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## ‘Making a Life of their Own’<sup>1</sup>: Ex-apprentices in Early Post-emancipation Period, 1839–1872

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You ask me...why I will not work in that field, I will tell you: In that field my father worked as a slave, and was lashed as a slave, and do you think that I would work upon a spot that I cannot think of without pain?<sup>2</sup>

There can be no doubt of the fact that the ex-apprentices withdrew from cane cultivation more suddenly and entirely in Mauritius than in any of the West Indian colonies.<sup>3</sup>

From what had been gauged of slave behaviour between 1815 and 1835, it would seem that the idea of freedom in the slaves’ mind was intimately linked to the idea of independence. The post-emancipation events and decisions of the ex-slaves also seem to bear out this view.<sup>4</sup>

### Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to analyse the exodus of the ex-apprentices from the sugar estates, their desire to obtain land, the *petit morcellement* movement (or subdivisions of land which were sold to the ex-apprentices), and the rise of a Mauritian ex-apprentice peasantry or small landowners during the early post-emancipation period. It looks at the emergence of an important group of sharecroppers or *metayers* and squatters from within the island’s ex-apprentice community between 1839 and 1872. It explores the worldview and ethos of the ex-apprentices as they struggled to make their concept of freedom a reality which entailed controlling their labour, mobility in the colony, rejection of estate labour, owning their own plot of land and

working their land at their own pace. At the same time, it also looks at the situation of some of the ex-apprentices who continued to work and live on the sugar estates after the advent of final freedom in 1839.

This section of the study argues that the ex-apprentices are excellent examples of human agency in Mauritian history as they left estate labour, bought or settled legally or illegally on a plot of land, settled with their families there and grew their own vegetables and reared their farm animals. It demonstrates how they resorted to different strategies of survival such as collaborating with the Free Coloureds who employed them and even rented and sold them portions of land. In the process, the Free Coloureds offered them a viable alternative of permanently escaping estate labour. It argues that thousands of ex-apprentice property owners, sharecroppers and squatters emerged in all of the eight rural districts of Mauritius.

This chapter also shows that the former apprentices had access to capital and with their savings, which were large amounts of money, they purchased a sizeable piece of land during what has been called the *petit morcellement* between 1839 and 1851. It shows that ex-apprentice independent proprietors, as agriculturalists and farmers, were able to successfully integrate the non-plantation sector of the island's economy. It highlights the fact that they became a major supplier of garden produce and farm animals, and filled the gap which had been left ever since the 1830s by the Free Coloureds small estate owners.

This section of the study carries out an in-depth discussion and analysis of the dynamics of the *petit morcellement* movement and its significance for the colony during the 1840s. It also draws attention to the new social position of the ex-apprentices in early post-emancipation Mauritius, and the class division which was taking place within the island ex-apprentice community. It argues that they tried to make a life of their own beyond the perimeters and control of the sugar estates and their former owners between the late 1840s until the 1870s and even after.

### **The Exodus of the Ex-apprentices from the Sugar Estates and its Aftermath**

Who was an ex-apprentice or a former apprentice in Mauritius during the post-emancipation era? The answer to this important question was provided, in February 1847, by the Commissioners of the Mauritius Census of 1847 who explained:

the ex-apprentices are enumerated as such upon their own declaration, and therefore this class may be supposed to comprise only those who belonged to it at the expiration of the apprenticeship in March 1839, omitting those who obtained their freedom between the date and the Act of Emancipation in February 1835.<sup>5</sup>

Thus, an ex-apprentice, or former apprentice, was an individual who was given his or her freedom in 1839 by the local British colonial authorities. In fact, these apprentices were unable to purchase their freedom, unlike thousands of their fellow apprentices who had between 1835 and 1839.

On 31 March 1839, with the ending of the Apprenticeship System in Mauritius, 53,000 apprentices were given their freedom.<sup>6</sup> During the same month, the newspaper *Le Mauricien* reported that most of the ex-apprentices were leaving the sugar estates and their former owners.<sup>7</sup> Barely one month after the conclusion of the apprenticeship period, more than 26,000 apprentices had deserted the sugar plantations.<sup>8</sup> This figure is significant because by the time the apprenticeship system was abolished, around 30,000 apprentices had been involved in the production of sugar, and they had consisted of around 55 per cent of the island's agricultural labour force.<sup>9</sup>

In May 1839, Governor Nicolay reported, with a tone of despair that, 'a great number of the large sugar estates have been wholly abandoned by the former apprentices...' <sup>10</sup> During their first few weeks as free people, the ex-apprentices celebrated their freedom through feasts, they visited their relatives and friends, they travelled to different parts of the island, and wore what had been denied to them under slavery, shoes.<sup>11</sup> Pierre Gueyraud considers the liberation of the ex-apprentices in 1839 and after to be 'a real revolution in the life of the colony'.<sup>12</sup>

At the same time it is important to note that in May 1839, the British government of India passed the Indian Act XIV of 1839 which disallowed and almost brought to a halt the exportation of Indian labourers overseas.<sup>13</sup> This was the third major problem which plagued the sugar plantocracy and the island's colonial administrators. Brenda Howell explains:

It can be imagined with what dismay they learned early in 1839 of the suspension of immigration and the decision to bring negro apprenticeship to a premature end. The planters were well aware that if they persisted in their programme of expansion, wages must inevitably rise. In the absence of fresh labour supplies, the ex-apprentices would certainly exploit fully the planters' need for labour.<sup>14</sup>

More than a decade ago, in a booklet on Indian immigration in Mauritius, it was emphasised that:

By 1840 and 1841, the shortage of labour was felt by sugar planters: contracts of both ex-apprentices and immigrant labourers were reaching termination. Wages began to rise as well as discontent from those still bound under contract with lower wages. A labour crisis was imminent.<sup>15</sup>

It becomes evident that with the abolition of the apprenticeship system and the suspension of the importation of Indian labourers, it was clear that the planters would face a labour shortage.<sup>16</sup> However, at the same time, the planters and

colonial administrators did dramatise the situation and seriousness of the problem because what the planters wanted was a large quantity of cheap labour in order to keep wages extremely low at all times.<sup>17</sup> Thus, between May 1839 and December 1842, the sugar planters and colonial administrators were mostly preoccupied with overturning the prohibition on Indian immigration and dealing with the labour shortage.<sup>18</sup>

However, despite the mass exodus, not all apprentices left the sugar estates and their former owners. In May and June 1839, the stipendiary magistrates sent returns of the working population in their districts to the colonial secretary in Port Louis which highlighted this important fact. In the Mauritius Archives, only the returns of the working population for the districts of the Savanne, Grand Port, Flacq, and Rivière du Rempart are available. Therefore, these returns represent only samples of the total working population of these four important sugar-growing districts. They show that, in March 1839, there were 5,977 apprentices who worked on the white-owned sugar estates and on the small free coloured estates.

In May and June of the same year, only around 2,021 former apprentices were engaged for a period of one year. Thus, the samples from these four rural districts clearly indicate that around 34 per cent of the ex-apprentices (who worked there in March 1839) had engaged themselves for one year, mostly with the sugar planters and also with some of the small free coloured landowners. Around 66 per cent of these former apprentices had refused to make any type of contract. Without a doubt, the withdrawal of these labourers brought about a major labour crisis for the island's sugar barons, between 1839 and the early 1840s, as Mauritius was gradually becoming the premier sugar-producing colony in the British Empire.<sup>19</sup>

In May 1840, John Russell, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, was informed that overall in Mauritius, between 1839 and 1840, around 4,000 to 5,000 ex-apprentices had re-engaged themselves as estate labourers for a period of one year. But, he placed a great deal of stress on the fact that these unfortunate labourers took on this engagement because of a number of reasons, such as not having anywhere else to go and being tricked or forced to sign contracts by certain local magistrates.<sup>20</sup> In addition, in April 1839, *Le Mauricien* reported, almost with prophetic accuracy that, 'it has been shown that 5,000 other individuals will again next year abandon the sugar estates to purchase ground and set up themselves...' Therefore, it definitely did not come as a surprise to the Mauritian sugar planters that, most of the ex-apprentices, who had re-engaged themselves, did not do so again in 1840.<sup>21</sup>

During that same year, Governor Lionel Smith informed John Russell that, in general, the ex-apprentices were filled with a 'spirit of animosity against the planters' of the colony, and as a result, many who had signed a labour contract

in 1839 refused to do so the following year.<sup>22</sup> Six years later, Percy Fitzpatrick, the Stipendiary Magistrate of Port Louis, sent a lengthy report to Governor Gomm, in which he explained that the source of this hatred for the planters was directly linked with the reasons the former apprentices withdrew from the sugar estates. Fitzpatrick placed a lot of emphasis on the fact that the apprentices had been treated in a very cruel manner, and they had been overworked by their former owners. Furthermore, during the apprenticeship period, it was a common practice among the ex-slave owners, either to delay in paying their apprentices for the extra work they did, or not paying them at all.<sup>23</sup>

All these trials and tribulations left a great deal of bitterness in the hearts and minds of the ex-apprentices and it gave rise to what was termed as their spirit or attitude of animosity against the planters. It also propelled the overwhelming majority of the former apprentices not to sign any contracts with the planters and to abandon the sugar plantations. In order to give meaning to their newfound freedom, most of the ex-apprentices sought a better life beyond the perimeter of the sugar estates, and they tried to carve an economic life of their own away from their former owners.<sup>24</sup>

### **The Spatial Distribution of the Ex-apprentices: Urban Migration and Internal Rural Migration**

Apart from settling on the coast, on some of small free coloured estates, and squatting on unoccupied Crown land, there were hundreds of ex-apprentices who were skilled artisans, semi-skilled workers and domestics and they settled in Port Louis. According to the *Abstract of District Returns of Slaves in Mauritius at the time of Emancipation* of 1835, there were around 3,237 non-paraedial head tradesmen and inferior head tradesmen, 929 non-paraedial slaves, and also thousands of domestics.<sup>25</sup> Without doubt, many of these non-paraedial slaves were found in Port-Louis, and they formed part of a large urban class of skilled, semi-skilled slaves who continued to exist during the early post-emancipation period.<sup>26</sup> An 1846 census of the colony shows that in Port-Louis, there were over 2,816 urban ex-apprentices who were involved in commerce, trade, and the manufacturing sector. This group of former apprentices also included hundreds of carpenters, carters, wheelwrights, tailors, masons, seamstresses, domestics, dyers, washerwomen, cooks and bakers.

In 1846, in his report on the ex-apprentices in Port-Louis, Stipendiary Magistrate Fitzpatrick pointed out that there was a large and thriving class of urban ex-apprentices, and many among them were skilled artisans and craftsmen. The other former apprentices who formed part of this urban underclass were cooks, grooms, sailors, boatmen, shopkeepers, traders, hawkers, domestics and seamstresses. The majority among these ex-apprentices had either lived for many years or had spent most of their lives in Port Louis. In addition, they continued

doing the same work that they did as urban slaves, and they even taught their trade to their children.

During the early 1830s, many of these urban slaves, especially the skilled artisans and craftsmen, were able to earn high wages and were financially better off than most of the rural slaves.<sup>27</sup> Thus, what can be concluded is that during the late 1820s and early 1830s, a large class of skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled urban slaves had emerged in Port-Louis. Most of them remained in Port Louis, and their ranks were supplemented during the late 1830s and 1840s as hundreds of skilled and semi-skilled apprentices and ex-apprentices settled in Port Louis. Furthermore, these urban slaves and apprentices, especially the skilled ones, had access to financial resources, and could set themselves up in trade and commerce, work for themselves and employ other ex-apprentices and ex-indentured immigrants.<sup>28</sup>

During the mid-1850s, Patrick Beaton, a British missionary who lived in Mauritius for five years, wrote that when the ex-apprentices:

found themselves their own masters, the former slaves preferred supporting themselves by cultivating small patches of land in the highland of Moka and Vacoas, than to labouring on the land of their former masters. If they had acted otherwise, they would have shown themselves unworthy of liberty; it would have been like a galley slave resuming the oar, when told that he was free.<sup>29</sup>

During the early post-emancipation period, the former apprentices and their children were criticised and condemned by the sugar planters and the colonial administrators for their dislike of working as agricultural labourers on the sugar estates. Beaton believed that such an attitude was unreasonable and that the ex-apprentices and their descendants had to be understood. In order to make his point, the British missionary related his conversation with a Mauritian creole (whose father and mother had been slaves) who said:

You ask me...why I will not work in that field, I will tell you: In that field my father worked as a slave, and was lashed as a slave, and do you think that I would work upon a spot that I cannot think of without pain?<sup>30</sup>

Without a doubt, it was Reverend Beaton's interaction with the former apprentices and their descendants which led him to observe:

The remembrance of the horrors of slavery is engraven upon their memories with a pen of iron and no lapse of time will ever erase it. Labour in the fields will ever be regarded by them as a mark of degradation on account of the painful associations and memories which it awakens.<sup>31</sup>

Many years after the abolition of the apprenticeship system, the former apprentices used to refer to the days of their enslavement, in Mauritian creole, as '*temps*

*margoze*' or bitter days. This gives an idea of how the ex-apprentices viewed the period when they were still held under the shackles of forced servitude.<sup>32</sup>

Gradually, it became clear why many Mauritian slaves and apprentices tried, at all costs, to secure their freedom, through manumission during the last years of slavery and the apprenticeship period. In 1846, in his report on the condition of the Mauritian ex-apprentices, Percy Fitzpatrick, the liberal-minded Irish Stipendiary Magistrate of Port Louis, explained that the apprentices deserted the plantations because of three major reasons: '(1) The love of independence, (2) The want of confidence in the magistrates, (3) the intemperate conduct of the masters'.<sup>33</sup>

Vijaya Teelock observes that:

from what had been gauged of slave behaviour between 1815 and 1835, it would seem that the idea of freedom in the slaves' mind was intimately linked to the idea of independence. The post-emancipation events and decisions of the ex-slaves also seem to bear out this view.<sup>34</sup>

It is evident that during the apprenticeship period and after its termination, the abandonment of the sugar estates en masse by the Mauritian apprentices is 'best seen, not as a symptom of weary despair, but as a continuation of the dogged resilience they had displayed in bondage'.<sup>35</sup>

### **Collaboration between the Ex-apprentices and the Free Coloured Landowners**

Between 1829 and 1835, or during the last years of slavery in Mauritius, many of the rural slaves who were manumitted remained in the rural districts.<sup>36</sup> In 1834, Bernard observed that many slaves who had been manumitted between 1827 and 1833, began to occupy very small plots of land in the rural districts such as Grand Port, Plaines Wilhems, Black River and Moka. They usually settled on a small plot of land of around half an acre or more, and upon which they erected a small hut and cultivated vegetables. Some of these rural manumitted slaves even owned one or two slaves.<sup>37</sup>

Ex-apprentices who earned high wages saved their money and purchased their freedom. In addition, they were able to rent land from other free coloureds, make some type of informal sharecropping arrangements with them, and some of the ex-apprentices even purchased small plots of land. It is possible to see that during the late 1820s and the 1830s, these manumitted slaves and some of the former apprentices formed the lowest and smallest group among the island's rural free coloured landholders.

By 1830, a large group of free coloured property owners owned around 566 small rural estates in Mauritius. In Savanne district alone, there were 44 small

estates which were owned by the free coloureds, compared with 63 large estates owned by the Franco-Mauritians. It should be noted that between 1825 and 1830, more than 40 per cent, or 226 of the 566 free coloured small estates, which ranged in size from 10 to 45 acres, were brought under sugar cane cultivation. The remaining 60 per cent, or 340 free coloured small estates, which ranged in size from one to nine acres, grew mostly garden produce and reared domesticated farm animals to be sold in Port Louis and the local district markets.<sup>38</sup> Gradually, during the 1820s and 1830s, a number of Free Coloured individuals were accumulating wealth, property, and some of the rich families were able to educate their children.<sup>39</sup>

Between 1806 and 1830, the amount of land owned by them increased from 15,877 to 36,419 acres, or more than doubled. The number of livestock owned by the free coloureds increased by more than eight times, and between 1825 and 1830, the number of carts, carioles, and carriages increased by more than three-fold.<sup>40</sup> By 1830, it was estimated that this segment of the local population controlled around 20 per cent of the island's wealth, owned between 20 per cent to 23 per cent of the colony's slaves, and over 13 per cent of all the colony's inventoried land.<sup>41</sup> Therefore, by the 1830s, many among the colony's rural free population of colour owned a substantial amount of land and many slaves, which was a clear indication of their prosperity.<sup>42</sup> Thus, the Free Coloureds of Mauritius were wedged 'between the propertied and propertyless classes of plantation society'. In that colony, the propertied class was dominated by the slave-owning white sugar barons and the slaves were the propertyless.<sup>43</sup>

The Free Coloureds still had enough social and economic power, which they had developed during the 1820s and 1830s, to help frustrate the attempts of the Mauritian sugar barons from forcing their former slaves back onto the sugar estates. In April 1839, *Le Mauricien*, a local pro-planter newspaper reported that those:

individuals who have abandoned the sugar estates, a considerable number have entered into the service of those who supply the bazaar with vegetables, fruits, and poultry, who cut and sell timber, who rear and speculate in cattle. Others became house servants and some have engaged with certain small proprietors on condition of receiving a proportionate part of their revenue.<sup>44</sup>

The last observation clearly hints at some type of sharecropping arrangement between the Free Coloured small proprietors and the ex-apprentices who were in their employment.

Between May and June 1839, the stipendiary magistrates from the rural districts provided George F. Dick, the Colonial Secretary, with a return of the colony's working population which showed the number of Indian labourers and ex-apprentices who worked on the sugar estates and with small proprietors. The



small landholders were also mentioned as being '*vieux affranchis*' or manumitted slaves and as '*gens de couleurs libres*' or Free Coloureds. The returns for the districts of Flacq, Savanne, Grand Port, and Rivière du Rempart clearly show that many small Free Coloured proprietors had employed anywhere from two to ten ex-apprentice labourers to work on their land, mostly for a one-month period.<sup>45</sup>

For the district of Savanne, there were hundreds of ex-apprentices who were employed on 16 small estates which did not grow sugar, and most of them were employed for one month, which was renewed on a monthly basis. For example, twelve ex-apprentices worked for Mr. D. Constantin, sixteen ex-apprentices worked for Mr. M. Mamet, both small Free Coloured estate owners, and they did not employ any indentured immigrants unlike the large estates.<sup>46</sup> Thus, some among the former apprentices went to work for the colony's landowning free coloureds as hired labourers, house servants, and even made sharecropping arrangements with them.<sup>47</sup> It becomes evident that the Free Coloureds used this as a strategy to attract ex-apprentice labour to their estates.<sup>48</sup>

In April 1840, Captain John Lloyd, the surveyor-general of the colony, provided some indications that there was close collaboration between the ex-apprentices with the Free Coloureds and ex-slaves on the smaller estates. Some type of sharecropping arrangements gradually arose with the Free Coloureds. This trend existed in almost all the rural districts.<sup>49</sup> Allen observes: '...some landowners responded by leasing land in question or entering into informal share-cropping agreements'.<sup>50</sup> In 1839, Civil Commissioner Hugnin reported that near the settlement of Vacoas and several other parts of Plaines Wilhems district, ex-apprentices left their owners and readily found employment with Free Coloured small estate owners. Mr Fortenay explained that sixty-two out of ninety-two ex-apprentices left his sugar estate during the months of April and May 1839 and went to work for nearby free coloured landowners. At the same time, Widow Senneville indicated that fifty-four out of sixty former apprentices obtained employment with Free Coloured cultivators.<sup>51</sup> Thus, it becomes evident that the free coloured cultivators and landowners offered many of the ex-apprentices a viable alternative to working on the sugar estates during the early post-emancipation period which continued well into the 1840s. After all, in December 1845, Civil Commissioner Hugnin reported that there were four areas in Plaines Wilhems district where the former apprentices were found 'on the premises of these small proprietors where their means of subsistence is precarious'.<sup>52</sup>

In June 1840, just over a year after the final emancipation of the ex-apprentices, Acting Governor J. Power declared:

I believe that I am within bounds in saying that not more than a third of the island is under cultivation whilst all of it may be made productive. There is also ample employment more than enough for the lately liberated population without returning to the sugar estates, in the cultivation of provisions, vegetables, and in

rearing of minor stocks such as fowls, pigs, etc...which they fully understand.... the prices of the majority of these articles are now nearly double what they were ten years ago.<sup>53</sup>

Shortly after his arrival in Mauritius in 1840, Governor Lionel Smith was able to visit some of the rural districts in order to gauge the social and economic impact of emancipation on the colony. In August of the same year, he wrote to Russell to inform him that:

I find very few of the emancipated population have returned to sugar cultivation, but it is not true as was represented to me in England, that they were in a state of vagrancy and idleness, committing thefts throughout the island. They labour sufficiently either for themselves or others for subsistence and are a quiet, and content people.<sup>54</sup>

### **Small-scale Sharecropping or *Metayage* during the 1840s**

How many individuals may have been involved in the practice of sharecropping between 1839 and 1846? A rough indication is provided by the Mauritius Census of 1847 which was carried out in August 1846. The census Commissioners explained that there were 4,826 ex-apprentices (4,805 males and 21 females) who were involved in agricultural activities, and 4,841 ex-apprentices (3,491 males and 1,350 females) were classified as being labourers. Thus, there were a total of 9,667 ex-apprentices who did not work on the sugar estates, and they did not form part of the group of ex-apprentice independent landowning cultivators. Furthermore, they consisted more than 36 per cent of the active ex-apprentice population of 26,243 individuals, and 56 per cent of the ex-apprentices ranged between fifteen and fifty years of age or those who were fit for work.<sup>55</sup>

A careful reading of several letters from the civil commissioners and stipendiary magistrates located in the eight rural districts, to the Colonial Secretary in Port Louis between 1839 and 1846, show that these apprentices, who were listed as being involved in agricultural activities, and consisted of two distinct and important groups emanating from within the island's ex-apprentice community. Firstly, they consisted of squatters who ever since 1839 and the early 1840s, lived and grew vegetable produce, fruits, livestock and poultry illegally on government and private lands. Secondly, they were *metayers* or sharecroppers who operated within the bounds of the law, and leased land from the other landowning ex-apprentices, some Franco-Mauritians, and mostly from the Free Coloureds.

Ever since 1839 and during the 1840s, they shared their agricultural produce, fruits and domesticated farm animals with their landlords. They resided mostly in the rural districts of Grand Port, Plaines Wilhems, Moka, Savanne, Black River, Flacq, Pamplemousses, and on the outskirts of Port Louis.<sup>56</sup> In 1845, the Colonial Office in London required Governor Gomm to submit a detailed report

about the social and economic conditions of the ex-apprentice population in the colony. The British governor, through the colonial secretary, instructed the island's civil commissioners and stipendiary magistrates to report on the condition of the former apprentices in their districts. An analysis of these important reports, which were submitted between November and December 1845, shows that the practice of *metayage* or sharecropping was widespread, and involved thousands of ex-apprentices in all the eight rural districts.<sup>57</sup>

While oral or informal agreements were a common feature of Mauritian rural life during the 1840s, it is important to highlight that the Notarial Records contain several written sharecropping agreements in the form of land leases. During the first half of the 1840s, they were made between ex-apprentices who rented land as *metayers* or sharecroppers from other landowning ex-apprentices, Free Coloureds and even some Franco-Mauritians who did not own sugar estates.

On 15 April 1842, Henri Pierre, who was described as being a '*ci-devant apprenti*' or former apprentice and cultivator, leased one arpent of land for three years from Mr Descroches, a small Franco-Mauritian landowner, near the village of Mesnil in Plaines Wilhems district. He used this land to grow vegetables, and was required to provide half of his produce to Mr. Descroches at the end of each month, and he was allowed to live on the land.<sup>58</sup> Another interesting case-study is that of Louise LaVictoire, who was also an ex-apprentice, a seamstress and the mother of three young children. On 30 June 1843, she leased half an arpent of land at Vallee des Pretres, to the north of Port Louis, from Madame Marguerite Labonne, a small free coloured landowner. Louise rented the land for five years and had to provide one quarter of her garden produce and some of the livestock which was reared on that land at the end of each month to Mrs Marguerite. She was also allowed to live on the land with her children and some of her other ex-apprentice relatives.<sup>59</sup>

On 10 July 1843, Jacques Colas, a former apprentice and cultivator, rented three arpents of land from Thomas Francois and his mother, Widow Francois in Moka district for six years in order to cultivate vegetables and rear some cattle and poultry to feed his family and sell the surplus at the local market in the villages of Moka and Quartier Militaire. At the end of every two months, he had to provide one-third of his agricultural produce to his landlords. He was allowed to erect a hut on the land.<sup>60</sup>

It is important to note that the land which was provided to these three ex-apprentices was in fact marginal and unused land which they had to clear, water and make fertile. These ex-apprentices had to procure their own tools, fertilizer and seeds, and they did not have access to any type of credit and received no help from their landlords. As a result, they had to pay for the means of production which was stipulated in their sharecropping or land lease agreements. It becomes evident that during the 1840s, hundreds of such ex-apprentice *metayers* or

sharecroppers led a complicated and difficult life of toil from dawn to dusk. Thus, during the early post-emancipation period, life on and off the sugar estates was a hard lot for the former apprentices, as they engaged in a daily arduous struggle to make a life of their own.<sup>61</sup>

On 193 large sugar estates, there were 3,725 ex-male apprentices who were mostly skilled and semi-skilled artisans, and did not automatically work in the sugar cane fields. There were also 6,309 women and children who were mostly ex-apprentices. In Savanne district, there were 21 estates which employed 2,649 Indian indentured workers and 430 ex-apprentices with 259 women and children who were mostly ex-apprentices. Even more interesting was the fact that on 237 small estates there were 1,197 ex-male apprentices with 1,234 ex-apprentice women and children. For Savanne district, there were 35 estates where 425 Indian immigrants and 165 ex-apprentices were employed with 157 women and children who were mostly ex-apprentices. On the majority of the small estates, sugar cane was not cultivated and vegetables were being grown and domesticated farm animals were being reared.<sup>62</sup>

The reports of civil commissioners Peter Heyliger and Armand Hugnin from December 1845 made it obvious that, 'On the eve of the 1846 census, district authorities reported that many ex-apprentices continued to find employment with these small farmers.'<sup>63</sup> This fact is not surprising because towards the end of 1845, several reports were filed by the civil commissioners and stipendiary magistrates who were based in the rural districts on the ex-apprentices. Some of them indicated that even during the mid-1840s, sharecropping arrangements were a common practice between some of the Free Coloureds and the ex-apprentices in the districts of the Savanne, Moka, Plaines Wilhems, Pamplemousses, Flacq, Grand Port and Black River.<sup>64</sup>

This can clearly be seen in the observations of stipendiary magistrates Davidson, Self and Regnard from three different rural districts. In December 1845, J. Davidson wrote that in his district, Grand Port, an important number of former apprentices were 'cultivating small portions of land, the produce of which they divide with the proprietors for the use of the land'.<sup>65</sup> During the previous month, H.M. Self reported that there were many ex-apprentices in Pamplemousses district who were involved in sharecropping agreements where they had to provide half of the vegetable produce to their landlord for the privilege of using their land.<sup>66</sup> In December of the same year, Stipendiary Magistrate J. Regnard reported that it was a common practice among many ex-apprentices to rent a small portion of land where they built a hut and settled with their families. In return for the use of the land, they provided a certain percentage of their agricultural produce and livestock to their landlords.<sup>67</sup> It is important to note that Grand Port, Pamplemousses and Flacq contained almost 40 per cent of the colony's ex-apprentice population in 1846.<sup>68</sup>

In December 1845, Regard made a similar observation that when it came to the sharecroppers in the district of Flacq: 'They seldom follow for any length of time the same employment or remain long in the service of the same person.'<sup>69</sup> This observation can also be applied to the other rural district where many the ex-apprentices who were involved in such arrangements remained usually three to five years in the employment of any one particular Free Coloured estate owner. After all, they cherished their independence which was a direct consequence of many years of forced servitude under slavery and the Apprenticeship System.<sup>70</sup>

## **The Practice of Squatting in Mauritius**

### *The Rural Districts*

One way the ex-apprentices wanted this great desire of independence was by occupying or squatting on plots of land which did not belong to them. In 1840, John Lloyd, the surveyor-general, reported that the most significant category among the ex-apprentices were the squatters who resided illegally on government and private lands.<sup>71</sup> These were former apprentices who could not afford to purchase land, and without official authorisation settled or squatted on properties belonging to the colonial government and individuals. They settled their families on these lands and engaged in agricultural activities such as growing of vegetables and rearing livestock and poultry. Immediately after final emancipation, some of these ex-apprentice squatters settled in the vicinity of sugar estates and were considered a threat to law and order by the local planters.<sup>72</sup>

Between April and May 1839, several planters in the districts of Plaines Wilhems complained of the presence of hundreds of ex-apprentices who were illegally settled close to their estates and whom they suspected of theft and other illicit activities. Governor Nicolay directed commissioners Hugnin of Plaines Wilhems and Beaugendre of Moka to investigate. Shortly after, the two civil commissioners played down the threat which these former apprentices posed to the planters in their districts. They reported that these rural squatters were only concerned with growing their agricultural produce and livestock in order to provide for their families.<sup>73</sup> In 1839 and 1840, there were a few other cases in each of the eight rural districts, of planters complaining of the presence of ex-apprentice squatters in their districts. These complaints were investigated by the civil commissioners and local police, but were never taken seriously by the local colonial authorities since they never posed a serious law and order problem, as long as they did not engage in illegal activities such as theft.<sup>74</sup>

In May 1839, Stipendiary Magistrate F. Thatcher wrote to Governor Nicolay and addressed two specific questions to him with regard to a Royal-Order-in-Council of Queen Victoria dealing with squatting and long-established squatters in the rural districts:

I also beg to be informed of the spirit of that part of Her Majesty's order in council relative to the illegal possession of lands running through the *Pas Geometriques* [government land]. If individuals have been in peaceable possession of lands for several years but cannot produce any lawful title, can they be dispossessed of them, and if so by whom is it to be carried into effect?

A few days later, the colonial secretary, responded to these queries on behalf of the British governor and explained:

This seems to the Governor a very unfortunate difficulty for under the Order in Council it would seem that the signature or mark of each of the contracting parties was required to the agreement to make it legal...With respect to the *Pas Geometriques* His Excellency has no intention at present at disturbing any well disposed person settled there.<sup>75</sup>

This statement is extremely important because it seems evident that the colonial authorities, including the governor himself, did not want to start the eviction of squatters who occupied plots of land for several years which they knew would cause social instability in the colony, since it involved hundreds of individuals throughout the island's eight districts. This could also be applied, to a certain extent, to the newly freed apprentices who established themselves illegally on government and private lands. However, there were several cases in the rural districts where squatters were evicted by the local colonial authorities such as in Plaines Wilhems district during the early 1840s.

In June 1840, Jonathan Coeur was arrested by a constable of the Plaines Wilhems police on suspicion of theft on the estate of Mr William S. Saunders. It turned out that Jonathan was an ex-apprentice of Mr Saunders, and with his family he was squatting on a small plot of land belonging to the government near the estate of Saunders. They were growing vegetables and rearing some livestock on the land which they occupied. Jonathan was released from police custody and under the orders of Civil Commissioner Hugnin, the local police proceeded to evict him and his family from where they resided.<sup>76</sup>

More than a year later, in August 1841, Ernest Philip and Marguerite Vieux, two former apprentices, who were suspected of trespassing on the property of Widow de Senneville, were arrested by the local police. They were married and living with their children illegally on a plot of land which belonged to the widow where they grew vegetables for their subsistence. The police released them and they were evicted from Senneville's property who refused to make a lease agreement with them.<sup>77</sup>

While some of the ex-apprentice squatters were being evicted from the marginal land which was owned by the sugar estate owners of Plaines Wilhems, there were other Mauritian planters who offered some of the squatters a chance to regularise their precarious situation in the colonial society. In May 1847, William Wade

West, the owner of Vale Sugar Estate and one of the most important planters in Pamplemousses district, put a notice in a local colonial newspaper in which he offered the former apprentices a deal. He offered them a small plot of ground to grow some vegetables and keep some farm animals, a place to live, fuel to cook their food, medical care and medicines. West even offered to send their children to a school in Grand Bay village at his expense. The former apprentices would be required to live and work on Vale Sugar Estate, near Grand Bay, and share some of their garden produce and farm animals with Mr West. However, none of the ex-apprentices who resided near Vale Sugar Estate and Grand Bay village responded to his offer.<sup>78</sup>

Despite this negative response by the ex-apprentices, there were other planters in that part of Mauritius who made similar offers. Napoleon Savy was a free coloured sugar estate owner, a well known barrister in the colony and originally from the Seychelles. During the 1840s, he acquired Petite Rosalie Sugar Estate as well as other properties in Pamplemousses district. He was also a member of a very small group of influential Mauritian planters which included individuals such as Evenor Dupont and Ernest d'Unienville, planter in the Savanne district, who were promoting the *metayage* or sharecropping system in the rural districts.<sup>79</sup>

Mr Savy was ready to put 150 *arpents* of arable land at the disposal of mainly the ex-apprentices and some of the Indian indentured workers in the south Pamplemousses area. He wanted to establish a 'system of partnership' or system of sharecropping or *metayage* in order to grow sugar cane, corn and roots. However, he reported that all his efforts, during late April and early May 1847, to get ex-apprentices living in the Long Mountain and La Nicoliere area, in the remote areas of Pamplemousses district, to work for him failed.

As a result of this difficult situation, he sent a letter, through the colonial secretary, to Governor Gomm. Napoleon Savy explained to the British administrator with regard to the ex-apprentices:

I shall be happy to supply them with fertile land, advance them the necessary seed, and the wood and thatch to build their dwellings, on the terms which I have already alluded. I will, besides, make arrangements with the assistance and under the control of Government, to have their children educated.<sup>80</sup>

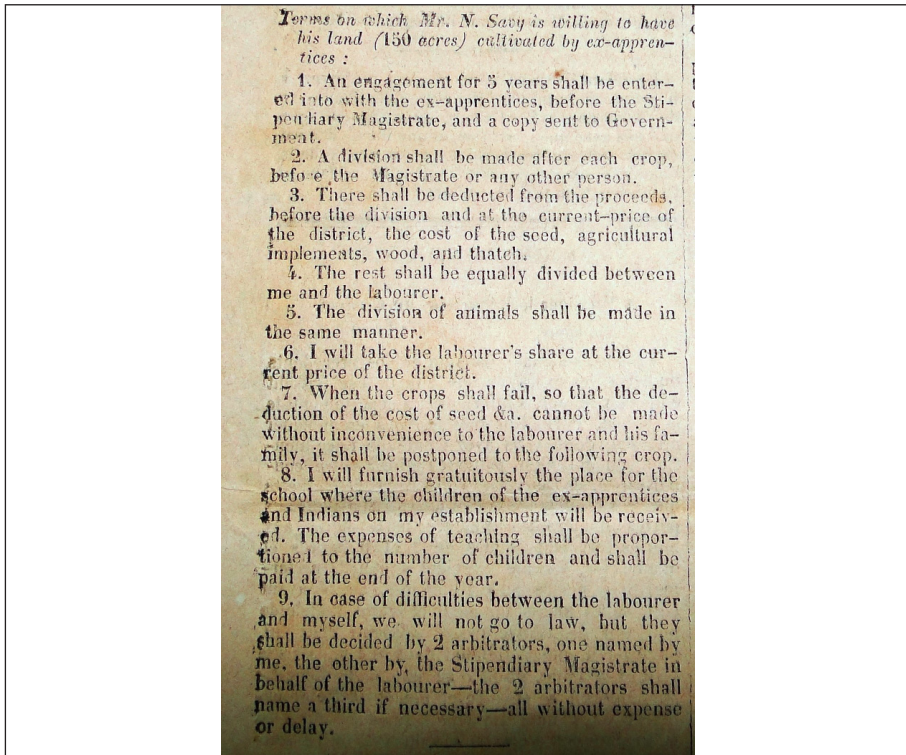
Within less than ten days of receiving his letter, Governor Gomm, through the colonial secretary, informed Savy that:

as the object which you have in view, can alone be brought about by the operation of a mutual confidence between the parties themselves, His Excellency does not consider that he can interfere in the manner you propose.

The response of Governor Gomm underscores a paradox which existed in British Mauritius during the 1840s and after. Ever since 1839, the British colonial



authorities encouraged the Mauritian planters to devise strategies for the ex-apprentices to return to field labour. However, when West, Savy and others requested the colonial administrators for some support in introducing and encouraging this type of proposal, the British governor gave a negative response. After all, Governor Gomm was extremely reluctant to interfere in such matters since he saw it as a master-servant issue and he could not interfere.<sup>81</sup>



**Photo 6.1:** The terms and conditions of Napoleon Savy's 'the system of partnership' or sharecropping (or *metayage*)

Source: *Le Cerneen*, Friday, 21 May 1847

In 1845, an important segment of the ex-apprentice community in Flacq district continued to squat on government lands which bordered several sugar estates.<sup>82</sup> In July 1847, in the report of the Council of Government on the state of the 'Emancipated Population' in the colony, which was forwarded to the Colonial Office, it was mentioned that the ex-apprentices: 'squatted in bands in remote places, and in the forests beyond the reach and influence of the planters, and obtained a meagre and often insufficient subsistence from small and ill-cultivated patches of land'. Almost a decade after final emancipation in 1839, a large number of the former apprentices continued to squat on government and private



lands throughout the eight districts. At the same time, their numbers surpassed the number of ex-apprentices who were property-owners and who still worked and lived on the sugar estates.<sup>83</sup>

### *The Urban Setting: Port Louis*

During the post-emancipation period, the rural districts were not the only places where squatting took place and became a matter of concern for colonial authorities. Between 1835 and 1839, there was an influx of the apprentices into Port Louis, and they settled in areas such as *Camp des Noirs Libres* or Black Town, the slopes of Signal Mountain, the other mountain slopes located to the south of the town and some in remote areas such as present-day Tranquebar (located on the western edge of Port Louis).

During the late 1830s and early 1840s, the overcrowding and squatting by the new arrivals was a source of concern for the colony's chief medical officer. In June 1839, he described the new settlements, where hundreds of former apprentices resided in the south of Port Louis, as being unsanitary and could breed diseases. As a result, these illegal settlements posed a health problem to the town and the entire colony. The chief medical officer believed that the settlements should be destroyed and the squatters relocated elsewhere. However, his recommendations to Governor Nicolay fell on deaf ears and it would take three decades before the local authorities took action.<sup>84</sup>

From the 1840s to the late 1860s, the practice of squatting by the former apprentices and their descendants continued unchecked in Port Louis. In the aftermath of the catastrophic Malaria Epidemic of 1867 to 1869, and also due to the fact that they did not pay their ground rent for many years, in 1869 and 1870s, the British colonial authorities, specifically the Board of Health, decided to take action against the ex-apprentice squatters. In 1869, a group of squatters were removed from parts of the slopes Signal Mountain and the other mountains located to the south of Port Louis town.<sup>85</sup> During the following year, a total of 97 out of 523 huts were pulled down. The residents of the remaining huts were required to pay ground rent and to improve the sanitary conditions of their living quarters or face eviction. Another group of ex-apprentices, who were residing illegally on land belonging to the War Department, were forced out by members of the British military.<sup>86</sup>

Despite these evictions, the squatter problem remained a prominent issue during the early 1870s in Port Louis and also in the rural districts. In 1872, J. Duncan, the surveyor-general, while testifying before colony's Crown Land Commission, explained that there were ex-apprentice squatters all over the island, especially near the sea shores. There were some squatters who were authorised by the local authorities to reside on a plot of land which they had occupied for more than 10 years. Between the 1850s and early 1870s, some portions of government

land or Crown Land had been set aside near existing villages where these squatters were offered an opportunity to reside within the bounds of the law. The lands earmarked were divided into lots and the squatters were able to purchase or lease these lots.

There were many squatters who purchased these village lots and became the legal owners of their own land. Some of these lots were sold near the villages of Souillac, Mahebourg, Poudre d'Or, Pointe des Lascars and Trou aux Biches. However, there were many other ex-apprentice squatters and their families who refused any type of land sale or leases. Surveyor-General Duncan highlighted another important issue that Crown Lands which were leased to private individuals, who wanted to develop their newly acquired land, but faced the problem of squatters present on that particular plot of land. Evidently, it was a daunting task to evict them. He recommended that all unoccupied government lands needed to be leased as a way for the local British government to generate some revenue.<sup>87</sup>

Another important testimony was given before the Crown Land Commission of 1872 by W. Thies, a sergeant major and forest ranger, who had wide experience dealing with squatters in the region of Port Louis and elsewhere on the island. Thies explained that sometime between 1869 and 1870, he was sent by the surveyor-general to convince the ex-apprentice squatters, who resided on the slopes of Signal Mountain and its surroundings, to abandon the land they occupied. He told them that they would be given another plot of land elsewhere which would be provided by the local colonial government.

However, they all refused because they did not have the means to move their belongings. Thies revealed that the squatters mentioned to him that they were ex-apprentices and ex-slaves who had been imported, presumably from East Africa and Madagascar. Ever since final emancipation in 1839, or for more than 30 years, they had lived and worked in Port Louis and desired to spend their remaining days there. They were aware that the land where they squatted belonged to the colonial government and would leave if asked to do so. Eventually, a large delegation of former apprentices went to see Governor Gordon who forwarded the matter to Surveyor-General J. Duncan, who in turn asked Sergeant Major Thies to drop the matter. The forest ranger concluded by saying that the squatters were very poor individuals who most of the time could not afford to pay lease fees which were very high.<sup>88</sup> It is interesting to note that between April 1839 and March 1840, as many as 200 thatched huts were erected by ex-apprentices on the slopes of Signal Mountain and its surroundings who came mostly from the rural districts to settle in Port Louis.<sup>89</sup>

How many recorded squatters were there in Port Louis and in the eight rural districts? A detailed return which was provided by Duncan to the Crown Land Commission Report of 1872 indicated that between 1860 and 1872, there were

only 1,097 squatters. The majority of these squatters lived with their families which consisted of four to five individuals or even more. Thus, it is possible to estimate that during this period, island-wide there were between 4,300 and 5,200 individuals on government lands in Port Louis and the eight rural districts. The majority among the squatters, around 590 or 54 per cent, were located in Port Louis, and 507 or 46 per cent were located in the rural districts, with Flacq, Black River and Riviere du Rempart sheltering the bulk of these individuals.

Between 1860 and 1872, the majority (94 per cent of the squatters) paid their rent on time and regularly. This underscores the fact that during this period, there was a general willingness among most of the squatters, who were mostly ex-apprentices, their children and grandchildren, to regularise their situation by paying the annual rent of one shilling to the local colonial administration. They wanted to operate in accordance with the law and not get evicted from the land they occupied for many years. At the same time, in Port Louis and the rural districts, there were thousands of squatters who were not recorded by the local colonial government, and they settled on government lands and private properties and did not pay any rent.<sup>90</sup> Between the 1850s and early 1870s, there were many ex-apprentice squatters who tried to purchase or lease plots of land in order to remain within the bounds of the law.<sup>91</sup>

### **'The General Desire of these People is to Possess Land'<sup>92</sup>: The *Petit Morcellement* Movement between 1839 and 1851**

While there were thousands of ex-apprentices in the rural districts who were squatters and involved in sharecropping arrangements with the free coloureds, during that same period there were hundreds among them who were also purchasing land and becoming independent proprietors. Richard Allen has termed this economic and social process the '*petit morcellement*', or literally the small sub-division of land, which took place during the early post-emancipation period. The term *petit morcellement* refers specifically to the land which the ex-apprentices and some Free Coloureds bought and formed part of much larger plots of marginal land or small estates which were being sub-divided.

The *petit morcellement* took place immediately after the former apprentices left the sugar estates in 1839 and lasted until around the time the census of 1851. It was different from the "*grand morcellement*" which took place between the 1860s and early 1900s when thousands of the ex-indentured labourers, their descendants and some non-indentured Indian immigrants spent tens of millions of rupees for the purchase of tens of thousands of acres of land throughout the eight rural districts of Mauritius.<sup>93</sup>

In September 1846, Sir William Gomm reported to Lord Gladstone, the secretary of state for the colonies, that by the mid-1840s, it was not only the free coloureds who had acquired land, but the ex-apprentices:

have taken up new ground for themselves, benefiting the community while they work for their own advantage, holding a station intermediate between that of the field-labourer on the estates and the smaller property-owners. They have purchased small plots of ground and cultivate vegetables to daily increasing extent, for the supply of the markets, many of them engage an Indian or more, to assist them in their occupation and the latter is the salaried servant of the small Black proprietor.<sup>94</sup>

It is important to take a brief look at the situation in the colony during the 1840s or the early post-emancipation period which served as a backdrop to the *petit morcellement* movement. In 1846, around 75 per cent of the former apprentices lived and worked in the eight rural districts and only 25 per cent lived and worked in Port Louis. The ex-apprentice community formed around 31 per cent of the local population with 49,365 individuals. In the rural districts, the majority of the former apprentices were concentrated in Pamplemousses, Flacq, Plaines Wilhems and Grand Port.<sup>95</sup> It is important to note that between 1839 and 1850, Port Louis experienced a decline of almost 33 per cent of its ex-apprentice population who emigrated to the rural districts. Thus, they emigrated by the hundreds to the rural districts in search of better life and new economic opportunities as Port Louis rapidly became overcrowded, and good and stable jobs were scarce during the early post-emancipation period.<sup>96</sup>

What may have brought about the *petit morcellement* movement? The first half of the 1840s was a time of economic crisis in the colony and economic hardships for the Franco-Mauritian and some Free Coloured sugar planters. After all, they had to deal with a labour shortage that was caused by the abolition of the apprenticeship system which brought in its wake the exodus of the ex-apprentices who worked on the sugar cane fields. At the same time, another cause of the labour shortage was the suspension of the export of indentured labour from India until 1843.

The planters also had to deal with the rise in the wages of labourers, the cost of importing tens of thousands of indentured workers and increases in the cost of sugar production which was gradually expanding each year. As a result, large landowners sought different ways to raise money in order to meet the ever-growing expenses of running their plantations and small estates and they did not hesitate to capitalise on the desire and the ability of some former apprentices to purchase land. Furthermore, this gave them a good opportunity to sell some of their undeveloped and marginal land located on the perimeter of their properties. As mentioned earlier, they sold this marginal and unused land at high prices and made profits of 200 to 300 per cent.

A careful analysis of some of the notarial records of the 1840s show, to a certain extent, that this move by some of the Franco-Mauritian and free coloured planters and estate owners was part of a conscious strategy to restructure local

socio-economic relationships so as to facilitate the reconstitution of an agricultural work force at a time when their ability to coerce labourers was circumscribed.

In effect, the planters, by renting and selling land to the former apprentices encouraged, although in a limited way, the creation of a reserve pool of workers on the perimeters of their estates who could be employed. Despite the fact that these ex-apprentices cherished their freedom and independence, they were offered good wages, not required to sign any contract and work for the planters for only a period of several weeks during the sugar cane harvest period. The Franco-Mauritian and Free Coloured property-owners wanted 'to establish as stable a work force as local conditions would allow'. After all, they also wanted to retain some of the skilled and semi-skilled artisans whose labour was in high demand during this period.<sup>97</sup>

At this stage, it is crucial to address the question of why some of the former apprentices spent their hard earned savings in order to acquire land. What was their worldview and ethos which propelled them to take such an important endeavour? What were the sources of their income which allowed them to achieve their objective? The answer was partially provided in 1845, in the short reports which the stipendiary magistrates and civil commissioners submitted to Governor Gomm which provide important insight into the social and economic conditions of the ex-apprentices between 1839 and 1845.

In December 1845, E. Ravel, the Civil Commissary of Riviere du Rempart district, explained that the desire for the ownership of a plot of land among the former apprentices was almost like an obsession.<sup>98</sup> At the same time, on 24 December of the same month, P. A. Heylinger, the Stipendiary Magistrate of Pamplemousses, made the famous observation that: 'the general desire of these people is to possess land'. He also highlighted the fact that during the 1840s, the ex-apprentices had purchased parcels of land of between half an acre to three acres in different parts of his district, sometimes at high prices.<sup>99</sup>

During the early post-emancipation period in Mauritius, like elsewhere in the European colonial plantation world, as mentioned earlier, the majority of the former apprentices wanted to make a life of their own. They wanted to occupy or legally acquire a plot of land, settle with their families there and grow their own crops for their subsistence, and what remained would be sold in the local markets. They also wanted to have freedom of movement, earn their own income, and control their own labour. As a result, they did not want to sign any contract and were not interested in working for their former owners. These were some of the ways that the Mauritian former apprentices wanted to translate their concept of liberty into freedom which the Mauritian planters and the British colonial officials found difficult to understand and accept.<sup>100</sup>

The other reports from 1845 and the Mauritius Census of 1847 reflect some of these observations, to a certain extent, and contain interesting information

on the emergence of this Mauritian ex-apprentice peasantry. In the district of Pamplemousses, there were a great number of ex-apprentices who had bought one to two *arpents* of land where they engaged in small-scale vegetable cultivation.<sup>101</sup> In the district of Flacq, the former apprentices had erected huts and settled with their families on the plots of land which they had recently acquired. They became 'farmers' since they planted vegetables, manioc, sweet potatoes and maize which were just enough to feed their families.<sup>102</sup> However, it is important to note that districts such as Riviere du Rempart, Pamplemousses and Flacq (the island's major sugar-growing districts) only contained a small number of ex-apprentice peasants and farmers. The majority of these individuals had bought land and resided in districts such as Grand Port, Moka, Plaines Wilhems, Savanne and Black River.<sup>103</sup>

In December 1845, J. B. Davidson, the Stipendiary Magistrate of Grand Port, provided the only estimate of the amount of land bought and the amount of money spent by the ex-apprentices in a particular district during the first half of the 1840s. Davidson mentioned that the ex-apprentices spent more than £1,391 for the purchase of 161 *arpents* of land in different parts of Grand Port. This meant that they spent more than £8 or more than 40 rix dollars per *arpent* and paid the notarial fees on time. Davidson highlighted that there were several ex-apprentice families in the village of Vieux Grand Port and elsewhere in the district who owned property and as many as 20 to 25 head of cattle.<sup>104</sup>

In the districts of Plaines Wilhems and Moka, a significant amount of land was sold to a large number of former apprentices who were mainly of African origin. In some areas in those two districts, the landowning ex-apprentices were able to form small settlements where they worked and lived side by side and which can be seen as a genesis of community life for them.<sup>105</sup> In Savanne district, Civil Commissioner F. Giblot mentioned that in his district there were 2,526 former apprentices out of whom 577 individuals (22.8 per cent) were landowners and cultivated their own land which may have varied between one half and three arpents in size.<sup>106</sup>

Around 81 per cent (1,928 of the 2,388 ex-apprentice independent proprietors) were located in the minor sugar-growing districts such as Grand Port, Plaines Wilhems, Moka, Black River and Savanne. In the sugar-growing districts such as Pamplemousses, Riviere du Rempart and Flacq, there were 460 ex-apprentice independent proprietors (19 per cent of the total number on the island). The district which was the focal point of the *petit morcellement* movement was Grand Port where there were 844 ex-apprentice independent proprietors (more than 35 per cent of the island's total number of landowners of this particular category).

The other district which experienced the full impact of this social and economic process was Plaines Wilhems with 712 ex-apprentice independent proprietors (almost 30 per cent). Together, these two districts contain almost two-thirds of the island's landowners of that category.<sup>107</sup> In general, in 1846, there were 4,121

independent proprietors in the colony, and the ex-apprentices consisted of 58 per cent of the class of individuals.<sup>108</sup> At the district level, in Grand Port, they consisted of 47 per cent or almost half of all the independent property-owners, in Plaines Wilhems around 23 per cent, in Moka more than 21 per cent, and in Savanne district less than 20 per cent.

This census data, along with the observations from the reports of the civil commissioners and stipendiary magistrates, clearly show that between 1839 and 1845, many of the former apprentices left the major sugar-growing districts and went to settle as individuals or with their families and purchased land in the minor-sugar growing districts. It was in those districts in the central, south-eastern, southern and western parts of the island, that the *petit morcellement* played an important role in the local micro-economies of those districts.<sup>109</sup>

With the advent of the *petit morcellement* movement what position did the ex-apprentice property-owners occupy in Mauritian colonial society during the 1840s? In September 1846, after having analysed the reports of the stipendiary magistrates and civil commissioners, Governor Gomm sent an important despatch to Lord Gladstone, the secretary of state for the colonies. He observed that:

They have taken up new ground for themselves benefitting the community while they work for their own advantage: holding a station intermediate between that of the field labourer on estates and the smaller occupants [estate owners] of such.... They have purchased small plots of ground and cultivate vegetables to daily increasing extent, for the supply of the markets, many of them engage an Indian or more, to assist them in their occupation and the latter is the salaried servant of the small Black Proprietor.

Thus, during the early post-emancipation period, the former apprentice peasant and property-owner occupied a position between the indentured labourers who lived and worked on the sugar estates and the small Free Coloured estate owners.<sup>110</sup>

Some of the notarial records from the 1840s also show, although in a limited way, that other ex-apprentices and old immigrants also worked for the landowning former apprentices. On 20 April 1842, Thomas Sage, a former apprentice and carpenter, bought a plot of more than three *arpents* from Pierre Louis, a free coloured small estate owner, who resided near the present-day village of Moka. He paid cash for that plot of land, the registration of the land purchase and notarial fee which amounted to a total of more than £60 pounds sterling or 302 rix dollars. Ever since June 1839, or for almost three years, Sage had occupied that land and paid a monthly rent of three rix dollars which was to be paid three months in advance at the beginning of each quarter.

This amounted to 36 rix dollars or more than £7 per year. By April 1842, or after almost three years, Thomas Sage was able to save enough money to purchase the land which he occupied from Pierre Louis. By 1842, Sage was able to build a



small wooden house, settled his family, his wife and three children, on that land and opened a small workshop. At the same time, he managed to employ two old immigrants whom he paid five rupees per month and who helped with the cultivation of his land and the rearing of cattle and poultry. With the help of his workers, he sold his surplus farm produce at the market of Moka.<sup>111</sup>

On 25 June 1843, Francois Bernard, another former apprentice who was a blacksmith, purchased a plot of land of five *arpents* from Paillotte Sugar Estate in the present-day town of Vacoas. What is interesting is that he was employed there as the chief of that estate's workshop and remained there even after the advent of final freedom in March 1839. Bernard's newly acquired land was located on the perimeter of Paillotte sugar estate and he paid £104 pounds or 520 rix dollars which included the registration of the land purchase and the notarial fees. He built a small house and settled there with his family, his concubine and five children. He grew maize, manioc, potatoes and other garden produce and he also reared some livestock. Bernard managed to employ four old immigrants who had served their indenture contracts on the sugar estates of Solferino and Bonne Terre.

He paid them six rupees per month and they were required to grow his vegetables and tend to his cattle. Bernard sold his surplus garden produce to Paillotte Sugar Estate and to a lesser extent, to Solferino and Bonne Terre. It seems that Bernard derived several advantages by continuing to work for Paillotte since he was paid a good wage, provided with food and a place to live. However, it reached a point when he wanted to own his plot of land, leave the estate camp and provide food for his family. Despite all the advantages he enjoyed, he began the long and arduous task and process of breaking the chains of dependency by leaving the estate camp and settling on his own land.<sup>112</sup>

On 7 July 1843, Anne Marie Marthe, a former apprentice and seamstress, bought a four-arpent plot of land near Mahebourg in Grand Port district. She paid more than £76 or 304 rix dollars for the land and other related expenses. Anne Marie settled on her newly acquired land with her three children, was able to build a small house there and continued to practice her trade there. She hired two former apprentices who were cultivators and two ex-indentured Indian labourers who were formerly employed on Beau Vallon Sugar Estate to work her land. She paid them five rupees per month and they grew maize, potatoes and other types of vegetables and also reared a large amount of poultry. Anne Marie was able to feed her family and the surplus vegetable produce which was sold at the market in Mahebourg. She continued to work as a seamstress and supplemented her income from the sale of vegetable produce and poultry.<sup>113</sup>

Sage, Bernard and Marthe are three excellent examples of former apprentices who achieved some type of social and economic mobility during the early post-emancipation period. As skilled workers, they were able to earn high wages, saved their money, and after three to four years, they were able to buy their own plot



of land. They formed new elite among the ex-apprentices, especially among the landowning ones. They were able to build small houses on their properties and got their families settled there.

Sage, Bernard and Marthe grew vegetables and provided for their families and the surplus of their garden produce, livestock and poultry were sold at the local district markets or to neighbouring sugar estates. They generated sufficient income from their small-scale farm activities and their skilled trades to employ old immigrants and other ex-apprentices. Without doubt, they were among the former apprentices who were classified as independent proprietors in 1846 and showed that they made their concept of freedom, of being economically independent and their desire for land a reality. At the same time, ex-apprentices like Sage, Bernard and Marthe, made an important contribution in helping to produce and safeguard the island's food supply. It is evident that they were able to integrate successfully into the non-plantation section of the island's economy.<sup>114</sup>

Between 1843 and 1846, there was a gradual increase in the amount of agricultural produce which was being provided to the island's local markets by the ex-apprentice property-owners who engaged in such activity.<sup>115</sup> By 1845 and 1846, the ex-apprentice landowners, apart from the free coloured small estate owners, became some of the major suppliers of vegetables and fruits to the Port Louis Central Market which was the colony's largest market.<sup>116</sup> Gradually, the free coloured small estates were unable to satisfy the colony's food demands and the situation worsened with the influx of tens of thousands of indentured labourers between the mid-1830s and mid-1840s. As a result, during the 1840s, as the ex-apprentices bought land, especially those who were classified as independent proprietors, they tried to fill the economic gap left by the free coloureds as they became some of the island's major suppliers of maize, manioc, sweet potatoes, *brede*, rice, other garden produce, fruits, livestock, poultry and pigs.<sup>117</sup>

Most of the ex-apprentices who took part in the *petit morcellement* movement were skilled and semi-skilled artisans, such as Sage, Bernard and Marthe who, usually after three to four years, were able to save enough money to purchase plots of land of two to five arpents.<sup>118</sup> At the same time, there were also many unskilled ex-apprentices such as the former field labourers who were also able to buy smaller plots of land usually between a half and two arpents.<sup>119</sup> Almost all the reports of the stipendiary magistrates and the civil commissioners of November and December 1845 and the despatches of Governor Gomm in 1846 highlight the fact that there was a large number of skilled and semi-skilled ex-apprentice workers who lived and worked in the colony's eight rural districts. There was a great demand for their precious labour and they were paid good wages which allowed them to achieve some type of capital accumulation.<sup>120</sup> In 1845, in Moka district, a stone mason and carpenter was paid £4 per month for his labour and a domestic or servant earned £2 per month.<sup>121</sup>

At the same time, a skilled worker who worked hard could earn enough money in one week through his labour and live comfortably for one whole month.<sup>122</sup> In Grand Port district, a skilled apprentice, after several years of savings, bought a property of £120 in the village of Mahebourg. In 1845, a collection of funds was launched by the stipendiary magistrate of Grand Port for the construction of a district hospital in Mahebourg. The local ex-apprentices supported this initiative and 977 individuals of that particular community donated anywhere between one pound sterling and one shilling.<sup>123</sup> It should also be remembered that there were thousands of slaves and apprentices, who had purchased their freedom between 1829 and 1839, and they were mostly skilled and semi-skilled workers who had access to some kind of financial resource, such as wages, even before the abolition of slavery and the termination of the apprenticeship system.<sup>124</sup>

### Some Aspects of the *Petit Morcellement* and its Decline

What were some of the major features of the *petit morcellement* movement of the period between 1839 and 1851? Around 60 per cent of individuals who took part in the *petit morcellement* movement were the ex-apprentices. The majority of the former apprentices who bought land were skilled and semi-skilled workers with some unskilled workers such as ex-field labourers. Many of them became independent proprietors who did not depend on wage labour or employment on the sugar estates, but could produce enough vegetables, other garden produce, livestock, poultry and pigs to feed their families and sell the surplus. In addition, many among them employed other ex-apprentices and some old immigrants whom they paid wages. Thus, they made profits from their farm activities and many among them established their workshops on their properties from which they also generated some income.

What was the price they paid for their plots of land? For an *arpent* of land in a remote part of the island, such as in Black River and Savanne districts, the price was £2. An *arpent* of uncleared and marginal land in areas such as Plaines Wilhems and Moka districts, the price was £20 per *arpent*. For an arpent of cultivated land in Grand Port and Pamplémousses, a purchaser could be expected to pay as much as £40. The geographical location and accessibility to a plot of land played a crucial role in its sale price and value. Therefore, it is not surprising that the ex-apprentices paid a lot of money for some of these plots of land since they did have access to capital.

The majority of the former apprentices who purchased land were adult males and couples. It was also extremely rare for an ex-apprentice to have bought land from his former master or mistress. Around 90 per cent of the former apprentices who bought plots of land paid in cash the day the land sale was finalised and this included the registration of the land transaction deed and the notarial fee. This compares with 65 per cent of the free coloureds between 1811 and 1830 when

they bought land during the slavery era. More than two-thirds of the land which was sold was one to three *arpents* in size.<sup>125</sup>

However, a brief survey of land purchases in NA 80 to NA 85 and NA 66 for the 1840s, for Plaines Wilhems, Moka and Grand Port districts, hint at the fact that many of the former apprentices who had paid the full amount in cash had contracted a loan. They undertook this financial engagement with other former apprentices, Free Coloureds and some Franco-Mauritians in order to acquire the land they desired. At the same time, it is possible that the precarious way in which many of these properties were acquired may point to the massive land dispossession of many of these ex-apprentices, as they defaulted on the loan payment.<sup>126</sup>

Another striking feature of the *petit morcellement* is that the notarial records indicate that 'at least 75 per cent of those persons who purchased land during the *petit morcellement* resided in the same district in which the land they were buying was located'.<sup>127</sup> Lastly, unlike the small British Caribbean islands such as Barbados and Antigua, Mauritius had a lot of unused land which could have been converted into arable land. In 1830, it is estimated that only 74,839 *arpents* of the island's 272,022 inventoried *arpents* were under cultivation, mainly sugar cultivation which represents just over 27 per cent. By 1840, the amount of land on the island under cultivation surpassed 40 per cent, as the sugar cultivation continued to expand during this era of the Mauritian sugar revolution. At the same time, Mauritius became the most important exporter of sugar in the British Empire by the middle of the 1840s.<sup>128</sup>

The significance of the *petit morcellement* movement between 1839 and 1851, or in the early post-emancipation period, in Mauritius cannot be underestimated. It shows the human agency of this segment of the colonial population, as many of them had access to some financial resources, they were able to save their money and undergo a process of capital accumulation which permitted them to purchase land sometimes at very high prices. They were also able to achieve some type of social and economic mobility. The purchase of land by the former apprentices allowed them to become an integral part of the non-plantation sector of the island's economy.

As farmers and agriculturalists, more specifically as independent proprietors, they made an important contribution in safeguarding and production of the island's food supply and to the economy of the rural districts. It becomes evident that they were able to successfully integrate into the non-plantation section of the island's economy. During the 1820s and 1830s, the Free Coloureds dominated this sector of the colonial economy which was gradually taken over by the ex-apprentice agriculturalists during the 1840s and, to a lesser extent, the 1850s. As mentioned earlier, the ex-slaves and ex-apprentices collaborated closely and were employed by the free coloured small estate owners during the 1830s and 1840s.

This offered them a viable alternative to working for the sugar planters who resorted to the importation of tens of thousands of indentured Indian workers during this period.<sup>129</sup>

During the 1840s and early 1850s, a major social process took place and was intimately linked with the *petit morcellement* which brought about the gradual six-fold division of island's ex-apprentice community. Who comprised this six-fold division? They are listed as follows:

- (1) the independent proprietors, or landowning peasants and farmers, who were involved in agricultural activities and rearing of farm animals in order to satisfy their nutritional needs and supply the local markets and sugar estates, and also employed some labourers, and this group includes the other former apprentices who had bought plots of land, but who engaged in subsistence farming and agricultural activities;
- (2) ex-apprentices who paid a rent or entered into sharecropping arrangements or made lease agreements with other landowning apprentices, *Free Coloureds* and some Franco-Mauritian planters for the use of their land;
- (3) former apprentices who were squatters and illegally occupied government or Crown lands and private properties and they were unregistered by the colonial authorities;
- (4) ex-apprentices who continued to live and work on the sugar estates and depended on wage labour for their livelihood but were not bound by any labour contract;
- (5) ex-apprentices who owned property in Port Louis and lived and worked there;
- (6) and lastly, the former apprentices who rented a small hut, wooden building and plot of ground in Port Louis and others who were squatters on the slopes of Signal Mountain, on the other mountains and hills and on the perimeters of that colonial town.<sup>130</sup>

The *petit morcellement* shows that during the 1840s and after, the views and observations of British colonial officials and Franco-Mauritian planters, when it came to the former apprentices, were based on racism and prejudice. There were thousands of ex-apprentices who were landowners, sharecroppers or *metayers* and squatters, thus they were involved in agricultural activities. This proves that the former apprentices were not lazy and did not have an aversion to agriculture, but wanted to work on their own land and according to their own schedule. This enabled them to control their labour, freedom of movement on the island, safeguard their independence and their freedom.

The Mauritius Census of 1851 indicates that only 778 former apprentices (549 males and 229 females) were independent proprietors. This census data indicates that the number of independent proprietors, who were the elite and the

most successful among the landowning former apprentices, decreased by almost 70 per cent as a class within the island's ex-apprentice community. In 1846, they consisted of around 5.3 per cent of the ex-apprentice working population and fell to just 2 per cent in 1851. The number of ex-apprentices who were classified as agricultural labourers but were not working on sugar estates decreased from 4,826 (4,805 males and 21 females) in 1846 to 2,561 (1,339 males and 1,222 females) in 1851. This represents a decline of more than 45 per cent; but what is even more striking is the massive increase in the number of female ex-apprentices who returned to work as agricultural labourers. In a period of just five years, their numbers increased from 21 to 1,222. In 1846, these labourers consisted of around 15.4 per cent of the ex-apprentice working population which fell to 13.1 per cent in 1851.

During this same period, there was an almost five-fold increase in the number of former apprentices who lived and worked on the island's major sugar estates. In 1846, there were only 486 ex-apprentices on the plantations and, barely five years later, their number rose to 2,170 with the overwhelming majority or more than 90 per cent being adult males. During the same period, there was also an increase in the number of former apprentices who were skilled and semi-skilled workers and small shopkeepers and traders from 8,409 (5,923 males and 2,486 females) in 1846 to 9,605 (6,367 males and 3,238 females) in 1851 or an increase of more than 12 per cent. Overall, within five years the active working ex-apprentice population decreased by more than 10 per cent. At the same time, in 1851, more than 39.3 per cent of the ex-apprentice population was unemployed, while only 60.7 per cent was employed, which was a very high unemployment rate for this segment of the colonial population. It should be noted that the unemployed included many women and young boys and girls.<sup>131</sup>

Despite the fact that there was a rapid decline in the number of ex-apprentices who were independent proprietors and non-plantation agricultural labourers, in 1851, the census commissioners observed that:

the phenomena which they exhibit are consistent with the disposition evinced during this period by the ex-apprentices to migrate from the Town of Port Louis, in which they congregated immediately after the emancipation, and from the richer districts in the North of island, where they were serving at the period, to more wooded and less cultivated [and sparsely populated] districts of the island, in which they can purchase plots of ground at a cheap rate, or find it easier to occupy them without purchase.<sup>132</sup>

Between the late 1840s and early 1850s, there were still hundreds of former apprentices who were migrating from Port Louis and the large sugar districts to the minor sugar districts in the colony. For example, between 1846 and 1851, there was a decrease of three to two per cent of the ex-apprentice population in

Port Louis, Pamplemousses and Riviere du Rempart. During the same period, this same segment of the colonial population increased by two per cent in districts such as Moka, Grand Port and Flacq. They continued to purchase property, enter into lease agreements as sharecroppers and squat on government land and private properties but on a much lesser scale when compared with the period between 1839 and 1846.<sup>133</sup>

When looking at the census data from 1846 and 1851, it becomes evident that an important restructuring of the economic life and also major demographic changes were taking place among the former apprentices which forever altered the history of that community.<sup>134</sup> Before analysing the economic changes, what were some of the demographic changes? It should be noted that during this period, the number of ex-apprentices declined from 49,365 to 48,330, but in terms of their proportion, with regard to the colony's total population, their percentage dropped from 31 per cent to 26 per cent or more than 5 per cent as they became a minority. By 1851, in terms of numbers, they ranked behind the General Population, which consisted of the Franco-Mauritians and Free Coloureds, and the Indian indentured labourers. This fact is quite ironic because in 1839 they were the majority population and it underscores the demographic revolution which was underway ever since the 1830s and would reach its peak by the early 1860s.

In addition, between 1835 and 1846, the death rate among the apprentices and ex-apprentices was 3.5 per cent per year and a total of more than 7,000 apprentices and ex-apprentices passed away during that period. At the same time, the number of 'ex-apprentices born in Africa and Madagascar had diminished by 2,908' and 'their proportion to the total of their class is reduced from 25 to 20 percent'. This census data indicates that the number of former apprentices who were born outside of Mauritius and who were in their forties, fifties and sixties were rapidly disappearing while the Mauritian-born former apprentices were stabilising. The causes of their deaths were due to many reasons, diseases, malnutrition, alcoholism and lack of access to proper medical care.

The female and male ratio also was gradually stabilising, with 57 per cent of the ex-apprentice population being males and 43 per cent being females in 1846. Five years later, this number stabilised at 55 per cent for the males and 45 per cent for the females respectively.<sup>135</sup> By 1861, the ex-apprentices disappeared as a clearly distinguished segment of the colonial population. This can clearly be seen in the census of that particular year when they were classified as 'General Population', along with the Franco-Mauritians and Free Coloureds. The indentured and non-indentured Indian immigrants consisted of more than 60 per cent of the local population as the Mauritian demographic revolution reached its peak.<sup>136</sup>

The landowning ex-apprentices could not obtain financial credit from the local colonial banks which limited their access to capital. Droughts, floods, cyclones and crop failures were a regular feature of the Mauritian rural landscape,

and when the crops of the former apprentices were destroyed it took them several months to recover.<sup>137</sup> Many did not recover and they sold their properties for cash. There were also many skilled and semi-skilled ex-apprentice workers who purchased land, and since they were not farmers and cultivators, they found it difficult to successfully initiate and manage vegetable cultivation and the rearing of farm animals. In fact, many among them who were unable to manage their newly-established farms and agricultural activities sold their land.<sup>138</sup>

Between 1846 and 1851, the number of proprietors within the general population increased from 1,728 to 2,213. Allen has argued that many of these new proprietors were in fact former apprentices who classified themselves as 'General Population' in order to enhance their social standing in the colonial society. This would partially account for the decrease in the number of independent proprietors within the ex-apprentice community.<sup>139</sup> Some of the archival records also hint at the fact that some of the former apprentices who returned to estate labour might have been unsuccessful independent proprietors and sharecroppers who were left with no other source of employment.

One of the major factors which greatly influenced the fortunes of this segment of the colonial population was the introduction of the Indian indentured labourers. Between 1848 and 1851, there were thousands of ex-indentured labourers who completed their five-year contracts and many among them did not return to work on the sugar estates. They preferred to take up employment as labourers, gardeners, house servants, hawkers, some engaged in skilled and semi-skilled work and a few even purchased property. The old immigrants became actively involved in commerce, trade and manufacturing, and they occupied jobs which were previously dominated by the former apprentices. This process was further consolidated by 1861 as the indentured and ex-indentured workers and their families formed the majority segment of the local colonial population.<sup>140</sup>

Between 1853 and 1858, Beaton had frequent contacts with the ex-apprentices and their children during his stay of five years on the island. He described them as hardworking and that the majority of them did not want to return to work on the sugar estates because of the bitter memories of the inhumane treatment they suffered. Beaton observed that many among the former apprentices still resided in some of the remote parts of the island as landowners, sharecroppers and squatters who were engaged in growing vegetables and rearing farm animals. They wanted to preserve their freedom and independence.<sup>141</sup>

In July 1866, Governor Sir Henry Barkly, provided one of the last detailed accounts on the social and economic situation of the ex-apprentices by a British colonial official. He explained that during the 1860s, there were many former apprentices who were still property owners, sharecroppers and squatters in all the island's rural districts. Many among them also joined government service and were skilled and semi-skilled workers. It shows that former apprentices still



occupied an important and not entirely marginal position in the island's local economy.<sup>142</sup> The accounts of Duncan, Beaton and Barkly highlight the fact that although as landowners, sharecroppers and squatters, the importance of the ex-apprentice community declined in Mauritius between the late 1840s and early 1850s, they still formed an integral and visible part of Mauritian colonial society during the second half of the nineteenth century.

## Conclusion

The objective of this chapter was to analyse the exodus of the ex-apprentices from the sugar estates, their desire to obtain land, the *petit morcellement* movement, and the rise of a Mauritian ex-apprentice peasantry or small landowners during the early post-emancipation period. It looked at the emergence of an important group of sharecroppers or *métayers* and squatters from within the island's ex-apprentice community between 1839 and 1851. It explored the worldview and ethos of the ex-apprentices as they struggled to make their concept of freedom a reality which entailed controlling their labour, mobility in the colony, rejection of estate labour, owning their own plot of land and working their land at their own pace. At the same time, it also looked at the situation of some of the ex-apprentices who continued to work and live on the sugar estates after the advent of final freedom in 1839.

This section of the study has argued that the ex-apprentices are excellent examples of human agency in Mauritian history as they left estate labour, bought or settled legally or illegally on a plot of land, settled with their families there and grew their own vegetables and reared their farm animals. It demonstrated how they resorted to different strategies of survival such as collaborating with the Free Coloureds who employed them and even rented and sold them portions of land. In the process, the Free Coloureds offered them a viable alternative of permanently escaping estate labour. It has argued that thousands of ex-apprentice property owners, sharecroppers and squatters emerged in all of the eight rural districts of Mauritius.

This chapter has shown that the former apprentices had access to capital and with their savings, which were large amounts of money, they purchased an impressive quantity of land during what has been called the *petit morcellement* between 1839 and 1851. It explained that the ex-apprentice independent proprietors, as agriculturalists and farmers, were able to successfully integrate the non-plantation sector of the island's economy. It highlights the fact that they became major suppliers of garden produce and farm animals and tried fill the gap which since the 1830s had been left by the Free Coloureds small estate owners who engaged in sugar cultivation. This chapter carried out an in-depth discussion and analysis of the dynamics of the *petit morcellement* movement and its significance for the colony during the 1840s. It also drew attention to the new



social position of the ex-apprentices in early post-emancipation Mauritius and the sub-class divisions which were taking place within the island ex-apprentice community during this period.

This section of the study analysed the decline of the Mauritian ex-apprentice peasantry between 1846 and 1851 and its aftermath. It looked at the demographic changes and the economic restructuring which took place within the Mauritian ex-apprentice community during the late 1840s and early 1850s. It threw light on the social and economic position of the former apprentices between the 1850s and early 1870s. It attempted to explore the early post-emancipation era which is one of the least known and understood periods of the colonial Mauritian history. Furthermore, it tried to make a contribution to one of the research themes of modern Mauritian historiography, which until recently has been largely overlooked by scholars, namely: the social history of the ex-apprentices. It analysed the question of what happened to the ex-apprentices after 1839.

This chapter has shown that by voluntarily leaving the sugar estates, squatting, leasing and purchasing land, working at their own pace, choosing their occupations, getting married and having children, the ex-apprentices were able to make a life of their own. As a result, during the early post-indenture era, they were able, to a certain extent, to make their idea of freedom a reality by exerting control on their mobility, labour and lives, while operating in difficult legal, social and economic circumstances in a hierarchical and complex Mauritian colonial society.

## Notes

1. Quotation and idea derived from Michael Craton, *Testing the Chains: Resistance to Slavery in the British West Indies*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, USA, 1982, pp.44-51.
2. Reverend Patrick Beaton, *Creoles and Coolies, or, Five Years in Mauritius*, pp. 85. Reverend Beaton narrating the comments of the son of a Mauritian ex-apprentice almost two decades after the exodus of the apprentices from the sugar estates.
3. MNA/SD 85, Governor Sir Henry Barkly to Lord Caldwell, Secretary of State for the Colonies, 26<sup>th</sup> July 1866.
4. Vijaya Teelock, 'Bitter Sugar: Slavery and Emancipation in Nineteenth Century Mauritius', Ph.D thesis, University of London, 1994, p.332.
5. *Report of the Committee appointed to conduct and complete the census of the colony (1846): The Mauritius-Census of 1847*, Enclosed in Despatch No.47 from Governor Sir William Gomm to Earl Grey, Mauritius, sixteenth September, 1848, British BPP, 1849, XXXVII (280-II), p.194.
6. Teelock, 'Breaking the Wall of Silence', p.2.
7. *Le Mauricien*, 26<sup>th</sup> April, 1839.
8. *Le Mauricien*, 24<sup>th</sup> April, 1839.
9. Richard B. Allen, *Slaves, Freedmen*, p.120; Charles Anderson revealed that there were around 28,000 field workers who laboured on the sugar estates just before

- the termination of the apprenticeship system, See Mauritius Archives/HA 73/72, Evidence of Mr. Charles Anderson, Protector of Immigrants, December 1844, Port Louis, before *the Immigrant Labour Committee of 1844*, p.65-66, in *Reports of the Immigrant Labour*
10. Mauritius Archives/SD 18/No.57, Despatch from Governor William Nicolay to Lord Gleneg, Mauritius, 4<sup>th</sup> May, 1839.
  11. Pierre Gueyraud, 'The Integration of the Ex-Apprentices into Mauritian Society, 1839-1860' (M.A thesis, University of Sorbonne, Paris, 1985), p.16.
  12. *Ibid*, p.15.
  13. MNA/J/K3A, Report of the Royal Commission of 1875, p.47, paragraph 189/p.50, paragraph 199; Howell, 'Mauritius, 1832-1849; A Study of A Sugar Colony', Vol. I, p.160.
  14. Howell, *Mauritius, 1832-1849; A Study of A Sugar Colony*, Vol. I, p.169.
  15. Teelock & Deerpalsingh, *Labour Immigrants in Mauritius: A Pictorial Recollection*, p.29.
  16. MNA/RC 27/3173, Transmitting the Report and Observations of Thomas Hugon on the State of the Indians in the Colony (29<sup>th</sup> July 1839), Enclosed in Letter of T. Hugon to George F. Dick, Colonial Secretary, Mauritius, 29<sup>th</sup> July 1839; Howell, 'Mauritius, 1832-1849; A Study of A Sugar Colony', Vol I, pp.161, 169-170, 173-175; Teelock, *Mauritian History*, pp. 225-231.
  17. Howell, *Mauritius, 1832-1849; A Study of A Sugar Colony*, Vol. I, pp.161, 169-180/181-185; North-Coombes, *From Slavery to Indenture: Forced Labour in the Political Economy of Mauritius, 1834-1867*, pp.28-34; Carter & d'Unienville, *Unshackling Slaves*, pp.13-17; Teelock, *Mauritian History*, pp.225-231.
  18. Calculated from MNA/RD 16, Return of the Working Population on the Estates in the District of Savanne by Stipendiary Magistrate Percy Fitzpatrick, 25<sup>th</sup> May 1839; RD 16, Return ... of the Estates in the District of Grand Port, No.2412, Enclosed in a Letter of Stipendiary Magistrate Davidson, to George F. Dick, Colonial Secretary, 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1839; RD 19, Return ... of District of Flacq, 14<sup>th</sup> May, 1839, by Stipendiary Magistrate S.M. Regnard; RD 19, Return ... on the Estates in the District of Riviere du Rempart, 1<sup>st</sup> Section, submitted by the Stipendiary Magistrate, 9<sup>th</sup> June 1839.
  19. Letter of Charles Anderson, Esq. To Lord John Russell, London, May 1<sup>st</sup> 1840, British BPP, 1840, Vol XXXVII (No.331), p.195; According to Charles Anderson, there might have been some 3,000 ex-apprentices who remained on the sugar estates between 1839 and 1840, See MNA /HA 73/72, Evidence of Mr. Charles Anderson, December 1844, Port Louis, before the Immigrant Labour Committee of 1844, p.65-66, in *Reports of the Immigrant Labour*; Howell, *Mauritius, 1832-1849, A Study of A Sugar Colony*, Vol II, p.174.
  20. *Le Mauricien*, 24<sup>th</sup> April, 1839.
  21. MNA/SD 19, No.50, Letter of Governor Lionel Smith to Lord John Russell, Mauritius, 28<sup>th</sup> November 1840.
  22. MNA/RA 833, Report of Fitzpatrick, Stipendiary Magistrate of Port-Louis to Colonel George F. Dick, Colonial Secretary, 10<sup>th</sup> February, 1846, Port-Louis.
  23. MNA/SD 19, No.50, Letter of Governor Lionel Smith to Lord John Russell, Mauritius, 28<sup>th</sup> November 1840; MNA/RA 833, Report of Fitzpatrick, Stipendiary

- Magistrate of Port-Louis to Colonel George F. Dick, Colonial Secretary, 10<sup>th</sup> February, 1846, Port-Louis.
24. MNA/HA 73, Appendix G, No.163/No.8, Abstract of District Returns of Slaves in Mauritius at the Time of the Emancipation in the Year 1835.
  25. Author's Analysis.
  26. Appendix 10: Statement, showing the Employment of the Persons enumerated in the Districts of Mauritius on 1<sup>st</sup> August 1846, in *Census of 1847*, p.212.
  27. MNA/RA 833, Report of Percy Fitzpatrick, Stipendiary Magistrate of Port-Louis, Colonel George F. Dick, Colonial Secretary, 10<sup>th</sup> February, 1846.
  28. Author's Analysis.
  29. Beaton, *Creoles and Coolies*, p.85.
  30. Ibid, pp. 85-86.
  31. Ibid, p. 265.
  32. P.J. Barnwell & Auguste Toussaint, *A Short History of Mauritius*, London, Longman Green & Co, 1949, p.146.
  33. MNA/RA 833, Report of Fitzpatrick, Stipendiary Magistrate of Port-Louis to Colonel George F. Dick, Colonial Secretary, 10<sup>th</sup> February, 1846, Port-Louis.
  34. VijayaTeelock, 'Bitter Sugar', Ph.D thesis, 1994, p.332.
  35. Barker, *Slavery and Antislavery*, p.167.
  36. Peerthum, 'Determined to be Free', p. 80-81; Satyendra Peerthum, ' "Forging an Identity of their Own": The Social and Economic Relations Between the Free Coloureds, Slaves, Maroons, Apprentices, Ex-Apprentices and Indentured Labourers in Early British Mauritius, c.1811-1844', Paper presented at the 'Mauritius 1810: International Conference, October 2010, Mauritius), p.17-23.
  37. Eugene Bernard, 'Les Africains'. pp. 550-551; Edward Baker, 'Observations on the Apprenticeship System in Mauritius', pp. 67-83.
  38. See Allen, *Slaves, Freedmen*, p.113-120; Huguette Ly-Tio-Fane Pineo, 'Food Production and Plantation Economy of Mauritius', in U. Bissoondoyal & S. Servansingh, eds, *Slavery in the South West Indian Ocean*, Moka, Mauritius, MGI Press, 1989 pp. 210-225; Deryck Scarr, *Slaving and Slavery in the Indian Ocean*, London, MacMillan Press, 1998, pp.163-164.
  39. Allen, *Creoles, Indians Immigrants*, p.190.
  40. Richard B. Allen, *Slaves, Freedmen and Indentured Laborers in Colonial Mauritius*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp.104/100-101.
  41. Allen, *Creoles, Indians Immigrants*, pp. 98-104.
  42. Daniel North-Coombes, 'Race as Ideology: The Origin and Functions of Racism in the Plantation Settlement of Mauritius, 1790-1810', in M.D North-Coombes (Compiled and Edited by W. M Freund), *Studies in the Political Economy of Mauritius*, Moka, Mauritius, Mahatma Gandhi Press, 2000, p. 3; See also Allen, *Creoles, Indians Immigrants*, pp.140-150.
  43. Allen, *Creoles, Indians Immigrants*, p.146.
  44. *Le Mauricien*, 24<sup>th</sup> April 1839.
  45. MNA/RD 19, Return of the Working Population on the Estates in the District of Savanne by Stipendiary Magistrate Percy Fitzpatrick, 25<sup>th</sup> May 1839; RD 19, Return of the Working Population of the Estates in the District of Grand Port,

- No. 2412, Enclosed in a Letter of Stipendiary Magistrate Davidson, to George F. Dick, Colonial Secretary, 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1839; RD 19, Return of the Working Population of the District of Flacq, 14<sup>th</sup> May, 1839, by Stipendiary Magistrate S.M. Regnard; RD 19, Return of the Working Population on the Estates in the District of Riviere du Rempart, 1<sup>st</sup> Section, submitted by the Stipendiary Magistrate, 9<sup>th</sup> June 1839.
46. MNA/RD 19, Return of the Working Population on the Undermentioned Estates 25<sup>th</sup> May 1839.
47. Allen, *Slaves, Freedmen*, pp.112-115/120-121.
48. *Ibid*, p.121.
49. PRO/167/226-Letter of Captain Lloyd to John Irving, Mauritius, April 4<sup>th</sup> 1840, p.1-4.
50. Allen, *Slaves, Freedmen*, p.121.
51. MNA/HA 108, Civil Commissioner Armand Hugnin to the Colonial Secretary, 15<sup>th</sup> May 1839; See also in HA 108 letters sent by the Civil Commissioner to the Colonial Secretary and Chief Commissary of Police between May and December 1839.
52. MNA/104, Report of Civil Commissioner A. Hugnin to the Colonial Secretary, 1<sup>st</sup> December 1845.
53. MNA/SD 18, No.38, Miscellaneous, Despatch from Acting Governor J. Power to Lord John Russell, Mauritius, 22<sup>nd</sup> June 1840.
54. MNA/SD 18, No.5, Miscellaneous, Governor Lionel Smith to Lord John Russell, Mauritius, 8<sup>th</sup> August 1840, paragraph 4.
55. *Census of 1847*, pp.196-199; Chan Low, 'Les ex-apprentis dans la societe colonial: le recensement de 1846', p. 42-45.
56. See MNA/HA 100 to HA 111 and HA 111 to 116 and RA 613 to RA 883 which contain letters from the Stipendiary Magistrates to the Colonial Secretary which, on different occasions, mention the emergence of squatters, metayers or sharecroppers and small independent landholders within the island's ex-apprentice community in all the rural districts between 1839 and 1846 which still need to be fully studied and analysed; See also Chan Low, 'Les ex-apprentis dans la societe colonial: le recensement de 1846', pp.42-45.
57. For reports of the Stipendiary Magistrates see MNA/RA 833, HA 112 to 116 for Letters and Reports received from Stipendiary Magistrates by Colonial Secretary for 1845; For reports of Civil Commissioners 1845: HA 100 to HA 106 and HA 110 to HA 111.
58. MNA/NA 66, 15<sup>th</sup> April 1842 (MNA/NA 66, The Notarial Records of C.J. Montocchio for the period between 1822 to 1874)
59. MNA/NA 66, 30<sup>th</sup> June 1843.
60. MNA/NA 66, 10<sup>th</sup> July 1843.
61. See Allen, *Creoles, Indians Immigrants*, pp.168-170/196-197.
62. MNA/HA73/Appendix G/No.7/No.162/Statement of the Number of Indians and Ex-Apprentices with their families attached to the estates in Each District distinguishing Sugar from other Estates in the month of July 1844.
63. Allen, *Slaves, Freedmen*, pp.120/197.
64. For reports of the Stipendiary Magistrates see MNA/RA 833, HA 112 to 116 for Letters and Reports received from the Stipendiary Magistrates by the Colonial

- Secretary for 1845; For the reports of the Civil Commissioners for 1845 See HA 100 to HA 106 and HA 110 to HA 111.
65. MNA/ RA 833/ Report of the J. Davidson, Stipendiary Magistrate of Grand Port to the Colonial Secretary, Mahebourg, twentieth December 1845.
  66. MNA/ RA 833/ Report of the H.M. Self, Stipendiary Magistrate of Pamplemousses to the Colonial Secretary, Pamplemousses, 29<sup>th</sup> November 1845.
  67. MNA/ RA 833/ Report of the J. Regnard, Stipendiary Magistrate of Flacq to the Colonial Secretary, Flacq, nineteenth December 1845.
  68. *Census of 1847*, p.195.
  69. MNA/ RA 833/ Report of the J. Regnard.
  70. MNA/HA 111/No.567, Report of G. Ducray, Civil Commissioner of the Savanne to the Colonial Secretary, No.567, Savanne, 26<sup>th</sup> November 1845; MNA/RA 833/ Report of the J. Davidson, Stipendiary Magistrate of Grand Port to the Colonial Secretary, Mahebourg, twentieth December 1845; MNA/HA 103/No.254, Report D. Beaugendre, Civil Commissioner of Moka, to Colonial Secretary, Moka, nineteenth December 1845; MNA/HA 103/No.861, Report of E. Magon, Civil Commissioner of Pamplemousses, to the Colonial Secretary, Pamplemousses, twentieth December 1845; MNA/HA 100/No.185/Report of H.L. Lawns, Civil Commissioner of Black River to Secretary, Black River, 5<sup>th</sup> December 1845; See also L. Jocelyn Chan Low, 'Les ex-apprentisdans la societe colonial: le recensement de 1846' in *Revi Kiltir Kreol*(Nelson Mandela Centre for African Culture) (No.1, February 2002), p.40-50; Carter & d'Unienville, *Unshackling Slaves*, p.103-140.
  71. PRO/167/226-Letter of Captain Lloyd to John Irving, Mauritius, April 4<sup>th</sup> 1840, p.1-4.
  72. Allen, *Creoles, Indians Immigrants*, , pp.167-170/196-197.
  73. MNA/HA 108, Letter of Civil Commissioner Hugnin to the Colonial Secretary, 15<sup>th</sup> May 1839; MNA/HA 103, Letter of Civil Commissioner Beaugendre to the Colonial Secretary, twentieth May 1839; See Teelock, *Breaking the Wall of Silence*, pp.12-13.
  74. See MNA/HA 100 to HA 106 and HA 111 : Letters from Civil Commissaries to Chief Commissary of Police and Colonial Secretary for 1839 and 1840 on issue of squatting by ex-apprentices.
  75. MNA/RC 27, Letter of F. Thatcher, Stipendiary Magistrate to the Colonial Secretary, 9 May 1839 with the Governor's Reply dated 13<sup>th</sup> May 1839.
  76. MNA/HA 105, Letter from Civil Commissioner Hugnin to the Chief Commissary of Police John Finiss, seventeenth June 1840
  77. MNA/HA 104, Letter from Civil Commissioner Hugnin to the Chief Commissary of Police John Finiss, 21<sup>st</sup> August 1841.
  78. *Le Mauricien*, 3 May 1847; *Le Mauricien*, 10 May 1847.
  79. 'Necrologie of Napoleon Savy', *Le Mauricien*, 13<sup>th</sup> July 1858; Hugh Tinker, *A New System of Slavery: The Export of Indian Labour Overseas, 1830-1920* (Oxford University Press/Institute of Race Relations, Great Britain, 1974), p.239/398; Dr. Satteeanund Peerthum, 'Napoleon Savy: Protecteur inofficiel des immigrants indiens' (Unpublished research paper, 2001), p.1-4; K. Hazareesingh, *History of Indians in Mauritius* (Revised Edition), p.38.

80. Letter of Napoleon Savy to General Gomm, 4<sup>th</sup> May 1847, Reproduced in *Le Cerneen*, Friday, 21 May 1847, p.2.
81. *Le Cerneen*, Friday, 21 May 1847, p. 2; *Le Cerneen*, Friday, 23 May 1847, p. 2.
82. MNA/RA 833, Report of J. Regnard, Stipendiary Magistrate of Flacq to the Colonial Secretary, nineteenth December 1845.
83. MNA/SD 30, Report of the Committee appointed by the Council on the twentieth April for the purpose of drawing up and submitting to the Secretary of State the opinion of the Council with reference to the several suggestions contained in his Lordship's Despatch of the 31<sup>st</sup> December, 1846, No. 73, on the Subject of the Emancipated Population in the Colony, Enclosed in dispatch from Governor Gomm to Earl Grey, Mauritius, 12<sup>th</sup> July, 1847.
84. MNA/RA 592, Letter of the Chief Medical Officer to the Colonial Secretary, 21<sup>st</sup> June 1839.
85. MNA/RA 1980, Report of the Committee of the General Board of Health on Black Town, March 30<sup>th</sup> See Moses Nwulia, *The History of Slavery in Mauritius and the Seychelles, 1810 to 1875* (Farleigh Dickinson, New Jersey, Farleigh Dickinson Press, 1981), p.202.
86. MNA/RA 2144, Minutes of Proceedings of the General Board of Health July 10<sup>th</sup> 1873; See Nwulia, *The History of Slavery in Mauritius and the Seychelles, 1810 to 1875*, p.202.
87. Evidence of J. Duncan, Surveyor-General of Mauritius before the Crown Land Commission, 2<sup>nd</sup> February 1872 in MNA/B6, Minutes of Evidence of the Crown Land Commission of 1872, p.12-14; Carter & d'Unienville, *Unshackling Slaves*, pp.163-164.
88. Evidence of W. Thies, Sergeant Major of Forest Rangers before the Crown Land Commission, 5<sup>th</sup> February 1872 in MNA/B6, Minutes of Evidence of the Crown Land Commission of 1872, p.26-28; Carter and d'Unienville, *Unshackling Slaves*, pp.163-164.
89. PRO/167/226-Letter of Captain Lloyd to John Irving, Mauritius, April 4<sup>th</sup> 1840, p.4-5.
90. MNA/B6, The Crown Land Commission Report of 1872, Return showing Squatters and Rent Payments made between 1860 and 1872 submitted to Governor Gordon, 14<sup>th</sup> October 1872.
91. MNA/B6, Minutes of Evidence, Evidence of Duncan before Crown Land Commission, p.12-14.
92. Quotation from MNA/RA 833, Report of Stipendiary Magistrate P.A. Heylinger of Pamplemousses to the Colonial Secretary, 24<sup>th</sup> December 1845
93. Allen, *Creoles, Indians Immigrants*, pp.172-177; Allen, *Slaves, Freedmen*, pp.104-152/114/179-180; Chan Low, 'Les ex-apprentis', pp.54/40-50; Gueyraud, 'The Integration of Ex-Apprentices' pp.30-31.
94. MNA/SD 27, No.174, Governor Gomm to Gladstone, 7<sup>th</sup> September, 1846.
95. *Census of 1847*, pp.194-196.
96. Teelock, *Breaking the Wall of Silence*, p.13.
97. Allen, *Slaves, Freedmen*, p.121/120-122/112-115; See Allen, 'Creoles, Indians Immigrants', p.172-173/196-198.



98. MNA/HA 110, Report of E. Ravel, Civil Commissioner of Riviere du Rempart, to the Colonial Secretary, 4<sup>th</sup> December 1845.
99. MNA/833, P.A. Heylinger, Stipendiary Magistrate of Pamplemousses, to Colonial Secretary, 24<sup>th</sup> December 1845.
100. Allen, *Creoles, Indians Immigrants*, and, pp.168-178; Allen, *Slaves, Freedmen*, pp.108-115; Chan Low, 'Les ex-apprentis', pp. 42-43.
101. MNA/RA 833, H.M. Self, Stipendiary Magistrate of Pamplemousses, to the Colonial Secretary, 29<sup>th</sup> November 1845.
102. MNA/RA 833, Report of J. Regnard, nineteenth December 1845.
103. Appendix 10: 'Statement showing the Employment of the Persons enumerated in each district of Mauritius on 1<sup>st</sup> August 1846' in *Mauritius-Census of 1847* p.212-231; See Teelock, *Breaking the Wall of Silence*, pp.14-17.
104. MNA/RA 833, Report of the J. Davidson.
105. MNA/RA 833, Report of S. Seignette, the Stipendiary Magistrate of Plaines Wilhems to the Colonial Secretary, 3<sup>rd</sup> December 1845; MNA/HA 103/No.254, Report D. Beaugendre.
106. MNA/HA 111/No.567, Report of G. Ducray.
107. Appendix 10, *Census of 1847*, p.212-231; See Chan Low, 'Les ex-apprentis', p.43.
108. *Census of 1847*, p.197.
109. Appendix 10. p.212-231; See MNA/RA 833, Reports of the Stipendiary Magistrates for November and December 1845; See MNA/HA 100 to HA 111 Reports of Civil Commissioners for 1845; See also Teelock, *Breaking the Wall of Silence*, pp.14-17.
110. MNA/SD 27/No.174, Governor Gomm to Gladstone, Mauritius, 7<sup>th</sup> September 1846.
111. MNA/NA 66, twentieth April 1842.
112. MNA/NA 66, 25<sup>th</sup> June 1843.
113. MNA/NA 66, 7<sup>th</sup> July 1843.
114. See MNA/NA 66/12, twentieth April 1842; MNA/NA 66/14, 25<sup>th</sup> June 1843; MNA/NA 66/15, 7<sup>th</sup> July 1843; MNA/SD 27/No.174, Governor Gomm to Gladstone, 7<sup>th</sup> September 1846; See also MNA/SD 30, Report of the Committee, 1846, No.73, on Subject of Emancipated Population, Para. 5, Enclosed in a dispatch from Governor Gomm to Grey, 12<sup>th</sup> July, 1847; *Census of 1847*, p.212-231; See Allen, *Creoles, Indians Immigrants*, pp.178-179.
115. MNA/SD 27/No.174, Governor Gomm to Gladstone, 7<sup>th</sup> September 1846; See Allen, *Creoles, Indians Immigrants*, pp.178-179.
116. MNA/SD 27/No.5, Governor Sir William Gomm to Lord Stanley, 7<sup>th</sup> January 1846.
117. See Allen, *Slaves, Freedmen*, p.113-120; Allen, *Creoles, Indians Immigrants*, pp.170-180/189-194/196-200.
118. See MNA/NA 66/12, twentieth April 1842; MNA/NA 66/14, 25<sup>th</sup> June 1843; MNA/NA 66/15, 7<sup>th</sup> July 1843; See also Allen, *Creoles, Indians Immigrants*, pp.170-180/189-194/196-200; Allen, *Slaves, Freedmen*, pp.113-120.
119. Allen, *Creoles, Indians Immigrants*, pp.170-180/189-194/196-200; Allen, *Slaves, Freedmen*, pp.113-120.
120. MNA/RA 833, Reports of the Stipendiary Magistrates for November and December 1845; See MNA/HA 100 to HA 111 1845; MNA/SD 27/No.174, Governor Gomm

- to Gladstone; MNA/SD 30, Report of the Committee, 1846, No,73, on Subject of Emancipated Population, Para.5.
121. MNA/RA 833, Report of Stipendiary Magistrate J.M. Randall to the Colonial Secretary, nineteenth December 1845.
122. MNA/SD 30, Report of the Committee, 1846, No,73, on Subject of Emancipated Population, Para.7.
123. MNA/RA 833/ Report of the J. Davidson.
124. See Chapter 3, pp.53-76, which deals with the manumission of slaves and apprentices through self-purchase etc.
125. Allen, *Slaves, Freedmen*, pp.112-129; Allen, *Creoles, Indians Immigrants*, pp.169-180.
126. See MNA/NA 66; MNA/NA 80, 81, 82, 83, 84 and 85 for the period between 1839 and 1851.
127. Allen, *Slaves, Freedmen*, p.118.
128. Ibid, pp.119/2-3.
129. Allen, *Slaves, Freedmen*, pp.105-135; Allen, *Creoles, Indians Immigrants*, pp.167-200; Chan Low, 'Les ex-apprentis', pp. 40-46; Sydney Selvon, *History of Mauritius: A Comprehensive History of Mauritius* (2001), pp.209-217; Teelock, *Breaking the Wall of Silence*, pp.12-14/18-19.
130. Allen, *Slaves, Freedmen*, pp. 105-135; Allen, 'Creoles, Indians Immigrants', pp.167-200; Chan Low, 'Les ex-apprentis', pp. 40-46; Selvon, *History of Mauritius*, pp .209-217; Teelock, *Breaking the Wall of Silence*, pp.12-14/18-19.
131. *Census of 1847*, p.197-199; MNA/KK 28, *Mauritius Census of 1851*, pp.7-9/2.
132. MNA/KK 28, *Mauritius Census of 1851*, p. 4.
133. Ibid, p.4-7.
134. Allen, *Slaves, Freedmen*, p.131.
135. MNA/KK 28, *Mauritius Census of 1851*, pp. 2-7.
136. Allen, 'Creoles, Indians Immigrants', p.180; Allen, *Slaves, Freedmen*, pp.134-135.
137. Allen, *Slaves, Freedmen*, p.105-135; Allen, 'Creoles, Indians Immigrants', p.165-194; Selvon, *History of Mauritius*, pp.209-235; Gueyraud, 'The Integration of Ex-Apprentices', p.30-50; Chan Low, 'Les ex-apprentis', p. 40-54; Peerthum, 'Forging an Identity', pp.17-25.
138. See MNA/NA 66/NA 80/NA 83/NA 84/NA 85, Notarial Records for the period between 1839 and 1851; See also Allen, *Slaves, Freedmen*, pp.105-135; Allen, 'Creoles, Indians Immigrants', pp.165-194; Peerthum, 'Forging an Identity', pp.17-25.
139. Allen, *Slaves, Freedmen*, p.131.
140. MNA/KK 28, *Mauritius Census of 1851*, pp. 2-15; Allen, *Slaves, Freedmen*, p.105-135; Allen, *Creoles, Indians Immigrants*, pp.165-194; Selvon, *History of Mauritius*, pp. 209-235; Gueyraud, 'The Integration of Ex-Apprentices', p.30-50; Chan Low, 'Les ex-apprentis', p.40-54; Peerthum, 'Forging an Identity', pp.17-25.
141. Beaton, *Creoles and Coolies*, pp. 84-86/264-267.
142. MNA/SD 85, Governor Sir Henry Barkly to Lord Caldwell, Secretary of State for the Colonies, 26<sup>th</sup> July 1866.