
Introduction

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Comparative Methodologies

Comparative history is a popular theme in historiographical literature, but it is important to determine methodologically what one is comparing or contrasting, and what conclusions can be drawn from that which would be of wider significance than the two or more cases under discussion. At the crudest level, one may compare some unique traits randomly isolated and compared across time and space, and out of context of their different cultures, etc, which may be intriguing but may not prove meaningful. Some scholars may ask if being an island adds an important dimension to the study of comparative slaveries and emancipations. Others argue that some countries can be compared but some may be cases of 'exceptionalism' (e.g. 'American exceptionalism'). A similar argument has been made for Mauritius by some scholars. The nineteenth century philosopher John Stuart Mill tried to explore comparative methodologies using existing work on the natural sciences. For example, in his 'Method of Agreement', one compares two situations which differ in every respect save one, and 'The Method of Difference' in which one compares two situations which are alike except in one respect. This is empiricist and ahistorical, and can hardly be applicable to our study. We are studying similar societies, but similar does not mean identical.

A breakthrough in comparative historical studies can be said to have been made by George Frederickson's comparative study of the USA and South Africa which has relevance to our methodological approach. His approach has allowed us to clarify our proposed methodology and conceptualization of the problems and issues involved in the study of slavery and its aftermath. First, he recommends the comparison of only two countries rather than a multinational study. To him, vast comparative surveys are devoid of meaning because the situations are often not comparable, yet have been compared. Comparing, for example, Roman slavery, Russian serfdom

and colonial slavery does not add to any increased knowledge or understanding of colonial slavery. One reason advanced by Frederickson for choosing only two countries is because most scholars start off being specialists in one country, and that of one particular theme in a country. To compare with another country inevitably means the analysis is skewed as knowledge of primary sources may not have been as extensive as in the first country being studied. There is much reliance on secondary sources, and this does not do justice to the second country under consideration.

In the case of the present project, the danger was present, and it was felt that constant interaction between the two groups by email and face-to-face workshops was required. Familiarity with each other's primary sources has been gained, and the younger researchers have benefited from the expertise of scholars in their respective fields in their own countries. Actual visits to the country, combined with lengthy visits to cultural and historical sites, each accompanied by detailed explanations of issues at hand, have combined to give first-hand knowledge of the country, and avoided the pitfall of being a mere academic exercise devoid of relevance to the country and its contemporary issues. The potential weakness identified by Frederickson has thus been somewhat mitigated.

Secondly, a close reading of Frederickson's methodological treatment of issues such as slavery, its legacy and consequences, is very appropriate for our study, and allowed for identification of elements of comparison for considering slavery and post-slavery in Zanzibar and Mauritius. In relation to slavery and emancipation, the topic is unique in terms of its 'globality' and 'totality', factors which we should not ignore. The space involved is huge as, geographically, it spans three continents and oceans; chronologically it extends over a thousand years; the interconnectedness of regions is great; the number and type of institutions that affected all sectors of society - not just economic but land, social, ethnic, cultural, and political issues are vast; and there have been much 'politics' over the study of the theme. In addition, the study of slavery over the years has become interdisciplinary, and the discipline of history has become infused and inspired by the works and methodologies of anthropologists, economists, literary persons and archaeologists, to cite a few.

The issues are not vastly different from the Caribbean, with one major exception: the race or colour factor is not omnipresent in Zanzibar while it is in the Caribbean. In the Caribbean, the analysis and debates have focused on correlation of land, labour, capital, population density, influence of settler communities on the fate of ex-slaves, and the transition to freedom. There has been a heated debate between Bolland and Green on Belize when compared with other sugar-and-slave Caribbean countries. Green argued that we are in the presence of 'similar people performing similar functions under similar circumstances', and it is this 'that renders comparative analysis meaningful'.¹ Bolland criticized Green's analysis in which 'the human agent, namely the planter/slave-owner, is absent from this statement, and we are led to believe that it was simply population density that prevented the

slaves from cultivating provision grounds'. Instead, Bolland urged the adoption of sociological comparative analysis to devise an appropriate methodological framework, the adoption of broader rather than narrower comparative analysis for the reasons stated by Andreski:

The body of ideas which concern the most general problems of social life is sometimes called general theory, sometimes comparative sociology, because wide ranging comparisons constitute the only method of testing hypotheses which refer to such problems. Second, I urge that the political dimension of social history, that is, the multiplicity of ways – cultural, economic, military, legal, psychological – by which class authority is formulated, implemented, maintained, and resisted, be placed at the centre of our analysis of post abolition societies in the Caribbean.²

With Bolland, we come closer to talking not of traits but sociological theories; yet functional sociology may lack a historical dimension to explain change and evolution of societies over time with which we are concerned in this study.

A comparative history of slavery and the transition from it in Zanzibar and Mauritius necessarily has to be placed within the context of a wider comparative study of the subject in the Atlantic and Indian Ocean worlds. Both countries are islands, with roughly the same size of area and populations, a common colonial history, and both are multicultural societies. However, despite inhabiting and using the same oceanic space, there are differences in experiences and structures which deserve to be explored. This comparison has to be seen in the context of their specific historical conjunctures and the types of slave systems in the overall theoretical conception of modes of production within which they manifested themselves, a concept that has become unfashionable but still essential.

The starting point of many such efforts to compare slave systems has naturally been the much-studied slavery in the Atlantic region which has been used to provide a paradigm with which to study any type of slavery anywhere in the world. However, as Karl Marx³ has commented, it emerged at a specific historical moment and was a particular manifestation of slavery at the 'rosy dawn of the capitalist mode of production' when some of the forces governing that mode had begun to blossom, and therefore affect the operation of the system of slavery. It was also naturally influenced by the prevailing ideological systems, particularly Christianity, whose origin can be traced to different circumstances and periods, which nevertheless affected it and in turn were affected by it.

However, slavery has been around almost as long as recorded history. Around the Indian Ocean and elsewhere in Africa and Asia, it has taken many different forms at different times of history, influenced by different modes of production prevailing at different times and places, and occasionally emerging as the dominant mode. The Indian Ocean was also a meeting point of a great variety of religions and systems of beliefs which had arisen at different places and under different

circumstances, and they naturally influenced the types of slavery that developed, and in turn were inevitably influenced by it. The prevailing system of belief that dominated the western half of the Indian Ocean over the past millennium with which we are concerned has been Islam. While Islam has influenced the different systems of slavery that developed over this large area and long period, it would be a mistake to lump all these manifestations of slavery under a single rubric of 'Islamic slavery', as will be discussed at greater length below.

While the canvas for our discussion on the comparative history of slavery and emancipation is necessarily broad, there is a need for this particular study to focus on a more limited period from the late eighteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century when the capitalist mode of production had become global. Moreover, and ironically, both islands to be studied are located within the western corner of the Indian Ocean, although in fact, in a nutshell, they represent the two contrasting systems of slavery, the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean, in a single ocean.

Slavery in Zanzibar has been described as 'Islamic slavery'. This is not quite accurate as although many elements were Islamic, especially as regards domestic slavery, plantation slavery in nineteenth century Zanzibar was governed by the forces of the global capitalist system. Mauritian slavery was, however, 100 per cent colonial slavery. There were no indigenous traditional texts or systems as the island had been uninhabited before the arrival of the Europeans who set about establishing a commercial network in the Indian Ocean using Mauritius as their headquarters. Both islands were linked, however, in more ways than one. The bulk of the slaves arriving in Mauritius from the 1770s onwards were shipped from Zanzibar and the East African Coast which was becoming crucial in the transshipment of slaves to colonial islands of the Mascarenes and elsewhere in the Indian Ocean. Both established plantation economies although with different products, Zanzibar with cloves and Mauritius with sugar, and in both cases, the slaves faced a potential conflictual situation between former masters and slaves in the post-emancipation period.

The contrast in how the outcomes evolved is one of the most interesting comparisons made for this project and will be treated in depth in chapters 4 and 5. Accessibility of land, both in terms of price of land and availability for squatting, willingness of owners to allow a certain margin of 'freedom' to ex-slaves to market their produce independent of the plantation, all played their part in influencing outcomes. Also important was the role of the colonial state: in Mauritius, the state played its habitual role as in the Caribbean, aligning itself firmly in the pro-plantation economy lobby, and issuing stringent anti-labour legislation to control movements of slaves around the island, and wishing also to restrict movement of newly arrived immigrants. Cheap wage policy was enforced by bringing down wages so that ex-slaves could no longer market their

labour. The situation was different in Zanzibar. Although the British colonial government promoted plantation economics, cheap labour immigration was not attempted because a cheaper source of immigrant labour was to be found on its doorstep in mainland Tanganyika.

One as yet unresearched area of study, even in the Caribbean where studies are far advanced compared to the Indian Ocean, has been on female slaves. There have been no studies focused on female slaves in Mauritius so far. The situation in Zanzibar is only slightly better. It was therefore considered crucial to include this, however preliminary the study on both islands. In both islands, however, the sources dictated the methodology, as sources relating to women of a higher social status were more available than for the female plantation slaves. In Zanzibar, the privileged role of the *suria* whose status was defined by *Sharia* law was explored; and in Mauritius, the manumission of female slaves was explored as they formed the majority among manumitted slaves. Both sets of women, however, resembled each other as 'elites'. Their 'economic futures' as well as that of their children were, however, in sharp contrast from one another: unlike Zanzibari slave-owners who wanted more and more children, whether of slaves or free mothers, in Mauritius, slave owners did not accept their slave or Coloured offspring so easily, and more often than not, refused to acknowledge them.

Emancipation Methodology

Our study is focused especially on transition from slavery in Zanzibar and Mauritius. Therefore a critical examination of emancipation methodology is also very relevant. Eric Foner's work is a classic for comparative studies of emancipation as is Rebecca Scott's.⁴ Foner's view of emancipation as a struggle between institutions of slavery and ideological, economic, social and political forces is very relevant to our study. The struggle over land is one of the primary struggles also in Zanzibar and Mauritius with squatting being resorted to in both islands. In Mauritius the plantation economy had just 'taken off' while in Zanzibar, squatting emerged when the plantation system began to break down. However, when the plantation economy became consolidated in Mauritius and land speculation increased, ex-slaves were thrown off the land in large numbers as acres of land made way for sugar cultivation: the numbers of small planters and vegetable growers slumped. In Zanzibar, the situation was different as ex-slaves and others squatted and grew food crops on the owner's plantations. This was possible as in Zanzibar, land between widely spaced clove trees needed to be kept free of weeds, and therefore could be used by squatters for annual food crops; and once planted, clove trees needed to be picked only twice a year when labour was intensive. In nineteenth century Mauritius, all the space on a sugar plantation was used. Land availability, type of crop, and willingness of owners to grant some measure of freedom in labour conditions contributed to the huge contrast between the two islands.

Citizenship rights, much at issue in the USA, were not an issue in Mauritius where ex-slaves were for the most part 'marginalized' in the new economic and demographic configuration. However, in Zanzibar the ex-slaves were able to negotiate contracts with their owners and when the contracts did not satisfy them, they simply left the plantations. In the USA, freedmen's access to land had the potential to reduce their reliance on employment for wages. An ex-slave worker may have had the freedom to hunt, etc., but if the worker depended on his employer's permission to pasture a cow on the estate, was he 'compromised in his ability to challenge working conditions'? Ex-slaves could also negotiate conditions of work: task work was preferred by slaves and the freed because there was more control over the pace of work and how it was accomplished. There is an 'unparalleled degree of control over the pace and length of the work day and the opportunity to acquire significant amounts of property'.⁵ Comparing countries, according to Foner, illuminates links between the different bands of evidence, and reveals connections that are not always apparent in studies of single countries.

Comparisons of emancipation in terms of developments in the economies also present similarities and also reveal adjustments that occurred in the economic system as a result of emancipation. In southern USA, small white farmers took over cotton production which remained high. In Haiti, the revolution led to an end of the plantation economy and the rise of small-scale agriculture. In Barbados and Antigua, population density was high, and there was no decline in the economy. In Mauritius, ex-slaves either moved out or were pushed out to make way for cheap contractual labour; in Zanzibar some freed slaves moved to the town while others were persuaded to stay on the land as squatters picking cloves seasonally. By the 1920s, about a half of clove production was on large plantations while the other half was done by small producers, as in Mauritius where indentured labourers and their descendants also produced nearly half of the sugar on the island on smaller plots.

The different 'concepts of freedom' also provide another stimulating field of study and can be viewed as constituting a battleground for ex-slaves and their former owners: What should be the pace of work of ex-slaves? Did the ex-slave only have the right to choose an employer or did these rights or freedom also imply the right not to work?

The role of the state in this period of transition deserves a comparative study. Did it sit on the fence or actively promote one particular type of economic development and one type of social order? In Mauritius opinions (and opinions they remain as no in-depth study has been conducted yet) range from those who believe that ex-slaves were ignored by the British because they were too busy setting up the plantation system, to those who claim they did not care much about ex-slaves' lives because they were no longer working in sugar production. Comparative study of Zanzibar and Mauritius under the British illustrates very great differences. What were these

differences due to? Was having local Arab plantation owners different from having local French colonists? What was the geopolitics of the situation that affected British relations with local elites? One must not forget either that Mauritius was a Crown Colony (direct rule) while Zanzibar was a Protectorate (indirect rule).

Finally, what was the fate of these economies in the post-emancipation period? Again, while much has been written about the Caribbean, in-depth studies of Mauritius have shown the restructuring of the economy as a result of sugar expansion and labour immigration, but not in terms of the fate of ex-slaves. How important was the output and economic activities of slave-based economies? Did economies decline or not after emancipation? This did not happen in Mauritius but success of the economy did not translate into success for ex-slaves. There were multiple but similar outcomes in both islands. First, was the fact that indigenous Zanzibaris as well as Arabs owned slaves, and secondly, that land outside the plantation area was communally owned. After emancipation, some ex-slaves entered into sharecropping ventures with former owners of rice farms; others entered, as we have seen, into squatting arrangements with former owners, and the remaining went to live in the towns. This was similar to Mauritius where many ex-slaves for various reasons, shied away from participation in the plantation economy and ended up either in town, entered into sharecropping arrangements, or simply squatted on available land.

Elements of Comparison in Post-emancipation Mauritius and Zanzibar

To explore these similarities as well as differences in the human experience and the economic structures and systems put in place after emancipation, it was felt that a historicist as well as structuralist methodology was required. The focus would be on basic facts for comparative study. The study needed to be framed in the temporal space from late eighteenth century to early twentieth century. The comparative study would not be engaged in 'trait hunting' but would illuminate links between the different bands of evidence and reveal connections that are not always apparent.

A comparison of the origins of slave trade and slavery in Zanzibar and Mauritius was thought to be essential as these were vastly different and would impact on the post-emancipation process. It was necessary also to look not only at slaves but also slave ownership as this too impacted on post-emancipation outcomes in both islands. What were the mechanisms, links (Indian/Arab/European), and routes and networks: ivory/slaves in between this, the actors?

The nature of slavery in both islands needed to be compared: plantation slavery started later in Zanzibar and Mauritius compared to other British colonies. How did slaves fare in the transition to a plantation economy under slavery in both islands? The question of gender naturally arises as in the Caribbean women were not brought into plantation labour, but also in Mauritius. This impacted

on the choices and decisions taken by these women after abolition. In Zanzibar, women played very different roles in slavery in the households as well as on the plantations. The issues relating to gender point to another important issue relating to demographics: there was an imbalance in the gender ratio in Mauritius due to importation of young males for work in the Mascarenes, while in Zanzibar this was not the case. Implications for social life in Mauritius led to accusations of 'immoral behaviour' in the colonies. In one aspect Mauritius and Zanzibar resembled each other on the question of gender: in both, some women found opportunities for self-advancement in the relationships they forged with their owners. However, one crucial difference existed: in Zanzibar these were legal relationships, while those in Mauritius were illicit.

Gender differences were one of the many between slaves: there were also the difference of status in Mauritius between locally-born and foreign-born slaves, as locally-born slaves were considered more knowledgeable and experienced at their work and given skilled jobs, and often converted to Christianity. This was also true in Zanzibar between fresh slaves – *wajinga* ('uncivilised') – and *wazalia* (local born). Occupational differences were felt: with domestics, urban and skilled slaves even earning a wage while the worse off were the manual workers and the plantation slaves.

Slavery, emancipation and transition from slavery in the last decades before it was abolished are particularly important as they impact, perhaps more greatly than in earlier periods, on the outcomes after abolition. How did life change for the ex-slave when the slaves became free in Zanzibar and Mauritius? What did 'freedom', 'autonomy', mean for the slaves? Did they want land, for example, and did they obtain it? If not, why? What were other forces at work: economic, social and political, to stop further land ownership? What laws existed to control mobility of ex-slaves? In the Caribbean, there has been no uniformity in the post-emancipation experience. Much has depended on availability of land/labour/capital, on size of the territory, availability of alternative labour and crop being grown, and alternative economic futures.

However, as slavery was primarily a labour system, the type of labour that ex-slaves performed, the terms agreed upon with employers, possibility of bargaining as many had hoped they would, were all thought to be critical issues to be dealt with in this comparative study. If they did have some bargaining power and could be called 'free' labour, how was this affected by massive importation of labour in Mauritius and by migrations from the mainland in Zanzibar? Was their status reduced? What was the impact of the emerging capitalist economy on both islands, how did the populations in each fare under the expanding plantation economy? In Zanzibar the plantation economy shrunk as peasant clove production increased, and as much produced by large landowners as by small peasants a majority of whom were not ex-slaves by the 1920s. In Mauritius the sugar plantation economy continued to

reinforce itself and expanding its acreage and labour force. What was the balance of internal pressures and external forces? Were the ex-slaves marginalised? In both islands, it seems, therefore, ex-slaves were quite far removed from the local economy.

‘Islamic Slavery’ or Slavery in Islamic Societies?

A number of references have been made to the role of Islam in the operation of slavery in Zanzibar, and it is appropriate to consider the role of religion in slavery. For more than a quarter of a century the terms ‘Islamic slavery’ or ‘Arab slavery’ have been bandied about in academic literature interchangeably in a way that the Atlantic slavery has not been described as ‘Christian slavery’ or ‘European slavery’; for it is not religion or race as such but the mode of production that can explain the phenomenon, whatever the religious justification that may be used to initiate and perpetuate it ideologically. In the case of both Zanzibar where Islam has been the dominant religion for nearly a millennium, and Mauritius where Christianity was the ideology of the slave-owning class, the origin and fundamental principles of both these religions arose under quite different circumstances, but were adapted to the specific conditions of slavery during the epoch dominated by the capitalist mode of production as a world system.

Slavery existed in Mecca in the seventh century when the society was basically tribal, but it was undergoing a profound commercial revolution as a result of being involved in long-distance caravan trade for which Mecca had developed as a hub between the Yemen, the Byzantine and the Persian empires, and even across the Red Sea to Ethiopia to the west.⁶ This was bringing in new wealth and inequalities into the society, and even slaves, about which Islamic reforms were particularly concerned. But slavery was a marginal institution, consisting primarily of captives from inter-tribal warfare, and the society was by no means dominated by a slave mode of production. Islam did not invent slavery, and like other contemporary religions, it did not abolish it either. Judging from references to it in the Qur’an and the Hadiths (Prophet’s Traditions), it appears to have been a distasteful institution that was merely tolerated. Many of the injunctions in Islam concentrated on ameliorating the condition of slavery.

According to Bernard Lewis, the Qur’an brought about specific Islamic ‘humanitarian reforms’ which had revolutionary consequences. The first was the fundamental principle of Islamic jurisprudence that ‘the basic condition of the human being was freedom’⁷ and slavery was an exceptional condition, sanctioned as punishment for unbelief. The second was the ban on the enslavement of Muslims except in strictly defined circumstances – birth in slavery, or capture in war of non-Muslim prisoners – and later the exemption was extended to cover all ‘Peoples of the Book’, Jews and Christians. Islam repeatedly asserted the essential equality of believers in the eyes of God regardless of status or race – ‘even if he is an Ethiopian

bastard'.⁸ They were not merely chattel but human beings with social status and certain religious and legal rights and duties, although they were less than those of free people. The Qur'an also recommended marriage between one's male and female slaves, and made it a moral duty of the master to find a spouse for his or her slaves, and to pay their dowry if the female slaves belonged to other owners.⁹ In his Farewell Pilgrimage sermon the Prophet exhorted his followers:

Fear God in the matter of your slaves. Feed them with what you eat and clothe them with what you wear, and do not give them work beyond their capacity. ...Do not cause pain to God's creation. He caused you to own them and had He so wished, He would have caused them to own you.¹⁰

Islam did not stop at exhortation to kindness, but went on to set up a whole battery of regulations on the treatment of slaves, and the means by which they could move out of servility. For a religion that has been associated with slavery for so long in popular literature, it comes as a great surprise that 10 out of 19 references to slavery in the Qur'an relate to manumission of slaves under all sorts of circumstances.¹¹ In one of the Hadiths, freeing or ransoming a slave is seen as a way to ascend the steep hill towards righteousness. Manumission was also prescribed as atonement for the accidental killing of a believer, the breaking of an oath, or for perjury, and as a fine before a man could remarry his divorced wife. One of the sayings of the Prophet insisted that he who beats a slave could only expect forgiveness if he set him or her free, and another stated that he who freed a Muslim slave shall be freed from the fires of hell.¹² The Qur'an specifically provided for a slave to earn or buy his or her own freedom in instalment through a formal contract (*mukataba*), and urged the owner to help his or her slave in that effort, even with a portion of the *zakat* (Islamic tax), and it was one of the seven purposes to which public alms (*sadaqa*) could be put. A slave could be manumitted on the death of the owner who expected a rich reward in the afterlife.

Islam thus had a built-in system of manumission that provided for gradual exit from servitude into freedom, and provided for the integration of slaves into the society. There was thus potential for a large class of freedmen as a substantial and regular feature of the Islamic system of slavery with important social consequences. There was a large class of freed slaves all around the shores of the Persian Gulf at the beginning of the twentieth century long before the British began to manumit slaves in the 1920s and 1930s.¹³ Already by 1875, there were some slaves in Pemba who had not only been freed by their owners but even given landed property and slaves to work them long before the general emancipation in 1897. When the British abolished slavery in Zanzibar, nearly a third of the slaves were freed by their owners voluntarily. Instead of seeking monetary compensation from the British, they hoped for a better reward in heaven (see chapter 2).

The second institution relates to the integration of captives and slaves in societies. A large majority of the slaves in the time of the Prophet were captives from wars, most of them initially Arabs. Rape and forced cohabitation has been part of the history of man's inhumanity to women. Many societies developed certain regulations and traditions which provided for a transition from the outsider unfree to a member of the society that Miers and Kopytoff discuss for African societies.¹⁴ Other societies developed more exclusivist traditions to keep their societies 'lily white' by marginalizing the result of such inevitable cohabitation to the periphery. For example, we know of forced cohabitation between white slave owners and black female slaves in the American South, but for various religious and racist reasons, the owners refused to acknowledge the paternity of their children by their slave mistresses. It becomes national news when somebody claims descent from a certain American president. Ali Mazrui described this as 'descending miscegenation' as the offspring inherited the status of their mothers, black and slave, whatever the mix of genes inherited from their biological parents.¹⁵

Islam faced a similar situation when it began to expand right across the Middle East, and women were taken as part of the booty. However, the Prophet defined the ideal in one of the Traditions when he stated that 'a master of a woman-slave who teaches her good manners and educates her in the best possible way (the religion) and manumits her and then marries her' will receive a double reward in the after-life. This was a straight case of a regular marriage prescribed even for a slave after manumission, but he also recognized the common practice at that time of intercourse with captive and slave women. In ancient Arabian custom, children of free men by their slaves were also slaves unless they were recognised and liberated by their fathers. The Qur'an and the Traditions institutionalised it to provide for the automatic integration of the enslaved mother as well as her offspring. Once a slave woman had conceived by her master, her status changed to that of a *suria* or a 'secondary slave wife'. She became an *umm al-walad* (mother of the child), and she could not thereafter be sold or pawned. However, it must be added that she still remained bound to her master/husband, and was automatically freed only on his death. Moreover, no provision was made for her to inherit from him as his free wives; she had to be sustained by her children or by voluntary bequest by her husband in his will.¹⁶

Even more remarkable was the status of their offspring. According to many schools of Islam, they were free children of their free fathers with full rights like those of children by free mothers, including inheritance, even to the throne. This soon became the norm and unremarkable in a society where even rulers were often children of slave mothers, such as the Abbasids and the Busaidi dynasty in Zanzibar and Oman. Islam thus provided a window of upward social mobility, that Ali Mazrui described as 'ascending miscegenation', by which both the mother and her offspring were drained out of the slave pool. This had important consequences for the integration of society, although this does not erase the initial tragedy of enslavement of the woman or her forced cohabitation with her owner.¹⁷

It would be ahistorical to assume that all these Islamic injunctions operated in all Islamic societies that practiced slavery under all circumstances. It is obvious from the tenth century plantation slavery in southern Iraq that even while many of the Abbasid rulers were children of slave mothers, the conditions of slaves on the desiccated flats around Basra were so oppressive and exploitative that they culminated in the Zanj Rebellion. In the case of plantation slavery in Zanzibar in the nineteenth century, which was operating within the world capitalist system, social relations between masters and slaves also had to answer to the capitalist demands of supply and demand. While conditions of slavery were different from those that reigned in the Caribbean or elsewhere due to local circumstances, it would be naive to assume that Muslim owners always adhered to all the Islamic injunctions about slavery.

There was a greater possibility of adherence in the case of domestic slaves where more intimate personal relations could develop between owners and slaves, with a greater probability of manumission and incidence of secondary slave wives and their offspring. The result was a society that was thoroughly mixed racially as to be physically indistinguishable, and linguistically it became entirely Swahili-speaking. In a recent genetic study in Zanzibar, it emerged that while the diagram for genes inherited from fathers shows the familiar racial division of Zanzibar with 35 per cent of the sample showing ancestry from across the sea, the diagram for genes inherited through mothers shows 98 per cent of the inhabitants having had African mothers.¹⁸

The Atlantic Model and its Extension into the Indian Ocean

The focus of scholarly interest in the Anglo-American academic world has traditionally been the slave trade and slavery on the Atlantic side. Even the French, despite their historic importance in the Indian Ocean, have focussed on ports which traded in the Atlantic. The Indian Ocean trade, and in particular the Mascarenes trade, has been neglected.

Comparing Indian and Atlantic Ocean Slave Trades

The Mascarene Islands (Mauritius and Réunion), situated in the middle of the Indian Ocean to the east of Madagascar, were not previously inhabited. The system of slavery that was introduced from the eighteenth century was in a sense an extension of the Atlantic model involving a massive importation of slaves from India, Madagascar and the African continent to work in economic, domestic and military activities, with the plantation economy emerging only at the end of the eighteenth century, under the overall hegemony of Roman law and Christianity.

While historians of the Indian Ocean have for long known about the specific and special nature of the Indian Ocean world and the ties that bound the littoral states of the Indian Ocean for thousands of years, it is only in recent years that this fact seems to have attracted the attention of Atlantic-based scholars and even

UNESCO. There has also been an attempt to understand Indian Ocean slavery and slave trade using Atlantic models, theories and concepts. Yet the Indian Ocean has been found, time and time again, to have certain specificities, and the study of Mauritius and Zanzibar amply demonstrates this. The Mascarenes trade, in particular, has been neglected. Differences in the two European slave trades include the fact that in the Atlantic, Britain was the largest trading power. In the south-western Indian Ocean, it is the French who dominated the trade. The Mascarenes Islands were crucial in this trade as they were used as bases for the French armateurs to launch slaving missions to Madagascar, Eastern and South Africa, South and South-East Asia and the Caribbean.¹⁹

Secondly, while for the British the slave trade was the activity of specialists, French traders were more versatile, engaging in a number of maritime activities in addition to the slave trade.

Thirdly, the Atlantic slave trade is seen as a 'triangular trade' while in the Indian Ocean the evidence points to a 'quadrangular trade'.²⁰ This conclusion has been arrived at by recent scholars after studying the real trajectory of the ships and by paying close attention to the timing of the voyages, their tonnage and the goods that they contained, and country for which they were really destined. It is seen then that ships' official itineraries were not what was carried out in practice. Ships arriving in Mauritius bound for the Indies were in fact diverted: they went on short slave trading voyages to Madagascar and Eastern Africa, before resuming their voyages to India and China. This practice started as early as 1723. These 'short' trips were missed by earlier historians such as Toussaint and Mettas, but recently (2012) a spate of detailed studies have been carried out demonstrating this 'unofficial' diversion of ships.²¹ Thus ships leaving France and destined to India and China also contained cargo of 'goods' destined for the Mascarenes where they could be sold easily. Those stopovers should not therefore be viewed 'as simple transit stops, but rather as ones which could yield substantial profits as these goods did not necessarily sell well in India or China'. A *mémoire*, recently analysed by Mcwatters, stated that in India, there was no market for European goods. Those who purchased European goods were the Frenchmen and women living in the Mascarenes.

The differences between the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean experiences of the mid-to-late eighteenth 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. In the Indian Ocean, unlike in the Atlantic, 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 trade investments were conducted, but it did not shut down all opportunities for profitable operations. The Mascarenes, where the

bulk of the maritime traffic was centred, also served as a naval base. It was rare to find any voyages specifically destined for the Mascarenes, unless they were small ships with small tonnages. Finally, an as yet unexplored area of study but possibly constituting a major area of difference with the Atlantic is the profits derived from the slave trade which were possibly more consequential in the Indian Ocean.

As far as slavery is concerned, the most important differences between the Caribbean and Indian Ocean appear to be structural and cultural in nature. Within Mauritius, for example, the nature and character slave-ownership rested in stark contrast to the British colonies in the Caribbean: while most slave-owners owning large plantations in the British Caribbean were 'absentee' owners, in Mauritius this was not the case. Most were of French origin and were established in Mauritius.²² Capital ownership was therefore local, although a large number of creditors were British. These, however, left the island after the crash of 1848.

The local structural differences between the Caribbean and Mauritius are huge. Mauritius has been described in the past as a 'variant' of Caribbean slavery. Today, after further research and comparative work on the Caribbean and Mauritian situations, this is not viewed as being necessarily so. Further studies are required to explore the structural differences between the two.

There are also other differences in terms of the evolution of the sugar economy. First, sugar did not continue to prosper in the Caribbean for many reasons, including unavailability of labour (as ex-slaves did not wish to remain on the plantations), because British subsidies were no longer forthcoming and cheaper sugar was being produced elsewhere. In Mauritius, sugar not only prospered but expanded. Massive importation of indentured labour and export of sugar to India and Australia ensured the continuation of the plantation economy, whereas in the Caribbean, with the loss of a guaranteed British market, sugar could no longer be profitably shipped to Europe. Most importantly, as stated earlier, capital invested in sugar plantations was not British, but local. The compensation money obtained from the British was reinvested in sugar estates and other economic activities whereas in the Caribbean, absentee land and slave owners re-invested in Britain, not in the Caribbean. In this manner, in post-emancipation world economic history, the British Caribbean became a 'scenic sideshow'²³ for the British, while Mauritius developed into a major plantation economy from the 1850s onwards.

In terms of cultural origins and contemporary cultural make-up of society, there are also huge differences. James Walvin starts his chapter in *Black Ivory* stating that there were three quarters of a million slaves who were given their freedom and that all of them shared their roots in Africa. This was not the case for Mauritius. In Mauritius and Reunion islands, as well as in South Africa, a large number of slaves were either Malagasy or of Asian origin.

But there is one very important similarity which is a major theme in this project, and that is the fate of ex-slaves after abolition and emancipation.

Literature Review

The study of the East African slavery and slave trade in the colonial period was preoccupied with the export of slaves from East Africa to Arabia and elsewhere in a thinly veiled attempt to counterbalance the horrendous dimensions of the Atlantic slavery. It was also used by imperial historians like Coupland to justify colonialism by presenting the anti-slavery crusade as a humanitarian movement to free Africans from Arab or Islamic slavery.²⁴ These historians relied on the widely exaggerated estimates of a British Parliamentary Committee which had argued for the export of 50,000 slaves per annum from East Africa to Arabia. The tendency was continued in the post-colonial period by some American historians who tried to strengthen the argument by a statistical exercise. On the one hand, they systematically downgraded the size of the Atlantic slavery from an estimated total of 17 million to 11.5 million over a couple of centuries, notably the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.²⁵ On the other hand, they conjured up the so-called 'Islamic slavery' in a broad arc across the Sahara, the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, for 12 centuries from the seventh to the nineteenth centuries, arriving not surprisingly at the same 17 million. The problem with this game of numbers is that while the census of the Atlantic slave trade is based on a lot of customs and shipping statistics, such statistics are not available for the East African slave trade except for a few years in the 1860s. Austen carried out a laudable exercise of collecting and collating an enormous amount of historical data, but unfortunately it is very sparse indeed, and most of it is anecdotal. He therefore developed a complicated mathematical formula transforming the predominantly qualitative statements into quantitative series. Although the method was challenged, the total for the so-called 'Islamic slave trade' has proved too attractive for the textbook writers.²⁶

In a thoughtful and challenging essay defining an agenda for research on the slave trade in the Indian Ocean, the French historian, Hubert Gerbeau (1979), challenged historians not to reduce the history of the slave trade to a paragraph in commercial history, merely counting bodies and piastres. He urged them to try to introduce a human dimension to it, to give a voice to those transported, to inquire into the life of the people who were leaving and those who had arrived; in short, to study it as part of the 'total history' of civilisations.

As regards the East African coast, Sheriff (1987) began a re-examination of the slave sector, demonstrating its transformation from one based on the export of slaves to a productive sector that employed slave labour within East Africa to produce cloves and food grains for export to the East and the West. Cooper (1977, 1980) extended the analysis to the coast of Kenya and introduced a comparison with varying forms of slavery in the American South, which was perhaps not as illuminating, but he also traced the fate of the freed slaves in the second volume.

A breakthrough in the debate on the comparative history of slave trade and slavery in the Indian Ocean began with a re-examination at the conference in

London of the economics of the Indian Ocean slave trade which was edited by Clarence-Smith (1989). More systematic was a series of conferences at Avignon and McGill initiated by Professor Gwyn Campbell who began a comparative study of slavery systems in the Indian Ocean World (IOW). There was a deliberate attempt to break what was verbally described at the first conference as the 'tyranny of the Atlantic model' which was considered a specific manifestation at the dawn of the capitalist mode of production. In the IOW, on the other hand, slavery has existed for several millennia and in numerous forms of unfree labour crossing boundaries imperceptibly from one form to another. The series began with an examination of the structure of slavery in the IOW (Campbell 2003); slavery, bondage and resistance (Alpers and Salman 2005); abolition and its aftermath (2005) which considered indigenous forces for abolition as well as placing the western crusade in its historical context; women in slavery (Miers and Miller 2008); children in slavery (Miers and Miller 2009); and sex in slavery (Campbell and Elbourne 2014).

The attempt to broaden the debate on slavery was received with considerable hostility on the part of North American scholars at the Goa Conference (Prasad and Angenot 2008), seen as an attempt to decentre the painful experience of African slavery in the West which has hitherto dominated the debate and even the Unesco Slave Routes programme.

Ralph Austen had used the Islamic label as a prop for his quantification exercise without offering any theoretical formulation of the concept; and others have followed with unbridled polemics against Islam (e.g., Gordon 1989). But the question still remains whether there is anything that can legitimately be described as Islamic in relation to slave trade and slavery beyond the fact that some of the participants in the slave trade in this broad arc from the Sahara to East Africa were Muslims, in the same way as many of those involved in the Atlantic were Christians, without justifying the attachment of a religious label to either phenomenon. A careful examination of the fundamental texts and history of Islam shows that it tolerated it but tried to ameliorate the condition of slaves in some very significant ways. Arafat²⁷ had shown that more than a half of the references to slavery in the Quran relate to emancipation of slaves for all sorts of reasons which was an in-built feature of Islamic slavery throughout its life. Bernard Lewis,²⁸ in a number of treatises on slavery in Islam, followed by Hunwick,²⁹ demonstrated remarkable reforms that were far advanced compared to those of other religions of the time. One of the most important was the fact that while intercourse between slave owners and their slaves is a universal feature, offspring born of such intercourse in Islamic *Sharia* were legitimate and free children of the owner from birth, and that the mother also became free on the death of her husband. Islam provided an avenue for social reintegration of some of the slaves and their offspring, which is an issue raised by Gerbeau mentioned above as an important part of the study of slavery.³⁰

In the Mascarenes islands, particularly of Mauritius, the study of slavery and slave trade can be said to have started with Karl Noel's *Histoire de l'Esclavage a l'ile de*

France,³¹ which many see today as an apology for slavery as Noel stated that slavery was mild in Mauritius compared to the Caribbean. Use of primary sources was limited in his work however, and it is in the 1980s that a generation of historians began to produce 'history from below' type of histories of slavery, though focussed on personalities such as Ratsitanina³² the Malagasy Prince, who was projected as a leader of a slave revolt, and resistance studies.³³ Further studies emerged, such as Muslim Jumeer's³⁴ PhD thesis on Indian manumitted slaves, which he never published; the proceedings of a Slavery Conference in Mauritius where preliminary studies on slavery and slave trade were presented were published in 1986. In the 1990s, came Teelock's *Bitter Sugar*,³⁵ focussing on the impact of sugar on slaves' lives; and a host of publications on slave 'resistance' by the Peerthums (father and son),³⁶ and Amedee Nagapen.³⁷ British slavery in Mauritius has also been a focus, with few venturing into the French period of slavery in Mauritius. More recently, however, Megan Vaughan has published 'Creating the Creole Island'.³⁸

A great number of studies have emerged on the slave trade, each trying to 'finalise' (if that is ever going to be possible) the figures of the slave trade (legal and illicit) to the Mascarenes.³⁹ Despite a start by the Truth and Justice Commission in Mauritius,⁴⁰ the figures for Mauritius have never been disaggregated, and indeed many historians remain sceptical about the fact that it can ever be accomplished. The slave trade database initiated by the Truth and Justice Commission into which scholars are inserting data being collected from archives around the world will hopefully appease this scepticism somewhat. Some of the figures mentioned in earlier works have been revised by historians as they update their work.⁴¹

The consequences and legacy of slavery have also been the subject of debate but little scholarly writing in Mauritius particularly.⁴² There is a distinct tendency to apply and transfer to Mauritius concepts and situations applicable to the Caribbean, and this has led to erroneous assumptions especially where cultural orientations and decisions made by ex-slaves after emancipation are concerned. The current project of comparative perspectives is therefore crucial to understand the differences between Mauritius and the Caribbean with which it has often been compared in debates and to underline the uniqueness of the Mauritian situation.

Linked to the subject of consequences is that of reparations. However, in Mauritius this debate has been restricted to the issue of financial compensation even if few studies have been carried out as to make substantive claims to former colonial slave trading nations. No work on the scale of the 'Legacies of Slave-ownership in Britain' in the United Kingdom has been attempted.⁴³ A number of articles by Mauritian scholars, such as Jocelyn Chan Low,⁴⁴ have appeared but it appears that scholars working out of Mauritius have chosen not to venture any opinion on this issue.

To date, and to our knowledge, there exists no major comparative study focused on Mauritius and any other country. Again the conference proceedings from the 'Esclaves Exclus, Citoyens' focussed on the marginalisation of ex-slaves and their descendants in modern Mauritius. However, some of the scholars today have moved

against the positions that they took in the 1990s, and now contest the concept of marginalisation and of reparations for descendants of ex-slaves because, it is argued, few survived into the twentieth century.⁴⁵ This view is still hotly contested.

Many scholars have taken to heart what Gerbeau recommended for the study of slavery in the Indian Ocean, and there have been a spate of cultural studies examining links between Madagascar and Mauritius (Pier Larson),⁴⁶ the cultural continuum (Edward Alpers),⁴⁷ memory and identity studies (Teelock and Alpers, Chan Low),⁴⁸ contemporary Creole Culture (Palmyre, Romaine, Carpooran, Police-Michel, Hookoomsingh etc),⁴⁹ family history and micro-studies of localities (Teelock, Essoo, Le Chartier). Also exciting have been archaeological studies such as those carried out on the summit of Le Morne, a maroon hide-out, in the abandoned cemetery at the foot of the mountain and related sites around and numerous other archaeological studies. Archaeology in Mauritius has added a new dimension and infused the discipline of history in Mauritius with renewed vigour which had been lacking in recent years.

Data Sources and Methodology

Data Sources

The bulk of sources used emanate from Zanzibari and Mauritian National Archives. Both researchers have ploughed extensively through the collections and covered a fair amount. Access to non-Zanzibari and Non-Mauritian sources, such as documents from the National Archives of the UK, has been limited due to time and travel constraints, but copies of documents available there have been obtained from local archives and from scholars' previous work. The Zanzibar Indian Ocean Research Institute (ZIORI) also had substantial holdings and these were extensively used by the researchers.

The bulk of the archival information consists of official documents such as reports of Magistrates, Surveyors, Collectors of Revenue. However, travellers' writings and personal memoirs provided insightful inside views of the life of slaves. Official correspondences were also used and these were useful for assessing the divergence between metropolitan and local colonial government approaches.

Contemporary newspapers were used to a lesser extent as they tend to portray the views of colonial officials rather than slaves and ex-slaves.

The ZIORI Library, now donated to the Zanzibar State University Library, contained a vast collection which was tapped for secondary sources on slavery in other countries, allowed researchers to engage in comparative study of countries beyond Mauritius and Zanzibar. The most difficult was to extract the slave voices from the primary and secondary sources as direct sources emanating from slaves and ex-slaves are rare for both islands.

Methodology

The archival notes were expanded, organised and systematised. Data obtained were processed and arranged into patterns of information, which could be easily interpreted and analysed. Qualitative and quantitative techniques were used to analyse the data and establish a comparative study of Zanzibar and Mauritius. The results of analysis were presented through extensive discussion between researchers in the several workshops. The comparative analysis was partly undertaken by comparing the 'bands of evidence' available for both Mauritius and Zanzibar: such as characteristics of land ownership, access to capital, structure and statistics of slave ownership, vagrancy and anti-mobility laws and so on.

Assessing the potential for upward mobility of slaves was considered a crucial part of the analysis for both islands as these could explain the actions of ex-slaves after abolition of slavery. However, it was not possible to compare manumission in Mauritius and the *suria* system in Zanzibar as they represented such varied forms of achieving upward mobility.

Conclusion

The two small islands of Mauritius and Zanzibar in the south-western corner of the Indian Ocean, though similar in terms of size and population, and even in their multi-culturality, in fact offer very good case studies for the different traditions of slavery. On the one side was the Atlantic model that had developed at the dawn of the capitalist mode of production, and under the ideological hegemony of Christianity, before it extended into the Indian Ocean during the eighteenth century. On the other hand was the long and varied tradition of slavery in the Indian Ocean that developed in some areas under the influence of Islam with quite specific regulations and injunctions regarding the treatment of slaves, but which had to articulate with the capitalist mode of production when it became a worldwide system. A comparative history of Mauritius in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as it developed a slave system to produce sugar, and Zanzibar in the nineteenth century as it developed a plantation system based on slave labour to produce cloves, therefore, offers a fertile field for fruitful comparisons and contrasts between the different models of slavery, and in particular, the role of religious ideologies on the operation of the different slave systems, and the consequent different trajectories of integration of slaves and their offspring in the society.

To what extent these and other circumstances influenced the transition from slavery are issues to be considered comparatively for the two island communities. Emancipation came to the two communities nearly three quarters of a century apart. While both were under the control of the British, Mauritius was a British colony with a powerful French settler lobby, while Zanzibar was a British Protectorate with an Arab sultan who represented the collective interests of the former slave-owning class. When emancipation came, the slave owners in Mauritius demanded financial compensation

and the slaves deserted the plantations on a massive scale unless constrained by the apprenticeship system designed to tie them to the land. In Zanzibar, there was considerable ambivalence: although a large number of slaves did desert the plantations for the opportunities of the town, and their masters accepted financial compensation, nearly a third of the owners refused to receive compensation, and some of the slaves, who had limited choices, preferred the security of their old social relationship with their old masters and existence on their plantations as squatters. This was even truer of domestic slaves who put greater faith in the old unequal social relationship with their old masters than in the uncertainties of rootless life when there was little possibility of returning to their original homes in the interior of Africa. This was especially true of the suria who had become part of the slave owner's family, and the owners resented emancipation of the suria the most because they considered it a deliberate break-up of their families, while the suria, unless their domestic situation had become unbearable, were loathe to abandon their relative security and continued relationship with their children who remained with their fathers.



Figure 1.1: Map of Zanzibar showing clove and coconut producing areas

Source: Zanzibar National Archives

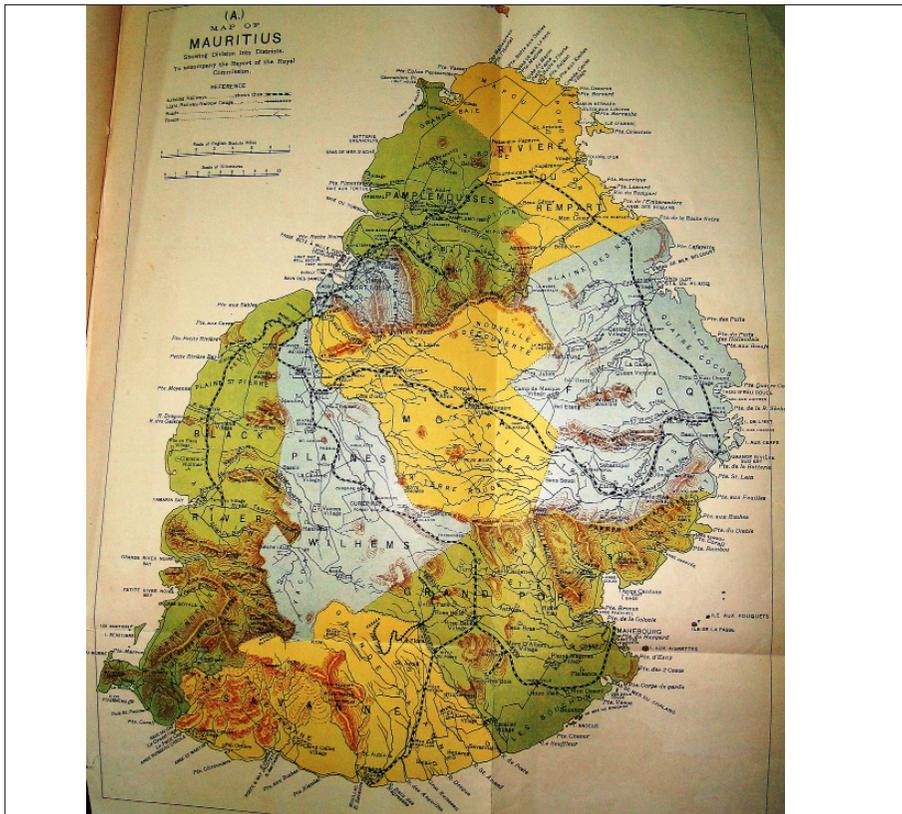


Figure 1.2: Map of Mauritius showing rural districts and agricultural land
 Source: Mauritius National Archives

Notes

1. William A. Green, ‘The Perils of Comparative History: Belize and the British Sugar Colonies after Slavery’, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* Vol. 26, No. 1 (Jan., 1984), pp. 112-119.
2. Andreski is quoted in Nigel Bolland, ‘Reply to William Green, The Perils of Comparative History’, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* Vol. 26, No. 1 (Jan., 1984), pp.120-125.
3. Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III (Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1971), Ch. XX.
4. See the work of Frederick Cooper, Thomas Holt, and Rebecca J. Scott, *Beyond Slavery: Explorations of Race, Labor, and Citizenship in Post-emancipation Societies*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), and also Rebecca Scott’s ‘Comparing Emancipations’, *Journal of Social History* 20 (Spring 1987): 565-584 by which the section in this chapter is inspired. See also Eric Foner, *Nothing But Freedom: Emancipation and Its Legacy*, (Louisiana State University Press, 1983), a groundbreaking work attempting to introduce some comparisons with the Indian Ocean world.

5. Foner, *Nothing But Freedom*, p. 575.
6. Although O. Crone, *Mecca Trade and the Rise of Islam*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986) objects to this interpretation.
7. J. O. Hunwick, 'Black Slaves in the Mediterranean world', in E. Savage, ed., *The Human Commodity*, (London: Cass, 1992), 7, quoting a nineteenth century Moroccan jurist.
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9. Qur'an 4.3, 4.25, 24.32, 33.52.
10. Hunwick 1992, p. 7.
11. W. Arafat, 'The attitude of Islam to slavery', *Islamic Quarterly*, 10/1966.
12. Qur'an 2.178, 221; 4.25, 36, 92; 5.89; 9.60; 23.6; 24.33; 32.50; 47.4; 58.3; 70.30; 90.13.24.33. Hunwick 1992: 8.
13. J.G. Lorimer, *Gazeteer of the Persian Gulf, Oman and Central Arabia*, (Calcutta, 1908-15), p.15.
14. S. Miers and I. Kopytoff, eds, *Slavery in Africa: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives*, Madison, (University of Wisconsin, 1977).
15. Ali Mazrui, 'Comparative slavery in Islam, Africa and the West', Paper presented at Istanbul Conference on Islamic Thought, 1997.
16. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_slavery. Sayyida Salme / Emily Ruete, *An Arabian Princess Between Two Worlds*, tr. & ed. by E. van Donzel, (Leiden, Brill, 1993).
17. Mazrui, 1997.
18. Personal communication, Himla Soodyall to A. Sheriff, 12.4.2008. See Table 5. .
19. V. Teelock, *Mauritian History: from its Beginnings to Modern Times*, (Port Louis, Mahatma Gandhi Institute, 2nd edition, 2006).
20. See, for example ,works of P. Brest, R. Allen, T. Vernet and M. Guerout.
21. See, for example, Meyer, Guérout, Allen, Filliot Tome II, p. 66. Max Guérout, 'Le navire négrier 'Utile' et la traite Française aux Mascareignes', *Cahiers des Annales de la Mémoire*, no. 9, Nantes 2006.
22. Nicholas Draper, *The Price of Emancipation*, (CUP: 2011).
23. James Walvin, *Black Ivory: Slavery in the British Empire*, (Blackwell Publishers, 2001), p.280.
24. R. Coupland, *East Africa and Its Invaders* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1938)
25. P. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969)
26. R. A. Austen, 'The Islamic slave trade out of Africa (Red Sea and Indian Ocean): an effort at quantification', Paper presented at the Conference on Islamic Africa: Slavery and related institutions, Princeton, 1977; 'The trans-Saharan slave trade: a tentative census', in H. A. Gemery & J. S. Hogendorn, eds, *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade* (New York: Academic Press, 1979); 'The nineteenth century Islamic Slave Trade from East Africa (Swahili and Red Sea Coasts): a tentative census', in Clarence-Smith, ed, *Indian Ocean Slave Trade*, 1989, pp. 21-44. P. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery*, (Cambridge, CUP, 1983).
27. W. Arafat, 'The attitude of Islam to slavery', *Islamic Quarterly* 10/1966.
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32. Asgarally Issa, *L'Affaire Ratsitane*, (Ed. Goutte d'eau dans l'océan, 1980).
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38. M. Vaughan, *Creating The Creole Island: Slavery In Eighteenth-century Mauritius*, (Duke University Press, 2005).
39. From the many scholarly articles, see J.M. Filliot, *La traite des esclaves vers les Mascareignes au XVIIIème siècle*. (Paris, 1974); R.B. Allen, 'Licentious and Unbridled Proceedings: The Illegal Slave Trade to Mauritius and the Seychelles during the early Nineteenth Century.' *Journal of African History*, 42 (2001), 91-116; P.M. Larson, *History and memory in the age of enslavement: Becoming Merina in highland Madagascar, 1770-1822*, (Heinemann, 2000).
40. See, Volume 4 of the Truth and Justice Commission Report, <http://www.gov.mu/portal/pmosite>.
41. See the changes from R.B. Allen, 'The constant demand 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 to the 2010 article: R.B. Allen, 'Satisfying the "Want for Labouring People": European Slave Trading in the Indian Ocean, 1500–1850', *Journal of World History*, vol. 21, no. 1 (2010) M. Guérout, Le navire négrier 'Utile' et la traite Française aux Mascareignes', *Cahiers des Annales de la Mémoire*, no. 9, Nantes, 2006. See also the most recent work by T. Vernet, La première traite française à Zanzibar : le journal de bord du vaisseau l'Espérance, 1774-1775, in Solotiana Nirhy-Lanto Ramamonjisoa; C. Radimilahy, and N. Rajaonarimanana, *et al (dir.)*, *Civilisations des mondes insulaires (Madagascar, canal de Mozambique, Mascareignes, Polynésie, Guyanes)*, (Paris, Karthala, 2010).
42. See, for example, the set of papers presented at a Conference in Mauritius published in 2002: J.C. Cangy, J. Chan Low, M. Paroomal, *L'esclavage et ses séquelles: mémoire et vécu d'hier et d'aujourd'hui : actes du colloque international*, Municipalité de Port-Louis, 2002.
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44. L.J. Chan Low, 'Les enjeux actuels des débats sur la mémoire et la réparation pour l'esclavage à l'île Maurice', *Cahiers d'études africaines*, 2004/1 n° 173-174, pp. 401-418.
45. See the heated debates surrounding this issue during a ½ day workshop held at the University of Mauritius, 13 April 2012 concerning the TJC report.
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