McWatters has analysed the relationship of the slave trade with the Mercantile System that was emerging in 18th-century France; the 'Ordonnance de Commerce' of 1673, according to her, brought together the private sector and the State to regulate trade and to protect legitimate businesses from bankruptcies or remove some of the obstacles in obtaining credit.³⁹

It was found that the Ordonnance did not allow the insuring of human beings, the Code Noir was introduced to declare slaves as 'bien meubles' (Article XLIV); in other words, possessions which could be insured and inherited as fixed assets. In case of loss of slaves during a revolt, bad weather or disease, compensation could be claimed.

In 1741, the Company authorized the Governor General to permit all French citizens to purchase their own goods and to procure slaves from Mozambique, Madagascar and India.

However, this permission according to

Reference 1270 - 0.01% Coverage

in 1746.⁴⁰ 1746-1767

This period represents not only the post-Labourdonnais Company administration, but also the period for which less precise information is available. There appears to be a decrease in the slave trade, probably due to the Wars of Succession in Europe.

After 1750, the slave trade resumed, and some 1,300 to 1,400 slaves were brought every year to the Mascarenes. There also appears to be more slaves being brought from Mozambique than Madagascar. For the period 1762 to 1766, so far very little information has been obtained as far as numbers of slaves arriving. Filliot feels that this is because illegal slave trading was going on.⁴¹

1767 – 1790

When Mauritius became

Reference 1271 - 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 1272 - 0.01% Coverage

Justice Commission 18 However, when

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The effects on slave trade were felt soon after in Mauritius. The ratio of slaves to free in Mauritius jumped from 1:5 in 1767 to 1:9 in 1783.

Although the focus of historians has been on the French East India Company, the French Government was very much involved, directly and indirectly, in the slave trade from the beginning. In the Indian Ocean, they turned a blind eye to the hostilities occurring between different European powers in Europe. Thus, despite official hostilities between France and Portugal, in the Indian Ocean, officials of both countries engaged in 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.

Of primes and frauds

According

Reference 1273 - 0.01% Coverage

possible.

Of primes and frauds

According to Roman, the system of primes was at the heart of the slave trading system. However, not all trading ventures were profitable and as elsewhere, profits were calculated as the difference between the cost of outfitting a ship and the amount collected during sales of slaves. Profits took a long time to accrue as planters never paid for 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 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 mai 1771. En cette année si la fraude reprend, on n’en traitera peut-être pas 700”.⁴⁴

Apart from the fact that free trade was established, the boost to the slave trade came also in 1776 from the prime of ? paid per slave traded beyond the Cape of Good Hope.

In October 1784, an

arrêt

Reference 1274 - 0.01% Coverage

of the initial investment’.⁴⁶

The aim was ‘to revitalize the trade’. It was essentially a ‘bounty’ system ‘consisting of In the Memoirs of Angenard, Second Lieutenant on board a slaving ship, the latter writes that he obtained a monthly salary of 25 piastres, 2 slaves for himself, a commission of one franc per every slave that he traded.⁴⁷ The Arrêté du 5 juin 1785 further gave 4 livres per head of slave introduced into Mauritius.

According to Roman, the Government almost ‘invited’ fraud in slave trading, when it gave a 40 livres prime for every tonne jauge of a slave ship: ‘miraculously’ ships’ tonnage increased.

The

Baron Binder of 450

Reference 1275 - 0.01% Coverage

voire de l'approbation tacite".50

From 1787 the inhabitants of Ile de France could trade anywhere in Madagascar. This must have further contributed to the numbers of slaves arriving.

1790-1803

It is also

Reference 1276 - 0.01% Coverage

of slaves arriving.

1790-1803

It is also felt by historians that from 1790, sugar cane cultivation expanded because of the revolt in Saint-Domingue. This, it is claimed, led to a rise in the slave trade. However, there are no corresponding figures to show a rise in sugar exports from Mauritius to France. The slave trade was also declared illegal.

Despite the ban on the slave trade by the Revolutionary Government in France, slave trading continued fraudulently in the Indian Ocean. Corsairs were particularly active in continuing this illicit trade.

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Reference 1277 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 19

VOL 4 : PART VI – SLAVE TRADE AND SLAVERY – SLAVE TRADE 1720s 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 French Marine had given them its blessing to trade through the 'lettres de marque' and indirectly blessed also the slave trade. Le Coureur also recently explored also participated in this type of trade.

Various tactics were employed to circumvent the ban on slave trade. For example, merchants falsified official destinations: the Sans Culotte, armed by Marouf and Le Même, though officially going to Madagascar to purchase rice, went instead to Mozambique and took on 340 slaves bound for Reunion island.⁵¹

1803 – 1810

On 30 Floréal

Reference 1278 - 0.01% Coverage

Reunion island.⁵¹

1803 – 1810

On 30 Floréal An X (20 Mai 1802), the slave trade was permitted again on the grounds that cultivation and prosperity were suffering.⁵²
at Amiens on March 26

Reference 1279 - 0.01% Coverage

in Paris a delegation of

Deputies from Nantes, Bordeaux and Marseille, to whom he promised the re-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

Reference 1280 - 0.01% Coverage

colonies qui la réclament indispensablement.”

Saugera has outlined the slaving activities of La Confiance. The Confiance was armed in Bordeaux for Ile de France on 6th May 1802, with Captain Sr. Paul Castagnet and as armateur, Jacques Conte. On 10th August 1802, in Mozambique, the Captain declared that he was in possession of 15,000 ‘patacas espanholas’ for the slave trade and other goods that would be sold in Ile de France. 516 slaves were disembarked from the ship in Ile de France on 17th October 1802. On the 28th of the same month, the sale of the slaves from the Confiance was already advertised in a local newspaper, “s’adresser à Icery, à l’établissement Monneron au bord de la mer, où est la traite”, tandis que les officiers vendent leurs noirs de port permis à bord du navire.” During this period at least twelve Portuguese ships arrivals in Port Louis, Ile de France have been recorded between 1802-07.⁵⁶

2. HOW 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 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 understand better the slave trade and the issue of profitability beyond the figures, one must not rely on the official itinerary of a ship, but one must actually follow the real trajectory and pay close attention to the timing of the voyages, their tonnage and the goods that they contained and country for which they were really destined.

Napoleon had concluded a Peace

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The practice of diverting ships bound for the Indies, or going back to Europe for short slave trading voyages to Madagascar and Eastern Africa, started as early as 1723, according to Filliot.⁵⁷

Thus, voyages, officially listed as

Reference 1282 - 0.01% Coverage

402 livres for China.⁵⁹

An innovation brought by French East India Company ships coming into the Indian Ocean was that they did not use French textiles in the slave trade; Indian textiles were far cheaper and so, when they brought French textiles, they sold it off in the Mascarenes where they were bought at high prices by the French settler population. Indian textiles were also purchased in India and then exchanged for slaves destined for the Mascarenes and the Americas.

More evidence of the distinctiveness

Reference 1283 - 0.01% Coverage

shipwreck of the *Utile* which

left Malagasy slaves stranded on Tromelin Island for several years. He describes the trade as a 'double traite' (double trade). He believes that historians have ignored the shorter trips made by the same ships that made long-distance voyages.⁶⁰

Both Toussaint and Mettas missed

Reference 1284 - 0.01% Coverage

and Mettas missed these short

trips in their lists. Richard Allen has come to the same conclusion and is also substantially reviewing Toussaint's and Filliot's figures. Thus, during the Seven Years War (1756-1763), when the Governor based in Mauritius banned the slave trade, his orders were ignored by the Captain of the *Utile*, Jean de Lafarge, who embarked, not only cattle and rice from Madagascar, but slaves also. Many other such cases abound. East Indian Company ships also carried slaves during the ban, but this information never entered Company account books. One example is the *Jesus Maria Jose* which, in 1761, carried 210 slaves from Mozambique to Mauritius. When the ship reached Mauritius, the Company had to buy the slaves at 55 piastres each.

Double traite also occurred with

Reference 1285 - 0.01% Coverage

back.

The same occurred from

Bordeaux: *La Victoire* left on 27th June 1783, reached Mauritius on 8 November, then to Kilwa, where it bought 200 slaves and then on to Bombetoc (Madagascar), when it bought 80 slaves. We do not know yet how many reached Mauritius. The same ship went back to Mozambique, bought 162 slaves and went on to the Cape and Haiti. Cochon Trop Long owned the *Oiseau* which left Bordeaux 2 March 1786, made 5 voyages, 4 of which were between Mauritius and East Africa. His last trip was to the USA. According to Guerout, there was perfect 'synchronism' in activities between Marseilles and Bordeaux between 1781 and 1792.

Outfitting the slave ship

The 'success' of a slaving voyage depended on the careful planning and the work of three individuals on board the ship: the barrel-maker ('tonnelier'), the carpenter and the cook. The

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Truth and Justice Commission 21

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carpenter had to rebuild the interior of the hold to accommodate as many slaves as possible; the comfort of slaves not being a major consideration. But the ship also had to accommodate other items: provisions, water, cargo etc. The barrel-maker had to supply abundant fresh water, particularly for long distances or lengthy voyages.

The financing of slave voyages was a high-risk venture. French long-distance trade, including slave trade voyages, was an expensive high-risk venture. Either only the wealthy could engage in, or those who had also invested in other ventures. Long-distance trade could generate very high profits because of arbitrage and because the costs of high investment declined as distances increased. The financing of the slave trade has, however, been little studied generally, even though evidence points to the fact that banks and international commerce did finance the Atlantic slave trade.⁶¹ Whether the same occurred in the Indian Ocean remains to be established.

Our preliminary reading indicates that for the Indian Ocean, much of the capital required was financed through the ‘sociétés’ (companies) created, and where various groups and individuals provided the funds with the main person retaining majority shares. Moreover, those who financed the slave voyages were, more often than not, from existing merchant families, i.e. in St. Malo. When they did not have sufficient funds, they associated with merchants from other ports or even with the nobility.⁶²

In Mauritius (Ile de France

Reference 1287 - 0.01% Coverage

to be created and to

engage in slave trading was no less than one created by Mahé de Labourdonnais himself, on the ships Aigle and Parfaite in 1742 and Jupiter and in 1744.

An interesting study by Albane Forestier has looked at the slave trade from the point of view of principal-agent problems in the port of La Rochelle, between 1763 and 1792. This appeared particularly acute in long-distance trade where the principal armateur had no control over what the agent was doing in the trade; the jargon called this ‘agent opportunism’.⁶³

Solutions found

included a reliance

Reference 1288 - 0.01% Coverage

those of the armateur.’⁶⁶

5 per cent of the slave sale; Captains’ monthly wages amounted to 150 to 200 livres per month and 5 to 7 percent commission on slave sales. They were also sometimes given a slave and bonuses. This ensured that slaves were taken care of during the voyages. According to Leforestier, these salaries were high.⁶⁷

According to Forestier, by the

Reference 1289 - 0.01% Coverage

Atlantic and Indian Oceans.⁶⁸

development of these networks, born from slave trading and other activities, created a moral community “in which mutual trust could flourish and which benefited to commercial activities”. It led to a trading

bourgeoisie with an ideology that underpinned social and cultural norms and which could be differentiated, at the national level, from other socio-economic groups.'69

In Mauritius, the emergence of

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Agents received between 2 and

VOL 4 : PART VI – SLAVE TRADE AND SLAVERY – SLAVE TRADE 1720s TO 1820s

versus French traders, with English

Reference 1291 - 0.01% Coverage

3. PROFITS, PORTS AND PRICES

The differences between the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean's experience of the mid to late 18th century are quite stark. Two examples: in contrast to the Caribbean where the Haitian revolution and a fall in plantation production decreased long-distance trade 'for a generation', in Mauritius sugar and plantation production increased. Secondly, the impact of European wars on the slave trade differed in the two oceans. Unlike in the Atlantic, in the Indian Ocean the wars were not necessarily detrimental to the slave trade or trade in general, as corsair activity in particular proved very profitable.

Thus, "War changed the way

Reference 1292 - 0.01% Coverage

investment resembled one in droiture.

The Seven Years' War differed in its impact on slave trade:

1. It reduced considerably slave trading from Nantes to Atlantic but what about other ports? To Indian Ocean, for example?
2. French figures have not

Reference 1293 - 0.01% Coverage

a small number of ships.

3. There was a boom period in 1780s for the Atlantic, but what about Indian Ocean? In the Indian Ocean too, a huge boom in slave trade was caused partly by the rise in the Swahili states.

A third area of difference between the two oceans is the profits derived from the slave trade which was possibly more consequential in the Indian Ocean than in the Atlantic. This deserves further study in the future.

PROFITS

The profits emanating from

Reference 1294 - 0.01% Coverage

study in the future.

PROFITS

The profits emanating from the slave trade have been the subject of study in the Atlantic Ocean for a long time by pre-industrial economists and cliometricians. According to Daudin, there are three methods to

study slave trade profits: first, theoretical results from competition theory; secondly, theoretical reconstruction of profit rates, and thirdly, examination of traders' accounts.⁷¹
different estimates of annual profit

Reference 1295 - 0.01% Coverage

and 10 per cent.⁷³

For the Indian Ocean, it would appear from the Literature that there was more chance of the Indian Ocean slave trade being in the long run more profitable than in the Atlantic for the period after 1780s. Daudin's study thus recommends the use of Private Archives to calculate the profits of the slave trade; in other words, to examine the aggregate data of one armateur and one vessel. There are, however, few detailed studies of voyages relevant to giving a conclusive answer. We are better able to understand the mechanism and operation of the slave trade through recent works of French historians published by the Anneaux de la Mémoire Association in Nantes.

Research so far on sources on Mauritius does not reveal much about profits derived from the slave trade: in 1760s, profits from Madagascar were considered negligible for locals, according to a letter from Governor Dumas on the 'Bénéfices de la traite à Madagascar' in 1768:

"Si la traite produit des

Reference 1296 - 0.01% Coverage

sol dans la caisse?"⁷⁴

However, on other occasions, profits were clearly made. Captain Francois Remi Cotte of the Saturne wrote to the armateurs that he had made a 92% profit from trading 503 slaves at 760 livres per slave in and selling them for 1600 livres.

A word about currency is

Reference 1297 - 0.01% Coverage

to study this in depth.

Agents and armateurs were the principal persons involved in the economic side of the trade: agents received commissions for the sale of slaves for all transactions. Captains too benefited, while the armateur, often sitting in La Rochelle or Nantes etc. had to wait for the profits to materialise slowly from the time the slaves were sold, since plantation owners took their time to pay. Profits were thus long-term profits. This no doubt led Garesché to write: "Expeditions for the slave trade only make victims now [...]. Captains, agents are the only ones to benefit from it, and the armateur is forced to bear loss or grow old waiting for profits".⁷⁶

Risks involved in those days

Reference 1298 - 0.01% Coverage

not necessarily reach the Mascarenes.

Pétre-Grenouilleau notes: "[...] que la durée d'amortissement du prix d'un captif est courte (un an et demi à la Barbade anglaise, vers 1645), que l'individu en question représente un capital toujours disponible, et qu'il ajoute au prestige de son propriétaire".⁷⁸ The return from slaves, in terms of production, was also discussed in various reports to the Chambre de Commerce at Nantes. For instance, in the Archives

Départementales, the amount of sugar produced is discussed, relative to the cost of slaves in different years.⁷⁹

PORTS

It is also important

Reference 1299 - 0.01% Coverage

in different years.⁷⁹

PORTS

It is also important to look at the role of specific ports engaged in the slave trade to the Indian Ocean and the Mascarenes specifically, as there are significant differences between the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic. The most important port for French slave trading for the Atlantic was Nantes, but not so for the Indian Ocean. Five main ports were engaged in the Indian Ocean.

According to Toussaint's compilation in

Reference 1300 - 0.01% Coverage

Toulon

What about Naval ships?

We will therefore look at each of these ports briefly and assess the volume of ships arriving at Isle de France and which were possibly carrying slaves.

The general situation of trade in these ports will be analysed first, and then information given about their relationship with Mauritius, wherever information is available. The percentage of slaves taken away from their homeland by the ships leaving these ports has been estimated as: Nantes 41.3 per cent, Bordeaux 11.4 per cent, La Rochelle 11.3 per cent, the Havre 10.8 per cent.

BORDEAUX The first ship to arrive in Mauritius carrying slaves was the Bretagne from Pondichéry.

As Bordeaux came late to the slave trade, it faced tough competition from other ports, and this may have been a reason why it switched its source to the Eastern African coast. It developed rapidly, having a rich hinterland and producing wine. Thus trade flourished, including slave trade. It became France's second slaving port after Nantes.

According to Eric Saugera's work, the first slave ship started out from Bordeaux in 1672 and last one in 1837. Between those dates, some 480 ships left Bordeaux for the French Caribbean and carried 150,000 or more Africans from their homeland.⁸¹

The first trading venture was

Reference 1301 - 0.01% Coverage

small part in early years.

Out of 386 slaving ships, the destinations were as follows: 270 St. Domingue (Haïti) 31 Martinique 13 Guadeloupe 14 Cuba (19th century) 37 Mauritius⁸²

267 166 129 54 40

Reference 1302 - 0.01% Coverage

rather a quadrangular trade.⁸³

trade which began to make her the second slave port of France, next to Nantes. In estimation of scholars, the trade involved 130,000 to 150,000 slaves taken away in 480 expeditions, thus representing 11.4 per cent of the total leaving French ports.⁸⁴

However, Bordeaux found in the slave trade a complement to her existing The figure of 480 ships is higher than

the estimate of Saugera. It was not a specialist's activity and, according to the Conservatoire, the ship Captains undertook many other voyages other than slave voyages. Ships used at first were small ships, sloops, goëlettes and corvettes, but after 1763, ships had a higher tonnage, 250 to 500 tonnes.

Our knowledge of slave trading from Bordeaux is partly limited, due to fire occurring in the Port Archives in 1919.⁸⁵

The Journaux de bord are

Reference 1303 - 0.01% Coverage

source for daily events occurring

during a slave trade voyage. The log book of the Patriote from Bordeaux to Mauritius, for example, is one such example, showing that there was not a simple triangular trade: It left Mauritius on 10 April 1789 and arrived in Bordeaux on 17 February 1791. Numerous slave trading stops took place along the way.⁸⁶

The voyage of Licorne is also interesting: although the slaves were destined for the

Atlantic voyage, this ship made a stop over in Mauritius, according to Toussaint on 4 June 1787 before going to Mozambique to procure slaves, and then on to the Cape of Good Hope where some slaves were disembarked before making the Atlantic voyage.⁸⁷

From 1783 to 1793, in total, some 262 slaving voyages were made out, of which 80 ships to the Indian Ocean went from Bordeaux, increasing its share of the slave trade from 5 to 12 per cent.

The first ships from Bordeaux appear to have arrived as early as 1773, clearly having come to engage in the slave trade, judging from their destinations in the South West Indian Ocean (see database): the

Aventurier, a 150-tonne senau, made one voyage in 1773-4 from Bordeaux to the Indian Ocean. It made several trips within the region: to Kerimba, Madagascar, Bourbon and Mauritius, and back to Bordeaux.⁸⁸

It was commanded by Brugevin

Reference 1304 - 0.01% Coverage

Brugevin. The Affiches, Annonces {...} of

13 January 1773 noted that the ship made two stops in Kerimba and Madagascar, before arriving in Port Louis on 9 January 1773, loaded with slaves for Mr. de la Maretty. It then went to Bourbon in March 1773. Another trip was made to Mozambique in 1774. It arrived in Port Louis on 22 June 1774, but the future owner of slaves was not mentioned in the records.

Two further trips were made

Reference 1305 - 0.01% Coverage

stops in Africa or Madagascar.

Not much activity occurred in the 1770s from Bordeaux to the Indian Ocean. In the 1780s, many more ships arrived only to stop again from 1794 to 1795, probably because of the abolition of the slave trade. Corsairs and non-French ships continued supplying Mauritius with slaves illegally. A large number of American ships left Bordeaux to come to the Indian Ocean in this period of 1794-5, but there were no French ships from Bordeaux, it would appear.

Reference 1306 - 0.01% Coverage

La Route des Iles) LORIENT

In Jean Meyer's study, *La France et l'Asie*, it is estimated that over 1,000 trips were made from France to the Indian Ocean. From 1730-1734, according to him, only one armement of the East India Company left Lorient. This increased considerably after 1746 but dwindled again a few years later. Latest figures, compiled by Le Lan for the recent Slæ Trade conference organized by the TJC, estimated at about 92 000, the number of slaves whom the Company exiled, using Lorient as a base.

The first ship from Lorient to bring slaves to Mauritius was *La Méduse* which embarked 237 slaves from Juda. Between 1728 and 1756, all ships appear to have gone to West Africa to procure slaves.

Table 4 Ships arriving from

Reference 1307 - 0.01% Coverage

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Haudrère has stated that the slaving voyages, with 630 slaves on board, between 1729 and for 1730 were a total failure because of the high mortality. He has described these voyages as a 'hecatomb'.⁹⁰

In one ship, out of the 200 slaves, 35 died before reaching the Cape and another 30 died in transit at the

Reference 1308 - 0.01% Coverage

West Africa (Source: Le Lan)

The FEIC had two main trading posts in West Africa: Juda in Dahomey and Gorée in Senegal. In Gorée, a fort had been built where French traders, their slaves and goods were 'secure'. According to Le Lan, « la Compagnie avait de nombreuses implantations de traite en Afrique, dont deux importantes: un fort à l'île de Gorée au Sénégal et un à Juda au Dahomey ainsi que de nombreux points de contact baptisés escales. Un fort était une infrastructure mettant à l'abri les ressortissants français, les captifs et les marchandises, des véléités adverses alors que les escales n'étaient que des parcelles de terrain sur lesquels les chefs indigènes avaient autorisés les français à commercer.»⁹¹

In addition to these ships, the C4 series mentions another ship, the *Fleury*, which was to bring slaves from Senegal, but this is not mentioned in Le Lan's list, for some reason.⁹²

Le Lan has analysed the

Reference 1309 - 0.01% Coverage

see the slaves in the Caribbean.

In bold and larger characters are those which landed slaves in Mauritius, The others went to the Caribbean
N° Année

1 1772 2

Reference 1310 - 0.01% Coverage

Saint-Marc, 31/01/1792

?????

Twelve companies undertook these 19 trips, trading some 6,205 slaves and some 2,910 slaves to Mauritius alone between 1771 and 1791.

MARSEILLES

Marseilles developed a powerful

Reference 1311 - 0.01% Coverage

quicker returns, having traded with Mediterranean countries for so long. One of the most important of slave traders was Georges Roux, who owned the

On Toussaint's list was the

Reference 1312 - 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 1313 - 0.01% Coverage

as from 1784.

ST. MALO

In the French slave trade, St. Malo ranks as perhaps the fifth port and deserves its appellation as the port of corsairs. It started slave trading later than other ports and began when trade restrictions were imposed by peace treaties; it preferred more traditional activities. The Malouins entered the slave trade timidly:

1748 – 1775: 4 voyages per

Reference 1314 - 0.01% Coverage

40 Many reasons have been

advanced for the lack of interest before this period, all the more so intriguing as voices were raised against the slave trade: lack of knowledge of Atlantic compared to other ports, lack of freight (they only had wines and cloth).⁹⁵

21/04/1790 Cap, 30

Reference 1315 - 0.01% Coverage

voyages 1170- 1778: 34 voyages

The biggest trader was Magon de la Balue between 1717 and 1744, but it is between 1748 and 1788 that there was a real boom with largest fortunes made in Marseilles; Magon armed several slave trading ships, Zélé, Le duc de Choiseul, Le Duc de Praslin, Le Modeste. Charles Carrière has compiled a list of some 40

merchants engaged in the slave trade. How many came to the Indian Ocean is not yet known, nor how many of those engaged in slave trading acquired plantations in Mauritius in the 18th century.

129 ships set sail from

Reference 1316 - 0.01% Coverage

Mascarenes between 1767 and 1785.

For 1785 to 1789, 33 ships are listed. Dermigny in *Cargaison Indiennes* lists 6 voyages from Marseilles between 1781 and 1791. How many were engaged in slave trading remains to be determined.

Among the Captains of ships

Reference 1317 - 0.01% Coverage

after the Wars of Succession.

For Mauritius, in the early years of French colonization, St. Malo was the first port to supply slaves regularly, and many 'Malouins' were actively engaged in the slave trade to Mauritius and Reunion. The best known (Malouin) is Governor Labourdonnais himself. Other Governors, such as Bouvier de Lozier and Rene Magon, also contributed to the expansion of the slave population on the island.

From Port Louis, several voyages were made to procure slaves in India, Madagascar, and Mozambique, while Company ships brought slaves from West Africa. Many of these ships' Captains and traders were from St. Malo.

However, as Roman reminds us, while the corsairs were active in periods of war, during peace time, they were active in trading and in commerce, of which the slave trade played a vital part. How important for the Indian Ocean, and particularly for Mauritius, was corsair activity, has not yet been estimated by historians, who have chosen to study the more 'heroic' past of St. Malo and its people than its corsair and maritime activities.

Roman has also looked at the earlier period, when slave trade was becoming a necessary part of commerce, but was not yet a trade manned by 'professionals'. Many undertook one voyage and then ceased.⁹⁸

There was no barrier between different maritime activities. People engaged in all maritime activities, depending on the circumstances. The existence of 'négociants/négriers' or merchant/slavers was a reality; in other words, people who were merchants were also involved in the slave trade. In St. Malo, the best example and the most famous of these persons was Mesle de Grandclos, whose biography has been written.

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Reference 1318 - 0.01% Coverage

he made 800% profit.⁹⁹

85 ships from St. Malo alone came to Mauritius between 1775 been to Eastern Africa, India and Batavia and brought back slaves.

and 1810. Many of these

Reference 1319 - 0.01% Coverage

Many of these also had

Louis Athanase Ohier was born in 1730 in a modest maritime family and became Captain of several slave trading ships. At the age of 9, he embarked for Pondichéry, and again in 1742-43. Contact with slave trading began when he was on the Grande Vigilante commanded by his uncle, Louis. Other ships included in 1753-4, the Heureux Captif, in 1755, the Perle which was the 11th ship of the grandfather of Surcouf. In 1757, he married Nicole

Reference 1320 - 0.01% Coverage

times. Other trading missions included:

1760-1: Amaranthe, armed by Chateaubriand and commanded by Claude Dominique Avice 1764: Heureux 100 1766:, 1769, 1776, Sévère 1783: arrived in Mauritius on the Deux Soeurs 1785: Mesry (6th slave trading trip on Mesry) 1790: Bon Ménage which went later to Pondichéry

Did he become rich? An inventory of his belongings at time of death of his wife in 1781 lists substantial property. From 5 of his slave trading ventures between 1763 and 1777, he collected some 15,000 livres or on average 3,000 livres per voyage. On the 5 voyages, some 2,200 Africans were captured as slaves, with a commission of 2%. In addition, most slave trading ships also carried pacotilles and so revenues far exceeded the 45,000 livres from slave trading alone.

Beauguard, a millionaire by today's standards is an interesting case to study. Apart from slave trading, he was also engaged in number of voyages to India and China and invested massively in his voyages. 8 slaving voyages between 1763 and 1770 in Indian Ocean and only 4 after 1771 to 1778:

Betsy: Mentor:

50-ton, journey

Reference 1321 - 0.01% Coverage

Pierre Carre.

Decline after 1770

St. Malo's trade in slaves appears to decline after 1770. In later years, many traders abandoned slave trading. Pottier de la Houssaye continued, as did Mesle de Grandclos. But the others, Hercouet, Deshaies, Harrington, Dubois and Fichet Desjardins, abandoned the trade.

Toussaint, who consulted archives relating to arrivals in Mauritius, noted that between 1769 and 1810, only 54 ships arrived from St. Malo. According to Roman, who has tried to complement this information by consulting French archives between 1771 to 1792, 100 ships left for the Indian Ocean, 4 per year.

Saint Malo sent 54 to Ile de France and 24 to China and India. Ten of them passed through Lorient, Marseille and Bordeaux, a fact of which Toussaint, was not aware, according to Roman. 8 never reached their destination, 2 were seized by the British, three were shipwrecked and 2 are not known and 1 was abandoned in Bordeaux. Many St. Malo slave traders relocated to other ports.

Ships involved in slave trading included: the Victoire in 1783 from Bordeaux and 3 from Marseille: the Duc d'Orléans, Bon Ménage and Eugenie.

1793 to 1803

Trade continued

Reference 1322 - 0.01% Coverage

and Eugenie.

1793 to 1803

Trade continued but was much slower; ships coming out of St. Malo to Indian Ocean included: the Bon Ménage belonging to Harrington, that came to Mauritius, traded in slaves in Mozambique and took them

to Martinique. Between 1793-4, the *Navigateur* of Captain Lejof, with young Surcouf on board, undertook 2 voyages to Mozambique: it bought over 1000 slaves, but we do not know yet how many came to Mauritius. In 1795, Surcouf armed a ship *La Créole* to trade slaves in Mozambique. Other possible slave ships to the Mascarenes include: *Général Moreau* belonging to Corson and Deshays, commanded by Le Forestier, *Minerve*, *Fortune* and *Marengo* going to Mauritius. Only *Petite Africaine* was a known slaver; at 143 tonnes, it was armed by Le Même and Gautier and commanded by Jacques Pinou des Prairies.

It was taken by the

Reference 1323 - 0.01% Coverage

from Zanzibar to Mauritius.¹⁰²

Surcouf This family, including the grandfather and great uncle of Robert Surcouf, had been trading in slaves since the 1720s. St. Malo played its role in the illegal slave trade, with Robert Surcouf operating between 1815 and 1824.

Name of Ship *Frogerus*

Amitié

Reference 1324 - 0.01% Coverage

1792 26 August 1792

NANTES

We have little information yet on how many ships arrived in Mauritius before the end of Company rule. The latest research on Nantes-Mauritius slave trade comes from Alain Romaine who noted some 15 ships registered with the Amirauté and who went to Mozambique to procure slaves.¹⁰³

Name of Ship

AIMABLENANON

DRAGON

Reference 1325 - 0.01% Coverage

per cent after 1763.¹⁰⁵

During the period between 1773 and 1810, studied by Toussaint, a total of 43 ships came from Nantes to the Mascarenes. How many traded in slaves is not yet clear.

1772 and 1778: However, as

Reference 1326 - 0.01% Coverage

or French products.

LA ROCHELLE

Generally, according to Deveau who has focused on the Caribbean, 427 ships left La Rochelle to engage in slave trading.¹⁰⁶

As with Bordeaux and Nantes

Reference 1327 - 0.01% Coverage

them, from The boost to

1716 to trade privately in slaves as long a tropical products were brought back to the port: wood, sugar coffee etc. According to Deveau, these were extremely profitable ventures.¹⁰⁷

trade came in 1784 with a prime of 40 livres given to every tonne jauge. Evidence is fragmentary since we do not have in France private archives of slave trading companies. However, there is physical evidence that companies improved their economic status with trading families living in middle class neighbourhoods in La Rochelle today. It makes slave trading all the more inhuman since the gains were not necessarily worth the cost in human lives.

As elsewhere, slave trading was a family affair. Few would undertake the financing of a slave voyage alone and usually took on partners from the family and shared profits proportionately. Trade dwindled during the Revolutionary Period and ended completely by 1792 because of the revolution in Haiti. The slave traders organized lobbies to maintain the trade and were supported by metal and textile manufacturers who were supplying slave ships. They sent a representative, Jean Baptiste Nairac, to defend their cause in the National Assembly on the grounds that lack of trade would bring ruin to the port. The slave trade was maintained.¹⁰⁸

As far as Mauritius was

Reference 1328 - 0.01% Coverage

1777 Lorient 26.7.1775

VOL 4 : PART VI – SLAVE TRADE AND SLAVERY – SLAVE TRADE 1720s TO 1820s BREST

There was very little slave trading between the Port of Brest and Mauritius. Most ships were Government ships, and it is not known whether they carried slaves before 1762. However, the last slave trading ship the Épervier from Brest went to the Indian Ocean and to Mauritius; it made its slave trading journey from Ibo disembarking on 3 January 1785. Although the records showed a Brest to Brest trip, they fail to mention the slave trading trip to Ibo. We do not know yet how many slaves came to Mauritius.

From Brest also came some

Reference 1329 - 0.01% Coverage

1765 LE HAVRE ET HONFLEUR

According to Eric Saunier, the Hague and Honfleur saw the start of about 500 slaving voyages.¹⁰⁹ Out of these, however, according to

Reference 1330 - 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 1331 - 0.01% Coverage

disembarked in the colonies

ROCHEFORT

The hinterland at Rochefort was ideal for trading, as it supplied the crew required for long-haul voyages, even though slave trade was not that important. The Boulongne and the Boutin, both of equal tonnage, arrived on the same day in Mauritius (see slave trade database 1729-1765). Whether they carried slaves is not known yet.

Non-European ports have rarely been considered in the list of ports being studied for the slave trade. But as the list below shows, these were numerous. Our knowledge of the slave trade will not be complete unless these are studied too and their role in the slave trade examined. Also of
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Reference 1332 - 0.01% Coverage

16 17 20 20
PRICES

Accounting historians have also been investigating how the accounts of the slave trade were kept. A unique journal, the Guide du commerce, written by Gaignat de l'Aulnais in 1771, has led to a detailed and equally unique historical study by Cheryl McWatters.¹¹⁰

According to McWatters:
“Le Guide

Reference 1333 - 0.01% Coverage

relatives à la « cargaison » humaine”.

In this journal, McWatters highlights the basic documents required for a slave trading expedition, according to Gaignat. These were: “Le journal de traite, le livre de factures, le journal de vente
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Reference 1334 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 49

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

To assess the value, in modern terms, of the price of the slave, one must look at the prices at which slaves were bought and sold in the country of origin, as well as when they were landed in Mauritius and when they were traded internally.

Not all trading was carried out in currency and slaves, in the country of origin, were often exchanged, but this exchange often involved currency.

Slaves continued to bring in revenue from transactions, even after they were sold to a master for they could be hired to others. Thus in 1735, the Conseil Supérieur fixed the tariffs of hire of slaves at 15 piastres.¹¹¹

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

The medium of exchange was at first textiles, rum and muskets. But the Malagasy increasingly began to demand hard currency, in Spanish piastres. By 1807, the French trader, Sylvain Roux, wrote that slaves cost 45 piastres as well as 2 bales of blue cloth. i.e. forming 80% of the transaction.¹¹²

The French Government believed such trade could only be profitable, if it had exclusive rights over Madagascar slave trading, because it could not compete with private traders: “La traite à Madagascar: La partie nord de Madagascar ne peut nous être utile ici pour la traite du Roi et des esclaves, que lorsque le Roi y aura fait un établissement exclusif [...]”¹¹³

It appears that traders had

Reference 1335 - 0.01% Coverage

the currency used in Mauritius.

Prices ranged widely according to the country of origin at the time. Prices mentioned here refer to a male adult slave, the typical slave sought after for the various tasks being undertaken in Mauritius.¹¹⁵

In the early years of ‘Isle de France’, slaves could be procured for 100 livres. In 1732, the East India Company bought Indian slaves at 3-4 piastres per head in India.

Within Mauritius, however, in 1738, slaves were being sold for far more at 200 piastres per slave.¹¹⁶

This was still the case in 1745 for Mozambican and Malagasy slaves, while West African slaves were the most preferred and sold at 250 piastres per slave.¹¹⁷ for a slave from Madagascar.¹¹⁸

By 1758, this had gone

Reference 1336 - 0.01% Coverage

gone up to 400 piastres

In 1763, it was stated that the Company was selling slaves cheaper than private traders: Malagasy and Mozambican slaves at 25-30 piastres per slave, while those from Goa fetched 40-45 piastres.¹¹⁹ On 30 November 1767, M. Poivre provided details of prices of slaves:¹²⁰

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Reference 1337 - 0.01% Coverage

90 piastres according to Froberville

HOW WERE SLAVES SOLD IN MAURITIUS? Slaves were sold in various ways if they were introduced legally.

Slaves brought by the Company would be ‘distributed’ between the various inhabitants who had required them.

Others would be sold by the notary usually in his office Slaves were also sold at auctions. One recorded site of sale was at the Place d’Armes.

In the 1790s, because of the smallpox epidemic, slaves were sold on board after being vaccinated. This occurred on the Saturne whose voyage has been described in detail by Alain Romaine.¹²¹

Information about the arrival of slaves on ships was given to the public by a poster appearing on walls, at least in the 1760s: “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”.

We have not been able

Reference 1338 - 0.01% Coverage

the MCB and the MSIRI.

When Liberated Africans were brought, they too passed through the same Customs House as slaves. A certain continuity thus existed in the sites used for embarkation. After formalities were completed, they were taken to the Immigration Depot where they would be registered as indentured immigrants just like the indentured labourers who were later brought from India.

These sites need to be adequately memorialised, since currently there are no such sites related to the landing of slaves in Mauritius. While other landing places exist for people who have come as immigrants, such as the Salines or at the Aapravasi Ghat, a memorial place for those people brought as 'cargo' is also necessary so that the Mauritian population may see and understand the the full breadth and all facets of how immigration has occurred in Mauritius.

THE GOODS

Ships brought back

Reference 1339 - 0.01% Coverage

occurred in Mauritius.

THE GOODS

Ships brought back slaves as well as rice, cattle and sacks made of 'vacoa' in exchange for piastres, muskets, cloth from Madagascar.

exchange for Spanish pataques, pottery

Reference 1340 - 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 But it was not any clothing that was demanded by slave From Mozambique, ivory, gold and cowries were traded in

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traders; Indian printed or painted cotton were in high demand. These cloths had been made in India but gradually, they began to be manufactured in France. They were commonly called 'indiennes' in French because they had been originally imported, printed or painted from India and gradually copied by French manufacturers. These 'indiennes' were exchanged for slaves in Africa by French traders. According to Gilles Forster, constituting a cargo for slave trading was not cheap as African chiefs were often quite demanding. 60 to 80% of the costs of the slave trading expedition would be taken up by purchasing of the cargo. The demand for textiles and other goods could not be met by one trader alone and the cargo leaving France was often constituted with the help of manufacturers outside 'indiennes'.

France. Textile manufacturers in Switzerland

Reference 1341 - 0.02% Coverage

in Switzerland often supplied these

However, this history is also linked to the flight of Protestants from France and Switzerland, when they also took with them the knowledge and textile trading which was linked to the slave trade. While people are familiar with abolition of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, another event also occurred, namely the ban on

importing painted cloths. The flight of Protestants is linked to the opening up of new factories along the Rhine to produce these *indiennes*.

With the wars in Europe in the 1750s and early 60s, contacts between Dutch and French companies were disrupted since French traders turned inwards in Europe towards the Swiss to supply them with the *indiennes*. The spiritual unity and marriage links of Huguenot diasporas strengthened these business contacts between manufacturers of *indiennes* and those involved in with the slave trade. After 1759, when the ban on production of painted cloth was lifted, many Swiss textile manufacturers settled in France, notably the Jeanjacquier, Pasquier and Koenig families.

A language of the textile trade exclusively destined for the slave trade emerged: *guinées blanches* ou *bajutapaux*, *bleues*, *guingas*, *korrots*.

4. THE SLAVE VOYAGE TRAUMA DURING THE PASSAGE

Much has been written about revolts and mortality on board ships and very little will be said of this here. More recently, attention has been focused on the state of mind of slaves during the wait in the slave depot, and during the transportation on ships and the psychological trauma that ensued. If narratives of the passage abound for immigrants later in the century, they are sorely missing from the slavery record in the Indian Ocean; only the acts of slaves give us some indication of their state of mind.

The journal of the *Espérance* also shows the psychological trauma endured by the enslaved through the case of one female slave who allowed herself to die. She was described as being ‘*tracassée*’ or worried, ‘*roulant d’un bord sur l’autre et chantant ensuite est tombée dans un assoupissement dont elle est morte*’.¹²³

In some cases, the crew took the trouble to avoid any additional trauma for the slaves. Again, on the *Espérance*, when a baby and mother died, they were thrown overboard, with the baby being later found in the belly of a shark. This discovery was hidden from the slaves for fear of upsetting them, since it was feared that this might lead to a revolt.¹²⁴

What enslaved peoples felt and thought as they boarded the ship taking them away can only be guessed at by those of us today. One can only imagine those moments through accounts of people who witnessed this departure. Henry Salt, witness to these moments, reflected on this: “I subsequently saw several dances of the same kind, in the slave-yards on the island of Mozambique; but on these occasions it appeared to me that the slaves were compelled to dance. I shall never forget the expression of one woman’s countenance, who had lately, I understood, been brought from the interior. She was young, and appeared to have been a mother, and when constrained to move in the circle, the solemn gloom that pervaded her features, spoke more forcibly than any language, the misery of her forlorn condition.

If there be a septic

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hesitates to approve of the abolition of the slave trade, let him visit one of these African slave yards, a short time before a cargo of these wretched beings is exported, and if he have a spark of humanity left it will surely strike conviction to his mind”.¹²⁵

Figure 2: Mossuril, from which

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2. MORTALITY AND REVOLT

Slave mortality on board ships has yet to be quantified accurately by statisticians and demographers. Estimates range from 10% to 50%, depending on the length of the voyage, supplies on board, disease,

resistance of slaves etc. From East Africa, the figure was 21%. From West Africa, mortality was estimated to be between 25 to 30%.¹²⁷ mortality' appeared higher than for the Atlantic.¹²⁸ According to Richard Allen, the

Reference 1344 - 0.01% Coverage

average a 28% death rate.

However, as Gerbeau reminds us, distance does not necessarily explain levels of mortality since other factors may be responsible: the illegal status of the voyage, for example, and the need to cram as many slaves on board, the spread of disease etc. In the 1790s, this had not changed. The *Saturne*, however, registered 9 % mortality during its voyage, in November 1793 from Kilwa, a lower percentage than the 14% figure provided by Allen and Filliot.¹²⁹

When the French East India Company administered the island, it rewarded officers for bringing slaves alive.¹³⁰

According to Le Lan, this is because it hoped to make huge profits of the slave trade. Regulations were established for this purpose. Rewards were given to the Captain, 1st and 2nd Truth and Justice Commission 53

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lieutenant for every slave brought alive to Mauritius. Thus, in June 1724, the Company acknowledged that officers were undertaking perilous missions that required intelligence and dedication, if slaves were to be brought alive. In addition to recommending that the best officers be engaged in this trade, a list of remuneration

Reference 1346 - 0.01% Coverage

the grade of officers, was

established. The lower orders, sailors etc., did not receive anything. Table 12: Pay given to naval officers trading in slaves

Source: Le Lan, 10.

By

Reference 1347 - 0.01% Coverage

slaves

Source: Le Lan, 10.

By 1749, this reward had increased to 25 livres per slave brought alive and 70 livres cargo exceeding a certain number.¹³¹ Thus, for a ship carrying 400 slaves and with a mortality rate

for every

of 25%, this

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a mortality rate
for every

of 25%, this reduced the slave cargo to 300 slaves. On the first 200 slaves alive, 25 livres per head would be given, totalling 5,000 livres. On the 100 remaining, 70 livres per slave i.e., 7000 livres were paid. Total rewards thus would amount to 12,000 livres. This was distributed as follows:

- To Captain - To Lieutenant
- To

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livres 1650 livres 900 livres

However, the fact that revolts often caused the deaths of slaves, a small part of the mortality can be attributed to these. It was disease, ill health and change of diet that caused heavy mortality.

Revolt and escape
The revolts

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heavy mortality.

Revolt and escape

The revolts of slaves on board have been studied to some extent by several authors: Peerthum, Allen, Filliot. Both revolt and escape occurred on board and appeared to have been expected, when the ship was being outfitted for voyage i.e., extra strong fences, more guards etc were provided. For ships bound for Mauritian ships, a number have been documented in earlier studies: Allen's database of voyages lists only 23 voyages with revolts. Vernet's transcription of the journal of the *Espérance* also shows escapes occurred among women as well.

Epidariste Colin who was on board these slaving voyages made several observations on the voyages to the Mascarenes: "Je dirai d'abord qu'on embarque trop d'esclaves sur les navires de traite". On the one which he observed, a ship of 100 tonnes, there were 318 slaves on board: only 128 reached Mauritius alive. Had it taken only 200 slaves, he commented, mortality would have been much less.¹³²

He was also against the

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people more likely to revolt.

The change in diet proved fatal for many slaves; it was months before they were fed on vegetables. There was little variety as they were fed on rice twice a day, and rarely had maize or millet. The

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worst feature of the voyage, according to Colin, on board was the excrement piling up in barrels and which was only seldom changed every quarter: the smell itself made slaves more ill. Ventilation was a huge problem, despite incense being burned to counter the putrid smells. Dysentery was the greatest killer.¹³³

Conclusion
Attempts to abolish the

Reference 1353 - 0.01% Coverage

the greatest killer.133

Conclusion

Attempts to abolish the slave trade during the French period had been aborted by the slave traders themselves. But in the 19th century, this was less possible. In French ports, the commercants of the Hague attracted all those traders, French and British, and it became the centre of opposition to the abolition of the slave trade. The Hague refused any extension of Human Rights in 1791 to free coloured population of the port. This has earned the port a notorious reputation for defending slavery.

Freemasonry was also closely linked to both the slave trade and its abolition, as many traders were also members of the freemason societies as well as of the Amis des Noirs.

After 1815, it is almost impossible to trace the trade between Mozambique and Mauritius since the slave trade was officially abolished in Mauritius and everything carried out in an even more surreptitious manner than before. An illegal slave trade ensued. Estimates of the illegal slave trade are based on material wherever this information is provided accidentally i.e., when a ship was seized or sunk or a revolt occurred. Sometimes, as Laurent Pavlidis has shown, it came from ports that had little to do with the slave trade. Accurate figures have not been compiled as yet, but the most recent estimate is that 52,550 slaves were illegally imported. Mozambican slaves formed the majority of slaves (60%) before 1806-1808. After that period, illegal trading led to Malagasy slaves being brought in. The percentage of Malagasy slaves in the total slave population rose from 25.1% to 36.8 % in 1826.

3. MEMORY AND IDENTITY 1

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IDENTITY 1. THE PEOPLE INVOLVED

A large number of studies have been undertaken on the slave trade and published in various works: (a) on internal networks, slave routes by Alpers and Zimba, Alpers and Teelock, MGI conference papers, all show active local involvement of Arab Frenh Portuguese traders, local Makhuwa and Yao chiefs, Portuguese and French officials.

(b) Lesser known and more recently, there has been a spate of studies on the owners and outfitters of the slave ships, the 'armement' of the slave ship. These armateurs and their associates entered into slave trading ventures hoping to make 'potentially significant financial returns'. Risks varied, depending on the political and economic situation of the time, but with increased risk came increased expected returns.134

Another feature according to Daudin

Reference 1355 - 0.01% Coverage

capitaux en vase clos."135

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.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 shown that English slave traders were more efficient than the French ones. Stein argues that the personal nature of business structures in the French Atlantic

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from adapting to new opportunities.

Carrière's study of the Marseilles merchants, although not focussed on the slave trade, clearly demonstrates this. Of the 76 merchants in Marseilles, of whom were studied, 482 71% per cent married among themselves. They did not take each other to court but resolved matters amicably (règlement à l'amiable),

According to Carriere's study of

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VOL 4 : PART VI – SLAVE TRADE AND SLAVERY – SLAVE TRADE 1720s TO 1820s Source of table: Le Forestier, 'Principal-Agent Problems in the French Slave Trade'.

There has also been some writing 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

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their ventures than others.¹³⁹

We have few detailed individual studies of slave traders operating in the Mascarenes. Recently, Thomas Vernet has published on Morice who started the French slave trade with Zanzibar, through the log (journal de bord) of the *Espérance*. Morice was perhaps different to most traders but combined the talents of diplomat, explorer, medical man and businessman. His ships carried interpreters speaking Arabic and Swahili and goods but not only for the trade in slaves, but also to supply Mauritius, which was always short of foodstuffs. There have also been studies of Crassous de Medeuil. The genealogy of one family is reproduced below.

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

The Monneron Family

Originally from

Reference 1359 - 0.01% Coverage

P. Buttel (1980)147

state

that on the eve that his fortune was to be confiscated by the British, Louis Monneron gave to his brother Pierre Antoine the responsibility of an expedition to trade on the Mozambican Coast. Pierre Antoine embarked 250 slaves, supposed to make a profit of 20,000 livres when sold in Isle de France, but unfortunately was shipwrecked in the Mozambican Canal before reaching Port Louis.

Pierre Antoine Monneron was an

Reference 1360 - 0.01% Coverage

aged 47.

REPRESENTATION OF CORSAIRS

Today, while many French families are proud of their corsair ancestry, they are less public about the slave trading involvement of that ancestry: “Si le titre de corsair est loin de déplaire dans nos annales de famille, ce n’est pas sans regret que nous trouvons celui de négrier”.150

The same could probably be

Reference 1361 - 0.01% Coverage

left hidden or conveniently forgotten.

However, the extent of corsair involvement in the slave trade was not negligible and must be recognized. Much of French maritime activity, and especially, corsair activity, involved, at some time or another, a slave trading component.

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Truth and Justice Commission 61

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Robert Surcouf’s participation in the slave trade is a case in point. While he is portrayed as a daring navigator and adventurer in a number of studies about him in Mauritius, his past as slave trader is not often mentioned. He started at the very young age, of 16, when he embarked on the *Aurore* in 1789. Apart from Mauritius, the ship went to Pondichéry and Mozambique, where 600 slaves were purchased for the Caribbean. Back in Ile de France in 1791, he found employment in the *Courrier d’Afrique* which engaged in the slave trade with Mozambique and later on *La Revanche*. Two further slave trading voyages were undertaken on *Le Navigateur*, when 312 slaves were purchased in Mozambique and a further 360 in Madagascar. In 1795, he was given the command of the *Créole* and proceeded on an illegal slave trading mission and was even threatened with prosecution. It is from then on that his ‘career’ as a corsair began. Roman, however, believes that Surcouf continued slave trading activities; the *Marie Ann* in 1819 went from Senegal to Martinique and in the *Victor*. Between 1815 and 1827, of the 20 expeditions organized by Surcouf, 6 of them, Roman believes, were slave trading voyages.

Although detecting the slave trade was difficult, today it is possible through a detailed study of tonnage, cargo on board, to infer slave trading. When a small boat carries more food than the crew could possibly eat, one can infer that there would be more people, such as slaves, on board. The number of days spent in a particular location, such as on the Malagasy or East African coast, or the trajectory are also possible indications of the slave trading activities of a ship.

The ease by which corsairs could switch to the role of slave traders also implied that their ships could be easily adapted. In Mauritius, the most famous of such vessels was *La Confiance* which had 3 masts, was of 364 tons, armed by a Bordelais, Jacques Conte. After capturing 8 British ships, Jacques Conte,

according to Roman, was tempted by the profits and armed her for slave trading. In May 1802, she embarked 500 slaves who were sold in Mauritius. Its next trip was also for slave trading, but this time, it visited India to purchase of textiles, then on to Angola, where 400 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 SLAVE TRADE 2.1. NUMBERS AND ETHNICITIES

In addition to aggregate numbers, an idea of the proportion of slaves being brought from diverse ethnic and geographic origins is important to understand the cultural background of slaves and their descendants. A rough compilation derived from R. Allen's work shows the following:

Year 1670-1769 Country of

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31% 9%

59% 38% 3%

It is clear that at different times, different sources of slaves were tapped, thus influencing the cultural composition and cultural evolution of the island. By 1753, in Mauritius the French had begun to categorise the slaves according to their region of origin and their propensity for certain types of work:

From Guinea –including all slaves from West coast of Africa Truth and Justice Commission 62

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From Mozambique – the whole of

Reference 1364 - 0.01% Coverage

east of Cape Cormorin.151

This categorisation was to be used continually in Mauritius in surveys of slaves, definition and occupational allocation; it contributed to the emergence of new categories that defined slaves' identities. These categories remained throughout the 19th century and continue today to influence Mauritians' perceptions of their origins.

As can be seen, these terms were not only highly subjective at that time, but also by covering very large range of geographical origins, they included people of different linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

However, categorisations did not coincide with how people in those regions saw or defined themselves.

The task of unravelling the different origins of the diverse people who made up this uniformising category of 'Mozambican', 'Indian', 'Malagasy' etc. has started with the Origins project at the NMCAC and needs to continue, if we are to understand more about the real origins of slaves.

The slave registration returns, produced nearly a century later between 1826 and 1835, show roughly the same categorisations being used. However, new categories were included which reflected changes in Mauritian slave society: 'Créole' i.e., slaves born locally. It is from these registration returns, that one can see the multiple ethnicities present in Mauritius during slavery:

Country of origin starting with

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Eastern Africa coast and mainland.

Malgache: The third largest group among slaves, also comprising all different groups in Madagascar, including a certain number of Mozambicans exported to Madagascar.

The following groups are represented

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des Six îles Arabe Cochin

In a few years, if the collection of data continues on the slave trade in Mauritius and in France, it may be possible to trace the ship by which slaves arrived, even though we may not find the actual place of origin. By combining data from slave registers, an examinations of the real itinerary, information about the sale of slaves obtained from notarial records, we believe a complete picture for some families can be put together.

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There appears also to be a correlation between the surname of a slave and the ships trading in slaves.

An example lies in the slaves who arrived in Mauritius in 1793 having embarked from Kilwa, although they did not necessarily come from Kilwa, and possibly from further inland.

Through

papers relating to onward

Reference 1368 - 0.01% Coverage

possibly from further inland.

Through

papers relating to onward of primes for each slave, detailed accounts were kept, and the owner of the slaves was mentioned. In this case, Bonhomme and Frappier and Co. bought 441 slaves from Kilwa. Years later, the slave registration returns reveal that in 1826, Bonhomme is listed as having 186 slaves. Some of them bear ‘marques d’inoculation’: this is consistent with the period when they were brought since an epidemic had broken out, and slaves were vaccinated. By 1826 however, there were not only slaves born overseas but a large proportion of locally born slaves, with 90 Creole slaves, 76 slaves from Mozambique or from East Africa. Only 6 slaves were Malagasy, confirming that his cargo was purchased from Kilwa. 57 were women and were to be found mainly in the Creole group.

A Mozambique was therefore anyone

Reference 1369 - 0.01% Coverage

and continued later with Mauritius.

Count Ericeira recommended to the Capitaine-General of Mozambique to provide all facilities for the French slave trade with Mozambique. In 1721, two French ships went to Mozambique, the Duchesse de Noailles and L’Indien.

Almost 13 years later, in 1733, the next ship, the Vierge de Grâce went to Mozambique. It took 356 slaves on board, but only 147 arrived alive to Reunion. In 1735, Labourdonnais recommended that a trading station should be established on the West Coast of Madagascar to carry out the slave trade with Mozambique and with the Portuguese.

In 1736, the Légère and

Reference 1370 - 0.01% Coverage

and the Jupiter traded successfully.

The June 1738 regulations, concerning slaves from Mozambique, made provision for 200 livres to cover the passage, food and entry duty:

Figure 4: Regulations concerning the slave trade with Mozambique

La Glorieuse had difficulty because smallpox having broke out there; it went on to Kerimba but took a few slaves and returned to Mozambique, and then to Mauritius.¹⁵²

In 1739 the Mozambique arrived with 360 slaves, of whom 260 had died.¹⁵³ In 1746, the Sumatra traded in slaves in Mozambique¹⁵⁴ 1,000-2,000 slaves a year for a period of five years from 1735 to 1740.¹⁵⁵ Truth and Justice

Reference 1371 - 0.01% Coverage

4 French ships went to

Mozambique to trade slaves in exchange for rice and butter.¹⁵⁷ By 1753, more and more slaves were The definition of what was a Mozambique required for Mauritius. Negotiations with

Reference 1372 - 0.01% Coverage

like the Yao further inland.

Due to fact that much of this was illegal, trading, figures are sketchy. It would seem that some 1,300-1,400 slaves a year were brought to the Mascarenes. By 1758, the French controlled the commerce of the whole coast from Mombasa to Kilwa, up to Ibo.¹⁶¹

In 1759, Vigoureux was one of the slave traders. He was given a ship the St. Luc to trade in Mozambique. He also ordered slaves from other ships, such as the St. Antoine. In Article 32 of the same letter, on 6 July, a Portuguese ship arrived in Port Louis, Jésus Maria Joseph, with 210 slaves from Mozambique.¹⁶² Although it has been stated in the secondary literature, stereotypes of slaves started, when the slave trade increased in the 1760s onwards, the evidence from the French National Archives show stereotyping and categorizing of various ethnicities in one group quite early in the slave trade.

Thus 'Mozambican' slaves became trusted as were West African slaves; they were considered trustworthy enough to be recruited for the defence of the island. Women slaves from Mozambique were also appreciated for their reproductive capacity. Statements made at the time smack of breeding attempts: "Nombre trop modique de négresses Mozambique ou Bengalie [...] chaque vaisseau en apporte 12 ou 15 [...] elles peuplent plus et sont moins debauchées".¹⁶³

SWAHILI COAST

East Africa is

Reference 1373 - 0.01% Coverage

moins debauchées".¹⁶³

SWAHILI COAST

East Africa is considered separately here from 'Mozambique' simply to show that, although the ports were located in what is East Africa today, the actual origins were diverse, as slaves were brought from the hinterland that stretched right into the interior going as far as Malawi and Mozambique. Thus, the journal

of the *Espérance* although marking slaves as coming from Zanzibar, lists one Makonde slave having died of smallpox.¹⁶⁴

When the French Government took over Mauritius in 1766, a new era in the slave trade ensued. Eastern Africa was highly sought after by the French. But until the 1750s, there do not appear to have been many slaves shipped out from the Swahili coast.

Morice can be said to have inaugurated the slave trade with East Africa.¹⁶⁵ He negotiated and signed the famous 100 year-old treaty with Sultan bin Ibrahim at Kilwa to supply him with 1,000 slaves a year.

According to Vernet, Morice was "un négrier très avisé, tout à la fois excellent diplomate et communicant, co-armateur très attentif à ses intérêts financiers, et ex-chirurgien de marine adepte d'un traitement préventif massif lors d'une épidémie de variole".¹⁶⁶

The French also wanted to give exclusive rights to the Portuguese to the slave trade in the Mascarenes, on condition that French traders were given similar rights in Portuguese trading posts such as Kerimba, Mozambique and others.¹⁶⁷

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Truth and Justice Commission 65

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In 1770, the slave trade increased with Eastern Africa and five times more slaves were brought from Mozambique than from Madagascar.

Between 1785 and 1790, approximately 1,500 slaves left for the Mascarenes each year.

In 1793, corsairs raided the Mozambican coast. According to Filliot, the need for new slaves arose because of the increased rate of manumissions.

On 4th February 1794, the slave trade was suspended, but corsairs and planters collaborated to circumvent the ban. On 25th September 1796, a corsair attacked Inhambane but failed. Early in October, some 100 men, led by French corsairs, attacked the town of Ibo and, two days later, Kerimba island. On 26th October, 2 French ships attacked Lorenzo Marques and burnt the fortress. In 1796, the French expelled the Portuguese from Delagoa Bay and competed with the British and Portuguese for the ivory trade.

Napoleonic wars disrupted trade. An annual average of 9,000 slaves in the late 1780s declined to just over 2,300 in 1794.¹⁶⁸

At the end of 18th century, it was a 'free for all' period with corsairs, Americans and Brazilians competing. On 30th April 1796, the American ship *Active* came to look for slaves and carrying on board, 2,500 Spanish pataques and Bordeaux wine. The Spanish ship *Nossa Senhora da Guia* also came from Buenos Aires bound for Mauritius with 4,000 pataques to buy slaves. Portuguese ships, the *Felix de St. Jose* and *Galgo* left Lisbon for Mauritius but was stopped by the British in 1793.

'WEST AFRICA'

In 1728, the

Reference 1375 - 0.01% Coverage

British in 1793.

'WEST AFRICA'

In 1728, the *Méduse* went to Ouidah to purchase some 400 slaves. Several other ships made the voyage to West Africa, among which were: the *Vierge de Grâce*, the *Diane*, the *Duc de Noailles* and the *Badine*.

In 1729, 2 other ships went to Ouidah and Senegal but because of the high death rate, this source of slaves was discontinued.

By 1731, the FEIC had a monopoly of the slave trade in Madagascar and thus banned the trade with India and Senegal.

Between 1739-1744, under Governor Labourdonnais, some 100 slaves were brought. In 1750, the *Hercule*, the Chevalier Main, Bristols, brought 789 slaves, out of the 1090 who embarked. represented a 30% death rate. The last ship to bring in slaves from West Africa was possibly the *Duc de Choiseul*.

The location where they lived

Reference 1376 - 0.01% Coverage

presence there in Mauritius, 'INDIA'

1728 witnessed arrival of first Indian slaves in Mauritius under French rule. They were sent to the estate of Philippe Lenoir, Governor of Pondichéry.

Governor Dumas brought back free Indian workers and apprentices, some 13 Bengali slaves and 100 young boys and girls from Pondichéry.

A further 173 slaves were sent to prospective settlers from Pondichéry who hoped to settle in Mauritius. In 1730, 45 more slaves arrived from Pondichéry; in February 1731, a further 11 and in October 1731, 38 slaves and 35 'coolies' arrived.

In 1732, Teinturier de Gennicourt

Reference 1377 - 0.01% Coverage

pour nourriture et transport".170

In 1735, 10 slaves were brought. This figure increased when private individuals were also permitted to bring in slaves from India. Labourdonnais' brother-in-law sent 'trois petits noirs et trois petites négrittes de 8 à 9 ans'. He introduced 70 more slaves for his personal use.

In 1750, the desire was still there to bring in slaves from India, as well as other areas for the Company.171

Apart from Pondichéry and Bengal, Goa was also tapped for slaves. The Dargenson was sent to Goa in 1751 by Governor David.172

Slaves from Goa were still brought in 1762. In 1760, very few slaves arrived due to bad condition of the FEIC.

Allen has documented several ships arriving with Indian slaves after 1772; for the 18th century as a whole, he has estimated that between 19,750 and 23,900 slaves arrived from India. Some examples of vessels are the *Chandernagore*, which arrived with 135 Bengal slaves; *Les Amis Réunis* from Jaggernaupooram with 300 slaves (1792), the *Heureuse Marie* with 7 Bengali slaves (1792).173 Further research is needed on Aisn slaves arriving not only from India, but also from South East Asia. However by the time of the 1847 census, no ex-slave reported having been born in India, thus signifying there were few if any from the latter part of the 18th century onwards.

'MADAGASCAR'

From the French East

Reference 1378 - 0.02% Coverage

the 18th century onwards.

'MADAGASCAR'

From the French East India Company's point of view. Madagascar was ideal as a source of supply of slaves for the Mascarenes, since it was cheaper than procuring slaves from India or West Africa. It also

had the monopoly of trade with Madagascar, except for a brief period between 1742 and 1746, when private traders were allowed to trade. The Company had much difficulty in maintaining this trade, however, according to le Lan. He notes that the last slave trading voyage of the Company arrived in 1767; the Walpole, carried 200 slaves, and not a single slave was for the Company.

According to one inhabitant Teinturier, it was better to procure slaves from Madagascar because "ceux de Madagascar sont meilleurs ouvriers, plus intelligents" (Eng.trans. they were better workers, more intelligent). Les noirs de Guinée ont tendance au marronnage et à la perfidie".¹⁷⁴ However, as the colonists found, proximity with Madagascar tempted Malagasy slaves to maroon more often than Malagasy. It was, therefore, not advisable to send them to the recommended port, as they could easily steal vessels and escape to Madagascar.

In 1729, Lanux recommended that the East coast of Madagascar should be tapped for slaves as the voyage would be shorter and, therefore, there would be less mortality among slaves. He estimated the cost of a slave to be 20 piastres.

FEIC: During this period the East coast was divided, according to Le Lan, into various parts: the North with excellent harbours, from Antongil Bay to Tamatave; towards the South, from Tamatave to Saint-Luce where there was no natural harbour, and the South where the Bays of Sainte-Luce, Manaviva and Fort Dauphin were located. The closest and safest to Mauritius was Antongil Bay and later Foulpointe. Their hinterland supplied large numbers of slaves. In 1733, the Company did try to replicate its activities in Senegal by building a permanent trading post in Antongil Bay at Nosy Mangabé, but it failed. From 1750, Foulpointe became more important. According to Le Lan, Gaillard, Valgny, Duverger, Laval occupied the post of Head Trader. Antongil, Tamatave, Fénérive, Mananara, Engontsy et l'île Sainte-Marie were secondary posts. Although Fort Dauphin was the most healthy port, there were few slaves in the hinterland, and so the Company used this port more for other trades in rice and salted meat.

At the end of the 18th century, however, Antalaotra slave traders transported slaves. Although the East coast is believed not to have been used, the beginning of the trade with Mozambique may have led to establishment of a trading post to house slaves from Mozambique. Many slaves were brought from East Africa originally and resold to French traders on the East coast of Madagascar.

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Truth and Justice Commission 67

VOL 4 : PART VI – SLAVE TRADE AND SLAVERY – SLAVE TRADE 1720s TO 1820s 1767-1790

After 1767, ship arrivals to Port Louis from Madagascar tripled and continued right up to 1822.

Toussaint's figures of some 20,000 slaves being brought to the Mascarenes from Madagascar has been revised recently by Larson who estimates a much higher figure of 60,000 slaves.

Foulpointe, Fénérive, Mahambo, Titingue, Ste. Marie, Mananara and Antogil Bay became trading posts for the French. Foulpointe became the principal slave-trading port for the French. Foulpointe received a 'Directeur des Traités'. In this capacity, Maudave (1768-1771) was appointed to be followed by Benyowski 1774-1776.

Prices shot up at Foulpointe

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20 piastres to 70 piastres.

In the 1770s, Central Madagascar became the next source of slaves. By 1777, two-thirds of slaves shipped to the Mascarenes came from the Central Highlands.¹⁷⁵ trading caravans into the interior.

1803-1810

1807: Traders moved

Reference 1381 - 0.01% Coverage

into the interior.

1803-1810

1807: Traders moved South to Tamatave which became the headquarters of slave trading for the Mascarenes. Illegal trade continued after the abolition of the slave trade, with slaves transiting in the Seychelles from East Africa and Madagascar, before being brought to Mauritius. It is believed now that the figure of 3,500 slaves imported into Mauritius is closer to the reality, from 1800 to 1810, and that over 6,000 came from 1810 to 1820. Allen's figures are, however, much higher.

BRANDING AND BAPTISM

According to

Reference 1382 - 0.01% Coverage

much higher.

BRANDING AND BAPTISM

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. In 1770, in Foulpointe, slaves embarking on the 'Normande' were branded with the following initials:

18 slaves branded 'B' for Chevalier Bruny 9 slaves branded 'T' for Trudon 6 slaves branded 'M' for Michel

4 slaves branded 'A' for Amat 1 slave branded 'L' for Abbé Lebrun

9 slaves branded 'V' for Voisin 20 slaves branded 'G' for Grenier 1 slave branded 'S' for De St Pierre

Some women even led the slave Truth and Justice Commission 68

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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 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 between known Makonde tattoos and those found on slaves. According to Lars Krutak, the face and other parts of the body "contained chevrons, angles, zigzag and straight lines with an occasional circle, diamond, dot, or animal figure." According to him,

"after the cuts have been made with the traditional tattoo implements (chipopo), vegetable carbon rubbed into the incisions producing a dark blue color." This blue colour was also observed on the bodies of slaves in the 1826 slave registration.

Henry Salt and Epidariste Coin's descriptions of tattoo marks on different groups need to be compared with the marks found on slaves arriving to Mauritius.

Makua are described as 'strong

Reference 1383 - 0.01% Coverage

a hollow case of wood.”

Epidariste Colin’s description echoes that of Salt: the preference for Makuhuwa slaves. Tattoos consisted of an oval mark on the temples and a smaller oval between the eyes. The Monjavas could be recognised by the star-shaped tattoos on the body and on the cheeks, as well as 2-3 horizontal marks above the temples. They were less robust than the Makhuwa tribe.

However, they were exhausted by

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on the cheeks and body.

Another ‘cultural mark’ was the baptism of slaves, as they filed into the slave ships prior to embarkation. This was the practice before embarkation in Madagascar and Mozambique, according to researchers in both countries.

Machado added another dimension in his study of the competition between Portuguese and Asian traders on the Mozambican coast. They did not want slaves to be taken by Arabs and Indians because they were not Christian. Neither did they want them taken to non-Christian countries, such as India and Persian Gulf.¹⁷⁷

However, this was quite difficult to control. Despite this, one also sees in the registration returns, mention of non-Christian slaves.

When we have understood the importance of the French slave trade in the Indian Ocean and the accounting, mechanics and economics of the slave trade, the numbers involved in the Slave Trade will be better assessed. The numbers of slaves contained in all ships that left the African and Malagasy coasts need to be compiled, and an aggregate figure arrived at. How many left the interior and where they came from, how many reached the coast, how many were embarked on board ships, how many died or escaped on the way and how many actually arrived, need to be studied to quantify the full extent of the slave trade. There are also those slaves transported on Company ships not officially trading in slaves but who ‘picked up’ slaves en route. It has been difficult to estimate these and further thorough searches are required to bring in information from unlikely sources. Le Lan points to one example when a ship was attacked by Indian pirates. It is only through the report of the attack that we learn that 25 male and 15 female slaves were killed on the Jupiter.¹⁷⁸

in 1762, on route to Mauritius captured the British ship La Betty. It took as hostage the pilot and 50 slaves out of the 250 on board.¹⁷⁹

In Mauritius, these figures need to be compared with the official censuses, tax rolls, and Customs Returns Reports of the slave trade to assess the level of discrepancy between the figures and arrive at the real volume of the slave trade. Much of this data has been collected at the TJC for the benefit of historians and statisticians who now need to correlate all this information.

Many Mauritians of African and

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is the Le Massiac which,

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origins through archival search, as these yield mainly the port of departure from Africa and Madagascar, and not the origin of the slave. To undertake this study DNA testing of a sample of Mauritians, believed to be of African and Malagasy origin, is required.

Justification for this approach may be sought in the words of one historian of the slave trade, Deveau:

“S’il est temps d’écrire une

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

Ce très bref aperçu historiographique

Reference 1387 - 0.01% Coverage

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VOL 4: PART VI – SLAVE TRADE AND SLAVERY – SLAVE TRADE DATABASE 1. PURPOSE

In order to arrive at an improved assessment of the volume of the slave trade to Mauritius, and the actual number of slaves having been disembarked in Mauritius, it has been thought necessary to start an inventory of all ship arrivals, using a variety of sources located in several countries. For various reasons, many ships do not list the number of slaves whom they are carrying and, therefore, this information has to be gleaned from other sources and all the 'snippets'

correlated.

As most sources are

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and all the 'snippets'

correlated.

As most sources are to be found for the period 1767 onwards, when the Royal Government took over the island, this period has also been the focus of historians. This information is readily available through the works of Toussaint, Filliot and Allen. It was important, therefore, for the Commission to collate data for lesser-known periods: pre-1767 for the French East Indies Company period and post-1815, which was the period of the illegal slave trade. Also, since many Mauritians were anxious to know 'where slaves landed' for memorial purposes, it was thought necessary to delve into these periods.

It is also necessary to include in the calculations, those ships/persons/slaves destined for Mauritius, but who never arrived. A preliminary study has been undertaken with the assistance of Thomas Vernet who has provided the Commission with all the references relating to the slave trade to Mauritius from the East African coast, from his personal research. This includes, not only those who arrived, but also those who were embarked but never arrived, due to revolt, shipwreck, diseased etc. This information will be inserted in the database. Information is being compiled by Benigna Zimba from Mozambique to supplement this data from Mozambican Archives and, hopefully, in the future from Portuguese Archives.

A simple slave-trade database has been created which lists all ships arriving in Mauritius. This endeavour is similar to that compiled by Toussaint and, later, by Allen where all details of ship voyages are listed. All possible details have been listed about the voyages. The database has so far inputted information from the Déclaration d'arrivées found in the Mauritius National Archives, the Affiches, Annonces et Avis Divers. To complement this, the Amirauté, the déclarations diverses and the registres de congé de navigation has given additional information on tonnage, ship crews and owners. This was followed by selective searches in France which need to be continued. The Commission has also tapped into the work of numerous associations in France who are compiling data from French Departmental Archives on Mauritius. We have taken into consideration that some of this is the work of amateur historians and that

much of the work is not referenced. Great care has been taken to verify the information provided by these associations.¹

The database will serve the

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the type of information supplied:

It has been observed that the first volumes indicate the number of slaves but cease to do so in subsequent volumes.²

Ships from Madagascar are treated as suspect: Ships from Madagascar needed to be all recorded. Although the number of slaves carried on board were also small, the voyages were frequent and numerous. Most carried beef and cattle, but slaves were often part of this cargo. Thus, all ships from Madagascar were listed, unless it was expressly stated that they were not carrying slaves. Will all these small but frequent voyages amount to a lot? We shall see.

Ships trading during prohibition are treated as suspect: Furthermore, ships arriving from slave trading areas during periods of prohibition i.e., before 1802 and after 1815, should all be treated as 'suspect', and as possibly carrying slaves but listed, for example, as '200 tortues'. A classic example of this is the Sans Culotte which, during the period of prohibition, could not officially carry slaves; thus officially it went to Madagascar to purchase rice:

"Le traite des noirs étant

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VOL 4: PART VI – SLAVE TRADE AND SLAVERY – SLAVE TRADE DATABASE Africa.

Once this data is compiled, it can be scrutinised by statisticians, and an idea formed of how many came as slaves to Mauritius, and of their value. Added to this compilation will be those who were embarked in their country of origin but who never arrived for various reasons.

This will allow scholars to

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make the following statistical analysis:

Number of voyages towards slave trading zones of which: x% of voyages sure to have embarked slaves
x% of voyages for which there is a strong possibility of slaves on board.

If it is not possible to estimate, with greater accuracy, the number of slaves, one can at least find the number of ships that arrived with slaves.

3. THE 'VOYAGES DATABASE'

The

Reference 1392 - 0.01% Coverage

slaves.

3. THE 'VOYAGES DATABASE'

The 'Voyages Database' aims at helping researchers to analyse the slave trade happenings for the period 1715-1848. The database keeps data about the ships involved in the slave trade. Ship data, such as the length, depth, draught are recorded. Information about the different ports where slave trade occurred are

also recorded. The database also allows to keep track of the different voyages happening during that period in time. Details of events occurring during the voyage are also recorded, for example, dates of departure, date of arrival, the different stops made along the journey, and any trade happening during those stops. We also keep track of the status of voyages.

The database generates dynamic summary

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dynamic summary reports such as:

1. The number of voyages during a specific period of time;
2. The number of slaves on board at Port Louis for different years;
3. The number of stops for a particular voyage;
4. The number of voyages undertaken by a specific ship;
5. The number of voyages undertaken by specific year and ship; and
6. The outcome of different voyages (e.g. completed as intended, wrecked, captured by the British).

Many of these reports are

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ships would rarely be armed.

Port of registry Many ships were registered in France, but once here, they were commissioned for shorter local trips, such as the slave trade and were involved in the quadrangular trade. So they are also listed as registered in Mauritius. Those built in Mauritius and moving solely between Mauritius and Bourbon are 'Creole' ships but do not sail on other longer routes.

Tonnage

This was generally calculated

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cubic feet or 1.132m.

Armament/Artillery This refers to arms and ammunition carried by ships, usually carried by slaving ships (négriers), Crew corsair ships, Company

Reference 1396 - 0.01% Coverage

from the congés de navigation.

The crew consisted of roughly one man per 10 tonneaux, according to Toussaint. Therefore, any ship which was not a military or corsair, carrying more than this, would be considered as carrying more than the cargo stated, i.e., slaves.

Crew would often consist of Europeans/Americans, lascars, African slaves etc.

Passengers Cargo

Information may not

Reference 1397 - 0.01% Coverage

d'arrivées, would have this information.

The part that interests us most is the slave cargo which normally should be recorded by the Customs Department, but no records are found for this for early years. The slave cargo is to be inferred from the

destinations and arrivals. Wine, foodstuffs, textiles, domestic products and manufactured goods, in order of priority, would be listed as well as slaves and animals. The provenance of a ship, as well as large amounts of food and water on board, can help us determine whether slaves would have been on board or not.

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VOL 4: PART VI – SLAVE TRADE AND SLAVERY – SLAVE TRADE DATABASE Destination
Almost all long-distance trading ships came to Isle de France, not Bourbon, which had no facilities for repair and no safe harbour. Even short-distance trading ships came to Mauritius on their way to, or from, Bourbon. It is important to know for our purposes if a ship was in transit (en relâche) or if the final destination was Mauritius as this would determine whether the final destination of the slaves was Mauritius or not.

Ship details

This includes ship's

Reference 1399 - 0.01% Coverage

of crew, the voyage.

Origin

Means the country of origin or seaport from which the ships came to Port-Louis. This information is not always available in the different sources studied, especially for triangular slave trade voyages, but nevertheless, according to Toussaint,⁵ most of the voyages had their starting point in Isle de France.

Date of Sailing Ports of

Reference 1400 - 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

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for some ships.

First stop

Fields would include the several stops made by the ship by numbering the stops e.g., stop1: no. of slaves, no. of men, no. of women, no. of boys, no. of girls/stop no. 2 would include similar details thus, stop2, totalslave2, men2, women2, boys2, girls2. The date of return (Port return), date of return (Date return), no. of Men, Women, Girls, Boys.

Observation Results of voyage Fields

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VOL 4: PART VI – SLAVE TRADE AND SLAVERY – SLAVE TRADE DATABASE 5. USER MANUAL Slave Trade Database User Manual

The Slave Trade Database contains details about voyages dealing with slave trade. The Slave Trade Database has been built around Open Source Technologies, namely Apache [2], MySQL [3] and PHP [4]. To deploy the application, MoWeS

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95 and 1842 is important

to slave trade to Mauritius, the Mascarenes and Réunion. Around 1815-20, in the Zambeze Valley the annual export of slaves reached 2,500 to 4,000. The first official Portuguese abolition of slave trade in 1836, did not result in the substantial reduction of these numbers of slaves traded to the ports of the Indian Ocean.

Main agents involved in the process of capture and internal selling, before slaves embarked in the ports of the exportation. □ African Agents: Yao, Xeiques from Afro-Islamic kingdoms such as Quitangonha, Sancul, Sangage and Angoche), prazeiros from the Zambeze Valley, Portuguese colonialists from Inhambane, Nguni groups that dominated in Delagoa Bay and Barra do Limpopo in Gaza.

□ Foreign Agents: Xeiques from Afro

Reference 1404 - 0.01% Coverage

Somalia, French, Portuguese and Indians.

Main ports for export of slaves: □ Ilha de Moçambique, Ilha do Ibo, Tingué, Angoche, Quelimane, Sofala, Inhambane, and Delagoa. In other words, exports occurred from practically all over the coast.

□ It is always important to distinguish between place of capture and ports of selling. Again, from North to South, in this period, slaves came mainly from:

□ Niassa, regions inhabited by the

Reference 1405 - 0.01% Coverage

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VOL 4: PART VI – SLAVE TRADE AND SLAVERY – SLAVE TRADE TO MAURITIUS AND THE MASCARENES THE IMPORTANCE OF THE YAO STATES

The importance of the Yao States to the volume of slave exports from Northern Mozambique to the Indian Ocean

Figure 1: The Yao States

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is buried in Mkonde.³

The State of Makanjila emerged around 1870-71 and, together with Mataca, was an indispensable source of slave trade to the Islands of the Indian Ocean including Mauritius. Yao Chiefs bearing this name usually belonged to the Phiri clan.

They inhabited regions of the

Reference 1407 - 0.01% Coverage

located Eastwards of Mavago.⁴

In the following table, one aspect that should attract our attention is the port where slaves departed to the Indian Ocean. A significant number of slaves were exported from Ilha do Ibo (Northern province of Cabo Delgado) and were part of the slave caravans coming from the Yao States, particularly those under the leadership of Mataka in Makanjila.

During the period between the late 18th and first two decades of the 19th century, Ilha do Ibo was negatively affected by frequent attacks of the Sakalavas and the Makhwa resistance against trade and enslavement of the local population. This situation changed from 1820 onwards, when Ilha do Ibo became an important port of slave exports.

Until circa 1830, Yao merchants

Reference 1408 - 0.01% Coverage

Lancha: Fatlather.

O'Amira (CaboDelgado) – Madagascar

Transported slaves brought to Moçambique (Island) by Arabic pangaios

6

This lancha left with

Reference 1409 - 0.01% Coverage

Island) by Arabic pangaios

6

This lancha left with slaves & 21 members of the crew

Anjo

Documentary Source: Fundo do

Reference 1410 - 0.01% Coverage

da Ilha do Ibo, 1867.

The majority of ships that came to do the traffic, were under disguise and had a number of small pangaios (small boats) which used to collect slaves within satellite ports and/or other far away located points of concentration. It is important to note that they first gathered slaves and then transported them to bigger ports, to be transported in big ships. In the case of French merchants, they always had 6 to 10 pangaios responsible for bringing slaves in small numbers from satellite ports.

From these, slaves were then transported in bigger ships

towards the Comores, Nocibes, Anjo, Mauritius, Réunion and Seychelles. Local merchants known as Mujojo (or Ajojo) were responsible for the capture and sale of the slaves transported in pangaios, in small numbers.

The Mujojo were merchants, mainly inhabiting Cabo Delgado, and specialized in the sale of slaves and cloth known as fazenda and fazenda cafreal (Kaffir cloth). The Mujojo also used to steal slaves from one place to another and redirect the trade of slaves according to the needs of the merchants of ships that transported the slaves to the Mascarenes. These Mozambican archival sources do not clarify precisely, why the Mujojo often formed part of the passengers in the trips to the Islands. It is also unclear if they returned to Mozambican territory for further transactions.⁶

Another concept that deserves our

Reference 1411 - 0.01% Coverage

and London.

Before arriving to

WHAT WERE THE BIRTH NAMES 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 1412 - 0.01% Coverage

Mozambique, 1720s to cc. 1830

To a larger extent, the process of capturing slaves occurred first within the system of dependency created by tributary relations and hierarchic structure among the Kings, Chiefs, and other subordinated people. the complexity of tributary relationships

Reference 1413 - 0.01% Coverage

Gender Roles [...]” pp. 129-131.

Merchants gathered slaves gradually. The ship Kaap reached Delagoa Bay on 19 April 1722, thus initiating the so-called Dutch period in Southern Mozambique.

until circa 1795, after the

Reference 1414 - 0.01% Coverage

century. More importantly, Dutch merchants

encouraged slave trade in the region, particularly in Inhambane and Delagoa Bay. The Dutch used to gather slaves step by step in very small numbers of one, two, to four and five. However, trade occurred daily, so that at the end of one or two months, kingdoms and chiefdoms involved in slave traffic, such as Dingadinge, Kambe, and Jan Mosse, sold a small number of slaves to Dutch merchants.¹² For example, a description at the time, explains how transactions occurred:

“Friday 26 September: Captain [Chief] Dingadinge sold us slaves and elephant tusks, which we [paid] with some araq [brandy.] ... Tuesday 30 September: ... we got 2 slaves. ... Wednesday [8] October: whom we took on board

Reference 1415 - 0.01% Coverage

and some great corals".¹³

The hegemony of the Dutch faced Portuguese but, principally, French competition for slave trade.

THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE MAFUTRES (FRENCH) IN THE SLAVES' EXPORT FROM INHAMBANE TO THE MASCARENES In Inhambane, French slave-traders were known as Mafutres. From the 1720s to the first decade of the 19th century, there was no significant interruption of French slave trade with Eastern Africa.

Within the context of the

Reference 1416 - 0.01% Coverage

so-called Western Indian Ocean

System, between 1721 and 1810, there was no considerable demand for slaves from Portuguese East Africa. Precisely for this reason, the Mozambique slave trade under French merchants, sailing from the Mascarene Islands, Ile de France and Bourbon, became relevant. For example, in 1760, Mozambique's Governor Pedro de Saldanha de Albuquerque granted a license to José Basílio Leitão to sail to Mauritius in order to deliver Frenchmen shipwrecked in the galley St. Tomé, and also to sell slaves there.¹⁴

Luís Correia de Mattos, Inhambane's Governor, wrote on 5 July 1788, an extensive document inculcating Muslim merchants, Portuguese, but, principally, African local merchants to sell slaves to the Mafutres (French). Mattos accused Sir Baltasar Manuel Pereira de Lagos of allowing a French ship on the Inhambane shores and negotiated with them for a number of slaves. For Mattos, this was a scandalous example to local Africans, considering that he warned and recommended avoiding the Mafutres in Inhambane.¹⁵

Later on, an eight-point document, dated 4 May 1790 and signed by Manoel Galvão da Silva, formulated conditions what French ships should do about Mozambique slaves.

The item number
two formulates

Reference 1417 - 0.01% Coverage

this procedure upon the freighter's

departure.¹⁶ Other similar references are very short texts that state, for instance, "[...] conditions for transporting slaves to the Mauritius" or, "[...] on the French ship, Coureur, and slave's

Truth and Justice Commission 175 Captain Kambe brought us two slaves Tembe and the Portuguese to to VOL 4: PART VI – SLAVE TRADE AND SLAVERY – SLAVE TRADE TO MAURITIUS AND THE MASCARENES shipment."¹⁷ trade in Mozambique.

Altogether, these documents point to the importance of the French phase of slave In 1796, the French destroyed the Portuguese factory in Lourenço Marques;

this event strongly impacted on the ongoing slave trade.¹⁸

Generally, for the period 1800-1854 there was an active traffic among ports of Mozambique and plantations in the Islands of the Indian Ocean. Prices of slaves along the coast of Mozambique

Prices varied in time and space. Sales of female slaves in the division of Tete are an example of prices current in Northern Mozambique during the 18th

century. José Francisco de Oliveira

Reference 1418 - 0.01% Coverage

José Francisco de Oliveira, a

notary working in Tete, elaborated a list of 64 female blacks who, in 1769, were sold to Portuguese slave-owners.¹⁹

Many of these women were

Reference 1419 - 0.01% Coverage

names of old women, too.

Female slaves sold with their children were highly valued and in Tete, this pattern continued. For instance,

(1) Nhacudiva and her son

Reference 1420 - 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 1421 - 0.01% Coverage

Colony.

Because of this and

many other irregularities with the French shipping of slaves out of Mozambique, da Costa suggested new terms of trading between these two countries:

[...] Slaves transported from Mozambique to the French islands [of the Indian Ocean] should pay proper rights as well as having the necessary authorization so that this export results in profits for the Portuguese Throne [...]²³

HOW MANY SLAVES MIGHT HAVE TRAVELLED TO MAURITIUS?

Based on secondary sources that

Reference 1422 - 0.01% Coverage

28%

0_10 11_20

The profile required matched those during the Slave Trade: the desire of planters was for those able to perform hard manual labour. Thus, mainly young males were recruited. Of the 543 tribals, 6% of the tribes were under the age group 0-10 years. 28% were aged between 11-20 years and 51% between 21-30 years. Only 14% were between 31 and 40 years and only 1% were above 40 (fig.3).

Iconography of tribals from Chota

Reference 1423 - 0.01% Coverage

IN MAURITIUS, C.1825-1839

In Mauritius, Indenture is associated with the year 1834, with the abolition of slavery and with Indian labourers.

It is little known that

Reference 1424 - 0.01% Coverage

early as 1825 by Adrien

d'Epinay, 10 years before slavery had been abolished. On his estate at Haute-Rive in Rivière-duRempart District, it appears they worked side by side with slaves in the sugarcane fields. D'Epinay 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. But few sources are available to study this 'experiment' further.

The next recruitment came in

Reference 1425 - 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 of the way in which they were portrayed and instead to view their acts, individual and collective, as 'acts of resistance' or 'non-cooperation' against the social and economic conditions of slavery, apprenticeship system and early indenture. These acts included 'clandestine' activities such as theft, robbery, gambling, and black-racketeering.

In the 1830s' the Bagne

Reference 1426 - 0.01% Coverage

regular place of incarceration.'¹⁸

Why did Indian labourers leave plantations when they were fed, clothed, housed and paid for their work? If official reports are to be believed, there were very few complaints from the labourers. One reason was the double-cut system reported as early as 1838 by James Backhouse and Thomas Hugon.¹⁹ When they came to Port Louis to complain, as the slaves before them, 'they were lodged in the Bagne, till their masters were summoned.'²⁰ Backhouse was also afraid that unless there were controls, 'there was a danger that it might ultimately grow into another species of slavery'.²¹ Hugon provided another explanation in 1839:

"By the too rigid discipline

Reference 1427 - 0.01% Coverage

to exist at present [...]”²²

He, too was afraid that indenture might also be likened to slavery: ‘So sensitive are these men that the least semblance of an assimilation to the preceding condition of the servile class should be carefully avoided and the stocks on the estate ought to be quietly removed as being a great eyesore to freemen.’²³ Furthermore, being tied to one

Reference 1428 - 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 1429 - 0.01% Coverage

even took over work performed

previously by apprentices and ex-slaves.²⁵ Indian carters were particularly highly paid as reported in February 1839, by Le Mauricien, 7 Rix Dollars per month by some employers, while ex-slaves earned 4 Rix dollars. Le Mauricien warned that raising the wage would encourage ex-apprentices to ask for higher wages.²⁶

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Reference 1430 - 0.01% Coverage

VII – INDENTURED IMMIGRATION THE APPRENTICES

If apprenticeship was meant to teach slaves a profession and they were paid, why did apprentices maroon?

In the Bagne they joined their fellow slaves who had been imprisoned there before abolition of slavery.²⁷ The presence of so many maroon apprentices is clear evidence that many slaves did not want to remain as apprentices after abolition. Thousands ran away from the estates but many were promptly hunted and arrested in maroon apprentices hunts, reminiscent of slave maroon hunts.²⁸ But there was another reason: like the slaves, many had lodged complaints with the Special Magistrates against their former owners and were being kept in protective custody at the Bagne until the Special Magistrates of Port Louis investigated their cases.

By the end of 1836

Reference 1431 - 0.01% Coverage

occurred in the Caribbean.³¹

This increased activity of ex-apprentices and Indians was also of an economic nature. The Chief Commissary, John Finiss, reported that smuggling, theft, and gambling were rampant in Port Louis and almost 20,000 Rix Dollars was changing hands every day among the apprentices.³² An informal economy had emerged in Port Louis, undetected up to then by authorities. Adding to this was the more legitimate aspects as the Commissioners of Eastern Inquiry reported, Government slaves had been employed as 'caulkers, divers, and boatmen attached to the Port Department',³³ and just before abolition, there were 929 urban slaves working in the wharfs and in the shipping activities 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 1432 - 0.01% Coverage

increase, 'as emancipation advances'.³⁸

Thefts increased partly because this money was used to pay for the purchase of freedom of family and close relatives.³⁹ This was also reported in July 1838, in *Le Cernéen*: in an article entitled 'Progression des vols après l'abolition de l'esclavage à Port Louis': 'Certains (les apprentis) avaient eu l'audace de déclarer publiquement qu'ils s'étaient servis de fausses clés pour se procurer de l'argent pour le rachat de leur liberté selon une clause de l'acte de l'abolition de 1833'.⁴⁰ It also shows that ex-slaves, despite their illiteracy, were fully aware of manumission laws and of impending freedom.⁴¹ More symbolically, however, is the desire not to be freed by someone else, but to free themselves. Finiss stated: "There is also a feeling

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

Reference 1434 - 0.01% Coverage

labour on the estates.'⁵⁰

The influence of slavery on Vagrancy Laws indicates clearly in that in a period of economic crisis, planters initiated a criminal category of pre-emancipation labour regime and by using such legal instruments as ticket of status, police pass, certificates of employment, etc. they tried to regulate the occupational and geographical mobility of Indian labourers.

Anti-Vagrancy Legislations were used

Reference 1435 - 0.01% Coverage

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also introduced the concept of ‘vagrant hunts’ which were no less punitive and violent than the ‘maroon hunts’ during slavery. During the period of vagrant hunts, which were organised very frequently with the support of planters, police and authorities could enter any premises to ascertain the status of inhabitants. They swept across large areas, and any Indians found outside the plantations, on whatever pretext, was arrested as vagrant.

Ordinance 4 of 1864 (Article

Reference 1436 - 0.01% Coverage

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

Reference 1437 - 0.01% Coverage

OF INDENTURE IN MAURITIUS INTRODUCTION

Child labour in Mauritius was present in Mauritius since the early establishment of the island. During the period of the slave trade, children were also a commodity to be bought and sold. During the period of indentured immigration, many children accompanied their parents to Mauritius and some came as orphans. Officially, they did not come to work but many ended up doing estate labour or in domestic service.

At the beginning of indenture

Reference 1438 - 0.01% Coverage

time, as valuable as money.

The role and place children occupied within the Mauritian society and the way of considering them varied considerably. In institutions such as the Government Orphan Asylum and the Reformatory, they were given what could be described as ‘correct’ treatment: food, lodgings, moral instruction and they were taught a trade. There, they were prepared to become industrious in a society which valued labour. Indian children tended to be viewed as persons who would take over from their parents in field labour and domestic work. Thus, education would change the mentality of children and it is not surprising that many resisted such education for their children. Many plantation owners were antagonistic. They ‘considered knowledge as a dangerous thing’.¹²⁰ The fear that education might lead to rebellion was as real as it had been during slavery.

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Reference 1439 - 0.02% 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 Batavia. 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 Freed Chinese

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

Likewise, Huguette Ly-Tio-Fane-Pineo, during her investigations, has found the existence of two Chinese by the name of Gratia and Pauline who were brought from Canton and enfranchised by their owner, Louis Vigoureux, in 1745 at the end of his life. The latter gave Gratia the sum of 500 piastres and 2 slaves and to the child that Pauline was carrying a yearly pension until adulthood.¹⁶² Later, “the census of 1776, lists a Gratia Vigoureux as residing in Port-Louis at the “Rempart”. She is described as 40 years’ old, a seamstress and the owner of 3 slaves.” Like Gratia and Pauline, “one male Chinese slave was enfranchised. Hyacinth Ambroise described in the 1780 census as a 26 year old Chinese from Macao was the freed slave of Jean Michel Dumont.” He married Marie Jeanne, a Creole of 15 years in Flacq on 2 Fructidor of Year III of the Revolution, at the age of 40.¹⁶³ On Reunion Island (Bourbon), one also knows of the presence of Chinese slaves. The existence of two baptized Chinese women was noted; Denise married in 1760 and Marie Josephe, wife of Francois Ranga in 1765.¹⁶⁴ The manumission of Chinese slaves obviously created a free Chinese community in the Isle de France.¹⁶⁵ However, and somehow, the free Chinese community which existed during the French period “had disappeared, through death and through absorption of descendants 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

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them or be selfemployed.¹⁸²

Chinese businessmen such as Hayme and Ahine were very autonomous and resourceful. ¹⁸³ They engaged in activities that were exclusively done by the Whites. They would import goods in large quantities together with some Chinese labour. Their shops were never out of stock and their prices would defy any competition. ¹⁸⁴ Furthermore, the social transformation which occurred in Mauritius from the 1830s with the liberation of slaves and the arrival of indentured labourers, offered more trade prospects to the Chinese. The Chinese set up their businesses at strategic points and received a type of clientele who “were not readily accepted by the Europeans.” In Port-Louis, they settled between “le camp des noirs” and “le Camps des Malabar”¹⁸⁵ and traded between these two local communities. Their commerce expanded through rural

Reference 1441 - 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
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LIBERATED AFRICANS IN COLONIAL MAURITIUS

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

1.1 Who were the

Reference 1443 - 0.01% Coverage

Who were the Liberated Africans?

‘The Apprentices are those Negroes who have been rescued from slave-ships since the abolition of the Slave Trade’ Captain Richard Vicars (British Military Officer who supervised the Government Slaves and 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 1444 - 0.01% Coverage

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They were transported by the French and Portuguese and other European slave traders in fastsailing brigs and schooners from the East Coast of Africa, Madagascar and the Comoro Islands to their respective destinations including Mauritius. It was extremely rare for Arab dhows to sail all the way to the Mascarenes Islands with their slave cargoes. There were many European slave traders who introduced Mozambican and East African slaves through Madagascar and the Seychelles.

Mortality during the voyage

“Relentless

Reference 1445 - 0.01% Coverage

Seychelles.

Mortality during the voyage

“Relentless as was the cruelty of these men [slave traders] towards the negro on his passage, and reckless as they were of the mortality which the crowded hatches occasioned...If a leak arose, no compunctions of conscience prevented the throwing overboard of the live slaves to lighten the vessel, which added to the mortality originating with their capture, augmented by the journey to the shore, the number of deaths from suffocation on the passage, the cause we have previously specified, and the slaughter of the helpless and infirm to support themselves immediately on their disembarkation....”²¹¹

All of the Liberated Africans who were rescued from the slave ships in the South-West Indian Ocean and eventually landed in Mauritius experienced the full horror and trauma of the slave voyage. 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%. During the 1810s and 1820s, the slave trade cost the lives of thousands of African, Malagasy and Comorian slaves who were illegally introduced into Mauritius and the lives of dozens of Liberated Africans who were captured and landed in Port Louis.

In December 1826, P. Salter, the Acting Collector of Customs, submitted a Return of Negroes Apprenticed at Mauritius and Its Dependencies to the Commissioners of Eastern Enquiry. This document clearly showed that between 1813 and 1826, out of 2,998 Prize Negroes landed in Mauritius, around 291 died even before being apprenticed. There were 2,390 males and 608 females or a ratio of almost 4 to 1. During that entire period, more than 9% of the Liberated Africans died within less than a month after landing and before becoming Government apprentices. Many died as a result of diseases such as dysentery, cholera, and the small pox, as well as from severe cases of malnutrition and dehydration which prevailed on the slave vessels sailing between Madagascar and East Africa to Mauritius and its dependencies.

The testimony of Captain Charles

Reference 1446 - 0.01% Coverage

of Captain Charles Letord (Dorval)

Between December 1826 and November 1827, Captain Charles Letord or Dorval testified before the Commission of Eastern Enquiry. Several months earlier in London, in May 1826, Dorval had also testified before the parliamentary Select Committee on the Mauritius Slave Trade of the Honourable Charles Buxton.

Captain Dorval, who commanded *Le Coureur*, the slaving vessel involved in illegal slave trading, was considered to be one of the most notorious slave traders in the Indian Ocean. He described the state of the slave vessels which were always extremely overcrowded, with diseases being rampant and the high mortality rate. Slaves were provided with small quantities of rice, maize and salt fish, hardly enough food to survive. They were chained in pairs and were almost never brought on the ship's deck for fresh air. Many of these slaves, including the Liberated Africans, reached Mauritius physically and psychologically 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 the seizure 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

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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 Vice-Admiralty 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 1448 - 0.01% Coverage

regulations.

Landing of Liberated Africans

The seized Liberated Africans landed between 1811 and 1827 at the Customs House. The first batch brought to Mauritius, under the British administration, had been on board a large Arab dhow *Othmany*, captured in late April 1811 by the Royal Navy off the coast of East Africa, sailing in the direction of the

Mascarenes Islands. By mid-May, the Arab ship and 120 African slaves landed in Port Louis and were handed over to the Collector of Customs. They were employed as servants in the Police Department. The Liberated Africans were landed, registered, and underwent a medical examination at the Customs House. They were placed under the authority of the Collector of Customs and the Customs Department and became the 'wards' of the British Government'. They were housed at the Bagne for several days and weeks in order to allow them time to recover from the ordeal of the slave voyage and to acclimatize themselves to the local climate. Those who were sick were sent to the Labourdonnais or Military Hospital. With the demand for labour in Mauritius, they were either employed in Government Departments or assigned to private employers through the means of an indenture contract. In 1827, the last Liberated

Reference 1449 - 0.01% Coverage

contracts of the Liberated Africans

"The Apprentices are those Negroes who have been rescued from slave-ships since the abolition of the Slave Trade, and are bound by the Collector of Customs for the period of fourteen, and latterly for seven years to private individuals, who, by the indentures they sign, engage to teach them a trade or occupation by which they may earn a livelihood." (Cpt. Richard Vicars, op. cit.)

According to the Royal Order

Reference 1450 - 0.01% Coverage

Indenture of Apprentices for 1815)

A survey of indenture agreements for the period between the 1810s and the 1830s show that male Liberated Africans were apprenticed as masons, carpenters, blacksmiths, house servants, stone cutters, horse handlers, porters, gardeners and carters. Female apprentices were apprenticed as seamstresses, cooks, washerwomen, maids, and gardeners. Unlike slaves, these were skilled trades through which the Government apprentices could earn wages.²¹⁴ The following statement by the Commissioners of Enquiry (1826) describe fully the economic contribution of the Liberated Africans and what the Government and employers owed them:

"...the ordinary rate of colonial

Reference 1451 - 0.01% Coverage

mortality among the Liberated Africans

Between 1813 and 1827, out of the 2,998 landed in Mauritius, around 9% died before being apprenticed. 59 of the 206 Liberated Africans who were employed by the local British Government also died while in service. This represents a death rate of more than 28%. Among those hired to Colonel Lindsay, around 61% perished; for those hired to Colonel Draper, the death rate was 50%; for Reverend Jones of the London Missionary Society, it was 43%; for Charles Telfair the death rate was 39% and for Governor Farquhar, it was 39%. In general, between 1813 and 1827, around 965 Liberated Africans died, with some missing or unaccounted for. This means that during that period, 32% or almost one-third of all the Liberated Africans died. In 1830, Captain Vicars, who had been in charge of the Government Apprentices for several years during the 1820s, confirmed that the death rate among the Liberated Africans was much higher than those among the Mauritian slave population. He stated that it was common for them to be overworked and treated worse than slaves. Three years earlier, P. Salter, the Acting Collector of Customs commented that 'it is to be observed that many of the inhabitants do not in their declarations distinguish between slaves and Prize Negroes.'

CASE STUDIES 1. Celestine Hecate

Reference 1452 - 0.01% Coverage

CASE STUDIES 1. Celestine Hecate

Celestine was a Liberated African of Malagasy origin who landed in Mauritius in 1817 from a captured slave ship by the British Royal Navy. She was apprenticed for 14 long years as a maid to an unnamed colonist who resided in the Plaines Wilhems District and by July 1831, her period of forced servitude came to an end. In October 1830, Auguste Naissin, a young Liberated African male, and Celestine made a request with the Collector of Customs to be married which was granted. The two Liberated Africans had shared an intimate relationship for many years during the 1820s and the early 1830s and through which they had four children. Unfortunately, the marriage never took place and they separated for unspecified reasons. By 1833, Augustin Naissin had passed away and the personal papers of Celestine were still in his custody.

In July 1833, Celestine showed

Reference 1453 - 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 highly stratified, 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 1454 - 0.01% Coverage

Telfair's Bel Ombre Sugar Estate

Charles Telfair was a British planter, slave-owner, who formed part of Governor Farquhar's inner circle. He employed the greatest number of Government apprentices in 19th-century Mauritius during the slavery era. Therefore, it is not surprising that in March 1827, the Commissioners of the Eastern Inquiry Commission requested P. Salter, the Acting Collector of Customs, to draw up a detailed list of all Prize Negroes or Liberated Africans who were apprentices to Telfair. It showed that a total of 91 Liberated Africans, or 78 males and 13 females, had been apprenticed to the British planter ever since 1814. ²¹⁶ Barely three years after arriving

Reference 1455 - 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

Reference 1456 - 0.02% Coverage

The Story of Henry Chaloupe

Henry Chaloupe was a Liberated African of Malagasy origin. On 6th June 1810, he was captured together with 2 Malagasy slaves on the vessel the Amazone by a ship of the British Royal Navy and soon after, he landed on the island of Bourbon.²²⁰ On 3rd January 1811, he was apprenticed to Charles Telfair in Réunion Island.²²¹ He did not know how to read and write and knew only the language of his country specifically the language spoke by the Merina in Central Madagascar. Chaloupe was educated for several months by Abbé Colin, the Chief Catholic Priest of Bourbon. He able to learn to read and write and do basic Maths. He was baptized and became a Christian and was taught to read the Bible. During the final weeks of 1811, he was brought to Mauritius and worked at the residence of Charles Telfair as his personal servant in Port Louis.

In 1814, he was sent to work on Bois Chéri Sugar Estate where he saved enough money to purchase the freedom of Françoise, a Malagasy slave woman. She also became a Christian and got married to Henry and soon after, gave him a daughter. Françoise was also employed as a housemaid by Telfair.

Unfortunately, she passed away in 1818 and barely a year later, Henry Chaloupe purchased the freedom of Arsenne, another Malagasy slave woman, who became a Christian and got married to him. In 1829, Henry was still married to her and they had several children. The first child of Henry was also baptized as a Christian and was educated at Bel Ombre Sugar Estate.

In 1819, Chaloupe was moved from the estate of Bois Chéri to Bel Ombre Sugar Estate which had recently been purchased by Telfair and some of his close associates. Telfair employed him as an 'économome' or a junior administrator and gave him a pay increase. Henry was again relocated to Beau Manguier Sugar Estate where by the late 1820s, he became 'chef sucrier', in charge of sugar production and supervised a large number of slaves. He also owned his own house as well as a slave. He earned a salary of around £60 per year and enjoyed other privileges. On 3rd January 1825, his 14-year period of apprenticeship came to an end and Telfair requested the Collector of Customs to give him his Act of Freedom. However, four years later, in 1829, Henry Chaloupe was still working for Charles Telfair as the head of sugar production at Beau Manguier. It becomes evident that out of all the Liberated Africans who were landed and apprenticed in Mauritius, Henry Chaloupe's story is the most successful account of a Liberated African who achieved social mobility and social integration in early 19th-century Mauritius during the slavery era.

3. The Case-Study of

Reference 1457 - 0.01% Coverage

Case-Study of Céleste Madeline

In August 1838, Céleste Madeline, a Malagasy woman, showed up at the office of the Collector of Customs and claimed that she was a time-expired Government apprentice who was illegally being held in servitude by Mr. Vilbro, a French trader in Port Louis. Furthermore, Céleste claimed that she had been brought as a child slave to Mauritius in 1817, as a Liberated African, because her ship the Joséphine was captured off the coast of Madagascar by a British naval cruiser and its slave cargo was landed at Port Louis. She also claimed that she was ill-treated by Mr. Vilbro and his wife and she wanted to obtain her freedom through legal means.

The following day, Céleste returned with four time-expired apprentices of Malagasy origin, Marianne Rassal, Sophie Malabar, Pelagie Zebangh, and Saundar Essanhat who were able to confirm her story. After all, these four individuals testified that they had first met her on the slave ship called Joséphine more than 21 years before. However, Céleste Madeline was then called Artzam, a Malagasy of Hova origin. After hearing these testimonies, Cunningham also became convinced that Céleste Madeline was Artzam.

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Without losing a moment, the Collector examined his records and found that Artzam was in fact a child of 11 years who had been listed as being one of the slaves on the Joséphine. In addition, the record stated that the slave child called Artzam was dead. However, Cunningham also reported: ‘The age and marks borne by this woman [Céleste] appear to correspond with those of the record...’. It became increasingly evident that Céleste was Artzam and that she had lived in Mauritius in a state of servitude for more than 21 years. While her case was being examined, she was allowed to stay at the Bagne in Port Louis. Barely a week after her first visit to the office of the Collector of Customs, Céleste also informed Mr. Cunningham that Vilbro still held her son, Adolphe, who was 9 years old and she feared for his well-being.

On behalf of this unfortunate

Reference 1459 - 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 1460 - 0.01% Coverage

the Liberated African Maroon Leader

“This man struck terror among the residents in the district of Savanne to such an extent that it became impossible to allow a black slave to go on an errand without an armed guard. Vandalism and criminal acts have decreased

sharply with apprentice.”

(Observations of

Reference 1461 - 0.01% Coverage

Louis in December 1825.)²²⁹

On 21 June 1825, Fritz, a 30-year-old maroon Government apprentice of Mozambican origin, was captured along with four other maroons by Edouard Vinay, a Police Officer, and a special maroon catching unit on Telfair’s Bel Ombre Sugar Estate. Fritz was a former apprentice of Désiré Carosin and the leader of a small, but notorious, maroon band in the District of Savanne. He had been a maroon for more than two years and was always armed with a big stick and knife. His five followers were Lazare, a slave who belonged to Charles Telfair, Cotte, Jérôme and Hector, and Edmond.

Between January 1824 and June

Reference 1462 - 0.01% Coverage

of the Savanne District.²³⁰

In April 1825, in order to capture Fritz and his gang, a special maroon-catching task force was set up by Governor Sir Lowry Cole. It consisted of Edouard Vinay, a Police Officer, and Sieur François Le Cordier, leader of a maroon-catching unit in the Savanne, and ten free black maroon catchers. For a period of two months, they searched for Fritz and his followers, until they were finally captured in June of the same year at Bel Ombre. When cornered by the maroon catchers, Fritz put up a very stiff resistance which caused one of the members of the detachment to shoot him, while his followers surrendered without a fight. During his lengthy trial, Fritz and his men were incarcerated at the Civil Prisons on Government Street next to the Courts of Justice in Port Louis. He was accused of murdering a slave of Mr. Carosin, attempting to kill three other slaves, the kidnapping and the rape of a young female slave, armed resistance during his arrest, theft with violence, carrying out raids on plantations, and cattle theft.

In December 1825, Fritz and

Reference 1463 - 0.01% Coverage

in colonial Mauritius.²³¹

CONCLUSION

In August 1827, P. Salter, the Acting Collector of Customs, reported that there were only 1,783 Liberated Africans still serving their masters/mistresses and working in Government Departments. Only a few Liberated Africans had completed their indenture contracts. The overwhelming majority of the Liberated Africans were still in a state of servitude less than a decade before the abolition of slavery in Mauritius.²³² In 1829, in their report on the slave trade to Mauritius, the Commissioners of the Eastern Inquiry Commission observed: ‘That the majority of the negroes who are captured in slave ships would be desirous of returning to their country is probable.’²³³

According to the Return on

Reference 1464 - 0.01% Coverage

WITH GENERAL POPULATION IN MAURITIUS

On the basis of the majority presence of the Indian diaspora in professional services, particularly civil services which require certain level of formal education, there has been a general observation (at least in the scholarly world outside Mauritius, and if people in Mauritius do not perceive it that way, it may be corrected) that the Indian community had been privileged in the access to education and had achieved high levels of education. However, if we look carefully at the empirical evidence available, the outcome is just the contrary, at least till 1930s. All the reports, Census returns and other sources of information point out, without any ambiguity, that the proportion of education was much higher in the other segments of population listed as General population (unfortunately it is a very broad category grouping together all the non-Indian people of the island and resulting in room for speculation about the proportionate access of education to different communities like descendants of slaves and the European population) compared to the Indian community in Mauritius.

According to Muir Mackenzie, in

Reference 1465 - 0.01% Coverage

INDENTURED LABOUR SYSTEM IN MAURITIUS

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

THE ROYAL COMMISSION OF 1909

Reference 1466 - 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 1467 - 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 in the 1830s with the legal abolition of slavery and the importation of indentured labour from British India. Not only the trauma of slavery, but also the harsh conditions of apprenticeship and of abolition contributed to the leaving of sugar estates by ex-enlaved people. They were paid very low wages based on those of indentured labour and they lost the housing facilities and the land which they had been cultivating for decades. They could not reconcile their newly-acquired 'legal' freedom with their loss of basic necessities like land and housing. They were excluded from the new Capitalist System, and most of them earned a meagre living by fishing with primitive equipment and by working as stevedores, drivers and artisans. Many were somewhat permanently unemployed, forming a lumpen proletariat living on the margin of the plantation (sugar) economy.²

Moreover, the subservience of the

Reference 1468 - 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.

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Reference 1469 - 0.01% Coverage

brought in cattle and poultry.

For all the tasks mentioned above, there was a need for hardworking manual workers: woodcutters and labourers in particular. Whilst the Dutch brought some workers with them, they resorted to the slave trade with Madagascar and brought slaves to Mauritius. Additionally, trade with Madagascar in cattle, rice and beans was carried out.

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

Finally, in spite of itself, Dutch settlement equally set the tone for the emergence of resistance to slavery by the slaves. The slaves marooned and moved into the forests, ready to attack the Dutch settlements, whenever necessary. So much so, that when the Dutch left Mauritius, there were some slaves in the interior: the first Mauritians and the first freedom fighters were born.

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Reference 1470 - 0.01% Coverage

that country made them leave.

Moreover, by the 18th and 19th centuries, the French would be the main European power involved in the slave trade in the Western part of the Indian Ocean and in India in order to provide slave labour to the emerging plantation economies of Bourbon and Mauritius.
But, with the weakening of

Reference 1471 - 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 1472 - 0.01% Coverage

this measure was not sustainable. Then, the solution to what appeared as the insoluble problem of labour shortage was found: coerced African unpaid slave labour! Gradually, the enslaved African peoples would replace European indentured white labour.
Various Colonial European Powers created

Reference 1473 - 0.01% Coverage

1776, Adam Smith's book The Wealth of Nations was published. Up to a point, it would influence the thinking of the political elite in Britain and that of the British Government, especially with respect to slave labour and free trade.
The defeat of British Colonialism

Reference 1474 - 0.01% Coverage

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.
Truth and Justice Commission 292

Reference 1475 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 292
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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

Reference 1476 - 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 1477 - 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.

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Reference 1478 - 0.01% Coverage

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 slaves⁹.

Moreover, by 1726, there were

Reference 1479 - 0.01% Coverage

de France.

Whilst Ile de

France and Ile Bourbon were governed as one political entity, there was an uneasy relationship between the two. Some colons in Ile Bourbon came to Ile de France; agriculture took off in Ile Bourbon, but not quite in Ile de France. brought from Madagascar. 838, including 648 slaves.¹¹

2.1.2 Mahé de

Reference 1480 - 0.01% Coverage

Sugar Industry, to some extent.

To be able to carry out these policies, Labourdonnais brought in labour, both free skilled labour from India and slaves from Africa, Madagascar and India. Some aspects of conditions of the enslaved people and other section of the labouring class are dealt with in Section 2.3.

The slave population grew steadily in size during the 18th century, from 2,533 in 1746, to 15,027 in 1767, to 33,832 in 1787, to 60,646 in 1806, to reach 63,821 by 1810, prior to the British conquest.¹² Their occupations consisted of agricultural labourers, household servants, fishermen, artisans, dock workers and sailors. The enslaved people faced a harsh regime. So much so, that the engineer Charpentier-Cossigny in 1753 wrote that “the company was hiring slaves, then starving them to death”.¹³ Just like Labourdonnais before him, Charpentier-Cossigny provided some form of apprenticeship to slave labour. According to him, “for every skilled slave in an ‘atelier’, there were another ten or so manual labourers performing the essential backbreaking tasks of breaking and carrying stones, digging trenches, loading and unloading ships, building roads”. This ‘vast army’ of Government slaves included many women.¹⁴

On the other hand, most slaves were owned by small-scale owners. And by 1778, it was reported that many owners had effectively ‘abandoned’ their slaves.¹⁵ With small-scale owners, it was also

There was an obvious need for labour, and slaves were And by 1735, according to Labourdonnais, there was a population of Truth and Justice Commission 294

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easier for the slaves to escape. Whilst many of them managed to earn a living, others were in a state of poverty and destitution.

Moreover, by 1767, the French

Reference 1481 - 0.01% Coverage

in international trade.

An essential

ascendancy of long-distance trade and the most profitable aspect of such trade was the slave trade. The purpose here is to situate Labourdonnais’ visit to the headquarters of the French East India Company in that wider ascendancy and the search for a convenient location for the establishment of a base for the development of French trade in the Indian Ocean. We must also bear in mind, in that connection, the recurrent rivalry between Britain and France for the control of India, and the need for France to establish a strong foothold in the Indian Ocean in order to consolidate its presence in the subcontinent.

The reference to French long

Reference 1482 - 0.01% Coverage

of abundance and prosperity.”²¹

The embryonic state of domestic activities and the absence of domestic infrastructures contrasted with the flurry of trade in Port Louis. Before the British occupation, there was not a single street in Port Louis that was convenient for a carriage and scarcely any for a cart. People travelled on foot or on horses and the upper classes used palanquins which were manned by slaves.

In the 18th century, Ile

Reference 1483 - 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 Population represented certain special features. It was very small at the beginning, with only 587 in 1767. But by 1806, there were 7,154 Coloured people, whilst there were 6,798 Whites and 60,646 Slaves. The economic role of the Coloured was felt only in the last quarter of the 18th century. They had different types of occupations;²⁷ they were: interpreters, Government functionaries, seamen, and skilled artisans, such as blacksmiths, carpenters, masons and tailors. Furthermore, the Coloured People progressively

Reference 1484 - 0.01% Coverage

percent of all cultivated land.

Another source of revenue and capital for the Coloured People was through the purchase and sale of slaves and for their renting as well. According to the 1776 Census, the Coloured People owned 623 slaves; by 1809, they owned at least 8,163.²⁹

The Coloured Population thus had

Reference 1485 - 0.01% Coverage

Bourbon commence aussi à s'établir [...]"

A clear allusion to the exploit economically the enslaved people is included. The Code Noir was meant to ensure that the enslaved people remained as coerced, unwaged labour and to ensure their labour power could be reproduced to sustain the slave system. Thus, they did not have the right to own property, as Article 21 stipulated:

"Déclarons les esclaves ne pouvoir

Reference 1486 - 0.01% Coverage

enslaved people through maroonage. Governor

Labourdonnais led a most violent campaign in his attempt to defeat the maroon community, training some slaves and dogs to carry out this campaign. Yet by 1797, there were 49,000 slaves out of a population of 59,000.

2.3.2 Indentured Labour

Reference 1487 - 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 1488 - 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 1489 - 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 1490 - 0.01% Coverage

Mare factory by Adrien D'Epinay.

crushing more efficient in areas where water power was not available. This, until then, had to depend on animal or wind power, or even slave power for driving the mill. The number of sugar factories then increased rather dramatically from 60 in 1810 to 157 in 1823. Sugar production progressively increased substantially as from 1815. The land area under cultivation equally increased substantially as from 1815, until well into the 20th century.

The rate of commercial sugar

Reference 1491 - 0.01% Coverage

role of the Colonial State.

3.2.2 Value of Slave Labour (1823-1835) 3.2.2.1 Introduction

The aim of this section is to investigate the characteristics of slave labour based on occupation, gender and age, and model the determinants of slave prices between 1823 and 1835. We construct a unique data set from Notarial Acts on public slave auctions in Mauritius involving 5,580 slaves during that period. characteristics.

Firstly, we model price

Reference 1492 - 0.01% Coverage

slaves during that period.

characteristics.

Firstly, we model price variation in relation to the slaves' specific Secondly, we estimate whether slave prices vary much in relation to the sugar cane harvest season. Thirdly, we compute an estimated value of slave labour, using slave prices between 1823 and 1835. We take into account how the probability of the abolition of slavery may have impacted on slave prices, and hence on the value of slave labour. This may indicate whether slave-owners would alter slave prices or not in the event that slavery were abolished or might think that they would be compensated. Our results reveal significant variations in slave prices across occupation, age and gender,

such that young males who are skilled are more likely to fetch higher prices. We note a gender disparity in slave prices where males are priced higher than females. In Truth and Justice Commission 303

Reference 1493 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 303

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comparison, the prices of older and unskilled slaves are also much lower. Lastly, we note that the value of slave labour varies significantly with sugar production and the price of sugar.

observed that a rise in the price of sugar led to a two-fold increase in the value of slave labour. 3.2.2.2

Methodological Framework

The foundation for measuring the value of slave labour is the application of a political-economic model of asset-pricing³⁹ in which we assume that the value of slave labor

is determined by

traditional economic

Reference 1494 - 0.01% Coverage

slave labor

is determined by

traditional economic factors and public expectations about the long-term viability of slavery. The key intuition is that slave-owners as rational economic agents should react to changes in their subjective assessments of the probability of abolition: if the probability of abolition declined, then the expected value of slaves as assets should increase, and the price of slaves should also rise.

The standard model of asset-pricing is based on present value calculation. The asset-pricing model asserts that the value of any slave depends on the discounted present value of the annual net income, plus any capital appreciation (depreciation) expected over the life of the slave. The most obvious return from owning a slave was the income gained each year from the slave as a productive labourer. This includes the following:

i. ii.

The physical output

Reference 1495 - 0.01% Coverage

includes the following:

i. ii.

The physical output produced by the slave (that is the marginal physical product of the slave);

The value of the slave's output (that is the price of the output times the marginal physical product); and

iii. The cost of maintaining the slave including food, shelter and any tools which were necessary for the slave to be a productive worker.

Two observations are pertinent at this point. First, note that it is the expected stream of income over the lifetime of the slave that is relevant to the calculation of the slave's market value. Second, so long as the anticipated annual value of output of the slave at least covered the expected maintenance costs over his or her lifetime, the price of the slave will be positive.

It was This

was the

Reference 1496 - 0.01% Coverage

be positive.

It was This

was the minimal condition for slavery to be 'profitable'. The annual production of the slave on the farm was the most obvious source of income from the investment in a slave, but there was another source of return to slave assets. The slave-holder would benefit from any appreciation in the price of slaves owned and also any natural increase in the number of slaves. The asset-pricing model predicates a world where slave-ownership brings financial returns to the slave-holder and where the price of a slave reflects those returns over time.⁴⁰

The model⁴¹ captures the potential sources of variation in the present value of slave-ownership that one would expect to observe. The easiest, in economic terms, are the 'price of output' and 'marginal product of labour' variables. If the price of sugar, or the productivity of slaves working in sugar, rises, then the price of slaves is expected to rise also. The time rate of discount represents the opportunity cost of the labour tied up in labour assets.

The interesting feature of the model is the impact on asset-prices of the probability that slavery will be abolished. Even a small risk of abolition had to be taken extremely seriously because it affected the value of the entire future income stream. If individuals changed their expectations, even slightly, about the persistence of the slave regime, the amount they would pay for their slave would also shift.

A rational slave-labour exceeded the price at which slaves could be purchased at auction.

model, the price of emancipation would be greater under the British rule than before, with the near abolition of slavery. This, in turn, would imply that, *ceteris paribus*, expected present value of the slave also increased. On the other hand, if abolition seemed unlikely, then the price of emancipation would have remained essentially constant over time with, *ceteris paribus*, there would be no change in the expected present value of the slave.

individual would then buy a slave if the expected present value of In terms of the

Truth and Justice Commission 304

Reference 1497 - 0.01% Coverage

and Data Representativeness Data Set

The main source of information was the Notarial Acts in the General Inventory of Notaries which are located at the Mauritius Archives in Coromandel, Mauritius. Data was collected over the period 1823 to 1835 from all Notaries. Data on all variables used in our analysis were available only for 8 Notaries namely: Arnaud, Bonnefin, Bouic, Bussie, Dubor, Jolivet, Maignard, Trebuchet, as well as some others not specified in the Notarial Acts. The Acts document the sale of 5,580 slaves during auctions over this period.

In addition to the selling

Reference 1498 - 0.01% Coverage

piastres or livres tournois), most

records either stated the slave's gender explicitly, or that information can be inferred from the transaction's phrasing. Moreover, the slave's age, ethnicity, occupation and the auction date were reported. Figure 3.1 below shows the distribution of slaves across the main Notaries.

Figure 3.1 % of Slaves per notary

To assess its representativeness, our sample is compared to the slave population which is the 1826 census⁴².

Table 3 Comparing Slave 1826 Population and 1825-1835 Notarial Acts 1826 census

All Sample Male

Female Total

Reference 1499 - 0.01% Coverage

77.57 22.43 100

Our sample differs somewhat from the 1826 Census for the male-female ratio. We find that 62.2 per cent of the slaves are male in the census but this percentage is 77.6 in our sample. Males are therefore over-represented in the Notarial Acts⁴³. However, our sample has the same age and ethnic characteristics as those of the slave population. We can conclude therefore that our sample is representative of the entire slave population during the period of study.

Truth and Justice Commission 305

Reference 1500 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 305

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3.2.2.4 Data Analysis (i) Characteristics of our sample of slaves

We analyse the distribution of the 5580 slaves in our sample from 1823 to 1835 by gender, ethnicity, occupation and age. Figure 3.2 below shows gender differences on our data, where 78 per cent of slaves are male and the rest, 22 per cent are female.

Figure 3.2: Distribution of Slaves by Sex

The larger share of slaves were the locally born, that is, ‘Créole de Maurice’ group with 41 per cent, followed by Mozambiques 33 per cent and 19 per cent Malgaches (see Figure 3.3 below). The large number of natives may possibly be the result of the ban of slave imports enforced by the British. There are reasons to believe that many planters would declare their slaves to be native to conceal the then prevailing illegal slave trade. Slaves from Madagascar and Mozambique are nearly equally represented while a small percentage consists of Indians (5 per cent).

On average the ethnic distribution

Reference 1501 - 0.01% Coverage

per cent).

On average the

ethnic distribution of slaves in this sample is a good representation of the slave population. Figure 3.3:

Distribution of Slaves

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Reference 1502 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 306

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Figure 3.4: Age Profile of Slaves

From Figure 3.4 above, we note that 27.2 per cent of the slaves are within the age group 21-30 years, while 26.9 per cent are between 31-40 years. 18.4 per cent are aged 41-50 years, while around 15 per cent are between 11-20 years and 7 per cent are within the age category of 51-60 years. In addition, we note that the age-price profile which is the familiar bell-curved pattern identified in other slave economies.⁴⁴ We observe a higher average price of slaves of 308.56 piastres in the age group of 21-30 years, followed by 283.72 piastres for those slaves in the age group of 31-40 years. Those in the age category of 11-20 years also fetched higher prices averaging 273.77 piastres. The maximum price for children age below 10 years is 1,100 which is above the maximum values for the other age categories. In fact, this may well confirm the existence of an outlier in our data. As age rises, prices of slaves drop, as shown by Table 3.4 below.

(ii) Price Profile of Slaves Table 4 Age-Price Profile of Slaves (in piastres

Variable Age

1- 10 yrs

Reference 1503 - 0.01% Coverage

1000 1000 800 301 300

We find that male prices are higher than female prices. A male slave, irrespective of age, origin and occupation, fetched on average a price of 263.76 piastres relative to 227.19 piastres for a female slave. Further from Table 3.5 below, prices also differ across different origins. Créoles de Truth and Justice Commission 307

Reference 1504 - 0.01% Coverage

piastres and 231.51 piastres.

The 'Indian' slaves fetched the

lowest price of around 150 piastres. In fact, non-native slaves were sold at a lower price. Creole slaves had the advantage of being better adapted to conditions in Mauritius and less subject to illness and marronage. In some way, 'Indian' slaves were 'smaller' people and were perceived to be less productive than their 'African' counterparts, while the 'Creoles' were perceived to be more adapted to local conditions.

Table 5 Ethnicity and Price Profile of Slaves Variable

Origin Créole de Maurice

Obs

Reference 1505 - 0.01% Coverage

Max

1100 1000 1000 600

From Figure 3.5, we show the trend in sugar production from 1823 to 1835, with a peak in 1826 and a continued upward trend till 1831, with fluctuations and an ultimate decline in 1835. The trend in sugar production over this time span is likely to be closely linked with slave prices and also anticipation about the abolition of slavery in 1835.

Figure 3.5: Sugar output

Reference 1506 - 0.01% Coverage

Sugar output from 1823-1835

Overall, we conclude that gender, ethnicity, occupation, age and sugar output appear to determine the price level of Mauritian slaves.

Descriptive statistics, however, do not

Reference 1507 - 0.01% Coverage

3.2.2.5 Methodology

We investigate the characteristics of slave labour based on occupation, gender and age and model the determinants of slave prices between 1825 and 1835. We construct a unique data set from Notarial Acts on public slave auctions in Mauritius, involving 5,580 slaves during that period.

The microeconomic model of slave prices allows us, firstly to capture price variations in relation to slave's characteristics and also sugar production in Mauritius. Second, we estimate whether slave

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Truth and Justice Commission 308

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prices vary much in relation to the sugar cane harvest season. The model considers that slave prices may be sensitive to changes in the value of the goods (that is sugar) that they produced. This occurred because slave-owners expected to be able to expropriate the earnings from their slaves' labour for a longer period of time. Third, we test whether there was a change in attitudes about slavery over time. We specifically account for whether there was a change in expectations among planters about the long-run viability about slavery, and account for the "regime shift" during the periods 1810 and mid-1830s in the process that determined slave prices.

The Mincerian pricing model is

Reference 1509 - 0.01% Coverage

when supply can sensibly be

considered as price inelastic. Hence, following standard practice,⁴⁵ we regress log of slave prices on the slave's attributes and the slave's human capital, as well as the sugar output during that period. Moreover, we introduce timing variables and time-varying parameters to capture dynamic and seasonal effects.

The econometric model is as

Reference 1510 - 0.01% Coverage

6Mozambiquei t t □ 11

(6)

where $\ln Price_{it}$ is the recorded price, i denotes the slave identity, t is the time period and ϵ_t is the white noise error term. The explanatory variables are as follows:

i. Slave's Attributes a) Age is age of slave at time of sale; b) Age2 captures the concave link between price and age; c) Sex equals 1 if male; 0 if female; d) Invalid equals 1 if invalid; 0 otherwise; e) CDM equals 1 if 'Créole de Maurice'; 0 otherwise; f) Mozambique equals 1 if of Mozambique origin; 0 otherwise; and g) Malgache equals 1 if of Malagasy origin; 0 otherwise

ii. Occupation

iii. We include

Reference 1511 - 0.01% Coverage

to 1835. Time of Sale:

a) Quarter includes dummies for four Quarters in which the slaves were sold. Quarter t equals 1 if slave was sold in t th quarter; 0 otherwise where $t = 1, 2, 3$.

b) Time is time dummies and equals 1 if slave is sold in a given year; 0 otherwise, where time dummies = 1823-1835

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Reference 1512 - 0.01% Coverage

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3.2.2.6 Findings (i) Slave prices

Our results reveal significant variations in slave prices across age. Appendix 2 presents the first set of findings. First, we find a concave relationship between age and price, i.e. a term containing the square of age. A similar result was obtained for the US.⁴⁶ We note that on average, slave's highest prices were fetched in the age group of 21 to 30 years. A similar result was obtained⁴⁷ for Mauritius on a smaller sample size, where slaves at the age of 23 fetched the highest prices. Second, a male slave fetched a premium of 12.5 per cent.

This estimate is larger than

Reference 1513 - 0.01% Coverage

9 per cent figure by

Kotlikoff, (1979) for Southern US and Newland and Segunda, (1996)⁴⁸ for Peru, but smaller than the premium of 25 per cent estimated by Chenny, St-Amour and Vencatachellum (2003)⁴⁹ for Mauritius. In fact, there was a strong demand for male slave labour which probably resulted from the demand for physical force in sugar cane plantations.

Indeed, this is confirmed by

Reference 1514 - 0.01% Coverage

by very lower prices for

handicapped or invalid slaves, a figure which is close to that found by Newland and Segunda (1996)⁵⁰ for Peru.

Third, the ethnicity dummy variable which differentiates between Malagasy, Créole de Maurice, Mozambique and others confirm the presence of a premium of 19.6 per cent for Créole de Maurice. For Cuba, it was found that non-native slaves were sold at a lower price.

Native slave had the advantage of being better adapted

Reference 1515 - 0.01% Coverage

subject to illness and marronage.

than their 'African' counterparts, while the 'Créoles' were perceived to be more adapted to local conditions. Mozambiques and Malgaches were considered slaves who could perform very difficult tasks.

Fourth, with respect to occupation

Reference 1516 - 0.01% Coverage

household work and field work.

premium of 29.8 per cent, compared to field workers, and domestic workers fetch higher prices of the order of 16.8 per cent relative to field workers. These premia are lower than those found for the US and for Peru.⁵² Nonetheless, human capital was valued positively by slave-owners despite Mauritius being an agricultural economy. 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 metropolises. 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 positive and significant effect on the prices of slaves. This result no longer holds true, once we include time dummies. This can be explained by the fact that the time dummies may also capture the change in sugar production over time, as slave trade arose mainly because of sugar production and the expansion of the plantation economy. Sixth, the time at which the sale took place is also important. A price increase of 13 per cent is found if the sale occurred in the fourth quarter.

This indicates a strong seasonal

Reference 1517 - 0.01% Coverage

with the sugar cane harvest⁵³.

Lastly, time dummies are included to capture any variation in prices over time. We observe that, in the initial years of our sample, that is from 1824 to 1826, there was a negative and significant time effect on slave prices. However, as from 1827, slave prices show an upward trend.

This can be explained by

Reference 1518 - 0.01% Coverage

an upward trend.

This can

be explained by a peak year in slave demand and was probably a delayed consequence of the 1825 British equalisation of import duties.⁵⁴ Indeed, between 1825 and 1827, Mauritian sugar production nearly doubled from 10,869 to 20,309 metric tons.⁵⁵ Mauritian slave price increases are also consistent with price increases found elsewhere⁵⁶, namely for the Atlantic Coast of Africa, where

These occupations 'Indian' slaves were 'smaller' people and deemed capable of lower physical effort⁵¹
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real slave prices increased by 41 per cent between 1821-1825 and 1826-30. The cost of adjusting production to increase sugar exports could explain the two-year lag.

However, prices of slaves declined from 1831 onwards (as per Appendix 2) and 1832 (as per Appendix 3). Indeed, an expected abolition of slavery reduces an investment's time horizon used in calculating the net discounted expected value of owning a slave and, consequently, the maximum price a slave buyer is willing to pay.

Slave-buyers, in 1827 till 1830, did not anticipate the 1835

abolition, despite the enforcement of the 1807 slave trade ban by the British in Mauritius after its conquest.⁵⁷ However, after 1830, the threat of abolition caused a decline in slave prices in the small island plantation economy.

(ii) Value of slave Labour

From the above, market prices for slaves reflect their substantial economic value. The prices for slave reflected two economic factors, namely the characteristics of the slave and the conditions of slavery such as age, sex, physical condition and skill level. A rational individual would then buy a slave, if the expected present value of slave-labour exceeded the price at which slaves can be purchased at auction.

We use data on sugar production, sugar prices and number of slaves from 1823-1835. Table 3.6 below presents the data used in the computation of the net present value of slave labour in Mauritius.

Year 1823 1826 1830 1835

Reference 1519 - 0.01% Coverage

of abolition needs to be

considered as this will affect the value of the entire future income stream. The possibility of slave revolts in groups, or escapes, either of which were likely to make the slave unavailable for service, would affect the value of slave labour.

If an individual changed his

Reference 1520 - 0.01% Coverage

73 15.84

Source: Computed

We use different discount rates for simulation purposes to capture the variation in the value of slave labour over the different periods. We note that during 1823-1825, the average value of slave labour (whose expected useful life is 10 years) was in the range of £12 to £24 (around \$60 to \$120) under the different discount rates.

From 1826 to 1830, which

Reference 1521 - 0.01% Coverage

the peak period for sugar

production and sugar prices, the average value of labour nearly tripled in the range of £35 to £68. In fact, the correlation between sugar production and value of slave labour is very significant as a change in sugar output is translated into an almost two-fold change in the average value of slave labour. This 2:1 relationship is further confirmed with our above analysis on slave prices based on the Mincerian framework. The output elasticity from Tables 4 and 5 which is in the range of 0.163 to 0.175 further confirms this robust relationship between sugar output and value of slave labour. We further compute the average value of slave labour for those workers whose expected useful life is assumed to be 20 years. The value falls over the years with the age of the slave. A similar link is noted between age and price of slave in the auction sale.

Value of Slave Labour with the Risk of the Abolition of Slavery

Suppose the probability of escape is actually 0.001 in any given year and that the probability of emancipation is 0.001 and assume that the slave is expected to have a useful life of 10 to 20 years (similar simulation made by Grynviski and Munger, 2003)⁶², the value of slave labour will change. The computation is presented in Tables 9 and 10 below.

Table 8 Computation of Value of Slave Labour (Useful Life of the Slave – 10 years)

Probability of Abolition

1823-1825

Reference 1522 - 0.01% Coverage

11 8.75

Source: Computed

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

Aggregate Value of Slave Labour vs. Aggregate Value of Sugar Output

From Table 10 below, we note that aggregate value of slave labour is much more than the value of sugar output. From 1826 to 1830, it can be observed that the total value of slave labour is twice as much as total value of sugar output in the economy. It is to be noted that any possible change in the value of the pound sterling during the period under study has not been taken into account.

Table 10 Computation of Aggregate Value of Slave Labour

1823-1825 1826-1830

1831

Reference 1523 - 0.01% Coverage

2.2.7 Concluding Remarks

This section has analysed the characteristics and price variation of slave labour in Mauritius from 1823 to 1835. We have constructed a unique data set from Notarial Acts on public slave auctions in Mauritius involving 5,580 slaves during that period. The microeconomic model of slave prices has allowed us firstly to capture price variation in relation to slave's characteristics and also sugar production in Mauritius.

Second, we have estimated whether slave prices varied much in relation

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Reference 1524 - 0.01% Coverage

917,001

£ 1,212,957

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to the sugar cane harvest season. The model has considered that slave prices may have been sensitive to changes in the value of the goods (i.e. sugar) that they produced. This occurred because slave owners expected to be able to expropriate the earnings from their slaves' labour for a longer period of time. Third, we tested whether there was a change in attitudes about slavery over time.

Our findings reveal that there is a concave age-price profile and a significant price bias in favour of male slaves relative to their female counterparts. In fact, the strong demand for male slave labour which probably resulted from the demand for physical force in sugar cane plantations led to this gender price disparity. Furthermore, handicapped or invalid slaves were likely to fetch lower prices. The ethnicity dummy variable also shows that non-native slaves were sold at a lower price. Creole slaves had the advantage of being better adapted to conditions in Mauritius and less subject to illness and maroonage and were subsequently sold a relatively higher price.

With respect to occupation, we

Reference 1525 - 0.01% Coverage

workers fetched a higher premium.

In addition, sugar production has a positive and significant effect on prices of slaves. This result no longer holds true once we include time dummies. This can be explained by the fact that the time dummies may also capture the change in sugar production over time as the slave trade arose mainly because of sugar production and the expansion of the plantation economy. Lastly, the time at which the sale took place was also important. A price increase of 13% is found if the sale occurred in the fourth quarter. This indicates a strong seasonal component, with peak prices coinciding with the sugar cane harvest. Time dummies were also included to capture any variation in prices over time. We observe that in the initial years of our sample, that is from 1824 to 1826, there was a negative and significant time effect on slave prices.

However, as from 1827, slave prices showed an upward trend. This can be explained by a peak year in slave demand and is probably a delayed consequence of the 1825 British equalisation of import duties.⁶³ Indeed, between 1825 and 1827, Mauritian sugar production nearly doubled from 10,869 to 20,309 metric tons.⁶⁴ However, prices of slaves declined as from 1831.

Indeed, an expected abolition of slavery, after 1830, caused a decline in slave prices in the small plantation economy. 3.3 Labour Systems 3.3.1

Introduction

As in the period

Reference 1526 - 0.01% Coverage

Labour of the enslaved peoples

The institution of slavery ensured that there was, on the one hand, a compliant, unwaged coercible labour to carry out all tasks required by labourers, factory workers, domestic servants and various skilled workers. On the other hand, there was a repressive legal apparatus, the Code Noir amongst others, to make sure that labour was indeed 'compliant'. Furthermore, the Code Noir dealt with various social

matters such as the family of enslaved peoples which prevented consolidation of the community of the enslaved peoples.

We are not going to deal with all these issues as research has covered them to a certain extent elsewhere. In her work 'Bitter Sugar, Sugar and Slavery in 19th-Century Mauritius', Dr. Teelock has
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Reference 1527 - 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 1528 - 0.01% Coverage

by the colonists and their

In section 3.2.2, we have estimated the value of the labour of enslaved peoples during the period 1823-1835, since it is agreed that the plantation economy then developed in Mauritius and, of course, slavery was 'officially abolished' on the 1st February, 1835.

3.3.3 Convict Labour

Reference 1529 - 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, Robert Farquhar, was very much aware of the utility of Indian convicts in public works projects and in private enterprise, since he was Lieutenant Governor of Penang, an established destination for Indian convicts. Usually, in Mauritius slaves were used in public works. Further, the planters had to provide the Government with a certain number of slaves as "Corvée" labour every year.

There was thus a major

Reference 1530 - 0.01% Coverage

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deteriorating. With the expansion of the Sugar Industry, the network became of vital importance for the transportation of sugar cane and sugar. As in the case of the ex-slaves, the convicts would be done away with, once an alternative source of cheaper labour had been found: indentured labour.

3.3.4 Indentured labour

Reference 1531 - 0.01% Coverage

3.3.4 Indentured labour

With the abolition of the Slave Trade in 1807 in the British Empire, there would progressively be a problem of labour availability to sustain the various plantation economies in the Caribbean and in the Indian Ocean. In the Caribbean, with the increasing occurrence of slave rebellions, the matter was still worse.

With that in mind, Robert

Reference 1532 - 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 1533 - 0.01% Coverage

Port Louis, they were sent

straightaway to the sugar estates of the planters who recruited them. According to H. Ly Tio Fane Pineo, the labourers felt cheated because they had a meager salary and were assimilated to slaves. The labourers protested openly against their working conditions and left the cane fields.

The

Government had no alternative

Reference 1534 - 0.01% Coverage

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3.3.5 The Labour of the Recaptives or the liberated slaves

Following the abolition of the slave trade in the British Empire in 1807, the British Government sent its Navy to seize enslaved peoples on board French and other ships. Those slaves were referred to as 'liberated Africans', a misnomer as they were far from free.

In some cases, in spite

Reference 1535 - 0.01% Coverage

liberal Legislation, these new apprentices

were very harshly treated, no better than the slaves. Hence, historians are now using the term 'recaptive' Africans to describe this category of slaves/apprentices

During the period 1811 to the early 1840s, given the rapid expansion of the Sugar Industry and given the abolition of slavery and the uncertainties associated with the importation of indentured labour, these 'recaptive'

unavailability of a sufficient labour

Reference 1536 - 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 1537 - 0.01% Coverage

C. Wiehe would join them.

The Bank had to face the perennial issue of specie/metallic currency (mentioned early on) which was aggravated with the emancipation of slaves and the arrival of Indian indentured labourers. It is true that the labourers, who were paid in metallic currency, tended to save them by hoarding and brought them to India, whenever they returned. Further, with the influx of Indian labourers, consumption increased, causing an increase in imports which were paid in metallic currency. Moreover, there were other factors which contributed to the drain on the metallic currency: the

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Reference 1538 - 0.01% Coverage

the minimum of 5 shares.

A fair percentage (about 25%) of shareholders was planters or planters/traders. For example, Paul Froberville received financial compensation of £9020 in 1837 for 282 slaves; he was a big planter to possess so many slaves.

Similarly, such British shareholders as

Reference 1539 - 0.01% Coverage

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3.5 The Economics and Politics of Abolition of 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 abolition of slavery on the 1st February, 1835, had been dealt with thoroughly by various authors. We mention here certain salient features.

Two events of the French

Reference 1540 - 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 1541 - 0.01% Coverage

Baco and Burnel sent back.

After all, they were dead against the abolition of slavery and they After the British conquest, the plantocracy

carried out an illegal slave trade, succeeding to bring into Mauritius about 30,000 slaves according to the Commission of Enquiry of Colebrook and Blair, and this with the connivance of British Governors and British Officials. Thereafter, they opposed the amelioration policies in favour of the slaves to such an extent that the whole programme turned out to be a failure. Yet again, they succeeded in initially getting Jeremie, sent by the British Government to implement the policy of abolition, returned after forty days of economic standstill. They sent on two champions, a lawyer, Mr. A. d'Epinay, to represent and defend their interests in 1830 and 1833 in relation mainly to the abolition of slavery and their representation in governmental decision-making.

3.5.2 The Act 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 1542 - 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 1543 - 0.01% Coverage

of British Colonialism in India

on land had caused an increase in landless peasants. With the maintenance of slavery in India, there is no doubt that, to some extent at least, this had contributed to the depression of wages of the Indian labour force; in turn, the prospective indentured labourers would be in a position to accept very low wages.

Thus, the following question arises

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Moreover, it is interesting to note that there were many debates and lobbies from the West Indian planters/slaves-owners before the Act was passed.

The initial idea was not

Reference 1545 - 0.01% Coverage

was not to pay any

compensation to the slave-owners but to have a long period of apprenticeship; the latter which provided unwaged labour to the slave-owners would have helped to pay for the costs of emancipation.

Thus, the enslaved peoples themselves

Reference 1546 - 0.01% Coverage

were to finance their emancipation!

Thereafter, in February 1833, the British Government came up with a proposition of £15 million loan and twelve years’ apprenticeship¹³. The lobby of the West Indian planters/slave-owners and British financial houses led to the Government changing the loan to a gift and then to increase the gift to £20 million.

It was then that the

Reference 1547 - 0.01% Coverage

reduced to six years for

praedial slaves. It appears that there was concern about the implementation of the Act in so far as the various conditions attached to it are concerned. In fact, at a House of Commons sitting in June 1835, Mr. F. Buxton moved
“That a select Committee be appointed to inquire whether the conditions on which the £20, 000, 000 £ were granted for the Abolition of Slavery have been complied with.”⁸⁰
Moreover, after debates and the

Reference 1548 - 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 the illegal importation of slaves during the 1810s and early 1820s, was raised during debates at House of Commons and those of Lords, it was found by Lord Glenelg that: “Their Lordships must all feel that the difficulties which surrounded the identification of any individual negro who had been illegally imported into Mauritius were all but insurmountable.”¹⁶ During the debates, Lord Brougham said “that if we pay 500, 000 livres or 600, 000 livres in respect of illegally imported slaves, or in other words, for felony and piracy, it would be one of the most hateful operations over perpetuated in the financial concerns of this country.”⁸⁴

3.5.3 The Economics

Reference 1549 - 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 1550 - 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 Truth and Justice Commission 324

Reference 1551 - 0.01% Coverage

Director was Mr. A. d'Epinay.

On the other hand, the British Business Community in Mauritius expressed its concern to the Governor Sir C. Colville as far back as 1832 on Amelioration Policies for slaves and later on against the visit of Jeremie.

In a letter to Sir

Reference 1552 - 0.01% Coverage

April 1832, they requested a meeting between a delegation consisting of Mr. Hunter, Welbs, W. Thompson, J. Blyth and Sampson, to meet the Governor with respect to the Order in Council of 2nd November 1831, on the amelioration of conditions for slaves. They highlighted in their letter that the security of immense capital from Britain and of their investment in the Sugar Industry.⁸⁵ Later on, on 15 June 1832, they wrote another letter implicitly supporting the 'agitation' against Mr. Jeremie's visit.⁸⁶ The convergence of interests between the French plantocracy and the British Business Community would manifest itself with the setting up of the Mauritius Commercial Bank in 1838, after the launching of the Mauritius Bank in 1832.

Following the payment of the

Reference 1553 - 0.01% Coverage

leave the plantations on Emancipation?

For quite some time, it has been claimed that, in both Mauritius and the Caribbean Islands, the emancipated enslaved people chose to leave the plantation as a consequence of the inhuman treatment and of the economic exploitation which they suffered during the days of slavery. Whilst this was possibly an issue influencing the movement of some the ex-enslaved peoples away from the plantations, the situation appears to have been somewhat different for the ex-enslaved peoples in general.

As there has been some

Reference 1554 - 0.01% Coverage

plantations in Mauritius. Douglas Hall,

"By 1842 the immediate reactions of both planters and ex-slaves to the emancipation had occurred, and although some measure of stability had been achieved in labour relations there was general complaint on the part of employers of the scarcity, the unreliability and the high price of estate labour."⁸⁸

The evidence provided by the

Reference 1555 - 0.01% Coverage

desire to preserve their freedom.

Thus, almost all the ex-slaves remained on the estates of the planter Henry Barkly in British Guiana. ⁸⁹ Further, the emancipated enslaved peoples 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.

together with reasonable wages.

The

Reference 1556 - 0.01% Coverage

years.

together with reasonable wages.

The abolition of slavery could only mean a betterment of their living conditions, Instead, they were being asked to surrender these rights in the name of freedom! Effectively, the

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wages for extra-service as

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‘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

Reference 1558 - 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 the context of the transformation of the economic system from a semi-feudal into a progressively capitalist economy. The conditions of indentured labour were, in many aspects, 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 1559 - 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 1560 - 0.01% Coverage

and later coerced waged labour.

Moreover, the Capitulation Treaty not only created conditions for the continuation of slavery until 1835, but created conditions for extensive corruption of the State apparatus. With illegal slave trade, the British Government was in connivance with the French planteurs; the civil servants, whether British or French, were generally biased in favour of the planters/slave-owners.

The value of slave labour for the period 1823-1835, gives an idea of the intensity of the prevailing system of economic exploitation. The viciousness of the system was crowned with a compensation of £2.1 million for slave-owners at the time of the abolition of slavery. And a new system of exploitation in the form of indenture labour would follow and be sustained during the 19th century.

A new system of economic

Reference 1561 - 0.01% Coverage

of organisation of sugar property.

According to 1832 Census of slaves, out of some 2,605 estates in Mauritius, 1,424 of them, which contained some 8,370 slaves, were not agricultural. 38,594 slaves lived on some 1,036 agricultural estates, of whom around 26,000 lived and worked in as slave-and sugar-related environment. The rural environment was characterised by a few large estates surrounded by a large number of smaller estates, some growing sugar cane, others not, but all linked to the larger sugar estates for jobs and services. The poorer French colonists looked forward to the owners of the larger estates to provide leadership or to obtain the protection which they needed in the rural districts where the colonists lived in “a state of continual disquietude and hostility from runaway slaves”.

The development of sugar cane

Reference 1562 - 0.01% Coverage

large number of establishments. Sugar

cane was grown on numerous estates which were of different sizes. On account of the investment required and expenses involved, sugar cane could only be profitable on large sugar estates. Generally, estates with a large supply of slave labour concentrated on sugar cane cultivation which was the most labour-intensive crop. Sugar cane cultivation and slave-ownership went hand in hand. In 1830, only 74,839 of 272,022 inventoried arpents of land were under cultivation. There was still, at that time, a considerable amount of undeveloped land.

The advent of sugar cane

Reference 1563 - 0.01% Coverage

socio-economic and racial hierarchy.

Economic and social status, measured in terms of slave and landownership, became more important in differentiating between the colonists, and contributed to growing disparities between them. More importantly, it influenced the attitude and relations between slaves and their owners in this “extremely dramatic” transition and insertion into a sugar plantation economy.

The slaves then

constituted the bulk of the population. In 1826, there were 42,621 male and 26,455 women slaves. By 1835, when slavery was abolished, the slave population was estimated to be at 66,613.

In the early decades of British rule, the issues of slavery, slave trade and the amelioration of the conditions of the slaves were at the forefront of political upheaval and tension in Mauritius.

4.1.2 The emergence

Reference 1564 - 0.01% Coverage

emergence of the sugar oligarchy

Interaction of slavery and sugar can be grasped fully, only with an analysis of the emergence of the sugar planters as an active force in local politics, in high finance and the judiciary. The investiture of quasi-military and political power in the hands of the social and economic elite contributed to the emergence of the sugar industry oligarchy, which took advantage of the new conditions created by the establishment of British rule and the expansion of the sugar plantation economy to consolidate its hold over the Mauritian society.

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Reference 1565 - 0.01% Coverage

328 The arrival of British

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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

Reference 1566 - 0.01% Coverage

reinstated by Farquhar in 1816.

In 1827, an Ordinance in Council was introduced to improve the conditions of slaves in Mauritius. This Ordinance appointed a Protector of Slaves. The Protector dealt with all criminal cases and, as guardian of the slaves, he heard their complaints and brought them before the Tribunals. The Ordinance limited the corporal punishment inflicted on slaves and regulated the size of the tasks on the plantations. A novel provision was the establishment of a government Savings Bank under the authority of the Protector for the preservation of slave property. The Slave was empowered to purchase his own freedom and that of his descendants, if he could prove the funds to be his own or hold a certificate testifying to his good conduct for 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 1567 - 0.01% Coverage

d'Epinau, Adrien d'Epinau's brother.⁹³

The opposition of the sugar oligarchy to the Amelioration measures were centred around the appointment of the Protector of Slaves who bore the brunt of their attack.

The creation of the
post

Reference 1568 - 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 Maroonage

In the reports and accounts of the structure and organisation of the early sugar plantation society in Mauritius, relatively little is said about the conditions and way of life of the slaves. Yet, they constituted the bulk of the population and in 1820, outnumbering the white population by the ratio of 10:1. Most of the slaves were confined to the estates.

estates and were thus isolated

Reference 1569 - 0.01% Coverage

island society in several ways.

In 1832, 56% of the slaves lived on the In spite of the
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Reference 1570 - 0.01% Coverage

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Slaves were of diverse ethnic origins and background. But with the 'Creolisation' of the slave population, it is most likely that there was an amalgamation of different cultures from the early days of slavery. Further, slaves developed a network of relations and a way of life of their own that was independent from that of their owners.

The conditions of slaves differed from estate to estate and region to region. The common factor that bound them together in the struggle against the harshness of their condition was the constant pressure and coercion which was applied on them in the execution of their tasks and the hardships which they endured at work and in their life on the estate. Slave-owners who were often strapped financially sought to

maximise the amount of work which they could extract from their slaves. The policies pursued by their owners in the treatment of their slaves resulted in high death rates among the slave population and contributed 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 1571 - 0.01% Coverage

with the severest violence” 94

Coercion and harsh treatment led to retaliation on the part of the slaves. The threat, posed by runaway slaves or maroons, fostered in the island a state of continued anxiety and hostility. As was the case elsewhere, the Mauritian response to maroon activity was harsh repression.

police killed 102 fugitives between

Reference 1572 - 0.01% Coverage

the more arduous field operations.

The colonists’ aversion to maroonage had two main causes: On the one hand the threat to personal security and property posed by maroon slaves who remained “active and resourceful protagonists”. A second strong motive of resentment on the part of the colonists was that maroonage deprived them of valuable labour which was an indispensable element for 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 1573 - 0.01% Coverage

Government had decided the immediate emancipation of slaves introduced after 1814 without compensation. rescinded following representation made in London by d’Epinay.

This order was later

The

Reference 1574 - 0.01% Coverage

d’Epinay.

This order was later

The problem of maroonage continued during emancipation and aggravated the labour crisis faced by the rapidly expanding sugar industry. The impact of shortage of servile hands was compounded by the sugar industry’s shaky financial conditions which included tapping costly alternative sources of labour. In these circumstances the threat of maroonage provided many slaves with a powerful weapon to renegotiate and

alleviate the harsh conditions under which they lived and worked. Between 1835 and 1837, an average of 7.7% of the apprentices was apprehended every year for desertion.

Some of the slaves, once they were emancipated, abandoned field work and left the estates. They were granted squatting facilities by the Government. Some drifted to Port Louis and others settled

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Reference 1575 - 0.01% Coverage

with the In the 18th

century, regular maroon hunts were organised by the authorities and colonists. Baron Grant noted in 1730 that fugitive slaves were treated like wild animals and shot ‘whenever the opportunity affords’.

Some sixty years later, the

Reference 1576 - 0.01% Coverage

of established estates following emancipation.

The “Petit morcellement” arose from the general desire of the former slaves to acquire land and thus to affirm their emancipation from their former servile status. The process, which began in earnest in 1839–40, accelerated rapidly in 1841 and 1842 when the number of sales of estate land seemed to have reached its peak. The “Petit morcellement” may be seen as an outgrowth of the turmoil of the post emancipation situation.

It remained an important aspect

Reference 1577 - 0.01% Coverage

to 130,375 in 1860.

The key issue for the British Administration was “whether such large immigration of Indian labourers would not produce an oversupply of labour, thereby reducing the wages of the existing labour force or depriving them of their livelihood resulting in the creation of a nation of paupers”⁹⁷. With the prospect of an unlimited supply of labour from British India, the chief reason would be removed on the part of the proprietors to induce the former slaves to settle down as regular labourers on fair terms. The planters, for their part, argued that the additional labour was required to provide the necessary man-power for the expansion of the Sugar Industry.

As it turned out,
some

Reference 1578 - 0.01% Coverage

Industry.

As it turned out,

some of the former slaves wanted to discard all the links with their former servile status and conditions and the sugar planters did little to retain them.

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Reference 1579 - 0.01% Coverage

were given rations.

It was

estimated at that time that an indentured labourer costs the estate Rs. 10 to Rs. 11 per month (inclusive of the cost of rations). Between 1834 and 1838, planters in the island spent £200,000 for the private introduction of Indian labourers. In 1839, the Apprentices System was repealed. In that same year, India suspended emigration to Mauritius following a public outcry in both Britain and British India over reports of the exploitation to which these early immigrants were subjected and abuses in the recruitment and transportation of labour, which raised in British public opinion the spectre of a new slave trade.

As a result from 1840

Reference 1580 - 0.01% Coverage

former five-year terms. These

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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 brought important changes in British policy in support of the planters. During the mid 1840s, when an economic and financial crisis precipitated by the British Sugar Duties Bill threatened bankruptcy and ruin for the sugar plantations, the sugar planters won the support of British Parliamentarians and other influential circles in their favour. To plead their case, planters used the free trade issue which forced them into competition with sugar producers using slave labour, to demand compensation, not in monetary, but in manpower terms.

A bargain was thus made

Reference 1581 - 0.01% Coverage

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 1582 - 0.01% Coverage

seek more lucrative employment elsewhere.

Under the indenture system, Indian immigrants in Mauritius were isolated for a time from the rest of the society in which they had been implanted. This may account for the absence of major racial friction in the 1840s and 1850s so long as the large majority of immigrants in the island were still serving their five years of industrial residence on estates. The special regulations which governed the relations between slaves and the free population in the island persisted to some extent under the indentures.

The Ordinance of 1827 had laid down the rights and duties of the slaves vis-à-vis the rest of the population. The Law catered for the slaves as a distinct group in the island's community. The same spirit

prevailed under the indentures and inspired Ordinance No. 16 of 1855 which led to the introduction of laws regulating the movement of Old Immigrants.

4.2.4 The 1860s

Reference 1583 - 0.01% Coverage

additional labour was sorely lacking.

It was estimated, in 1828, that an estate of 560.8 arpents with a mill and 125 slaves cost \$31,250, a price

Reference 1584 - 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 1585 - 0.01% Coverage

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4.5 Wages Rates in the Sugar Industry (1835-1909) 4.5.1 Shifting from 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 1586 - 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 1587 - 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

Reference 1588 - 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

Reference 1589 - 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 1590 - 0.01% Coverage

at present at any rate.”

Further, in that state of economic depression, public works were decreased substantially and the general level of economic activity went down, so that unemployment and poverty were on the increase. So much so that about 18 % of the population of slave descendants and Indian immigrants was being given Government relief. The marginalised groups felt mostly the full brunt of the depression.

5.2.7 The Recommendations

Reference 1591 - 0.01% Coverage

introduced the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement.

Following in the footsteps of Dutch and French Colonialism, British Colonialism proceeded with slavery until 1835 and then introduced 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 the 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

Reference 1592 - 0.01% Coverage

the expense of the employees?

Although the TCSB was criticised at the level of implementation (e.g. it may take one year to reach a decision), the spirit underlying the TCSB should not be done away with. According to the Employment Rights Act Section 37.4, termination of contract has been facilitated, which is tantamount to granting a license to employers to fire. Reasons for a closure should be given so that the State may ensure that such a closure is not merely an excuse for the exodus of capital. The TCSB made legal provision for reinstatement in case of unfair redundancy, but the Employment Rights Act does not. By so doing, the State is creating conditions which cause labour to become a commodity as in the old days of slavery and indenture.

Similarly, in the period 1982

Reference 1593 - 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 in the 1830s with the legal abolition of slavery and the importation of indentured labour from British India. Not only the trauma of slavery, but also the harsh conditions of apprenticeship and of abolition contributed to the leaving of sugar estates by ex-enslaved people. They were paid very low wages based on those of indentured labour and they lost the housing facilities and the land which they had been cultivating for decades. They could not reconcile their newly-acquired 'legal' freedom with their loss of basic necessities like land and housing. They were excluded from the new Capitalist System, and most of them earned a meagre living by fishing with primitive equipment and by

working as stevedores, drivers and artisans. Many were somewhat permanently unemployed, forming a lumpen proletariat living on the margin of the plantation (sugar) economy.³⁰⁸ Moreover, the subservience of the

Reference 1594 - 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 1595 - 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 1596 - 0.01% Coverage

from various policy decisions lately□.

3. Decent Wage For Decent Work: We should remember that slavery and indentured labour were, amongst other things, labour systems. There should be an overhaul of the labour system. Firstly, a decent wage for decent work policy should be adopted. Whilst the notion of a decent wage will be defined in different sectors of the economy through consultation with labour and capital, the notion of decent work has been defined by the International Labour Office as far back as 1999.³⁰⁹ It includes, inter alia,

i. rights at work whether

Reference 1597 - 0.01% Coverage

Welfare of the labouring classes.

In the fight against poverty and social exclusion and other consequences of slavery and indenture, action should be taken in the employment sector, especially in the private sector and, in particular, in the sector of the export-oriented enterprises. We recommend the following measures:

i. The Employment Rights Act

Reference 1598 - 0.01% Coverage

should be given serious consideration.

The above recommendations would ensure, to some extent, that workers are not treated as mere commodities, but as human beings with their basic rights and dignity. This, in turn, would represent a major step towards severing the links with the remnants of slavery and indenture, when workers were not considered as human beings but mere factors of production.

13. Land: Land, being a

Reference 1599 - 0.01% Coverage

t , L is labour, and

are equal to the value of marginal product of labour or the result of multiplying the number of units produced at the margin by the price at time t of a unit of that output. Wages are evidently not an issue in a slave system so instead we will account for shadow wage which is a measure of the exploitation of the slave's labour by the owner.

Since the value of the slave is the present value of the wages expropriated (net of upkeep and monitoring costs) we can write the expression for the value of the slave as follows:

$NPV_t = k - \int_0^L$

$t L$

Reference 1600 - 0.01% Coverage

wages at time t (2)

where $t=L$ is the years the slave will be used that is the effective useful life of the slave. The U_t term is defined as upkeep costs in time t and the discount term δ defines the rate of time preference, where current investment and borrowing is traded off against future consumption. However, there are several types of uncertainty, which take the form of transaction cost discounts, to the value of a slave. The first, easily incorporated into equation 2 above, is uncertainty about commodity prices P_t . Secondly, owners were concerned about the possibility of slave revolts in groups, or escapes, either of which were likely to make the slave unavailable for service. Consequently, this form of uncertainty takes the form of a probability distribution defined over a discrete outcome set: either a slave continues in service, or is lost forever, due to escape or participation in a rebellion. Finally, there is uncertainty over the prospect of the abolition of slavery. Again, the form of the outcome is discrete, with a high probability that abolition will not occur, and some small probability that it will occur in any given year. Like escape, however, abolition is forever: if it occurs, the value of the slave is lost.

To capture this logic in

Reference 1601 - 0.01% Coverage

$E_m - E_s + (E_m * E_s)$ (3)

where E_s and E_m are Boolean operators, taking the value "true" (1) if the slave escapes or is emancipated, respectively. It is difficult to analyze such an equation probabilistically since each separate occurrence of escape or emancipation would constitute a separate event (e.g. "escape in year 7" is different from "escape in year 13"). So, we will make two simplifying assumptions: (1) We will only consider the case where the slave neither escapes nor is emancipated over his entire useful life; and (2) the likelihood function can be described as the product of a sequence of independent

probabilities. With

$\int_0^L P_t e^{-\delta t} dt$

Reference 1602 - 0.01% Coverage

k em,k □
t k □

A simple example reveals just how sensitive this discount factor is to even small changes in the subjective assessment of the ‘safety’ of an investment in slaves. Imagine that a potential slavebuyer believes that the chances of a successful escape are zero, and that emancipation is

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the risk discount factor for

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impossible. Then there is no risk discount at all, and equation 2 describes the value of the slave. But then suppose that the prospective buyer learns new information and decides that the probability of escape is actually 0.001 in any given year, and that the probability of emancipation is also 0.001. What is the discount? From equation 4, we know that it is $(P_e/P_m)L-k$. Imagine that the slave is expected to have a useful life of 10 years; then the discount is $(0.999*0.999)^{10}=0.98$. This means that the prospective buyer who believes that the chances of either emancipation or escape are low will pay very nearly the full value of the expected marginal product of the labour of the slave. What if the slave has a 30-year expected useful life? The discount then would be $(0.999*0.999)^{30}=0.94$. A 5% discount for the total risk of escape or emancipation would influence the price.

The fully-elaborated model of value of slave will be as follows: $ENPV = t k \square \square$ where ENPV is expected net present value.

The model captures the potential sources of variation in the present value of slave-ownership that one would expect to observe. The easiest, in economic terms, are the ‘price of output’ and ‘marginal product of labour’ variables. If the price of sugar, or the productivity of slaves working in sugar, rises then the price of slaves is expected to rise also. The time rate of discount represents the opportunity cost of the labour tied up in labour assets.

The interesting feature of the model is the impact on asset prices of the probability that slavery will be abolished. Even a small risk of abolition had to be taken extremely seriously because it affected the value of the entire future income stream. If an individual changed their expectations, even slightly, about the persistence of the slave regime, the amount they would pay for their slave would also shift. A rational individual would then buy a slave if the expected present value of slavelabour exceeded the price at which slaves could be purchased at auction.

In terms of the model

Reference 1604 - 0.01% Coverage

In terms of the model,

Pem would be greater under the British rule than before with the near abolition of slavery. This, in turn, would imply that, ceteris paribus, EPV also increased. On the other hand, if abolition seemed unlikely, then Pem would have remained essentially constant over time with, ceteris paribus, no change in EPV.

t L t k

□
□ □ □ □ □ □

P

Reference 1605 - 0.01% Coverage

A SCRAMBLE FOR SOULS INTRODUCTION

In 1840, Mauritius, formerly Isle de France, already had a complex history which was to become more complex with the Indians - Hindus and Muslims – and the Chinese being added to the ex-slaves mainly of Malagasy or African origin, to the Coloured people, the Whites. Among these last ones, were some of French origin and colonists in the country, the others being British and new administrators of the island; they were to form a population in search of its identity and to see imposing one which would be imposed upon them by the dominant racial oligarchy. It is within this complex socio-political system that the Church would have to integrate itself.

Research on missionary intervention in

Reference 1606 - 0.01% Coverage

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 1607 - 0.01% Coverage

Code Noir, as Amédée Nagapen

remarked, drew an idealized picture of the religious life of the slave, not easily achievable in practice. On the one hand, the slaves who were unloaded from the vessels of the slave traders had their own religion. Plunged brutally into the slave system of Isle de France and forced to fight for a painful survival in a French-speaking foreign society, they were quickly stripped of their language, their religion, their habits, in short, of their culture. Moreover, factors such as the mode of life of the masters, their daily needs for manpower, the requirements of the Sunday drudgeries, the impossibility of sanctioning the delinquents, made it impossible to abide to the decrees of the Code Noir.

On the other hand, the missionaries, in practice, adopted different standards, more pastoral principles in conformity with their conviction that faith is a gift of God, a supernatural grace. Consequently, ignoring the rules of the Code Noir which ordered the baptism of the slaves and Catholic religious instruction, the Clergy of Isle de France initially took care of catechism and then of the ceremony of baptism, depending on the dispositions of the catechumen. Above all, they took care not to baptize inconsiderately slaves who then generally precipitated in cohabitation, could not receive the sacrament of marriage.⁴

For obvious reasons, in Isle

Reference 1608 - 0.01% Coverage

mass administration of baptisms.⁵

So, as regards to the slave population, in spite of the legislation in force, the majority were not Christians. The Government just had to rest content with the existing situation.

It must be noted that

Reference 1609 - 0.01% Coverage

experience of the French Revolution.

Yet, by the 1830s, following the changing attitudes of the planting community and during the amelioration period, some local Catholic priests started catechism with the slaves. Nagapen outlined the work of Father Déroulède in the 1830s among the slave population. At the opening of a new Church at Flacq in 1832, Le Cernéen of 27 September rejoiced that both the inhabitants and their slaves should be able to receive a religious instruction.

But despite all these efforts, it could scarcely be expected that Christianity would have made much progress among the slaves, given that they met with such harsh treatment at the hands of men professedly Christian, or that the prayers which they were compelled to offer up every evening for the welfare of their masters could not have been uttered with much sincerity.⁶

The Indian Catholic slaves

Historical documents record with certainty that the Indian slaves were integrated into the burgeoning Mauritian population as far back as 1729. From 1729 to 1731, the vessels of the French East India Company landed no less than 3,300 slaves on the two islands of whom 2,000 had been captured in Madagascar, 1,000 along the various coasts of Africa and 300 in India.⁷ Regardless of

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Reference 1610 - 0.02% Coverage

Legal theory and missionary practice

Although the Code Noir prescribed the baptism of slaves, in their field-work, however, the Lazarist priests followed different norms, pastoral ones, in keeping with the God-given grace of faith. Thus, whilst the royal Code Noir set forth that the slaves should be baptized and instructed in the Catholic religion, the local Clergy carried out religious teaching first and administered baptism afterwards, depending on the disposition of the applicant.

The priests were never in any hurry to admit a catechumen slave to baptism. Thus, in spite of the introduction of slaves to the Isle de France as early as 1722, Mr. Borthon, the Apostolic VicePrefect, did not confer baptism on any slave before 1725. On 11th March of that year, he baptized the very first slave couple and on that same day, he blessed their union in matrimony.⁸ The Lazarists, as a rule, would admit into the Church through baptism only those who had given evidence of their willingness and determination to abide by the Church's moral teaching. Because of the promiscuity attendant on slavery, they would baptise adults, when these were imported, on condition that they could settle down in matrimony, monogamous and indissoluble.⁹ They therefore fostered the ideal of married family life for the youths, a policy backed by the French East India Company, albeit not for the same reason: Young people who were married would not think of marooning.

As regards to the period of probation and instruction undergone by Indian catechumens, it would vary. In any case, the request to convert to Christianity came in the wake of an irresistible process of depersonalization. Usually, the Hindu slaves, many of them Gentoos from Bengal (unconquered as yet by the English), were first rigged out by their masters with a French name or nickname that ripped off their external Hindu personality. Next, they were per force subdued to an un-Indian way of life, fed on the slave diet (manioc and so on), clad with the coarse blue denim, holding on to the Creole patois for communication and survival, and prevented by the local environment from professing their ancestral faith. Stripped, to that extent, of their cultural identity, the Indians would look towards Catholicism, the official and exclusive religion. The young male adults would turn all the more easily to Christianity as through scarcity of Indian women, they were left with no alternative but to marry female slaves of other

ethnic groups. The Indian children, in all events, were christened in infancy, like all slave-born children, and as is the traditional practice in Catholic families. Musleem Jumeer goes so far as to state that: “The civil status registers of the early years of colonisation of the island show the existence of the island show the existence of a great number of Indian female slaves who have their new-born babies christened.”¹⁰

On 19 July 1760, Mr. Le Tellier, a Lazarist priest of St. François of Assisi Parish, administered the sacrament of baptism to eight children, all slaves of Le Page, an inhabitant of Flacq. One of them was an Indian baby-boy, Vincent, illegitimate child of Louise, Indian slave, born a month ago. It is worth noting that all Indian slave-born children – according to public records, Civil Status registers, censuses and elsewhere – are categorised as Creole slave (native slaves). As a result, within the span of one or at most two generations, the latter had suffered a total loss of whatever link they have might maintained with their Indian origins.

To revert to the implementation of the Code Noir, stress should also be laid on the local practice that was a far cry from the legal prescriptions. Thus, as the Law prohibited official marriages between White and Black partners (Art. 9), concubinary unions prevailed, with no penal sanction. On the other hand, on Sundays, those Catholic Indian slaves were expected to attend mass and religious instruction, or the religious function on the owner’s estate. In fact, hardly any Indian slave could benefit from such facilities. Corvées had to be performed on Sundays and religious Holidays. Besides, their occupation as domestic servants precluded them from benefiting from such legal weekly rest. Room-cleaning, cooking, serving at table allowed no break, not even on Sundays.

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Reference 1611 - 0.01% Coverage

invariably – to the Catholic Church.

How numerous were they? It is difficult to have an exact, or even an approximate figure, of the number of Indian slaves especially, since this early phase of local religious life remains shrouded in a misty lack of documentation. Moreover, the historian needs to be wary of the pitfalls of Christian names that are unreliable indicators of Catholic membership. Furthermore, the Catholic profile of the Indian slaves is very slight, as the latter are, all in all, but a marginal element of the slave population of Mauritius over the period 1722-1735.

1.2 Restructuring of the

Reference 1612 - 0.01% Coverage

of the Church after 1840

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

During the century-long presence

Reference 1613 - 0.01% Coverage

the signs of the time

As soon as he set foot on the island, he became aware of the real nature of the motley population; religious life was a mere veneer of Catholicism. The majority of the population was formed by the large

class of former slaves recently emancipated. In that impoverished and illiterate community, tens of thousands were not even baptised; educational institutions for boys as well as girls were really scarce. Besides, he was quick to

Reference 1614 - 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 1615 - 0.01% Coverage

the challenges of his ministry?

Without a specific plan, Father Laval was forced to play it by ear. He evangelized the ex-slaves in his own unique way by devising plans and strategies as the need arose. His lifestyle and personality would greatly influence the decision of the ex-apprentices to convert to Christianity. From the very beginning, Father Laval went against the norm. Instead of living with his fellow-priests at the presbytery in Port Louis, he felt that there was a need for him to be amid the people he came to serve. To him, the presbytery was confined and he knew that the ex-slaves were hesitant to come there. At his instigation, Bishop Collier erected a wooden shack to accommodate Laval’s “dear black children”. It was approximately 32 square metres and it became the Centre for his mission. Father Laval set up his own room at one end of this “hut”.

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Reference 1616 - 0.01% Coverage

SCRAMBLE FOR SOULS Communication Problems

Fr. Laval was faced a communication problem because he could not converse in Creole. During the first three years of his ministry, he spent time at the school for the emancipated slaves; he took notes on their vocabulary, their figures of speech and their cultures.³⁹ This decision played an important role in the conversion of the emancipated slaves. He could now communicate more effectively. This drew the Blacks closer to Jacques Laval who assimilated into the black society – he lived in a hut, he avoided contact with the Whites and he spoke their dialect.

Shortage of Priests

The lack

Reference 1617 - 0.01% Coverage

of priests generates lay participation

The shortage of priests was a major cause for the change in the lives of the ex-slaves. Fr. Laval set out on a unique journey which revolutionized and revived the Catholic Church of the nineteenth century. By involving lay participants, Fr. Laval based his method of evangelization on four pastoral practices that a century later, would be endorsed and propounded by The Second Vatican Council:

- Indigenous catechists: lay men and women, many of them married couples, many of them former slaves and virtually illiterate, but thoroughly well-catechized;
- The setting up of innumerable small Christian communities; □ The evangelization of the ex-slaves by the ex-slaves; □ A network of places of gathering and of worship.

Laval saw what no one else had before him – that the ex-slaves were called to act as apostles in the Church by virtue of their baptism. He felt that these people ought to live in small Christian communities in order to live their faith and to fulfil the obligations of their baptism. To further increase their interest in the faith, Fr

Reference 1618 - 0.01% Coverage

to sex and age.⁴¹

In front of the immensity of the task, and not being able to be everywhere, Fr. Laval chose lay men and women, many of them married couples, many of them former slaves and virtually illiterate; his colleagues and he himself directed and supported the apostolate of these lay collaborators who proved to be devoted and competent.⁴² However, whether the catechists had an understanding of what they had to preach, and the fact that they would endeavour to spread the same message to the catechumens, is not certain.

The Counselors had the responsibility

Reference 1619 - 0.01% Coverage

were later rebuilt of stone.

By April 1847, ten chapels were under construction in the neighbourhood of Port Louis, and by 1848, there were forty. In the following years, chapels were built in rural districts also. The ex-slaves contributed by providing as much land and material as they could while those who were poor donated of their labour.

Impact of Lay Auxiliaries on

Reference 1620 - 0.01% Coverage

Lay Auxiliaries on the Community

Over the years, the involvement of the lay auxiliaries shaped the religious, social and in a small way economic structure of Mauritius and the names of at least sixty of them have survived.⁴³ These disciples of Laval went to every corner of the island in order to evangelize the ex-slaves population. At the end of March 1846, Le Vasseur wrote: “The black population outside Port Louis is totally abandoned.”⁴⁴ However with the help of the auxiliaries, Fr. Lambert was able to report at the end of 1852: “The farthest districts have seen the light; the greater part of the work is done.”⁴⁵ All praise must go to the catechists who were “immensely useful”. To Fr. O’Dwyer they were indispensable: “I am convinced that a priest, with the help of well organised catechists, would be more useful than two priests without catechists. His flock would be better instructed, the sick better cared for, and the scandals would be stopped sooner; there would be more order and regularity in the parish.”⁴⁶

The contribution of the auxiliaries to Fr. Laval’s ministry was immense in terms of impact on the Mauritian community. They became the link between Fr. Laval and the ex-apprentices who became

Christians. By involving the lay participants, Fr. Laval had given the ex-slaves responsibility which helped to improve their self image.

Breaking down barriers
Father Laval's

Reference 1621 - 0.01% Coverage

self image.

Breaking down barriers

Father Laval's ministry to the ex-slaves was especially productive because he did not approach them as one who was superior to them, as most white people did at that time; instead, he became like one of them in poverty. His lifestyle, his paternal affection and his sermons were directed towards restoring the pride and confidence of the ex-apprentices. One of the ways in which he did this was by crossing a boundary forbidden by the Whites. Besides living and speaking like the ex-slaves, Fr. Laval also entered their homes. This behaviour was seen as an affront to the Whites, but the ex-slaves were honoured that a white man should come into their homes.

The Fruits of Laval's Ministry

Reference 1622 - 0.01% Coverage

The Fruits of Laval's Ministry

Being in contact with ex-slaves on a human cultural level was considered as a betrayal of the whole White society of the island.⁴⁷ Regardless of this, Father Laval's popularity filtered through the multitude of ethnic origins of Mauritians – Europeans, Africans, Indians, Malaysians, Malagasy and Chinese. His success is reflected in the diversity of the first converts, their different races, ages and sex and the different trades in which they engaged. Fr. Laval had already baptized thirty young illegitimate children, when on Saturday 13th November 1841, four catechumens were received to the Church by Bishop Collier. They were Cassimir, an Indian aged 70, René Baton-Brède, an African from the Mozambique Coast, Pierrot Hiescomah, a fisherman and Marie Calou, a washerwoman. The last two, natives of Madagascar, soon after their baptism received the sacrament of marriage. On the following Friday, Michel Tablier, a mason originally from Malaysia married a Creole dressmaker, Sophie Fanchette, while the maid of the presbytery – a native of Madagascar – married Charles Congo. These two had been living in de facto relationship for years. On the same day, a carpenter native of the Comoros Islands married a creole dressmaker.⁴⁸

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Reference 1623 - 0.01% Coverage

lost for some time."⁵⁰

The ex-apprentices were mostly illiterate (10 apprentices out of an estimated population of 70,000 were reportedly able to read and write in 1836)⁵¹ but the majority had very good memories. Whether or not they understood what they were memorizing would probably have depended on the individual's ability to do so. Overall, Fr. Laval found it difficult to teach these illiterate and ignorant men and women "who did not know their right hand from their left" and whose minds were not used to stimulation, and that is why he prepared the simple catechism in order to make religion accessible to the ex-slaves. 52

He advised his missionaries to

Reference 1624 - 0.01% Coverage

will be a disaster.”⁵³

Therefore, it can be argued that Fr. Laval was more interested in saving the souls of the exapprentices rather than in awakening their class consciousness in order to lead them into the mainstream of Mauritian society. Although the ex-slaves and the coloured population represented a political threat to the White society for they outnumbered them nine to one, they never made any demands on the Government and Father Laval never pressed them to do so. The Creole society of pre-Emancipation Mauritius was highly segmented where race was concerned, and remained for another century, the fundamental factor. Society was pyramidal in structure with the white – descendants of French colonists and some British occupying the apex - and the slave at the broad bottom and the Coloured people in between⁵⁴. This situation was never questioned by Father Laval.

2.2 The Indian Mission

Reference 1625 - 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 abolition of slavery and the expansion of the Sugar Cane Industry, an ever increasing number of extra workers were needed. So, the British started the introduction of indentured labour from India (1829-1923). In 1861, the Indian immigrants had reached a total of 192,634 of a population of 310,050 inhabitants.

In such circumstance, Bishop Collier

Reference 1626 - 0.01% Coverage

des Malabars at Plaine Verte;

- The Catholic Indian immigrants who came with the other indentured labourers after the abolition of slavery;
- The Indian indentured labourers who

Reference 1627 - 0.01% Coverage

FOR SOULS CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

One significant fact about the occurrence of most Truth Commissions, held throughout the world, is that what previous generations would likely have been forgotten or suppressed, is today discussed and dissected in public forums. Obviously, the Truth and Justice Commission cannot, by itself, repair the legacies of trauma and deprivation that slavery and indenture have left, but it has created clear, undeniable public records of what occurred – records that provide an essential buffer against the inevitable tendencies to deny, extenuate, and forget. Perhaps most importantly, TJC offers the one thing that victims of gross Human Rights abuse almost universally cite as their most pressing need: the opportunity to have their stories heard and their injuries acknowledged.

The quest for retrospective Justice

Reference 1628 - 0.01% Coverage

years, in particular, have witnessed the emergence of an international consensus on the importance of confronting traumatic histories, as well as the creation of a variety of modalities and mechanisms for doing so. These approaches include, not only the payment of monetary reparations (the focus of the current slavery reparations debate in Mauritius), but also international tribunals, formal apologies, truth commissions, the creation of public memorials and days of remembrance, educational initiatives, and a wide variety of other non-monetary reparations programs. Although these different approaches, as well as some of the specific circumstances in which they have been or might be used are debatable, what is important to bear in mind is that there is no magical formula for righting historical wrongs.

From what has been witnessed

Reference 1629 - 0.01% Coverage

propriety and value of an institutional apology, we believe that it is incumbent on the Church, as a minimum, to acknowledge formally and publicly the benefits that the Church derived from the institution of slavery. This was done in 2006, during the mass of 1st February 2006 commemorating the Abolition of Slavery at the Church of Notre-Dame du Grand Pouvoir at Vieux Grand-Port. Mgr Maurice E. Piat, c.ssp, Bishop of the Diocese of Port Louis, has expressed an apology of the Catholic Church for having been linked to slavery in History. He has also recognized the contribution of Creoles to the Church of Mauritius. The Church has also accepted that it is the missionary work of Father Laval and his collaborators⁸² that has consolidated the Church through the centuries. Yet with institutions as with individuals, taking responsibility for an offence entails more than expressing remorse for past conduct; it also requires a commitment to doing better in the future.

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Reference 1630 - 0.01% Coverage

quality education for needy children;

expand opportunities for those disadvantaged by the legacies of slavery by creating special scholarships;

recognise and promote the Creole language within the Church and at a national level so as to provide a sense of cultural identity to the descendants of slaves and Creoles in general.

slavery had profound consequences. The most fundamental was racism – the enduring

Reference 1631 - 0.01% Coverage

population are descendants of the emancipated slaves of 1838 and that, except for a portion which forms a higher class, they are still illiterate and ignorant. It is useless to put books between their hands and for preaching to be in French; this is only very imperfectly understood by poor people whose language is a rough dialect. The new generation takes a certain superficial varnish of civilization, but it is not Christianized as it should be: the priests, the catechists, the works are lacking.

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Reference 1632 - 0.01% Coverage

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS Executive Summary

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

Reference 1633 - 0.01% Coverage

inherited from our colonial past.

Slavery, which was practised during the Dutch occupation, was marked by the worse forms of illtreatment to human beings. The treatment meted out to slaves is at the root of revolts. These contributed to the abandonment of the island by the Dutch colonists in 1710.

During the French occupation, which lasted for almost a century 1715-1810, the practice of slavery was legalized following the enactment of the Lettres Patentes framed under the Code Noir of 1685 and 1723.

Slavery, which is now officially recognized as a crime against humanity, was practised in its cruellest form. Treated as beasts of burden, if not as movables, slaves could be sold, hired out and transferred to the heirs and successors of their owners. Classified legally as movables, they were listed after horses and draught animals in the register of the assets of their owners.

Assigned to hard manual labour during long hours, slaves received no wages for their labour, had no legal personality and could not possess anything. Most slaves had no rights to family life. Slaves had no right to surnames, but to first names only, given by the owner. Slavery was marked by the denigration of African and Malagasy culture and the subsequent loss of this identity.

The laws governing slaves conferred upon the masters wide powers to punish men and women alike for the slightest offence. A special enactment was provided for the punishment of runaway slaves. This took the form of mutilation and even entailed the execution of the slave after a third offence. Of course, no appeal for any unjustified action of the master was accented.

Slaves could not assemble, nor be found in possession of any offensive weapons. The decision of the French National Assembly Convention to abolish slavery in 1794 was not even communicated to the slave population. Refusal to abolish slavery led to the breakdown of relations between Isle de France and the Metropole.

British Occupation

The slavery regime

Reference 1634 - 0.01% Coverage

and the Metropole.

British Occupation

The slavery regime continued during the first part of the British occupation until its abolition in 1835.

Slavery was not marked by any uprising, contrary to what happened in Haiti. This passivity may be attributed to the most stringent laws in force to control slave movement in Isle de France.

After the abolition of slavery in 1835, a great injustice was done to slaves, when their masters decided to do without their services on a phase to phase basis in the wake of the arrival of indentured workers. Some 32,000 slaves, 'esclaves de plantation', were thrown out of work for one reason or another.

No rehabilitation plan was mooted

Reference 1635 - 0.01% Coverage

be found among such people.

During the French occupation, under the Gouvernement Royal, a law was passed to ensure better treatment for emancipated slaves and people of colour loi de l'Emancipation of 1767. This new class of citizens could henceforth own property, maintain slaves, but could not receive any donation or be given any property by way of succession. They had to pay special respect to the white men for these to prove their superiority as human beings. It was not before the enactment of Ordinance 57 of 1829 that the free people were put on a par with their white counterparts in the Parish Registers and could accede to the succession of their natural parents and receive any

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Reference 1636 - 0.01% Coverage

white persons in Mauritian history.

As regards ex-slaves left stranded after the abolition of slavery, this liberation was more a poison chalice. With the arrival of indentured labour from India, they lost all hopes of employment. Housed in ramshackle premises, they were easy victims of epidemics which occurred in the second part of the 19th century and were largely decimated. It is estimated that the cholera and the malaria epidemics of 1854 and 1867, and onwards, carried away half the population of ex-slaves.

Although the British Government compensated the owners of slaves for their liberation, it failed to put forward any rehabilitation plan to take them out of their state of absolute poverty. This is considered as a great injustice to a class of helpless people on the grounds of pure racism, in as much that they no longer formed part of the plantation economy, i.e. sugar production.

The advent of indentured labourers

Reference 1637 - 0.01% Coverage

community of individuals.

Political Reform

Although ex-slaves, people of colour and Indian immigrants represented around 90% of the population, they had no say in the affairs of the country. In 1885, a new Constitution came into force providing for the election of 10 members of the Legislative Council, hitherto largely dominated by British officials, land proprietors and merchants. But these elections were not democratic in the form of voting which was restricted to only 3% of the population and based on specific criteria.

In 1909, another Commission was

Reference 1638 - 0.01% Coverage

Child Development and Family Welfare.

Certain sections of the population, mostly descendants of slaves, have not been able to benefit from the process of development, and now rank among the less enviable class in the Mauritian society in terms of education, employment and social status. The Ministry for Social Integration and Economic Development has been set up with funds, both from the public and private sectors, to offer assistance to this class of citizens and ensure better housing conditions, proper schooling and various other support social services.

While assistance to the poor

Reference 1639 - 0.01% Coverage

contribute to their pension scheme.

3. In spite of their defects, co-operative organizations proved to be essential tools to extirpate small producers, whether in the field of agriculture and livestock. Fishermen, pig breeders cannot be left to fend for themselves. The habit of thrift and saving is not one of the virtues of people of slave descents. This situation results in many of them falling into the grip of unscrupulous middle men and usurers.

Throughout the world, credit unions, whether community-based or industry-based, have proved that they can inculcate the habit of saving and provide short-term credit at concessionary rates to their members in times of dire need. However, the setting up of such organisations and their management cannot be left to people who are hardly literate. The assistance of dedicated social workers, cooperative development officers are essential to see to it that the affairs of such cooperatives are run on a sound basis.

4. A new class of

Reference 1640 - 0.01% Coverage

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 XIV, to manage slaves in the newlyacquired colonies is a typical case of the bias ideas of the black people generally. Slaves captured

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Reference 1641 - 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 the Code Noir was, not to evangelize people in the newly-acquired territories as the Papal Bull of Nicolas 11 stipulates, but to help in acquiring the much-needed raw materials, and tropical products for their rising economies. Slavery, slave trade and coolie trade and indentured labour systems were all intricately linked with the object in view.

*Bernardin de St Pierre, the

Reference 1642 - 0.02% 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 not assimilated as human beings, but as mere movables, surprisingly they had to be baptized as Roman Catholics. As such, they were not expected to work on Sundays and public holidays. Slaves would not receive any pay for their labour but were only housed, fed and provided with clothing twice yearly.⁹ Slavery saw the dislocation of family life as husband and wife did not cohabit in the same house, but in 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 in 1767, however, allowed for a more humane treatment of free people of colour and emancipated slaves. This new category of individuals could buy land, keep slaves, but could not in any way benefit from donations and grants by their natural white parents and had to show respect to white individuals. No emancipated individual could carry any offensive weapon either, and they had to pay due respect, when in contact with white people.¹¹

Truth and Justice Commission 503

Reference 1643 - 0.01% Coverage

SOCIETY UNDER COLONIALISM - SOCIAL JUSTICE

In 1794, in the wake of the French Revolution, the Convention proclaimed that all men were created equal under the sacrosanct principles of liberty, equality and fraternity. While the slaves of Haiti, availing of the Convention's

decision, managed to free themselves

Reference 1644 - 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 1645 - 0.01% Coverage

Member for Port Louis.¹³

However, with the advent of Napoleon Bonaparte in power in 1802, slavery was reintroduced and many of the privileges conferred to free People of Colour abolished. The Code Decaën did not tolerate any bonding whatsoever between the White people and their Coloured counterparts. As far as inheritance was concerned, children born of mixed unions would not be allowed to make a claim or inherit any property

from a white parent, even when the latter had left no direct heirs nor could a free person receive a donation either by will or notarial act.¹⁴

The refusal to abolish slavery is one of the root causes of the defeat of French forces in 1810, as the standing army was reduced to its minimum, while no free people nor slaves could be called upon to form part of a militia for fear of any uprising once armed.

4. SOCIAL JUSTICE DURING EARLY

Reference 1646 - 0.01% Coverage

that direction for diverse reasons.

4.1 Although slavery was abolished in 1807 in Britain and slave trade in 1813, the British showed leniency towards the French colons who had decided to stay in isle de France in as much that the treaty of capitulation of the 3rd of December 1810 had guaranteed that their land property would not be confiscated, they were thus allowed to import slaves to look after the sugar plantations. But following strong lobby from the Anti-Slavery Society who argued that Mauritius should not benefit from preferential prices for its sugars on the London Market as slave trade was still being practiced; illegal slave trade was brought to an end in 1827.

4.2 Protest for artisans

Reference 1647 - 0.01% Coverage

workers.

4.3 Political reform

In 1885, an important event took place in the democratic field when free elections were held. But unfortunately, voting rights were restricted to only a few persons, as stringent conditions regarding property, rent and revenue debarred some 96% of the population from taking part. The result is that only the sugar barons and a few members of the Coloured community could vote. The Constitution of 1885 (Pope Hennessy Reform) continued up to 1948. Needless to say, the great majority of descendants of Indian immigrants and descendants of ex-slaves were debarred from taking any active part in politics.

Further, the riots of 1937

Reference 1648 - 0.01% Coverage

of the Population of Mauritius

Mauritius is a land of migrants. When the Dutch landed in 1598, the island was uninhabited. It is only the French colonisers who decided to settle permanently on the island. They brought in slaves from Madagascar, from mainland Africa and India. When the British took over the island, there was already some form of a 'Mauritian Society' which took shape as a result of nearly a century of interaction of various people namely the Whites, the Coloured and people of slave descent from Africa and Madagascar.

Vijaya Teelock,¹ while describing

Reference 1649 - 0.01% Coverage

Political Consciousness of Ethnic Group

After the abolition of slavery, the arrival, gradual settlement and assimilation of Indians immigrants in the new 'Mauritian Society' already made Mauritius a 'melting pot' in the Indian Ocean. Despite racial

intermixture, there were clear categories in the population of Mauritius: the Whites, the Indians, the ex-slaves and the Coloured. Rémy Ollier, a person of mixed white and Indian origin, was seen as the first great leader of the Coloured population.

7.3 The Class Struggle

Reference 1650 - 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 of slaves from Madagascar and Mozambique and were brought there by the French between 1780 and 1828 and by the British in the 1840s and 1850s.

The exiled Chagossians are today

Reference 1651 - 0.01% Coverage

Exclusion of the Creole Community

The term ‘Malaise Creole’ was used for the first time by the Creole Catholic priest Father Roger Cerveau in the year 1993. He used the term to describe a situation where the Creole community, particularly the Afro-Creoles descendents of slaves, were not able to integrate the mainstream of Mauritian society in terms of education, health services, employment and housing. Their situation, in comparison with other ethnic groups, was relatively bad and it was felt that something should have been done about it. In the words of Sewlyn Rayan³: “Creoles are the most economically and politically marginalized group in Mauritius. They are the dockers, the fishermen, the lorry’s assistants, home and construction workers and in some cases lower level clerks and factotum in the public and private sector.”

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Reference 1652 - 0.01% Coverage

SOCIETY UNDER COLONIALISM - SOCIAL JUSTICE

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

Despite the panoply of measures

Reference 1653 - 0.01% Coverage

Exclusion of the Creole Community

There have been several interpretations of this state of affairs for this ethnic group, but many psycho-anthropologists and historians trace it back to slavery and its aftermath. The treatment which they were subjected to and their deculturalization appear to be deeply ingrained in their sub-consciousness. W. Devore and E. Schlesinger⁴ have strongly argued that the past affects, and gives shape to, problems manifested in the present. Such non-conscious phenomena affect individual functioning and become a source of strain, discord and strife.

Other studies have also been

Reference 1654 - 0.01% Coverage

Administration of Social Justice Introduction

Mauritius has moved from a period characterized by the absence of Social Justice, as was the case during the period of slavery (1721-1839) to a situation where Social Justice has become the very essence of a democratic society. Around the 1980's, when the liberalization of the economy took shape, there was a marked improvement of the lives of the people. However, the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 had profound global consequences on the economic, social and cultural profile of nations: Mauritius was no exception. The old concept of Social Democracy had to be reinvented and this new approach so essential to adapt to the widespread changes as it is seen in the socioeconomic policies of the Government of the day.

9.1 Some landmarks of

Reference 1655 - 0.01% Coverage

and inputs to the document.

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

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Reference 1656 - 0.01% Coverage

all abandoned Rodrigues in 1693.

The second attempt at colonisation was spear-headed by the French, but this time, it was decided by the Conseil Supérieur de l'Ile Bourbon in 1725 in the name of the French East Indian Company. This attempt did not last long because of the isolation of Rodrigues and its difficult port-access. However, a small contingent of slaves under the supervision of Julien Tafforet, whose main occupation was to harvest tortoises in Rodrigues, stationed in Rodrigues for just under one year. Once more the island was abandoned, but the Directors of the Company took care to forbid the removal of tortoises, which they reserved for the requirements of vessels returning from India. In order to regulate the trade of tortoises from Rodrigues, Mahé de Labourdonnais created a small establishment for the sole purpose of gathering tortoises in readiness for shipment. The establishment consisted of a few soldiers, lascars and slaves. It

would appear that the relationship between the White Settlers and the slaves was always under great strain and that “marronnage” was a regular practice.

In 1761, when Alexandre Gui arrived for the observation of the Transit of Venus, there were the French Officer in Charge, a surgeon and corporal (all three Europeans) and 12 to 15 blacks, natives of Madagascar or India, most of whom were slaves belonging to the Company. There were also 22 freemen. However, in 1767, Rodrigues, now retroceded to the French Crown, had a very small slave population of five and Yves Mathurin Jullienne.

Permanent settlement in Rodrigues could be said to have started with the arrival Legros and Fremont in 1792, followed by Michel Gorry in 1793. They came after the French Revolution to start fishing-posts and do commerce with Mauritius. In 1794, Philibert Marragon arrived as Civil Agent with his wife, his mother-in-law and his slaves.

Shortly afterwards in 1798, instructions

Reference 1657 - 0.01% Coverage

on their arrival at Rodrigues.

Marragon was definitely not an easy character and his relationship with the slave'-owners was always on edge. Rivalries among them were rampant. It appeared also that Marragon was very concerned about the ratio of slaves and masters – slaves largely outnumbered masters. In his letters to the authorities in Mauritius, he was always complaining about the behaviour of the slaves. For him the slaves of the other settlers, particularly those of Lambert Gautier, whom he considered to be “de mauvais sujets rebut de l’Isle de France” or “Mauvais sujets, marrons, etc., qui ont fait les dégats dont on se plaint”, were constant sources of trouble. Marragon accused the “marrons” of theft and criminal burning of crops and forests.

One important decision that needs

Reference 1658 - 0.01% Coverage

an asylum for the lepers.

2.2 First attempt of Slave Revolution in Rodrigues

Marragon conducted a survey of the population of Rodrigues in 1804. He thus established that there were 82 slaves belonging to five colonists and their families operating on the Island. There were 32 who originated from Mozambique, 18 from Madagascar and 24 born in Rodrigues.

In 1806, the Slaves plotted to take the Schooner of Germain Le Gros to escape to Madagascar or India. The plot was uncovered and the culprits severely punished.

This is a stark indication

Reference 1659 - 0.01% Coverage

punished.

This is a stark

indication of the harshness of the lives of the slaves under the French administration. In an island so isolated as Rodrigues, the masters could do whatever they wished and one can imagine the vulnerability of a servile population. Marragon mentioned in his letters that Slaves were still fettered:

“Les Noirs du Citoyen Gautier

Reference 1660 - 0.01% Coverage

marche ne les fit prendre.»

The fate of the slaves did not improve under the British rule. After the signing of The Treaty of Paris (30 May 1814), which was proclaimed in Mauritius on the 15th October, Bourbon was restored to France, while Isle de France and its Dependencies, especially Rodrigues, and Les Seychelles came under the British rule

2.3. British Rule

British

Reference 1661 - 0.01% Coverage

4. Robert Farquhar's False Promise

Governor Farquhar never appointed a Government Representative to Rodrigues as he had told them he would. A number of historians think that this was intentional, a loophole left for some slave trading which could be officially ignored so long as there was not a local authority to report its existence.

Was it just a case

Reference 1662 - 0.01% Coverage

or was the neglect intentional?

Abandoned by the French, the arrival of the British gave the people of Rodrigues a glimpse of hope but that as well also fizzled out rapidly. Instead, in preparing the Slavery Abolition Act, the British, anticipating the potential problems of its implementation, thought that Rodrigues would be an ideal place for the reforming of those slaves of notoriously bad characters. However there is no indication that this measure was ever implemented like Decaen's leper island.

Rodrigues remained without any official

Reference 1663 - 0.01% Coverage

British Colonial Rule (1809 -1968)

When the islands became British, slave trading became automatically illegal and preventive measures were devised. However, because there no official government.

Representative in Rodrigues, these measures would remain ineffective. Rodrigues was thus under the first few years of British rule a land with no law at all. So if any of the settlers took some liberties, who would stand in the way? The possibility that the settlers engaged themselves in illegal of slave trading cannot be wholly discarded.

The registration of slaves that was compulsory by the Order in Council of 24th September 1814, was only partly applied to Rodrigues in 1820, but no official registration was done.

This situation brings into light Farquhar's obstinence not to appoint an Official Government Representative in Rodrigues. There are evidences that a network of illegal slaves trade was going on between the coast of Africa to Seychelles, and thence to Rodrigues. Farquhar, after much ado, although he was convinced that Rodrigues would not be worth much to the British without slaves, Farquhar appointed Robert Pye as Government Agent in Rodrigues. Pye reported on the slave situation in 1821 but for reasons unknown, his return on slaves was never registered in the Slave Registration Office in Port Louis. In fact, the slaves of Rodrigues were only officially registered in 1827, at the request of the Eastern Enquiry Commissioners, who held that many of these slaves had a just claim to freedom, having been introduced into the island after the 1814 Order. Unfortunately, these slaves were not set free.

The first official visit of

Reference 1664 - 0.02% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 530

VOL 4: PART IX – RODRIGUES, CHAGOS, AGALEGA AND ST. BRANDON – RODRIGUES ISLAND WITHIN THE REPUBLIC OF MAURITIUS 3. SLAVERY IN RODRIGUES

Slavery is said to have been different in Rodrigues. Slaves, were better treated and cared for, more through fear because they outnumbered the settlers.

Interestingly enough, the particularity of Rodrigues is that slaves and masters arrived at the same time. We learn thus from historians that the first slaves arrived in Rodrigues in 1736, when the first establishment was in place to collect land tortoises. It is to be noted that in 1725, Julian Tafforet landed on the island, accompanied by four men, presumably four slaves, but they only stayed a few months. It is not recorded whether slaves gave birth to children at that time. We only know that the first white Rodriguan was born on the 15th September, 1752, of the first European woman to land in Rodrigues. Jeanne Francoise de Rancars was the wife of the Officer in charge of the establishment, Vincent Francois Martenne de Puvigné.

At that period, Alexandre Gui Pingré, an Astronomer on mission to observe the first transit of Venus, noted 15 slaves, natives of Madagascar and India. A Census carried out by Philibert Marragon in 1804 revealed 24 slaves, born in Rodrigues.

According to Bertuchi, a good number of slaves were from Madagascar and the East Coast of Africa. The inhabitants cultivated manioc, coffee, mountain rice, tobacco, citrus, mango and sweet potatoes. They also reared sheep, pigs, turkeys, and fowls of all descriptions. Some cattle ran wild.

The slaves from Africa were more strongly-built and more amenable to work than the Malgaches, who often escaped, although they were more intelligent. At sunrise, these slaves were awakened and sent to work till sunset. Their nourishment consisted of boiled maize or manioc. It was the custom to give each slave a shirt on New Year's Day. There are no details about the punishment of slaves. Some said that it was rather cruel. If a woman had to be punished, the husband was ordered to inflict it. To contract marriage, the slave had to obtain the permission of his master, who rarely refused it. They seemed to have preferred the idea of marrying women a good deal older than themselves.

It was almost one hundred years later that the authorities seemed to care about the conditions of slaves in Rodrigues. In 1830 Captain Lyons was asked to report on the state, condition and appearance of the slave population in Rodrigues. Lyons found slaves wellclothed and well-fed, having great facility to catch fish, keeping pigs and poultry which they fed on manioc.

Slavery was abolished by an Act of Parliament on the 7th August, 1833. Slaves were to remain with their masters for a period of 5 years as apprentices. It is only towards the end of the period of apprenticeship (1839) that Special Justice C. Anderson was appointed to report on the conditions of apprentices. He sent six days in Rodrigues.

Anderson reported that apprentices in

Reference 1665 - 0.01% Coverage

to remain under British rule.

Slave trading was thus illegal at that time. On the 24th September 1814, slave-owners were obliged by law to submit returns of their slaves every three years. Robert Farquhar, Governor

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Reference 1666 - 0.02% Coverage

WITHIN THE REPUBLIC OF MAURITIUS

of Mauritius, did not deliberately appoint a Government Representative to Rodrigues, as he promised the Rodriguans during the British blockade of Isle de France in 1809. This was to allow illegal slave trade to continue, with no local authorities to report it. It was only in 1820 that he appointed a youngman Thomas Robert Pye, a Lieutenant of the Marines, who participated in the attack on Bourbon. His mission was to register the slaves in Rodrigues, to keep an exact account of all arrivals and departures of ships, to see their logs and their papers. He resided at Baie Lascars in the quarters vacated by the British army, but he soon moved uphill on the former Rochetaing's concession at Mon Plaisir.

3.2 Abolition of Slavery

While Honoré Eudes, a settler of Rodrigues as from 1820, was visiting Mauritius, he was charged by the Government to proclaim, on his return to Rodrigues, total freedom for all slaves on the Island of Rodrigues. Honoré Eudes did so on the 4th June 1839, the day of his arrival in Rodrigues. Interestingly Honoré Eudes offered to his slaves two options; either, firstly, they returned to Mauritius, or secondly, money, food, alcoholic drinks, the right to cultivate freely a plot of his land for their own benefit. The slaves agreed to the second option but shortly afterwards, they deserted the master's concession and took refuge in the interior of the island to enjoy their freedom. It was clear that the ex-slaves wanted to be as far as possible from their past masters.

For the first time, the liberated slaves had a sense of belonging, and they indeed made the best of it. They could easily squat on a piece of land, help themselves to the runaway cattle, catch their own fish, and till as much land as they wanted. There was nothing to stop them from doing so. Charles Lenferna attempt's to interfere with this new mode of living of the ex-slaves prompted the Government to send a magistrate, H. M. Self, to Rodrigues in June 1841. Yet, no official Government Representative was appointed. It was only after the wreck of the good ship Oxford (1st September 1943) that forced the Governor of Mauritius to send a corporal and five constables to Rodrigues. Sir John Marshall, Captain of Her Majesty's frigate Isis, was given a special commission to act as Magistrate and Judge surrogate of Rodrigues.

Colonisation of Rodrigues resumed after a period of military occupation, and settlers came from Mauritius with slaves from Mozambique coast and the East coast of Madagascar. Some of the settlers were involved in direct slave trade, through the East Africa/Seychelles network, although the practice was prohibited under British Law.

3.3 Ex-slaves after abolition

After the abolition of slavery, some estate-owners returned to Mauritius because of the state of lawlessness prejudicial to the whole island.

However, a number of new

Reference 1667 - 0.01% Coverage

on credit at extortionate prices.

Dupont wrote that the sale of Crown Lands started around 1850. Settlers, most of them emancipated slaves, opted for a lease because perhaps they lacked financial means. This had the devastating effect of accelerated deforestation. Forest covers were systematically cleared to make room for the cultivation of cash crop, such as coffee, indigo and cotton, and stapled food such as wheat, rice, potato, vegetables, sweet potatoes, maize and beans.

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Reference 1668 - 0.01% Coverage

espoused those of the Blacks.

The bulk of the population consists of Negroes who were originally imported as slaves from Madagascar and the East coast of Africa through Mauritius. They were not as black as the Guinea Negroes; the

majority have deep brown velvety skin. Their hair is of a very deep black, woolly and curly, their noses short and fairly flat, and the eyes black. Their protruding thick red lips allow one to admire a magnificent row of snow-white teeth. Their arms are longish and thin, and their legs look rather weak and thin. The average height of the men is 5ft. 6 inches. They are very strong, although their outward appearance does not give this impression. It is a marvel how physically strong they are, considering the food they live on. The children of both sexes commence work at a very early age.

The native had his plot

Reference 1669 - 0.01% Coverage

and civil ceremonies of marriage.

H. M. Self reported in 1841 that he had found liberated slaves entirely self-supporting from the produce of their cultivation and the livestock they raised. They squatted unlawfully on the Crown Lands.

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Reference 1670 - 0.01% Coverage

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VOL 4: PART IX – RODRIGUES, CHAGOS, AGALEGA AND ST. BRANDON – RODRIGUES ISLAND WITHIN THE REPUBLIC OF MAURITIUS 3.4 Stigmas of slavery

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

1. Rodrigues was important to

Reference 1671 - 0.01% Coverage

trouble-makers and revolutionaries to.

2. Rodrigues was left without any official Government Representative for more than 30 years, with the complicity of the British Governors who deliberately turned a blind eye on the illegal slave trade.

Rodrigues had high expectations with the arrival of the British, but they were very quickly disappointed and disillusioned, for

Reference 1672 - 0.01% Coverage

perpetual need to be indebted.

8. Alcoholism: After the abolition of slavery, wages included spirit “larak”, as during slavery, spirits were included in the food distributed.

9. A form of polygamy

Reference 1673 - 0.01% Coverage

OF MAURITIUS 4. RODRIGUES’ ADMINISTRATION

The first Police Magistrate under British rule, Blaise Bacy, arrived in Rodrigues in December 1843, 34 years after the colonisation of the Island. From the outset, he raised questions of education for the

children, health care, safety at sea, lighthouse, among others. In 1845, the population of Rodrigues was 323, of which 240 descended from the old slave population and were generally of African parentage, the 83 others came from the old free population. M. Chapotte, a Frenchman, was the only alien.
The future of Rodrigues once

Reference 1674 - 0.01% Coverage

Education.

4.1 Human Settlement

The first human settlement on Rodrigues took place in 1691 and lasted for just under three years. The second attempt of settlement was in 1725 but did not really last long (December 1725 to June 1726). Until the arrival of Mahé Labourdonnais, as Governor of the Isle de France, passing ships regularly stopped over in Rodrigues to harvest tortoises which were then abundant in Mauritius. Labourdonnais decided to control the tortoise trade in Rodrigues by creating a small establishment under the leadership of Ocol from 1736 at Rodrigues for the sole purpose of gathering tortoises in readiness for shipment. The small establishment consisted of a few soldiers, lascars and slaves.

Twenty-five years later, in

Reference 1675 - 0.01% Coverage

also a number of freemen.

time of the 'retrocession' of Rodrigues from the East Indian Company to the French Crown in 1767, there were only five slaves in Rodrigues.

From then on, the population

Reference 1676 - 0.01% Coverage

up any idea of settling.

The first French Civil Agent to rule over Rodrigues was Philibert Marragon from 1794 to 1809. He died on Rodrigues in 1826 at the age of 76. Marragon carried out a Census of the population of Rodrigues in 1804, and there were 22 Europeans and 82 slaves.

The land lords of Rodrigues

Reference 1677 - 0.01% Coverage

last three years. (Alfred NorthCoombes)

There has been an erroneous and widespread perception that the Rodriguans, particularly the descendants of ex-slaves, led as lazy a life as they could. However, Alexandre Gui Pingré, way back in 1761, had this to say about the slaves, when they set out to work: "Il fallait arracher les ouvriers du travail pour les faire manger et dormir."

Quite often, owing to extreme

Reference 1678 - 0.01% Coverage

also demonstrated an innate pride.

There is thus a case to revisit the ‘lazy’ tag that the past masters have stuck on the Rodriguans. This brings us to look at the stigmas left by the inhumane practice of slavery.

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Reference 1679 - 0.01% Coverage

WITHIN THE REPUBLIC OF MAURITIUS

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

At other times, Rodrigues was often considered as a land of exile, an island of punishment. In 1804, Governor Isidore Decean wanted to turn the island into a camp for lepers. In 1832, under the British rule, Rodrigues was designated as a land for the deportation of the undesirable slaves with a bad reputation and as a quarantine station for people affected by cholera. There is no evidence, though that these measures were ever implemented. But still the idea was evoked and the perception that Rodrigues did not really have the capacity to sustain a viable economy was enunciated.

The lepers from Mauritius and

Reference 1680 - 0.01% Coverage

Seychelles came under British rule.

For some obscure reasons, Governor Farquhar did not appoint a Government Representative to Rodrigues. In fact, he failed to hold his promise to the Rodriguans. Alfred North-Coombes inferred that perhaps, Farquhar’s decision was intentionale, “a loophole left for some slave trading which could be officially ignored so long as there was not a local authority to report its existence. Perhaps Rodrigues, as so often before and after, was simply forgotten.”

Furthermore, the administration of the island, when it came, was chaotic. For instance, declarations of births and deaths, and publications and celebrations of marriages in Rodrigues, were first made compulsory from the 1st January 1857. However, it was only in 1890 that a Civil Status Office was created in Rodrigues. This infers that from 1857 to 1883, year when the Police Magistrate was given the powers to validate any will or contract of marriage certified as genuine, all acts so authenticated prior to that year were in fact illegal. Legally, the people of Rodrigues did not officially exist until 1883. There is thus a case to be made to research the History of Rodrigues from the official abolition of slavery in 1835 to 1883, to find out what really happened to the people of Rodrigues during that particular period.

This perception of Rodrigues as

Reference 1681 - 0.01% Coverage

WITHIN THE REPUBLIC OF MAURITIUS

7.3 Is there an economic future for Rodrigues? The emancipation of Slaves and land Issues Rapport de C. Anderson – Archives de l’île Maurice. Ref. V3/2 PP. 67-74

“L’émancipation des esclaves eut lieu

Reference 1682 - 0.01% Coverage

Government Offices (leskelet dan larmwar).

Agriculture never sustainably took off in Rodrigues because the many reports written over the years were either never implemented, or because of mismanagement and lack of proper monitoring. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Rodrigues was hit by a successive number of tropical cyclones and long periods of drought and as a relief measure, the Government of Mauritius decided to massively employ labourers to carry out menial tasks. All of a sudden, agricultural lands were deserted and every young man’s aspiration was to have a job in the Public Sector. The stigma emerging during slavery that tilling the land was a demeaning job.

Decision in the late 1960s

Reference 1683 - 0.01% Coverage

with in a British colony.”

The population of Rodrigues was then 323 of which 240 descended from the old slave population and were generally of African descent.

Kelly pursued to state the

Reference 1684 - 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 1685 - 0.01% Coverage

pointed horns and a tail.

The slave descendants, with a dark complexion, were thus given very little consideration. They were not even allowed to occupy front pews, reserved for the ‘middle or higher socioeconomic classes – the people with lighter complexion’ in Churches.

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Reference 1686 - 0.01% Coverage

to ensure their social inclusion.

Most teachers were matter-of-fact about descent from slave labour, though during the focused group discussions (FGD’s), we did not observe that this same attitude was handed down to the students, who,

for the most part, seemed confused by the question, or rather not to have given the subject any consideration. The ambiguity of response to this question must raise speculation as to how exactly they are taught to look upon themselves, and the extent to which a specifically Rodriguan identity is recognised and respected in Rodrigues. In schools (whether in Mauritius or Rodrigues), Creole children seemed often unaware of their mainly slave ancestry- neither were they aware of the contribution of their ancestors to the economic development of these islands. This report will follow the general outline of the Questionnaire, with interspersions from the FDGs, where relevant.

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Reference 1687 - 0.01% Coverage

WITHIN THE REPUBLIC OF MAURITIUS

study subjects like Agriculture, Design and Communication, etc. The majority of teachers disagreed that girls did not generally participate in sports, and this reflects the basically healthy outlook of most Rodriguans, where walking is still the commonest form of transport, and most food is homegrown. The last two questions in this Section were probably badly worded for the Rodriguan context, where we should have remembered that 90% of the population is of slave descent.

SECTION D. TEACHER/STUDENT RELATIONSHIP

Reference 1688 - 0.01% Coverage

for good.

10.2 Religion

Rodriguans are of mixed origin and fall into two distinct groups; the descendants of the first European 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 1689 - 0.01% Coverage

no escape for the guilty.

The Sega Tambour is the island’s unique folkloric dance performed by Rodriguans to celebrate special occasions. Sega Tambour is the traditional form of music and dance found exclusively in Rodrigues. It is one of the forms of music and dance representative of the Cultural Identity of the inhabitants of Rodrigues. As most of the segas of the Indian Ocean Islands, the Sega Tambour took birth within the slave population of Rodrigues and is reminiscent of African and Malagasy musical traditions. With many contributions from other population groups, the sega tambour evolved into a unique form of music. It has been adopted by the whole population without distinction of ethnic origins.

The Sega “Tambour” continued to

Reference 1690 - 0.01% Coverage

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.

Truth and Justice Commission 561

Reference 1691 - 0.01% Coverage

for a real take off.

In spite of all the affirmative actions taken in the past 40 to 50 years, Rodrigues is still having enormous difficulties in shaking off the shackles of the stigmas of slavery. However the hardship of life over the years has enabled the people of Rodrigues to build a strong identity, a network of solidarity, a sense of pride and an amazing capacity of resilience. The canva is, therefore, present to enable the success of an urgent plan to address the problems Rodrigues is facing in an integrated and sustainable manner.

Neglected, alienated, indeseirable and forgotten

Reference 1692 - 0.01% Coverage

witness a period of 'start-stop-start' colonisation under the British, as agriculturalists and fishermen from Mauritius made their way over to the small island. In his excellent study, J.-F. Dupon declared: "After a period of military occupation, the colonization of the island, thenceforth British, was to start anew, led by colonists from Mauritius who used slaves from the coast of Mozambique and the East Coast of Madagascar." 3

2. EARLY EUROPEAN 'WHITE' SETTLERS

Reference 1693 - 0.01% Coverage

Oyster Bay. He soon took possession of 400 arpents at Les Soupirs, on a hill between Oyster Bay and Mont Charlot, a property and plantation which he named L'Orangerie. 4 Marragon's grave, and his wife's, can still be visited today at L'Orangerie where he lived till his death in 1826. His daughter, Séraphine, born there on 30 July, 1802, lived with her parents until 1826, after she had married a businessman from Port Louis, Charles Pierre

François Pipon. She became the owner of L'Orangerie in 1826, had 66 slaves and 17 free children. When she left for Mauritius, she gave permission to her slaves to live on her land, Jardin Mamzelle that became a squatting area for emancipated slaves.

died at La Chaumière, Savanne, in 1892. When Marragon carried out his first Census in 1804, he found 82 slaves and 22 'Whites' on Rodrigues, of whom at least

Reference 1694 - 0.01% Coverage

schooner and did so until

1816, when Marragon took over. 8 For his part, Michel Gorry made his living from the land rather than the sea; he had settled at Oyster Bay, with Roger and Boulerot, both fishermen. When they left for Isle de France, Gorry moved up country to a property called 'Les Choux'; there, he first grew indigo but, later, confined his activities to growing only what satisfied his family's needs. Early settlers, who relied on fishing for their livelihood, included D. Raffin who settled in 1803 and started a fishery, with 20 slaves, as well as Lecloud and Gautier. 9 Lecloud had arrived earlier than Raffin with 16 slaves.

Most of the early colonists

Reference 1695 - 0.01% Coverage

and regarded themselves as 'Whites',

but it is known that several were métis themselves or cohabited with female slaves or mulâtresses, as was the case with Rostaing. Commenting on the relatively 'recent populating' of Rodrigues, Dupon wrote: "Some of these colonists engaged in, for some time, a direct slave trade and disregarded the British legislation." 10

Reference 1696 - 0.01% Coverage

one can see, little room

for true colonists and their descendants, at most about ten families." 12 North-Coombes put the population in 1809 at 41 slaves and 8 other residents, 13 while Baron d'Unienville declared, in 1830, that Rodrigues was capable of receiving a much larger population, and that it was essential for the Government to send a surveyor there to establish concessions. 14

At the very start of

Reference 1697 - 0.01% Coverage

woman had three or four

especially among slaves, from the start; Bertuchi, who visited the island much later in the 1920s, remarked that in the early days, "great immorality prevailed.

husbands, in some cases as many as six. The children were brought up together, the husband in power at the time exercising the role of father to all." 21 Many descendants of slaves took to the hills after the Abolition of Slavery (proclaimed and diffused in Mauritius and Rodrigues in 1839) and became known both as 'Montagnards', and, according to Dupon, also as 'planteurs', 'habitants', 'laboueurs', 'piti nation', "désinane vénielle, beaucoup moins péjorative que celle franchement insultante de 'mouzambique'." 22 Several of the descendants of 'Whites' or métis, whom we interviewed, used the word Zabitants for descendants of slaves, but they did not mean any insult by it.

As for families of European

Reference 1698 - 0.01% Coverage

marriages and baptized 400 individuals and descendants of slaves and ‘mulâtresses’ was common, not least because of the infrequent visits of priests to Rodrigues. during his six-month stay

Reference 1699 - 0.01% Coverage

some 11 years after the Abolition of Slavery had been announced in Rodrigues, there were 350 non-baptised individuals, and a hundred ‘Catholic’ Mauritians who had come to trade in salt fish. 35 In his Chapter, ‘The Churches and the Schools’, Alfred North-Coombes has adequately discussed the contribution of Churches (Catholic and Anglican, to begin with) to this ‘brassage’ of the Rodriguan population. 36 The role of Father Thevaux in assuaging the jealousy and animosity of the “twenty or so master fishermen, who ran the fisheries all around the coast,” cannot be overstressed. Several ‘Rouge’ inhabitants we spoke to, stressed the vital contribution of the Catholic Church to the development of schools and colleges. In 1843, a former court usher, Mr. Christopher Mann, and Mrs. Henderson, the wife of the Brigadier of Police, were the only teachers. By 1866, a school-master

Reference 1700 - 0.01% Coverage

been a missionary in Madagascar. is apparent from any sojourn in Rodrigues today is that ‘Montagnards’ and ‘Rouges’, and ‘Anglicans’, other Christians, and Catholics cohabit in peaceful harmony; hence, religion has been more of ‘cement’, than a source of disunity, in Rodrigues between classes and communities. As for ‘nuances’ and ‘hidden prejudices’, these are only detectable to the sharp-eyed observer, such as Dupon who comments: “Aujourd’hui encore, les éléments asiatiques mis à part, de subtiles nuances distinguent les Rodriguais et d’une façon générale, les plus clairs d’entre eux, de fait souvent pêcheurs, qui allient parfois les yeux bleus de quelque ancêtre picard à une peau bien pigmentée, professent un amical mépris à l’endroit des plus sombres, ceux de l’intérieur [...]” 42 And, while nowadays habitations of both groups show a remarkable similarity, when Bertuchi visited the island in the 1920s, he noticed that some of the inhabitants’ houses were made of vacoas, acacia poles and latanier palm leaves, while “the more prosperous construct[ed] their houses entirely of wood.” These had wooden floors, which became the fashion, on account of the Rodriguans’ passion for dancing. 43 For all the homogenization sought and achieved through religion, and the democratic ideals of some of the people, the scars of slavery remained in the early colonization period even if slaves, according to individuals spoken to during the research trip, were well treated by such owners as Marragon and Séraphine Pipon. In fact, Marragon was so kind to his workers that Rochetaing “complained bitterly about Marragon’s attitude and the lawlessness of his run-away slaves.” 44

4. PRESENT DESCENDANTS OF EARLY

Reference 1701 - 0.01% Coverage

in the past and today?

‘Coloured Population’ in the nineteenth century and at present? (c) Whether they felt that slavery and its abolition had left an indelible mark on Rodriguan customs and lifestyles? The individuals interviewed in this context will be referred to as ‘X., Y., Z.’.

4.1. A member of

Reference 1702 - 0.01% Coverage

first Ithier to do so

was Victor, who accompanied Beyts on the Hattonbum which arrived at Port Mathurin on 19 August, 1888, after an unusually long passage of 19 days. 45 The speaker [hereafter X.] stressed that his great-grandfather may have come from Brittany, and was the father of Jean-Baptiste Ithier, who married Miss Eva Hombrasing. They had thirteen children. Whilst the ancestor [Victor] is said to have been a sea captain, Jean-Baptiste Ithier had settled on a concession of 14/15 arpents at La Ferme, 46 where the family still owns land today. X., the interviewed person, pointed out that his own father was a pastoralist and agriculturalist who owned a farm called ‘La Ferme Piments’ at La Ferme, land which, on his father’s death in 1976, was divided between his children whom he had by a Miss Meunier – another very common ‘Rouge’ name in Rodrigues. The Ithier family, from JeanBaptiste onwards, grew such crops as maize, haricots, vegetables, as well as keeping cattle. They originally had, in their employ, descendants of previous slaves, all freed since the family did not settle at La Ferme until the 1880s.

A brother of Jean-Baptiste’s

Reference 1703 - 0.01% Coverage

fostered education among the families.

As for the descendants of freed slaves, they were treated as domestics, given the right to build their own homes on

Reference 1704 - 0.01% Coverage

and used workers who were

descendants of slaves, but these were well treated. Slavery has, in the interviewee’s viewpoint, left little impact on the psyche of the Rodriguan population today.

Emigration to Mauritius has already

Reference 1705 - 0.01% Coverage

stressed the importance of Rodriguan

‘séga’ and accordion music as a unifying factor that was inherited from both slavery and French colonists.

Explaining who the ‘Gens de

Reference 1706 - 0.01% Coverage

were, he indicated that many

freed slaves were offered the opportunity to return to Mauritius, but that they refused, preferring to squat on some high lands. Mme Pipon’s slaves [Séraphine Pipon, nee Marragon] were reportedly in that

position, but chose to stay on Jardin Mamzelle, after her departure, cultivating maize and manioc, and living in huts.

‘Montagnards’ or even ‘Noirs’, Y

Reference 1707 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 579

The terms used for descendants of slaves, ‘Zhabitants’ and ‘Bène

At La

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Reference 1708 - 0.01% Coverage

to the advantage of shopkeepers.

In his youth, Y. stated, slavery was not an issue, nor 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 1709 - 0.01% Coverage

in some areas. Yet, many

descendants of freed slaves worked ‘under the yoke of early colonialists’, namely rich merchants. When they succeeded in freeing themselves from this yoke, they took refuge in the hills, either to become ‘their own masters’, or to ‘lord over others’. However, today, in schools, divisions are not noticeable and a certain ‘fellowship’ prevails. Workers nowadays share jobs in hand without any reticence, and at a social level, there are few problems. Balls attract people from all communities

Reference 1710 - 0.01% Coverage

Z. assumes, they are discouraged.

4.4. Impact of slavery Slavery, it would appear, has not left an indelible imprint on the psyche or character of

descendants of slaves. X., Y. and Z. pointed out that, rarely – if ever – had he heard ‘Campagnards’ state: “I am a descendant of slaves.” Local historians do not dwell on slavery, and no one seems to discuss at length the implications of the ‘Truth and Justice Commission’. Artists in Rodrigues even look at slavery with a pinch of salt and have published amusing tales concerning freed slaves, according to Z. As for local politicians, they do not put undue emphasis on communalism or the legacy of slavery. For all that, to a candid observer on a visit, Rodrigues does suffer considerably in its present infrastructures (social, physical and educational) 52 from the fact that it has been, and is largely, a ‘Creole’ island blighted by its past. Would the island lag so far behind, if it had been populated by large numbers of Hindu/Moslem labourers, or indeed ‘White’ colonists?

It is manifest
that Rodrigues

Reference 1711 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 588

VOL 4: PART IX – RODRIGUES, CHAGOS, AGALEGA AND ST. BRANDON – SLAVERY AND ITS LEGACIES IN RODRIGUES INTRODUCTION

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

The transcripts were analysed in

Reference 1712 - 0.01% Coverage

by a translation in English.

This document should be seen as a complement to the information provided in other reports with the aim of building a comprehensive picture of the impact of slavery in Rodrigues.

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

In this respect, this document focuses on the impact of slavery on contemporary Rodriguan society.

SLAVERY IN RODRIGUES

Agriculture and fishing were high-intensity in terms of human labour. Hence, when the colonisers settled, they introduced slaves as domestic and agricultural labourers. The slaves were first introduced under the French colonisation. Berthelot (2002, p. 65) wrote that:

“[...] Le doc no. 16 datant

Reference 1713 - 0.01% Coverage

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 plantations in Rodrigues, during interviews, respondents stated that the slaves in Rodrigues were agricultural labourers and breeders, they ‘in aranz zot ti lakaz nouru zot zanimu’¹ (Eng. rans. Built sheds and reared animals) and were plito konsidere kom domestik² (Eng. rans. Were considered as domestic workers). Their statement is sustained by historians who wrote that the ‘Blacks’ in Rodrigues 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 1714 - 0.01% Coverage

ou a la reunion [...]”⁴

(Eng. trans: But the slaves were not chained [...] there were slaves but were treated differently [...] we saying that slaves were also present in Rodrigues but it was not of the same nature as slavery in Mauritius or Madagascar or Reunion).

One of the correspondences referred to in Berthelot (2002, p. 8) illustrated that, even if slavery in Rodrigues is perceived as having been mild and rather humane, the slaves experienced oppression and servitude. They were ‘des Noirs brutes sans vices ; il sera facile de les soumettre au travail

Truth and Justice Commission 589

Reference 1715 - 0.01% Coverage

them to the necessary work).

Indeed, they were governed by the Code Noir, 1723, that explicitly objectified them as the property of their masters. The slaves were not human beings and thus did not have any human rights. The latter, the Freed population and Coloured People, did not enjoy the same status and privileges as the Colons who were the only Citizens.

The correspondences cited by the author also revealed that, although in the oral interviews, the slaves were conceived as enjoying freedom of movement and as not being enchained, yet, they were not free to move all over the place and sometimes they even wore chains, as illustrated in the extract below:

“[...] Les Noirs du citoyen Gauthier

Reference 1716 - 0.01% Coverage

slowness, they would be caught).

What they conceived as freedom of movement was, in fact, a form of maroonage or vagrancy, although for most of the informants, there were no maroon slaves or ‘vagrant slaves’ in Rodrigues. Maroonage on the island was different compared to Mauritius in that the maroons did not hurl themselves by hurling themselves off a mountain or a cliff and it was rather similar to vagrancy. The slaves were vagrant for a few days and then came back.

The origins of the local popular term *esklav libre* (Eng. trans. Free Slaves) is rooted in this common perception that in Rodrigues there were ‘free slaves’. They were free in the sense that they were not physically enchained. Nonetheless, they were slaves because they were mentally enchained and legally, as per the Code Noir, they were the property of their masters. Hence, by Law, they were slaves and mentally, they internalised their slave status.

«[...] *esklav zot ban anglai* in

Reference 1717 - 0.01% Coverage

sen dan la mein [...]”⁵

(Eng. trans: slaves whom the British brought them in a separate boat when they landed, had both their hands free, both feet were free which means in Mauritius, there are people who arrived with their hands chained)”.

«[...] *wi parski tou nwar a*

Reference 1718 - 0.01% Coverage

blans noir eter esklav [...]6

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

«[...] oun dir mwa ban esklav

Reference 1719 - 0.01% Coverage

zot pa ti ensene [...]7

(Eng. trans: you told me the slaves arrived free ? yes exactly, did they mix and they were not enchained? No, no, they were not enchained)".

Truth and Justice Commission 590

Reference 1720 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 590

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This popular perception of ‘free slaves’ might be consequential to the fact that Rodriguans do not seem to distinguish between the ‘Blacks’ who arrived as slaves and those that arrived as Liberated Africans after the abolition of slavery in 1835 (and in 1839 in Rodrigues). In keeping with historians, after the death of Marragon in 1826 and until 1843, the island was abandoned without any administration, and hence there are not records of the number of Liberated Africans who landed during this period.

In conformity with Berthelot (2002) and the testimonies gathered, vagrancy was the main cause of social disorder on the island and underpinned the tensions between Marragon and the other colons especially Rochetaing and Gauthier. There were hostilities between the colons and Marragon because of a lack of harmony, and the former considered that the latter treated the slaves too humanely and was too lenient. The respondents such as Ben represented Marragon as a bon maître (Eng. trans. Good Slave-Master) who treated his slaves humanely, compared to the other local masters, and especially Rochetaing and Gauthier who were represented as Cruel Slave-Masters North-Coombes (1971, p.59) supported these representations:

“[...] things did not go smoothly between Rochetaing and Marragon. Rochetaing complained bitterly about Marragon’s attitude and the lawlessness of his runaway slaves. He says Marragon grew manioc to feed the cattle which he sold to the British and that his slaves appeared to have been brought to Rodrigues only ‘to be fattened [...] later Rochetaing petitioned the authorities to remove him on the grounds of old age [...]”.

In instances of maroonage, the Article 31 of the Code Noire stipulated that the slave who went maroon for one month had an ear cut and a shoulder marked with a Fleur de Lys. If the slave went maroon a second time, he/she had a hallow of the knee cut and the other elbow marked with a Fleur de Lys. The third time, it was death penalty.

Philibert Marragon, with his wife

Reference 1721 - 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-masters are still present in the collective memory of the Rodriguans. It seems that the local population keep alive the memory of the Colons rather than that of the slaves.

The local residents have a high respect for Maragon especially. It is believed that he was buried with his slaves, but only his grave was renovated and a monument erected in his memory. The probable location of the tomb of the slaves is marked with stones. No archaeological digging was undertaken to find out whether his slaves 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 the Rodriguans perpetuate the legacy and memory of the slave-masters might be that slavery was not as harsh and cruel as in the other islands of the Mascarenes. The

Truth and Justice Commission 591

Reference 1722 - 0.01% Coverage

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

POST-INDEPENDENCE

The pre-and

Reference 1723 - 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 1724 - 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 exception of some instances of cross-breeding, that the 'colour bar' system prevailed on the island after the abolition of slavery and until the end of the 20th century. The island was divided between the dark-skinned Rodriguans living inland, and the light-skinned people residing along the coast. This division was maintained by endogamous marriage as in the past marriage based on colour was the norm. The light-skinned Rodriguans married within their immediate social network and cousin marriages were common practice.

However, recently, inter-racial mixing

Reference 1725 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 594

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Blackness is a sequel of slavery, whereby Whiteness is portrayed in positive terms, since it is associated with purity, with to evil, ugliness and failure.

In popular perception, the real slave descendants are the Black Rodriguans living inland, who are farmers and planters. They are also commonly referred to as zabitan (Eng. trans. Native). The light-skinned residents are considered as the real descendants of the Colons who are pejoratively referred to as demi kle (Eng. trans. Half-key) or Zens la kot (Eng. trans. Coastal people) and who are fishermen. The local term demi-kle, as Ben explained, referred to fair-skinned Rodriguans born out of cross-breeding.

This biophysical categorisation of the

Reference 1726 - 0.01% Coverage

of Hindus, Muslims and Buddhists.

Even if Roman Catholicism is the main religion on the island, traditional spiritual practices and customs of Afro-Malagasy origins are still present. These customs are legacies of slaves that have survived and are still perpetuated in parallel to Roman Catholic ones.

In metropolitan Mauritius, these rites

Reference 1727 - 0.01% Coverage

appearances are rare and disappearing.

One respondent even mentioned that for him, Biomedicine and these traditional practices are not legacies of slavery but rather sequels that hamper modernisation and social progress. For him, these traditions and rituals are like superstitious beliefs that are still present in Rodriguan society, such as the existence of malmor (Eng. trans. Vagrant spirits) and other superstitions like placing a broom in-front of the bedroom door at night to chase away evil spirits. The people who perpetuate such superstitious practices are somewhat mentally enslaved people.

Some people perceive these traditions

Reference 1728 - 0.01% Coverage

being inconsistent with modernisation and

industrialisation. Based on such perceptions, it can be stipulated that for the latter, they are chains that mentally and psychologically enslave them. This enslavement holds them back and prevents them from seizing opportunities, as they keep them in slavery. For others, they constitute their heritage and are intrinsic to their family origins. They are proud of their heritage on which they construct their Self and social identities.

Part of the island's natural

Reference 1729 - 0.01% Coverage

SOCIAL LANDSCAPE Ethno-Spatial Organisation

Rodriguans interviewed stated that, after the abolition of slavery and when the colons departed from the island, they left their slaves behind and the latter settled on the inland. Historians, such as Berthelot (2002), have corroborated this settlement movement. She reported that, after the abolition of the Apprenticeship System in Rodrigues on the 4th June 1839, the apprentices left the estates to settle in the inland.

This local internal settlement movement is different to the settlement of the ex-slaves in its sister country. In metropolitan Mauritius, the former slaves left the sugar estates to settle along the coast, since the rural regions were difficult to access and the Colons were concentrated in the urbanised part of the island like the Plaine Wilhems (the malaria epidemic, as well, impacted on the residential settlement of the Colons). In Rodrigues, the internal migratory movement was reverse; the Colons lived on the coast that was more developed, while the inner lands were wooded and not easy to access.

Furthermore, in Rodrigues, there was no morcellement movement as in Mauritius but there was a form of ethnic residential segregation based on skin colour (which is an overt sign of ethnic differences), with each group occupying a specific space. This internal settlement movement is seen as a legacy of slavery that forged the contemporary spatial organisation of Rodrigues whereby the 'Black' Rodriguans who are presumably of slave descent still live inland and the fair skinned Rodriguans, presumably descendants of Colons, live along the coast. The Rodriguans of Asian, as indicated by Ben, settled in Corail.

It forged the present development

Reference 1730 - 0.01% Coverage

this spatial organisation is disappearing.

Information on landowners diverged but a common point came out of the interviews that the present landowners are of slave descent, whilst the other Rodriguans do not live on private land but on State Land.

On one hand, MacDonell testified

Reference 1731 - 0.01% Coverage

there are few private landowners.

The private landowners are, according to Ben and MacDonell, the slaves' descendants whose ancestors received land from their masters when the latter left the country after the abolition of slavery. The slaves passed the land on to their descendants.

On the other hand, Jean

Reference 1732 - 0.01% Coverage

as method of refuse disposal.

It is most probable that after the abolition of slavery and the Apprenticeship System, the freed slaves had access to land, and later on, they were registered as landowners. Whilst in Mauritius, the freed slaves lost their land (either they sold it for a meagre sum of money or were dispossessed of their land, as they did not have land deeds to prove their ownership); in Rodrigues the situation was different.

Indeed, the local residents were

Reference 1733 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 601

VOL 4: PART IX – RODRIGUES, CHAGOS, AGALEGA AND ST. BRANDON – SLAVERY AND ITS LEGACIES IN RODRIGUES CONCLUSION

Slavery has had an impact on the life experiences of the Rodriguans and is still influencing their lives. For those who conceive their descent in positive terms and as a heritage of resistance to oppression, they seized life opportunities for social and economic mobility to improve their lives. Those who conceive their slave ancestry in negative terms, are still mentally and psychologically enslaved. In their perceptions, hard work and low-paid jobs are a modern form of slavery, and refusing this form of enslavement is a means to rebel against the institutions and express one's 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 'Blacks' who belong to the African Diaspora are of slave descent because 'slave blood' flows in their veins, as it flows in the veins of the Africans who were the main source of servile labour. Even if they recognise their slave ancestry, unlike some Mauritians who claim their identification to Africa as their motherland, such identification process is non-existent in Rodrigues. Their identification with their African Diaspora is rather cultural and physiological, and there is no longing for an imaginary motherland.

There is a strong national identity that is the product of groups' self-identification process. The primary identification as Rodriguans is a result of the absence of ethnic group competition, tensions, power struggles and inequalities. For the local residents, Rodrigues is their motherland since it is their native country and that of their immediate elders. Their religious identity and identification as slave descendants are subordinate identities that have meaningful meanings in the construction of Rodriguans self-definition.

Truth and Justice Commission 602

Reference 1734 - 0.01% Coverage

and 1963 (North-Coombes 1971).

Under the French, the inhabitants consisted of a small garrison and a small number of slaves and freemen. When the British took possession of the island in 1809, there were about a hundred inhabitants (including 41 slaves). In 1810, Rodrigues was used as the launching pad for the victorious assault on Isle de France, renamed Mauritius, pursuant to the terms of the Vienna Treaty in 1815. Under British Administration, the slave trade became illegal as from 1814, although it was privately tolerated for some time in Rodrigues.

It was only in 1820

Reference 1735 - 0.01% Coverage

a resident Government Agent was appointed for Rodrigues and started the registration of slaves. In 1826, the total population was 123, consisting of 100 slaves, 20 Europeans and 3 freed persons. (North-Coombes 1971).
The British occupants were favourable

Reference 1736 - 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

Reference 1737 - 0.01% Coverage

got nowhere (North-Coombes 1971).

Slave emancipation

In Rodrigues, when the slaves were set free on 4th June 1839, the men were offered a monthly wage of 3 piastres, and the women 2 piastres, as much free food as they could consume according to custom already established, i.e. 1½ pounds of salted fish per week, two coujarons of spirits as before, and the liberty of cultivating their small gardens. They unanimously accepted these conditions (North-Coombes 1971). However, the liberated slaves did not remain long in the employment of their past masters and left to go into the interior of the island where they squatted without authority on their garden plots or on land belonging to the Crown. They also helped themselves to meat from cattle, which had been free-ranging for years, as well as to pigs or game which they come across. A number of the “squatters” eventually became owners on soft terms in 1865 (North-Coombes 1971).

In June 1841, Magistrate H.M. Self, sent from Mauritius to enquire into some civil cases, found the people (both Rodriguans and the labourers brought from Mauritius for fishing) rather happy. Pay was reasonable, food plentiful, consisting mainly of manioc (the staple food) with a ration of rice on Sundays. In fact, the liberated slaves did not work for others; they were entirely self-supporting from the produce of their cultivation and the livestock which they raised, plus the odd fish and wild cattle (North-Coombes 1971).

Food production and exports during

Reference 1738 - 0.01% Coverage

ever possible (North-Coombes 1971).

The truck system, in which those employed by the master-fishermen were trapped, made them so indebted to their masters that they never received wages and were little more than slaves to them. There was an abuse of the truck system (in the 1860s) which had been prevalent from the start of

Truth and Justice Commission 609

Reference 1739 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 609

VOL 4: PART IX – RODRIGUES, CHAGOS, AGALEGA AND ST. BRANDON – HEALTH OF SLAVES AND THEIR DESCENDANTS

employment of free labour, after the liberation of the slaves. The contract between employers and labour allowed wages to be “payable in merchandise so that when the servant is disposed to intemperance, two bottles of rum issued to him in six-penny grogs pay his wages for one month and five days”. Many labourers got into debt as they were unable to resist the grog. The cost of goods was anything between 150 and 300 percent higher than in Mauritius; except for rice which was 75 to 100 percent higher (North-Coombes 1971).

The Rodriguan was always short

Reference 1740 - 0.01% Coverage

NUTRITION STATUS AND DEFICIENCY DISEASES

In 1830, at the request of Governor Colville, Captain J. Lyons reported that slaves on several establishments were “being well clothed and fed; having a great facility of catching fish; besides the thriving state of the manioc, enabling them to keep pigs and poultry” (North-Coombes 1971).

In 1838, C. Anderson reported that apprentices were working longer hours than the Law allowed, their clothing was inadequate and their huts miserable, but they were well fed, and extensive garden ground was allotted to them. In 1838, after the abolition of slavery, the population consisted of a few whites, 127 apprentices and 142 children (North-Coombes 1971, Kuczynski 1949).

In 1949, the standard of

Reference 1741 - 0.01% Coverage

1 POPULATION AND VITAL STATISTICS

The pristine Island of Rodrigues was visited off and on by travellers, without mooring ground for long-term settlement. Under the French, the inhabitants consisted of a small garrison and a small number of slaves and freemen. When the British took possession of the island in 1809, there were 3 French planters and between 60-70 slaves. Table 1 shows the population in 1826 (North-Coombes 1971).

Whites Free

Slaves Total

Table

Reference 1742 - 0.01% Coverage

North-Coombes (1971) Appendix 10.

The British occupants were favourable to settlement in Rodrigues. The population of the island started growing slowly when demands for lands by those residing in Mauritius to settle down with some slaves were met. The censuses of 1851 and 1944 recorded population sizes of 495 and 11,885 respectively.

Table 2 shows the comparative vital rates for Mauritius and Rodrigues for selected years between 1975 and 2010.

Truth and Justice Commission 618

Reference 1743 - 0.01% Coverage

and mortality affecting mostly children.

4.2 HEALTH SERVICES Health services in the island were quasi-inexistent under French Administration and, at the early phase, much of British Administration. The most common form of remedy resorted to by the descendents of slaves and free citizens were mainly traditional medicine, particularly herbal medicine.

In June 1841, Magistrate H.M. Self recommended that the establishment of an official authority in the island. This had become an urgent necessity for various reasons. First, the great change brought about in the social state of the island by the emancipation of the slave population, their unlawful squatting on unalienated Crown Lands, and the social problems arising from the growing number of workers employed on contract from Mauritius; secondly, the unlawful and reprehensible conduct of crews of visiting ships, mostly of American whalers who paid no heed to any law in the absence of any recognised authority and did a lot of harm to Rodrigues. Eventually Ordinance No.7 of 1843 was issued “for the purpose of forming at the island of Rodrigues a Judicial and Police Establishment” and the first Police Magistrate landed on the island on December 1843 (North-Coombes 1971).

The conditions of slavery in Rodrigues had, on the whole, been less harsh than in Mauritius. Work started at seven in the morning and lasted till four in the afternoon. During the rest time of the day, known as la berloque, they were free to do as they pleased and cultivate their small patches of garden up in the hills. Their work was not hard but it was compulsory labour. Punishment for desertion or negligence was severe and painful; thus, for absence without leave, it was fifty strokes of the whip, administered in small doses but with a firm hand (North-Coombes 1971).

Truth and Justice Commission 619

Reference 1744 - 0.01% Coverage

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

The testimonies of the Chagos

Reference 1745 - 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, the Chagossian population was a slave population in majority and they built

Reference 1746 - 0.01% Coverage

economic pillar, the economy diversified.

During slavery and after the abolition of slavery in 1835, the coconut plantation and copra production including the manufacture of other by-products was the main employment sector. The slaves worked in the Fishing Industry and the production of guano, timber and tortoise as well.

The Ilois Support Trust writes

Reference 1747 - 0.01% Coverage

birds, wild hens are abundant).

The slave census of 1826 estimates the slave population in the Chagos Archipelago to be approximately 351 people. Even though these figures are not accurate, yet, they give an estimation of the slave population at the beginning of the British colonisation³.

In accordance with Valéran (1999

Reference 1748 - 0.01% Coverage

Code Noir stricto sensu in

the Chagos failed. For example, she observes that the Christianisation of the slaves was not systematic. However, she writes that in 1838, after the visit of Charles Anderson to Chagos, the latter reported that the treatment of slaves was too harsh, but their workload in the coconut plantation was lighter than in the sugar plantocracy.

Truth and Justice Commission 639

Reference 1749 - 0.01% Coverage

and Dependencies, 31st March 1931.

After the abolition of slavery, Indian indentured labourers were brought to the substantial as in Metropolitan Mauritius. Thus, as at 1921, island as additional source of

Reference 1750 - 0.01% Coverage

role in modern Geo-politics.

Living and working condition after the abolition of slavery The ethnographic writing of Dussercle (1934) is a rich source of information on the life of the Islanders. Truth

Reference 1751 - 0.01% Coverage

researched to investigate whether there are similarities with African customary Laws such as Tribal Laws and to identify whether they are legacies of the slaves.

In addition, the Chagossian society

Reference 1752 - 0.01% Coverage

one mainly of Afro-Malagasy

origins with a minority of people of South Indian origins. The labour force (composed of Freed slaves and Indian indentured labourers) outnumbered the plantation owners of European descent.

In this closed insular society

Reference 1753 - 0.01% Coverage

to make their voices heard.

5. CONCLUSION The Chagossians are a population in exile. They are descendants of slaves and Indian indentured labourers that were

Reference 1754 - 0.01% Coverage

English Governor Farquhar (Appendix IVb).

2.4 On 26 September of same year, Mr. Caillou de Rosemond, as first Manager of Agalega Islands, and thirty slaves originating from Madagascar, Mozambique and Isle de France, left PortLouis on board Le Tailvent bound for Agalega. They reached their destination after eight days of navigation, but landed six days later, due to the difficulties which they encountered to negotiate their way through the reefs in an inclement sea. As soon as they settled, the thirty slaves started to toil in the coconut field for the production of oil, with much satisfaction, under the supervision of Mr. Lefranc.

Mr. C. de Rosemond died

Reference 1755 - 0.01% Coverage

administrative staff only or for

“mistresses and/or natural children” of staff. Before the death of Mr. Caillou de Rosemond, a cemetery, “Cimetière Noir”, was created, formerly for slaves, and it is today the common burial place for all workers.

Both cemeteries are found in

Reference 1756 - 0.01% Coverage

the North, open to all.

During that period, the Islands have known three Administrators who maintained discipline, with the help of their “Commandeurs” (foremen, also acting as disciplinary force) and controlled the slaves according to the set rules. The Code Noir was applied. Consequently, the whole population was baptised as Catholic and was given a Christian name.

2.4.1 As in

Reference 1757 - 0.01% Coverage

a picture of a Whip).

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

Truth and Justice Commission 665

Reference 1758 - 0.01% Coverage

de St. Aulaire and others.

Agalega became “Société d’Agaléga Limited”. At that time, some 100 slaves were attached to the coconut establishment, and later 200 were. The Administration had already been entrusted to Mr. Auguste Leduc since 1827.

Under the administration of Leduc, the slaves and their children were happy, healthy and well fed; this was officially reported on 21st October 1828, by Captain Greville, Commanding Officer of Corvette L’Espoir to H.E the Governor of Mauritius, witnessed by Dr. John, travelling on board the same vessel. Law and order were well maintained (Agaléga Petite Île, Livre II). The reports of different visiting Magistrates corroborated with the observations of the Captains of different vessels (Appendix VI).

2.6 The acquired rights of the slaves were respected. They gave full satisfaction in the production of coconuts and its

Reference 1759 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 666

VOL 4: PART IX – RODRIGUES, CHAGOS, AGALEGA AND ST. BRANDON – AGALEGA, NO MORE A LESSER DEPENDENCY 2.7 Photo 7 Part of Oil extractor still found in the South 3. ABOLITION OF SLAVERY

3.1 The Emancipation Bill, passed in the House of Commons in July 1833, led to the abolition of slavery, in February 1835.

3.2 As soon as Mr. Leduc, the Administrator/Manager (Régisseur), received the “Bill”, he gathered the whole population and communicated the historical event to each and every one. From then on, there were no slaves and no one belonged to a master. He explained to the working population their rights and duties, stipulated by the Bill, as free men and women. No whip would be used but discipline would be maintained. Same punishment (except the whip), would be maintained for those who were found guilty of severe breach of the Law. The case and punishment would be registered in a book and presented to the visiting Magistrate for control.

3.3 The liberated slaves were told that they were not forced to work for the establishment. As against other parts of the world, Agalega has no other source of earning money; so no work, no pay. Before becoming fully-fledged workers, as carpenters, blacksmiths..., they were considered as apprentices. All workers, men and women, would have to enter into a contract with the establishment and would be allowed to return to Mauritius at the end of their contract, if they so wished. However, these men and women knew little of working conditions elsewhere, apart from Agalega, which they considered as their homeland by adoption, their children being born on these islands. The land remained the property of the establishment.

3.4 They were so

Reference 1760 - 0.01% Coverage

in remote Agalega.

5.3

Eugène Pallière asked the help of his brother Pierre, Administrator (Régisseur) of Agalega from 1819 to 1827, (before the abolition of slavery). The arrival of the brother changed the social atmosphere completely. Pierre Pallière refused to stay in the North in the role of a Commandeur and joined his brother Eugène in the South. Both took advantage of the situation, as in the time of slavery. The result was catastrophic. The workers felt oppressed. The production suffered much and North Island was badly neglected.

5.4 Eugène Pallière acted as a tyrant, ordered all the workers with their families, to move to South Island, with their belongings, including their hens and pigs. The population, just freed from slavery, was reluctant

to work under pressure. Most of them wanted to leave the islands in order to free themselves from what they considered as a reintroduction of slavery.

5.5 To recover the

Reference 1761 - 0.01% Coverage

in case of natural calamities

8.2.7 Alcohol is on the rise on both islands, regardless of age and sex. The youth's exposure to it is extremely worrying. All private selling points should be regulated. Dependence on alcohol is another form of insidious voluntary slavery (Ref.8.4.9).

8.2.8 Agalega had

Reference 1762 - 0.03% Coverage

AND REPRESENTATIONS 1.EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The report on "Memory representations of slavery and indenture in Mauritius: towards the recognition of silent heritage" proposed to study how slavery and indenture are depicted as historical references for almost 90% of today's population. Representations in museums and historic sites, as symbols of slavery and indenture, were studied to appreciate the process through which expressions of memory took place and how they contribute to national recognition and 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 acceptance of the past acts towards the evolution of the memorial process in museums and serves the contemporary dynamics of nation building. Ultimately, this process of conciliation leads to remember why the Mauritian society took shape and evolved to form a nation. It was interesting to compare L'Aventure du Sucre, a private museum, with the Musée du Peuplement created by the State in 2010. The Musée du Peuplement interprets the past to remember the positive accounts: its dynamics are very similar to those of Aventure du Sucre activating the positive memory to establish a new approach to the past. This approach results in the recognition of a common heritage: it is the first instance in which the heritage deriving from the population's interactions is represented. Although we may question the quality of the display, the Musée du peuplement is marking a major shift in the memory process: it formulates the existence of a common heritage shaped by the various groups in action.

In the same manner, the inscription of two sites on the World Heritage List in 2006 and 2008 certainly marks a significant step in the evolution of the memorial framework. It established a formal recognition of slavery and indenture and also initiated the formulation of common national memory. In the Mauritian context, the example of the two World Heritage Sites shows how common references can be established in a multicultural society where the various segments of the population may refer to different appreciations of the past. In the instance of Le Morne and Aapravasi Ghat generally subject to ethnic considerations, the external recognition allows the establishment of commonly recognised values as they are considered beyond the national dynamics. The local values are re-interpreted beyond potential contestations or misleading considerations. As such, it encourages their general acceptance 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 1763 - 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

Reference 1764 - 0.01% Coverage

for the benefit of modernity.

In this respect, research on heritage seemed a legitimate concern as part of the undertakings of the Truth and Justice Commission. Heritage is established through a process of memory: as the legacy of the past, it stands for symbols and values chosen by the nation. It thus represents what the nation believes to be part of its identity. Our focus on heritage ultimately aims at exploring the memory process in Mauritius in order to better appreciate according to what references and fundamentals the Mauritian nation defines itself. Our research focused on representations as expressions of memory in contemporary society and explored, in particular, expressions of slavery and indenture as the founding experience of almost the totality of the population.

Representations of the past are fundamental elements for the constitution of the nation (Anderson, 1996): they tell us how the society views its past and how slavery and indenture are perceived. The representations thus provide us with an understanding of how the past was assimilated and disseminated on a national scale. It also tells us how the various segments of the population are viewed and how their own experience are transcribed in the public space. One chief aim was to evaluate if the vision of the Other was fair and in line with factual experience, or if the representations led to a distorted image that could cause prejudices to our evolution in the society.

Ultimately, the representations of the past - transcribing a social experience – forms part of the heritage process establishing a common referential for the society that sustains its evolution. On the contrary,

distorted images of the past may also constitute an obstacle. We therefore explored this question to formulate recommendations supporting a fair transcription of the memory of the past to encourage the production of images that will help a common recognition of various segments of the population and support national unity. This how this report proposes to address the consequences of slavery and indenture in Mauritius today.

RESEAR CH OBJ E

Reference 1765 - 0.02% Coverage

MAURITIAN NATION – MEMORY AND REPRESENTATIONS

As part of our assignment, it seemed important to explore the evolution of the heritage process to understand better what constitutes the common values of the Mauritian nation. Heritage appears as a main area of focus since it is a collective expression of how the society views itself. The notion of heritage symbolises how the nation has built a social attachment with places invested with values and symbols that respond to the society's identity and memory. It did not seem possible to focus on our assignment dealing with the study of the representations of slavery and indenture, without an overall understanding of the context in which these representations were elaborated.

In this respect, the present report proposes to address the research results of the project of “Memory and Representations of Slavery and Indenture in Mauritius,” based on the revised project proposal submitted on 27 June 2010. The objective of this project was to focus on the expressions of memory in the public space to assess how slavery and indenture are depicted. Through the analysis of representations, the objective was to describe how slavery and indenture are portrayed as common references for the nation. This approach assumed that representations in public space express what is considered to be a commonly-accepted vision of the past and how at an institutional level, the past is portrayed as being the commonly-accepted version of the society's experience. Museums were of particular interest since they provide a transcription of the past seen by authorities as the society's fundamentals. In museums, the past is reflected as being the official version of what constituted the society. Our objective was to establish through which process expressions of memory arose and how these memories are expressed and represented. More specifically, how do they contribute to national recognition and the unity of the nation? The ultimate goal was to propose recommendations that would speak to the expectations of the society and propose actions encouraging fair representations of slavery and indenture. The definition of “fair representation” needs to be expressed to explain our approach. Fair representations were defined as views of the past that respond to historic veracity but also, that speak to the experiences of slaves and indentured labourers in Mauritius as generally accepted by descendants. To a certain extent, it was also essential to take into consideration the memory representations of slavery and indenture by descendants. In this respect, our research focused on expressions in the public space so that the recommendations proposed could be considered within the governmental scope of action.

RESEAR CH PERS P

Reference 1766 - 0.01% Coverage

dialogue on heritage in Mauritius.

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

towards the representations

This report

Reference 1767 - 0.01% Coverage

population identifies.

towards the representations

This report first proposed to explore the representations of slavery and indenture in museums. In the course of our research, this objective seemed difficult to achieve in a satisfactory manner, if representations were considered as isolated items. It therefore seemed essential to consider the representations within a wider context, allowing the exploration of the dynamics that led to the creation of these representations. Our research thus expanded to focus on the overall framework within which museums were created and also, are currently functioning. The outcome of our research revealed many limitations in the way museums are managed and we felt that this aspect was a fundamental element to be reported as the improvement of MUSEUM MANAGEMENT and the establishment of a defined framework would provide a better restitution of the past in the museum space.

This also included heritage sites

Reference 1768 - 0.01% Coverage

people and their environment.”³

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

Truth and Justice Commission 807

Reference 1769 - 0.01% Coverage

the international standards.

methodological considerations

To approach our research topic, the methodology relied on detailed descriptions of representations of slavery and indenture in museums. This led to their analysis supported by background information on the context of museums' creation. Research in the archives and secondary sources were essential to appreciate the context of evolution of the cultural institutions and also to understand the dynamics leading to the formulation of the representations of slavery and indenture in the various museums. This report therefore proposes to address the dynamics of memory representations of slavery and indenture in their context of appearance.

This part was followed by a broader analysis of heritage dynamics to better appreciate the context in which the recognition of slavery and indenture took place. The objective is to better appreciate in which instances the restitution of the past seemed to address contemporary concern in a successful manner. This part relies on a survey polling 50 people and on the study of official documents. This also includes an analysis of MUSEUM MANAGEMENT at the Mauritius Museums Council to consider how MUSEUM MANAGEMENT and conservation could be improved to create a sustainable environment for heritage and ensure the restitution of the national past in favourable conditions.

This part led to the identification of key elements supporting the recognition of heritage related to slavery and indenture and the sustainable development of heritage. It supported the formulation of recommendations proposed for the improvement of heritage recognition and sustainability in Mauritius. Our area of study was

Reference 1770 - 0.01% Coverage

international status, formal or informal.

This recognition is the result of a process that necessarily implies an act of memory. An object becomes heritage because it is remembered, thus initiating the memorial process leading to the recognition. The transformation of an object into an object of heritage is the result of – what Jean Davallon calls- the process of memoration. Jean Davallon refers to this expression to convey the idea that an object of heritage necessarily refers to memory. The object of heritage was invested with symbols and values that has a direct relevance to the memory shaped by the nation. Heritage is commonly recognized specifically because it makes sense for a specific entity. Indeed, an object considered by an external group would not be considered as such since one may not share the same cultural references⁴. This aspect is particularly interesting in Mauritius where the population is formed by groups with various cultural backgrounds. This raises the question of how to grant the status of heritage to an object when it necessarily implies that external references must be recognized to form a national entity. This aspect may also explain why we notice the absence of recognition of major historical events in the case of slavery and indenture, hardly ever considered before the years 2000 as far as heritage is concerned.

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

To ensure an objective appreciation

Reference 1771 - 0.01% Coverage

MAURITIAN NATION – MEMORY AND REPRESENTATIONS

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

Reference 1772 - 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 1773 - 0.01% Coverage

of Europe in the colony.

The study of the notion of heritage provided with an overall picture of the memorial framework established in Mauritius. The analysis of the proceedings of the RSAS and the Historical Records Committee gave us a full insight on the perception of heritage by the Oligarchy. We can better appreciate who formulated the representations of the past and also why they took shape or on the contrary, why they never materialised. In the same manner, we would not be in a position to appreciate the absence or the scarcity of representations of slavery and indenture today if we did not try to understand in what circumstances the first museum was created on the island.

The Mauritius Institute “Le musée

Reference 1774 - 0.01% Coverage

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 treatment of his slaves either by himself or his brother, the overseer. The complaints against them are more numerous than any other planter on the island and they are also notorious for opposing the slave laws with impudent effrontery and grossly insulting those charged with execution.”⁴⁰(Teelock, 1998:117)

their

The overwhelming influence of

Reference 1775 - 0.01% Coverage

⁴⁰(Teelock, 1998:117)

their

The overwhelming influence of the Planters over the judicial and economical powers and on the District councils did not allow the Protector of Slaves, in charge of implementing the laws, to conduct his work successfully. The complaints only rarely reached the end of the judicial process, as the Lawyers acted in favour of the Planters and only supported “just and founded” cases reported by Slaves (Teelock, 1998:117). Through the same process, the condemnation of 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 1776 - 0.01% Coverage

colonial State visualizes its past.

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

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

Historical background the implantation of

Reference 1777 - 0.01% Coverage

where the European vision supersedes.

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

Representations of slavery and indenture The first evocation of slavery appears in Part 1 where the focus is on the first navigators and the Dutch settlement, with a focus on the East India Company. The display also presents the Dodo as an extinct bird. This section is devoted to the Dutch experience and most the display explains the discovery of Mauritius, the settlement of the Dutch and their way of life on the island.

A hierarchy of figures RULING

Reference 1778 - 0.01% Coverage

MEMORY AND REPRESENTATIONS Dominated figures

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.

Truth and Justice Commission 827

Reference 1779 - 0.02% 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 has an understanding of how slavery functioned. However, it is to be noted that most representations of slavery mainly focus on the inhuman treatment that slaves received, thus underlining their legal position. When drawing a parallel with indenture or the first engagements, it is striking to see that it is the system of slavery that is referred to, rather than the experiences of the slaves as such. If little information is available in the archives, the positions that slaves held or how they took part in the functioning of the society are not expressed, although the active part that indentured labourers took in the society at that period is described. The episode of slavery is hardly individualised and does not transcribe the people's experience and thus, the Museum discourse makes a clear difference between slavery, where the focus is on the binding system, and indenture, depicted as an active contribution.

THE DEEP TRAUMA OF SLAVERY

The study of the discourse on slavery in the second room underlines the focus on the system of slavery, rather than on the experiences of the slaves. The part on slavery is in line with a general scientific discourse but does not transcribe the individual experiences of slaves in the Mauritian context: The presentation of slavery deals with:

□ The punishment given to slaves (Noirs) □ The torment of the collar □ The whip □ Transport on the ships □ The slave trade

The institution of slavery is explained and we are provided with a clear description of the harsh treatment slaves had to endure. There is no individualisation of the slave as there is for the indentured workers, for which the cultural practice of *marche sur le feu* or a description of the jobs which they did are depicted in detail. Slavery is treated in a very different manner by referring to its modalities and by showing its trauma. This vision lacks the perspectives of the life of the slaves and how the conditions of slaves evolved in Mauritius. The possibility of being emancipated or a positive experience of a slave do not form part of the display which distorts the discourse describing slavery and indenture.

Indenture, or engagement, in the

Reference 1780 - 0.01% Coverage

people coming as indentured, mainly

“dominated” population and were in much smaller number than slaves. no future for slaves and ex-slaves a negative past annihilating individuals

from India, did not constitute

Reference 1781 - 0.01% Coverage

MAURITIAN NATION – MEMORY AND REPRESENTATIONS

Further traumas imposed on slaves are depicted in Room 5, where the following elements are presented:

□ A showcase provides details on the chains of the slaves; □ A showcase presents ankle fetters.

The discourse on slavery focuses on the traumas experienced by the slaves. The two showcases presented above, in room 5, do not directly address the storyline of the display dealing with British Mauritius. In this section of the Museum, the showcases are part of an overall presentation of the population of Mauritius, but does not present the slaves: the showcases only present the 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, slaves had no chance to escape their fate. The discourse focuses on the characteristics of slavery and fails to present – although it is done for others- who were the slaves and what they engaged in, after the abolition of slavery.

Slaves are victims and not actors in the society A neighbouring showcase is devoted to the “Ancient trades” and presents how the “Indians” could engage in other economic and

Reference 1782 - 0.01% Coverage

farmers, barbers, green grocers etc.

The parallel between the showcases on slavery and the experiences of the ex-indentured is unavoidable, considering their physical location. One statement is striking: The ex-indentured labourers evolved to access higher economic positions in society, while the slaves remained apprentices, thus ex-slaves, with no possible future, according to the Museum discourse.

In this part of the display that aims at presenting the early British period, an anachronistic parallel is drawn between the situation of emancipated slaves – the presentation is limited to the period of apprenticeship (1835-1839) – and the evolution of the ex-indentured labourers who started to settle and be independent through the acquisition of land mainly, in the 1860s-70s (indenture ended in 1910).

Not only is the parallel chronologically not justified, but the situation of the slaves after apprenticeship is not even referred to, while information on the evolution of indentured labourers provides clear indications of the activity they engaged in.⁴⁷

Slavery and indenture, the unavoidable comparison Considering this part of the display, one may wonder why placing slavery and indenture side by

side: the general impression is that the experience of slavery was negative and indenture, positive. This display ultimately suggests that the portion of the population that suffered slavery never recovered from its traumas as they were bound – whatever liberty they were offered – to remain slaves. No evolution or progression of their status is possible according to the museum discourse.

This is particularly striking, especially

Reference 1783 - 0.01% Coverage

indentured worker, a Heroic Figure

The presentation on slavery stops with emancipation that did not offer many opportunities to slaves.

However, the discourse related to the experiences of indentured labourers continues further to conclude

with the portrait of Duraisamy Vandayar (1862-1905), who is presented as one of the “finest masterpiece of Mauritian heritage”.

Duraisamy Vandayar was a trader

Reference 1784 - 0.01% Coverage

the head of the State.

On the contrary, the experience of slavery and post-slavery stops with emancipation which did not offer many opportunities: according to the Museum discourse, it seems that the slaves population only experienced trauma. While the discourse on the evolution of people of Indian origin presents a favourable outcome, by showing the portrait of Mr. Vandayar, no such equivalent heroic figure is represented to convey the possible evolution of ex-slaves as individuals during the post-slavery period. This is even more striking when the portrait of Duraisamy Vandayar is displayed in a prime location, suggesting that his success reached the highest rank of the society as a wealthy merchant.

The experiences of the ex-slaves are ultimately depicted as unproductive for the society, since the evolution of the ex-slaves in society is not referred to. The experience of slavery is represented as a non-evolutional process, where the ex-slaves remained trapped in a fixed status, and where they were not empowered to evolve positively. The Museum discourse also fails to portray a positive experience of an individual – although it does for indenture- thus reducing the experience of slavery to a trauma, with no possible evolution for the ex-slaves.

Such portrayal may not be voluntary. However, it certainly conveys a general perception or, even, a stereotype. Further attention could have been given to the fact that slavery was not a straightforward experience for all and that ex-slaves also evolved to achieve a different social status and engaged in other activities. This representation of slavery has the effect of underlining how the experience of indentured labourers was positive and resulted in the “heroisation” of indentured labourers who managed to evolve positively, while the slaves had no future.

This leads to the conclusion that there was no outcome of slavery nor any future for the ex-slaves. The conditions of slaves are thus portrayed as one of no accomplishment and an inability to progress in the society. Only the traumas of the bad treatment remains the subject of focus, thus failing to show other aspects of slavery and how slaves later evolved to lead different in new lives.

Perceptions and limitations of Mauritian

Reference 1785 - 0.01% Coverage

of professions in British Mauritius:

The vagrant (ex-slave); The wife of the small owner (of African origin); The Indian labourer; The Constable; The Chinese Marchand; “Marmite” or the Malagasy drover; The small owner (goods in a cart - African type); The Parsi trader.

Truth and Justice Commission 833

Reference 1786 - 0.01% Coverage

MAURITIAN NATION – MEMORY AND REPRESENTATIONS

The fact that the lithographs of Richard are presented next to information on slavery and indenture is misleading. In this respect, the two sets of information – Richard's lithographs and showcases on slavery and indenture - do not address the same objective. Richard's lithographs refer to the way Europeans perceived the Mauritian population, while the showcases present a historical account of slavery and indenture. The two exhibits, therefore, relate to two different visions that would require a better

organisation to be fully appreciated. Throughout this section of the Museum, we may want to consider what message is to be conveyed and for whom? Such questioning would assist in the elaboration of a better-constructed Museum discourse to convey clear messages.

The current perception, when one

Reference 1787 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 835

VOL 4: PART X – PRESERVING THE MEMORY OF THE MAURITIAN NATION – MEMORY AND REPRESENTATIONS 5. EXPRESSING SLAVERY AND INDENTURE

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

From the National History Museum

Reference 1788 - 0.01% Coverage

devoted to education for all.

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

The museum experience: an overwhelming

Reference 1789 - 0.01% Coverage

dans des digressions diverses [...]”⁵¹

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

sugar industry: the federative element

Reference 1790 - 0.01% Coverage

du clocher du village”.⁵²

This text presents a sweetened vision of the conditions of life on sugar plantations in Mauritius. This also sets aside the coerced or “free” immigration waves to Mauritius. This statement waters down the conditions and experiences of slaves and indentured labourers in Mauritius. The vision presented here does not refer to the negative aspect of coerced recruitment and places the sugar industry as a major element contributing to the constitution of the society.

By underlining the predominant position of the Sugar Industry, it legitimates the initiative of constituting a Museum focusing on the Sugar Industry and sets aside the negative implications of slavery and indenture. The historical events and context, that brought the slaves or indentured labourers to Mauritius, are set aside to retain the ‘positive contribution’ of the Sugar Industry. This positive view helps to position the Museum within the Mauritian social context as a federative cultural place.

In this section, the role

Reference 1791 - 0.01% Coverage

the constitution of Mauritian society.

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

Truth and Justice Commission 839

Reference 1792 - 0.01% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 839

VOL 4: PART X – PRESERVING THE MEMORY OF THE MAURITIAN NATION – MEMORY AND REPRESENTATIONS SLAVERY: A SCIENTIFIC SUBJECT

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

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

The story-line refers to

Reference 1793 - 0.01% Coverage

5. 6. 7.

8. 9.

the chasing of slaves in their countries of origin; the acquisition of slaves on the African Coast; the transportation of slaves; the selling of slaves;

the health obligations of the masters towards the slaves; slavery in Mauritius as forming part of a global economic system;

the institutional texts for slavery – Code Noir of Louis XV for Caribbean and Patent letters of 1723 for Isle de France;
Marronnage in Isle de France

Reference 1794 - 0.01% Coverage

Marronnage in Isle de France;

the abolition of slavery and the setting up of the Slave Route project by UNESCO to construct the base of a common future.

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

This display provides a scientific account of slavery that addresses facts versus memory. By resorting to a scientific discourse, the Museum responds favourably to the need to refer to slavery as a historical fact and serves a clear educational purpose. The scientific approach creates a clear link between the past and the present. This scientific discourse objectively supports the formulation

Reference 1795 - 0.01% Coverage

scientific

discourse objectively supports the

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

Truth and Justice Commission 840

Reference 1796 - 0.03% Coverage

Truth and Justice Commission 840

VOL 4: PART X – PRESERVING THE MEMORY OF THE MAURITIAN NATION – MEMORY AND REPRESENTATIONS The local insight: a positive account on slavery

Slavery also appears in other sections which evoke indirectly the relationship between the slaves and their masters. A panel located in the section devoted to the advent of the Sugar Industry cites the example of Charles Telfair as an 'exemplary entrepreneur'. The introduction of the plough by Telfair in the sugar cane fields is presented as a major improvement in cane cultivation: "Two years after, he [Charles Telfair] had already 120 arpents of sugar canes cultivated with the plough that his delighted slaves picturesquely called 'pioche bèf.'"

The text indicates that to create an emulation among slaves, he [Charles Telfair] instituted plough competition in which the winners were “largely 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 the Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter and presents himself as a fervent proponent of the improvement of the conditions of the Slaves:

“Had the author given one redeeming fact, one observation, one argument, calculated to benefit the Slave, or to accelerate his physical, moral, or religious improvement, I should have been disposed patiently to meet the obloquy lavished on me; because something would have been done towards the completion of my favourite object, through a long period of life – the bettering of the condition of the Slave” (Telfair, 1830:v).

He also advocated that his purpose was to contribute to the amelioration of slaves' conditions for the benefit of all – Slaves and Planters - considering the forthcoming abolition of Slavery:

“I cannot longer remain in obscurity and silence. I am already at the bar of the public; and from them I expect a verdict that will cover my accusers with shame; and perhaps, will hasten the annihilation of that fraternity of which they appear to be convenient members. Lucky would be such a result for the cause they ostensibly advocate – happy for the Slave, who would thus be relieved from one great obstacle to his moral and religious melioration, which must precede his right to freedom- happy for the Master, who would feel security among men instructed in the truths of morality and religion, instead of beings immersed in brutal ignorance. Then, I should scarcely regret being exposed to the attack; because I should have a return for my labours.” (Telfair, 1830: vi)

According to Telfair, his actions have been largely criticised because they did not seem to be in line with the tradition by which Slaves were treated. His contribution was seen as a threat, 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 1797 - 0.01% Coverage

MAURITIAN NATION – MEMORY AND REPRESENTATIONS

complained that I was adding the irresistible power of intellect to the preponderating physical force of the Negroes, and sad consequences were predicted; while, on the contrary, my anonymous assailant in London, contends, that my efforts have tended to brutalize and to destroy the slave 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 mills, by implements of agriculture of all kinds, and by beasts of burden, of which not less than 30,000 have been imported 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 1798 - 0.01% Coverage

of Telfair who asserts that:

“It will be seen that my Slaves had, and have, better food and more abundantly supplied, better clothing and less occasion for it, better cottages, better bedding, better furniture, more recreations, and more money, than the home labourer.” (Telfair, 1830:xiii)

This representation of slavery through the actions of Telfair present not only a positive account of the experience of slavery, but also illustrates how the Masters could contribute to the improvement of the conditions of Slaves. This representation highlights a positive relation between the ‘dominated’ and the ‘dominant’. This is in line with the position of the Museum founders to show the positive contributions, besides the historical facts based on accounts of the indisputable inhuman experiences endured by the Slaves. It thus serves the general discourse, underlining the positive contribution of the Sugar Industry in binding all segments of the population to form a nation.

indenture: a process derived from the abolition of slavery and the need of the sugar industry

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

12. A new organisation

Abolition

Reference 1799 - 0.01% Coverage

follows:

12. A new organisation

Abolition of slavery; A society in mutation; The question of compensation; The devotion towards Père Laval; The social problems; New immigrants.

This part introduces a film on indenture to which a space equivalent to the section on slavery is dedicated. The film on indenture provides us with the experience of indentured immigrants from a scientific point of view. The discourse carefully transcribes historical facts supported by archival evidence. The film is complemented by the following panels introduced by the title Indenture:

Panel 1: Recruitment and immigrant

Reference 1800 - 0.01% Coverage

Work in sugar cane fields.

The panels –as in the case of slavery – provide an additional layer of information fully detailed. It also stresses the contribution of the Planters in these terms:

“Les anciens propriétaires sucriers ont

Reference 1801 - 0.01% Coverage

y apportant une aide matérielle.”

The few experiences of Planters allowing the setting up of temples on sugar estates become here a general statement. The display recalls only the positive element and once more – as it did for slavery- stressing not only the positive contribution of Planters, but also the existence of a close relationship between the Planters and the indentured labourers, even though the Planters are portrayed as the ruling Aristocracy, thanks to whom slaves or indentured labourers could evolve favourably. Planters are, in this sense, those opening a window on a better life for the dominated segments of the population.

A positivist discourse

We may

Reference 1802 - 0.01% Coverage

the population.

A positivist discourse

We may argue that this provides a positivist account of the slave and indentured experience, but we should also underline the hidden intention to create a vision of the past that does not divide, but rather intends to unite. Through the display of Aventure du Sucre, the process of memoration is interesting as it provides with a scientific approach thus annihilating all misinterpretation and indirectly implies an acceptance of the drifts of the sugar industry, ex-recruiters of slaves and indentured labourers. The scientific account largely contributes to the creation of a link between the past and the present that provides an objective insight of the experiences of the current population. It sustains the contribution of each in the formation of the Mauritian society.

This is further supported by

Reference 1803 - 0.01% Coverage

can ultimately receive general acceptance.

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

Appropriation and reconciliation: constructing a

Reference 1804 - 0.01% Coverage

coherence and conveyed clear messages.

Slavery and indenture are illustrated through the evocation of Le Morne Cultural Landscape and Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage Sites. The presentation highlights positive contributions: it shows how the slaves resisted their condition and how indentured labourers engaged in plantation work to later evolve in society. These representations are associated to general information on slavery and indenture formerly presented in Mauritian Heritage. It provides a general account on slavery and indenture systems. However, each event is presented in dedicated sections which are not related to one another by a

transition. Each section thus provides an insight on a specific aspect of Mauritian history. The flow of information is therefore not elaborated according to a core line of evolution but rather offers insights on the experiences of the various cultural groups. The lack of transitions between each part is detrimental to an overall understanding of how the various groups interacted to shape the Mauritian nation.

The “ethnic” segmentation in the

Reference 1805 - 0.01% Coverage

each segment of the population.

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

“a non-profit making, permanent

Reference 1806 - 0.01% Coverage

people and their environment.”⁵⁴

The Musée du peuplement provides with interpretations of the past produced in 2010. The institution is not as such a museum as museum collections are not conserved nor exhibited. We may want to consider that it is a space devoted to interpretation. In this respect, it is particularly interesting to appreciate how the past is perceived. In this instance, slavery and indenture are referred to as difficult experiences but the outcome is positive: the ex-slaves and indentured labourers have managed to engage in new lives.

The Musée du peuplement interprets

Reference 1807 - 0.01% Coverage

the slaves’ lives in museums.

The Boutique Chinoise is reconstituted besides the life on sugar estates. It is the element retained to symbolize the major role of the Chinese descent population in the economic and social development of society. Both representations are relevant examples of how retracing the origin of heritage brings to light the cultural inputs brought by the slave population, retailers and small traders and how they contributed to the creation of a national heritage ultimately leading to the shaping of Mauritian culture.

Truth and Justice Commission 845

Reference 1808 - 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 recognition of slavery and indenture

This shift in the memorial

Reference 1809 - 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 1810 - 0.01% Coverage

in need of greater understanding,

promotion and dissemination. In this context a Genealogy Institute and an Immigration Museum will be set up. Government will also regroup the National Archives, the National Art Gallery and the National Library under one roof. In order to address issues pertaining to historical grievances, government will set up a Truth and Justice Commission to establish the facts regarding slavery and indentured labourers and to make recommendations with respect to reparations for the descendants of slaves and indentured labourers”.

Truth and Justice Commission 847

Reference 1811 - 0.02% Coverage

to better appreciate Mauritian culture.

In this undertaking, slavery and indenture were a major focus. The government engaged in proposing the nomination of the Le Morne and Aapravasi Ghat on UNESCO World Heritage List. The Aapravasi Ghat is a former Immigration Depot where almost 70% of the ancestors of the current day population arrived as indentured labourers. Mauritius is the place where the British chose to evaluate a new system of recruitment called indenture after the abolition of slavery in 1833. On international scale, the outstanding experience of Mauritius as the test case to evaluate the viability of the indenture labour system makes of Aapravasi Ghat, the international symbol of indentured labour in the 19th century. As such, the site was inscribed on the 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 positive accounts of slaves and indentured labourers. Through the recognition of Aapravasi Ghat and Le Morne, the memory process operated through historical justifications enabling the appreciation of the scope of slavery and indenture as historical facts not only related to the local context, but also inscribing itself in an international perspective. This certainly encourages the memorial process to focus on positive contributions. Locally, Aapravasi

Truth and Justice Commission 848

Reference 1812 - 0.02% Coverage

MAURITIAN NATION – MEMORY AND REPRESENTATIONS

Ghat can be identified as a place of origin for indentured labourers as they first landed at the Immigration Depot to enter Mauritius. Similarly, Le Morne is considered as a place of refuge for Maroon slaves and in the contemporary context, became a symbol of resistance. Both World Heritage Sites reconstruct the idea that both sections of the population were forgotten but not silent, and have in fact largely contributed to the formation of a pacific and dynamic society.

In this case, slavery and indenture take a tangible shape through the symbols of Le Morne and Aapravasi Ghat. Each experience has a dedicated memorial space where both experiences can be formulated and recognized for the first time at national and international level. The status of World Heritage Site allowed an equal recognition. This status requires factual justifications for inscription which leads the memorial process to rely on facts and objectivity. This may not discard passionate debates on the state of slavery or indenture but ultimately leads to unequivocal recognition at institutional level.

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

The inscription of the two sites is certainly marking a significant step in the constitution of Mauritian memory. It established a formal recognition of slavery and indenture and also initiated the formulation of common national memory. In the Mauritian context, the example of the two World Heritage Sites shows how common references to the past can be established in a multicultural society where the various

segments of the population may refer to different appreciations of the past. In the instance of Le Morne and Aapravasi Ghat generally subject to ethnic considerations, the external recognition allows the establishment of values beyond the national dynamics. The local values generated by the two sites in the Mauritian context are modified when they are considered by an external regard. The local values are re-interpreted beyond potential contestations or misleading considerations. As such, it encourages their general acceptance.

This also shows that the

Reference 1813 - 0.01% Coverage

that transcend the Mauritian context.

6. GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS ON REPRESENTATIONS OF SLAVERY AND INDENTURE

Establishing common references in a multicultural society : key questions

Our research on representations of slavery and indenture in museums and at historic sites showed that common values were elaborated in the current Mauritian context. However, the memorial process leads to the establishment of values that may be challenged. Indeed, the multicultural society regroups an ensemble of people from various cultural background that lived different experiences in Mauritius. It is precisely this experience that gives meaning to their presence. This experience thus requires legitimacy and acceptance from the other components of the society. These dynamics trigger a reflection on how best to represent and recognize the contribution of the Other and establish a fair balance?

Since the 2000s, the Government

Reference 1814 - 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 1815 - 0.01% Coverage

the State or private entities.

In this respect, it was essential to focus on museums to appreciate the opportunities given to the audience for the appropriation and recognition of its past. In museums, we noticed that scientific legitimation played a major role in understanding slavery and indenture: it helps the formulation of the population's experiences and legitimates the presence of each segment in the society. For these reasons, the scientific discourse in museums seems to best serve the purpose of common acceptance. The scientific objectivity allows the institution of a strong link between the past and present that is the condition for appropriation. The process of appropriation is necessary to shape an overall memorial framework. We may question the selection of past representations in some instances but our research showed that the choices were made to transcribe positive contributions that will serve the advancement of the society. This shows the intention

to discard uncomfortable debates questioning the presence of other cultural groups. It rather promotes the legitimization of their presence to constitute a national entity.

We also noticed that there

Reference 1816 - 0.01% Coverage

environment for non-experimented visitors.

These initiatives clearly showed that there was a need for National History in which the representations of slavery and indenture play a central role as the evocation of the majority of the population's past.

Throughout our research, we noted that representations of slavery and indenture only represent a small portion of the total of public space available in Mauritian Museums. The list of museums visited and considered within this report is as follows:

□ The 'Postal Museum'; □ The 'Blue

Reference 1817 - 0.01% Coverage

2006); □ The Musée du peuplement.

This selection was chosen in view of the potential presence of representations of slavery and indenture. In most institutions, the representations are part of an overall display guided by core themes that are not directly addressing the experiences of slavery and indenture:

□ The Postal Museum presents the development of the postal services from the Dutch period to the British period and refers to the experience of slavery through the evocation of the Black Postmen or Slaves delivering mail to the inhabitants.

□ L'Aventure du Sucre is devoted

Reference 1818 - 0.01% Coverage

account of the various migrations.

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

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

of Immigration. This concept would deserve further attention so as to define how the experiences of all could be depicted?

The interaction existing between the