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'Fit for Freedom'[1]: Manumission and Freedom in Early British Mauritius, 1811–1839

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> …it was often possible for the slave [and apprentice], by great perseverance and labour to purchase his own freedom and, this being accomplished the freedom of those dear to him.[2]

> The slaves, however, were not prepared to wait for freedom to come to them as a dispensation from above….They were fully impressed with the belief that they were entitled to their freedom and that the cause they had embraced was just and in vindication of their own rights.[3]

Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to explore the experience of slaves during the Slave Amelioration Period and of apprentices during the Apprenticeship era in Mauritius. It focuses on slaves' and apprentices' attempts to free themselves through manumission, their motives and the methods used to achieve this between 1829 and 1839. The aim is to show that slaves did not wait for the official abolition of slavery by the British government to attempt to change their servile status and instead used innovative attempts to improve their lives. As stated by Saunders for South Africa:

> Historians of slavery…may lay too great a stress on the great day of freedom…or the more important day four years later. Freedom had come to many individuals long before either of those dates … Individually and collectively they moved from effective slavery to 'freedom' before emancipation day dawned for the slaves.[4]

The slaves' and apprentices' attempts at manumission were interpreted in a number of ways by colonial officials and local colonists, and thus this chapter will

also seek to extract all available information from sources to try to understand the world view of the slaves as this is rarely seen or stated explicitly in the sources.

Finally, this section of the study pays particular attention to female slaves and apprentices and their efforts to secure their freedom and that of their children. In all these aims, therefore, the underlying objective is to better understand slave/apprentice 'agency' in Mauritius and Zanzibar and seek to define a gendered view of slavery. It is not often that female slaves come to the forefront in the historiography of slavery, but the Zanzibari suria and Mauritian female *manumitted* slaves are examples of women overcoming the worse conditions of servitude.

Manumitted Slaves in the Early British Period, 1811–1831

The manumission of Mauritian slaves and apprentices is one of the largely neglected themes of Mauritian slave historiography and deserves further study. This approach is necessary in order for social historians, other scholars and ordinary Mauritians to understand how the Mauritian slaves and apprentices were able to secure their own freedom before the abolition of slavery in 1835 and the advent of final freedom in 1839, and how they epitomise the idea of human agency in this island's history.

Although Richard B. Allen has shown how in Mauritius, during the late 1700s and early 1800s, 'the manumission rate remained low and relatively constant over time',[5] this observation does not apply to the later manumission that occurred between 1811 and the 1830s. However there is some discrepancy in the sources on numbers being manumitted. In one source, out of a slave population of some 80,000, from 1811 to 1826, there was an average of 100 to 119 manumissions per year,[6] this despite manumission laws which were not very liberal.[7] Another estimate shows that an average of 135 manumissions per year occurred.[8] Yet another mentions that between 1818 and 1821, there was an annual average of 121 manumissions.[9]

Whatever the source, there is clear evidence that during the mid-1820s, there began to be a sharp decline in the number of slaves being manumitted, especially between 1823 and 1826, when the annual average dropped to 60 manumissions. There is also clear evidence that, by 1827, the colony's manumission rate increased once again because, during the first nine months of that year, more than 127 slaves were manumitted and it would continue to increase sharply between 1828 and 1834.[10]

In 1828, while commenting on the colony's manumission trend during the late 1820s, the Commissioners of Eastern Inquiry observed that 'emancipations are not infrequent even under the present restrictions'.[11] Furthermore, the figures also show that the even before the introduction of British amelioration legislation to liberalise the colony's manumission law, hundreds of slaves had already obtained their freedom. When they were freed, they joined the ranks of the group

known in census records as Free Coloured who were composed of both free-born people of non-European descent and of manumitted slaves. The Free Coloured population was also characterised by a very high birth rate and low mortality, and they made a significant impact in the demographics of the island in the first half of the nineteenth century.[12]

The sharp drop of manumission during the 1820s can be attributed to Mauritian slaveholders becoming reluctant to free their slaves.[13] At this stage, it is important to point out that the 1820s were a period of dramatic economic transition for Mauritius with the emergence of the sugar plantation economy, and this brought about major changes in the lives of the Mauritian slaves. While there was a sharp decline in the colony's manumission rate, maroonage levels increased dramatically throughout the island, thus signifying that many slaves were bent on securing freedom even at the risk of losing lives as punishments for maroonage were severe. The increase in maroonage could also be explained by the economic changes in Mauritius: sugar production increased the workload for existing slaves as the labour force was gradually shrinking. Each year, thousands of slaves were being sold, transferred or hired out by their owners and thus high mobility between sugar estates characterised the state of the 'sugar' slaves. This was not to the liking of slaves, and each year thousands of slaves escaped from their owners for periods of anywhere from a one week to more than one month, and many hundreds of them remained uncaught. This period represents a decade of great social upheaval for Mauritian slaves.[14]

Another possible reason for the drop in manumission rates were the manumission laws themselves. It must be remembered that the slave amelioration laws were not introduced into Mauritius until the late 1820s, but, without a doubt, the mere contemplation of its eventual introduction made the slave-owners even more reluctant to manumit their slaves. As mentioned earlier, the amelioration measures included the passing of laws which liberalised the manumission process for the slaves and encouraged their manumission.[15] During the second half of the 1820s, there was a growing labour shortage in the colony and the manumission of some of the skilled slaves and slaves who were domestics greatly affected certain slaveholders. The slave-owners were extremely unwilling to manumit their slaves because they needed to secure their labour.

During the mid-1820s, another major reason for the decline in the colony's manumission rate and in gratuitous manumissions would be the sharp rise in the price of slaves which almost tripled from £36 in 1824 to £102 in 1829.[16] It must be remembered that during this period, just like in the previous decades and in other slave colonies, Mauritian slaves seeking to buy their freedom were appraised, most of the time, in comparison with colonial slave prices.[17] In 1831, in his despatch to Governor Colville, Goderich, the Secretary of State for Colonies, was greatly perturbed by this dramatic increase in the colony's slave prices. He

firmly believed that such an increase made it more difficult for slaves to purchase their freedom and it would make slave-owners even more reluctant to manumit their slaves.[18]

Goderich's concern was only partly justified because between 1828 and 1829, out of 643 slaves who were manumitted, eight per cent had been freed by will or bequest by their owners. But even more significant, was the fact that almost 92 per cent had been manumitted through self-purchase, with the financial help of their relatives and loved ones, and through marriage.[19] Therefore, during the late 1820s, despite a sharp rise in the price of slaves, hundreds of slaves were still able to secure their freedom, while, at the same time, very few were manumitted gratuitously by their owners.

The Impact of British Manumission Laws

Several laws were introduced in the island when the British took over: in 1814 by Governor Farquhar; in 1827 by Lowry Cole; and, finally, in 1829 by Governor Colville. In January 1827, Governor Sir Lowry Cole passed Ordinance No.21. Its purpose was to amend the restrictive manumission law enacted by Farquhar in 1814.[20] Apart from reducing the donation to the colony's poor fund from 100 to 25 rix dollars, which was one of the requirements in the manumission process, it quickly became evident that Governor Cole's new law differed very little from the one passed by his predecessor. In fact, it was truly out of touch with the objectives of British amelioration legislation because it consisted of a number of complex and costly manumission procedures.[21] Therefore, it is not surprising that it did not receive the official sanction of the British imperial government, and Huskisson, Secretary of State for Colonies, ordered the British governor to draft a new and more liberal manumission law.[22]

But in his defence, Governor Cole pointed out to his superior in London that 'as a proof that the ordinance of January 1827 did not operate as a bar to emancipations' because from '27th January 1827 until the end of February of the present year, a period of 13 months, the number of enfranchisements (or manumissions) amounted to 212'.[23] He also sent a statement to Huskisson which contained an estimate of the number of slaves who were manumitted from 1814 to 1826. It showed that between 1823 and 1826, only 240 slaves were freed, or an annual average of 60 manumissions.[24] Governor Cole's figures and arguments, however, failed to convince and impress the Commissioners of Eastern Inquiry who were in the colony during this period.

In May 1828, Commissioners Colebrooke and Blair observed,

> it appears from a return made to us, that one hundred and fifty-nine petitions to emancipate slaves have been received by the Governor since April 1825, and which have not been completed, owing (we may presume) to the forms and securities required by the Colonial Ordinance.

which regulated manumission in the colony during that period.[25] In addition, it must be remembered that even Secretary Huskisson considered Cole's manumission law as being too restrictive because it limited the access of the slaves to freedom through manumission.[26] As a result of this situation, Colebrooke and Blair strongly recommended that, without any delay, 'all obstructions' for the manumission of the Mauritian slaves 'should be removed, and that any emancipation should be stated to the Protector instead of the Procureur General (Attorney General), and none should be considered excepting those involving the just right of creditors'.[27]

It was only the following year that most of the restrictions for the manumission of slaves were removed and between 1829 and January 1835, a sharp rise in the number of slaves being manumitted was observed. This dramatic increase in the colony's manumission during this period has received very little attention in recent years in some of the major academic studies on Mauritian slavery during the British period.[28]

In February 1829, after endless delays and in the face of fierce slave-owner resistance, the local colonial government, under Governor Colville, implemented Ordinance No.43 'for the amelioration of the condition of the slave population'.[29] This new law created the office of the Protector of Slaves, and it also liberalised the process of manumission for the slaves.[30] Within the first three months that Protector Thomas assumed his new position, some 28 slaves were manumitted and 101 requests for manumission were being processed. After this slow start, the number of slaves being manumitted rapidly increased.[31]

Robert Shell explains that 'the legal background, on its own, does not illuminate the practical process of manumission. The legislation dealing with manumission, just as in other slave regimes, was not an important guide to the process itself; indeed most manumission laws were irrelevant to the process'.[32] However, Shell's argument about manumission laws and procedure is not valid for Mauritius when we examine the impact of Ordinance No.43, which can be assessed from a reading of the *Reports of the Protector of Slaves*.

By December 1829, nine months after its enactment, Protector Thomas reported that between June and December of that year, more than 280 slaves had been manumitted and with another 159 slaves waiting for their acts of manumission to be approved. With this dramatic increase in the colony's manumission, he reported, with a great deal of satisfaction: 'The movement in this branch of the Protector's duties has been very active for the last six months'.[33] Overall, between 1829 and 1831, the records of the Protector of Slaves show that hundreds of slaves were manumitted each year.[34]

In his report, R.M. Thomas observed that, the passage of Ordinance No.43, 'has not only had the effect of lessening, by reducing to a mere trifle, the expenses attendant on manumission, but has essentially facilitated their

progress, by removing the impediment consequent upon an attempt on the part of the Procureur-general to impose of his own accord upon enfranchisements (or manumissions) the conditions of an old colonial law, which in common with all other anterior laws and regulations relating to manumissions, was by the Ordinance No.43 declared to be abrogated and repealed'.[35] Therefore, the significance of this new law cannot be underestimated, because it swept away the costly and complex process of the old manumission laws and, as a result, it greatly facilitated the access of the Mauritian slaves to freedom.

During the concluding months of 1828 and the first half of 1829, eight per cent of the slaves had been freed by will or bequest by their owners, while almost 92 per cent had been manumitted through self-purchase, with the help of their relatives and friends, and through marriage.[36] Furthermore, before the passage of Ordinance 43, the final stage in the complex process of manumission was when the slave's act of manumission was approved by the procureur-general, or attorney general, and even by the governor. It was evident that many high-ranking officials in the local colonial government were either themselves slave-owners or favoured the interests of the Franco-Mauritian colonists; thus, they were biased against the slaves who tried to obtain their manumission. Therefore, Ordinance No.43 removed the responsibility for the approval of the slave's act of manumission from the hands of the procureur-general and the governor and placed it under the authority of the protector of slaves.

From October 1826 to December 1829, an annual average of 345 manumissions occurred.[37] Here too, as for the earlier period, estimates vary, ranging from 2,235 slaves who were given their freedom to around 3,753 slaves (annual average of 750).[38] Nevertheless, the figures indicate that there were three times more being freed in the 1830s than in the late 1820s. Thus, the introduction of Ordinance No.43, as well as the creation of the office of the protector of slaves, which were both the products of British amelioration legislation, did have a major impact on the colony's manumission after 1830.

Table 4.1: Categories of Slaves Manumitted in Mauritius, 1829–1835

Categories of Slaves	Number of Slaves	Percentage
Female	2,648	62
Male	1,622	38
Total	**4,270**	**100**

Source: Calculated from MNA/IE 8-10, 12-16, 37-40, 42, 63-84, Affranchissements or Manumissions, January 1829-January 1835.

During the Amelioration Period, an estimated 4,270 slaves were manumitted and the conclusions which are drawn from the IE series are quite revealing. There were 2,648 female slaves or 62 per cent of all those who were liberated, and 38 per cent consisted of male slaves or 1,622 individuals. Around 70 per cent of

all manumissions or 2,989 individuals were freed through self-purchase and the overwhelming majority were skilled and semi-skilled slaves. Even more interesting is the fact that female slaves consisted around 57 per cent of all manumitted slaves or 1,704 individuals, and the male slaves around 43 per cent or 1,285 individuals who bought their freedom through self-purchase.[39]

Table 4.2: Categories of Slaves Manumitted through self-purchase in Mauritius, 1829–1835

Categories of Slaves	Number of Slaves	Per cent
Female	1,704	57
Male	1,285	43
Total	**2,989**	**100**

Source: Calculated from MNA/IE 8-10, 12-16, 37-40, 42, 63-84.

In 1832 and 1833, around 2,900 slaves received their freedom which was almost five times more when compared with the number of slaves manumitted in 1830 and 1831.[40] Overall, between 1826 and 1834, around 4,894 slaves were manumitted. The impact of the law was therefore to reduce the slave population's numbers further, and it shrunk between 1826 and 1835 from 69,076 to 61,045.[41] It must be said that there was also a high death rate and low birth rate, during this period.

The trend in the increasing number of manumissions continued throughout the 1830s, the last years of slavery and into the Apprenticeship era in Mauritius. The slaves' quest for freedom thus did not end with the abolition of slavery. The determination of the remaining slaves to obtain their freedom would only increase during the Apprenticeship Period.[42]

The concept that slaves desired freedom is not based on analysis of manumission alone. During this same period, maroonage rates also increased during both slavery and apprenticeship. This is further evidence of the existence of a strong desire of slaves to be free.

Profile of Slaves who Purchased their Freedom

Herbert Aptheker once observed that 'it was often possible for the slave, by great perseverance and labour to purchase his own freedom and, this being accomplished, the freedom of those dear to him'. This great American slave historian also described the act of the slave purchasing his freedom as an individual act of resistance against slavery.[43] Furthermore, manumission can be seen as 'being a passive form of resistance' because 'the slaves sought not to abolish slavery but to ameliorate conditions for themselves by freeing themselves'.[44] Thus, the slaves who bought their freedom showed that they rejected their inferior status vis-à-vis their owners and they wanted to improve their lives as free individuals in colonial society.[45]

The symbolism of an act of manumission cannot be underestimated because it was 'the most profound event in a slave's life'. However, it was experienced only by a few fortunate slaves.[46] Manumission was an 'extremely profound and dramatic act' because it was 'a judicial act in which the property rights in the slave' were surrendered by the slave-owners, and a new status and identity was being created for the manumitted as a free individual.[47] While referring to Hegel on slavery, Orlando Patterson explains that in the slave's struggle for freedom and 'in his disenslavement'; he evidently 'becomes a new man for himself'. Then, how does the slave become free and becomes a new man? According to Hegel, this is achieved 'through work and labour' which the slave gradually realises and this is truly when the slave's psychological and physical journey to freedom begins.[48] Eric Foner points out that one of the freedoms which the slaves immediately sought was self-ownership.[49]

Therefore, by purchasing their freedom with their hard-earned money as well as with the financial help of their relatives, the manumitted slaves showed that they asserted 'their ownership over their bodies'. In the process, through their actions, they completely rejected their owners' claims over them as a piece of property.[50] Manumission was also a major opportunity for some of these former slaves to buy the freedom of their enslaved relatives. As has been mentioned in this chapter, it was extremely common for slaves to be manumitted by their Free Coloured relatives and friends.[51]

As the above studies have been carried out from the Caribbean and the USA experience, it is important to have similar studies in Mauritius and Indian Ocean region. What type of slaves secured their manumission in Mauritius in the late 1820s and early 1830s? There is much evidence on this, and a short typology will be drawn up in this section.

Many of the slaves who were manumitted were skilled artisans and craftsmen as well as those who held a privileged position among the slaves and had access to financial resources.[52]

Another group were those who marketed their produce or goods. In May 1828, the Commissioners of Eastern Inquiry reported:

> We may observe, that the slave artificers and mechanics frequent the Sunday markets with articles for sale and the production of their leisure hours,….; indeed we have been assured that many of those enfranchisements, apparently gratuitous, have in fact been obtained by purchase from their masters by slaves from the fruit of their own exertions.

Therefore, many Mauritian slaves who were supposedly freed by their owners gratuitously had in fact paid for their manumissions themselves.

Another group seeking manumission were the trusted personnel of the sugar estate: in a letter to Governor Colville, the Franco-Mauritian slave-owning elite admitted that they were concerned by the fact that 'the commanders [headmen],

workmen, and servants were generally those who have the means of purchasing their freedom'.[53] Thus, as in Jamaica, in Mauritius, those who had the best chance of buying their freedom were the headmen who were put in charge of the field slaves, those in charge of the estate workshops, the skilled slaves, and the servants or the domestics.

The concern of the Mauritian slave-owners was not unfounded. They were heavily dependent on the labour of skilled slaves such as masons, blacksmiths, coopers, joiners, and locksmiths for their sugar estates,[54] and fiercely resisted attempts at manumission. In particular, owners were against compulsory manumission by purchase, i.e., slaves paying a certain sum for their freedom, because freedom often would be bought by the most intelligent and hard-working slaves.

A fourth but no less important group were female slaves who were manumitted through marriage.[55] These will be the subject of attention in succeeding sections of this chapter.

The skilled males, market men and estate personnel formed a formidable group. In 1835, according to the *Abstract of District Returns of Slaves in Mauritius at the time Emancipation,* there were 5,094 tradesmen or skilled artisans, 1,991 headmen, and 15,556 domestics. When combined together, there were 22,641 tradesmen, headmen, and domestics.[56] Another estimate was given by Stipendiary Magistrate Percy Fitzpatrick who reported that out of the 61,121 slaves, there were 6,201 artisans, 1,813 headmen, and 15,556 domestics. Fitzpatrick's report shows that there were 23,570 domestics, headmen, and skilled artisans.[57] They constituted between 37.1 and 38.6 per cent, or well over one-third, of the island's slave population.[58] Eugene Bernard had observed that many of the slaves who had been manumitted earned high wages. He described how a newly freed slave, who was a good carpenter, had refused a job for which he would have been paid 30 piasters or rix dollars per month.[59] A skilled slave, like a carpenter, could earn as much as 360 rix dollars for one year. Thus, it may be argued that the slaves who were skilled artisans and craftsmen were perhaps the most privileged slaves in the colony because they had the best access to financial resources and to purchase their freedom. In 1835, there were between 5,094 and 6,201 skilled slaves, and they made up between 8.3 to 10.1 per cent of the total slave population.[60] It is important to also state that when they were manumitted, they could also manumit their enslaved relatives.

In February 1835, the British officially abolished slavery in Mauritius, and after serving a four-year apprenticeship period, the island's more than 53,000 apprentices were freed on 31 March 1839. During the second half of the 1830s and after, thousands of Mauritian apprentices left their former owners and settled in different parts of the island. By the mid-1840s, Mauritius became the largest producer of sugar in the British Empire and surpassed even the older sugar plantation colonies in the Caribbean such as Jamaica. There was a need for a

large supply of cheap and malleable labour to work on the Mauritian sugar estates in order to deal with the rapid expansion of sugar production and the labour shortage caused by a declining slave population.[61]

Local sugar planters began to import Indian labourers to supplement and eventually to replace the apprentice labourers to work in the island's sugar cane fields, in their homes, and in Port Louis. The establishment of the Apprenticeship System in Mauritius thus coincided with the gradual introduction of tens of thousands of indentured labourers who were paid wages and who in turn spent their money for the purchase of goods and services. Therefore, during this crucial decade of social and economic transition, the practice of wage labour and the use of money was gradually being introduced on several sugar estates in several of the island's rural districts and, to a lesser extent, in Port Louis.

Inevitably this had a direct impact on the way the apprentices viewed the value of their labour and they were able to earn some money for any additional work they performed for their masters or mistresses or anyone else who was ready to employ them. This was particularly the case of skilled artisans, semi-skilled workers and domestics on the sugar estates and in Port Louis. With access to capital, they were able to purchase their freedom as many others had done under slavery. At the same time, apprenticeship measures also made their manumission much easier when compared with preceding years.[62]

In 1905, the *Select Council of Government Committee on the History of Indian Immigration to Mauritius* chaired by Mr. Henri Leclezio, a Franco-Mauritian planter and politician, commented when it came to the transition from slave/apprentice labour to indentured labour that:

> As a result of Emancipation, a great number of apprentices left employment on the estates….and it soon became apparent that a very large portion of the land then in cane cultivation would become waste at the expiration of the apprentice system when it was exposed that the men employed in agriculture would almost wholly abandon that kind of work…. It was a question of existence for Colonial industry and agriculture; and the planters deeply impressed with a sense of the risks to which their properties would be exposed began to send recruiters to India to engage free labourers for them as an experimental measure.[63]

Between August 1834 and March 1839, a total of 26,028 contractual labourers, who included 24,837 adult males, 929 adult women, 177 young boys and 85 young girls, were brought to work mainly on the island's sugar estates and some in Port Louis.[64]

The Desire for Freedom during the Apprenticeship Period

Being disappointed with the fact that they had not been in reality freed, had been cheated of freedom and were 'half-slave, half-free', many apprentices chose

to purchase their freedom. As under slavery, they did not wait for the ending of apprenticeship. In May 1840, while on a mission to London on behalf of Mauritian sugar planters, Charles Anderson, a former special magistrate, informed Lord John Russell, the Secretary for the State of the Colonies that from 1835 to 1837, around 600 apprentices had bought their freedom. By March 1839, around 9,000 apprentices had purchased their freedom. Therefore, between January 1837 and March 1839, most of these apprentices were able to manumit themselves and many gradually withdrew from the sugar estates and left their owners for good.[65] One of the key indicators that thousands of Mauritian apprentices had indeed bought their freedom was that the colony's apprentice population was shrinking rapidly.[66]

Table 4.3: Population of Mauritius, 1835–1838

Year	Free		Apprentices		Indian labourers		Total		
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Total
				PORT LOUIS					
1835[2]	6,679	6,664	8,247	6,055	..	..	14,926	12,719	27,645
1836[2]	7,570	7,263	9,850	6,660	..	..	17,420	13,923	31,343
1837[3]	8,000	8,006	9,850	6,660	613	37	18,463	14,703	33,166
1838[2]	9,091	9,090	9,780	6,579	..	..	18,871	15,669	34,540
				MAURITIUS					
1835[4]	15,282	14,330	36,527	24,518	..	..	51,809	38,848	90,657
1836	15,926	14,485	33,159	20,602	4,337		49,115[2]	35,085[5]	88,537
1837[3]	16,473	15,199	32,725	19,891	11,201	399	60,399	35,489	95,888
1838	19,504	18,361	34,994	18,236	23,520	389	78,018	36,986	115,004

Source: R. Kuczynski, A *Demographic Survey of the British Colonial Empire*: Volume II: Mauritius and its Dependencies, p. 774.

It should be noted that between 1834 and 1838, this segment of the colonial population declined from 64,331 to 53,230. This meant that in 1838, there were 11,101 fewer apprentices than in 1834, or a sharp reduction of 17.25 per cent in the colony's apprentice population in just over four short years.[67] It was reported that apprentices sought to effect their own emancipation prior to the end of the apprenticeship period and many did so."[68] The notarial record does confirm that apprentices secured their freedom before April 1839, but the extent of this activity is difficult to assess.[69]

Recent research at the Mauritius National Archives has shown that only 5,200 apprentices were manumitted, out of whom more than 80 per cent had purchased their freedom. Therefore, the figure advanced by Charles Anderson is questionable and needs to be revised.[70] However, there were other causes for the reduction in the apprentice population such as diseases, malnutrition, alcoholism, old age and maroonage.[71]

Furthermore, while testifying before the Immigrant Labour Committee of 1844, Brownrigg, a British planter and the representative of Cockrell & Co. of London in Mauritius, explained: 'After the apprenticeship system came into operation a gradual falling off of labour took place, this falling off was somewhat checked by the introduction of Indians…' Brownrigg was in a good position to give an accurate assessment of the labour situation in the colony because he arrived in Mauritius in 1835 and, ever since then, he had run four large sugar estates in the districts of Savanne, Plaines Wilhems, Black River and Pamplemousses.[72] During the second half of the 1830s, the gradual shrinking of the apprentice population also brought about a gradual reduction in the colony's apprentice labour force as they left the sugar estates.

During the apprenticeship period, many Mauritian apprentices did have access to financial resources.[73] As under slavery, many were skilled artisans and craftsmen; but there were also many unskilled apprentices who were able to generate revenue on their own when they worked in their spare time. According to North-Coombes, between 1835 and 1839, 'The apprentices seem to have been acutely aware of the existence of labour scarcity and of the high price their labour could command on a free market'. During this four-year period, the apprentices were obliged to work for at least 45 hours per week for their owners. In addition, if the apprentices performed any type of additional work, they had to be paid in cash for their labour.[74] Thus, it was quite common for the apprentices to be paid very small sums of money for the extra work they did for their former owners.

Slave-owners could no longer complain of manumission of apprentices as in August 1833, when the Act for the Abolition of Slavery was passed by the British Parliament, they, together with slave-owners of the Caribbean and Cape of Good Hope, were promised some £ 20 million in compensation. The Mauritian share was £ 2,112,632.[75] In May 1838, more than £1.5 million (71 per cent) of it had already reached the colony and more was on the way.[76] This meant that the ex-slave-owners were reimbursed for the cost of losing their slaves and could also afford to pay apprentices money for any type of extra work they did. In addition, the former slave-holders also made money from the common practice of hiring out their apprentices at high prices to other ex-slave-owners. The apprentices were hired out at a rate of $ 6-8 a month and they usually received $2 for their labour. Therefore, as the apprentices were being paid, 'The result was a spreading use of money amongst the former slaves, and a widening market for consumer goods'.[77]

In May 1838, Edward Baker, a Quaker missionary who spent several years in Mauritius, wrote: 'Many instances have come under my observation of apprentices purchasing an occasional month or week of freedom, and from ten to fifteen dollars a month have always been paid.'[78] For these apprentices, ten to fifteen dollars was a lot of money and this was the heavy price which they had to pay in order to secure either a few days or weeks of freedom in order to work

for themselves and to visit their loved ones. At the same time, it becomes evident that many among the Mauritian apprentices did have access to money and were quickly learning how to use it. Baker also observed that during the apprenticeship period, the wages of the Free Coloureds as well as of the apprentices had risen steadily.[79]

In 1835, apprentices who were skilled artisans were paid eight to ten rix dollars and a field labourer around one dollar per month. But, just two years later, a skilled artisan could earn as much as 25 to 30 rix dollars and a field labourer around two dollars per month.[80] By 1839, *Le Mauricien*, a local pro-planter newspaper, reported that even an apprentice field labourer, who did extra work and carefully saved his money, could earn as much as between 30 to 40 rix dollars per year.[81] It is possible that over a four-year period, a hard-working and parsimonious apprentice labourer could save as much as 120 to 160 rix dollars.

It must be remembered that many among the Mauritian apprentices were skilled artisans and craftsmen and they could charge a high price for their precious labour in their spare time. In general, there were many skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled apprentices who worked very hard in their spare time and saved their money in order to purchase their freedom. One good example would be the fact that between April 1837 and February 1839, in the district of Grand Port, around 138 apprentices were able to pay £1,736 and 8 shs to secure their freedom.[82]

Urban Apprentices

Between February 1835 and March 1839, about 5,200 apprentices obtained their freedom. These consisted of 2,860 apprentice women and girls (55 per cent) and 2,080 apprentice men and young boys (45 per cent). Of these manumissions, around 63 per cent of the apprentices occurred in Port Louis where around 25 per cent of the island's apprentices lived. Apprentice manumissions were thus concentrated in Port Louis and could be considered as an urban phenomenon.[83] However, this trend was also reflected earlier in the last years of slavery.

Orlando Patterson points out that in almost all slave societies, there was a strong correlation between urban residence and manumission.[84] During the late 1820s and early 1830s, this fact strongly applied to Port-Louis, a large and vibrant Indian Ocean port town. In Mauritius, Jean de la Battie, the local French consul and who had a good eye for details, reported that between 1825 and 1830, there were 283 manumissions in Port-Louis that included more than 14,000 slaves. Yet, at the same time, there were only 209 manumissions in the rural districts.[85] During the late 1820s, almost a quarter of the island's total slave population was found in Port Louis and 75 per cent of the colony's slaves were located in the rural districts, mostly on the sugar estates.[86] It must be pointed out that between 1825 and 1830 roughly around 1,525 slaves were manumitted. Therefore, the figures provided by de la Battie represent less than one-third of all the slaves who were

freed during this period. Therefore, his figures might be seen as representing an accurate sample of the urban and rural slaves who were manumitted during the second half of the 1820s.[87]

De la Battie's sample indicates that, during this period, 57.6 per cent of the slaves who were manumitted were from Port-Louis and 42.4 per cent were from the rural districts.[88] Furthermore, he estimated that, between 1835 and 1839, almost 70 per cent of the apprentices who were freed were from Port-Louis and less than 30 per cent were from the rural districts.[89] These figures show that between 1825 and 1839, the number of urban slaves and urban apprentices being manumitted was increasing while, at the same time, the number of rural slaves and rural apprentices being freed was declining. This does not come as a surprise because there was a high mortality rate on the sugar estates and the price of slave was increasing. Equally important is the fact that there was a labour shortage and the Mauritian planters needed more and more slaves to cultivate their land in the rural districts.

For the period from 1831 to 1834, at the current stage of this research, no accurate manumission data has been uncovered for Port-Louis and the rural districts. But, de la Battie's figures may give an indication into rural and urban manumission trend during the early 1830s. At this point, it is necessary to make an average of the percentage of de la Battie's figures for the number of urban and rural slaves who were manumitted from 1825 to 1830 and from 1835 to 1839. This average may give us an idea of the number of slaves who were freed in Port-Louis and in the rural districts during the early 1830s. This proposed average yields a figure of 60 per cent for Port-Louis and 40 per cent for the rural districts.[90] Between 1831 and 1834, de la Battie had estimated that around 3,403 slaves were manumitted in the colony and the majority among them in Port Louis and they were skilled and semi-skilled artisans and domestics.

The imperative question is why many more slaves were manumitted in Port Louis than in the rural districts of Mauritius? Furthermore, what were the key factors which increased the chances of the urban slaves to obtain their freedom, through manumission, than their rural counterparts on the sugar plantations? Frederick Douglass once explained: '*A city slave is almost a freeman, compared with a slave on the plantation. He is much better fed and clothed, and enjoys privileges altogether unknown to the slave on the plantation*.'[91]

Furthermore, as Orlando Patterson explains, in many slave societies: 'The critical factor at work here was the fact that the urban areas offered more plentiful opportunities for slaves either to acquire skills or to exercise some control, if not marginal, over the disposal of their earnings or both,'[92] In 1833, a distinction was made 'in the Abolition Act between praedials and non-praedials urban and domestic slaves' in all the British slave colonies, with the exception of St. Lucia, an island in the Caribbean.[93] According to the *Abstract of District Returns of Slaves*

in Mauritius at the time of Emancipation of 1835, there were around 3,237 non-praedials, head tradesmen and inferior head tradesmen, 929 non-praedial slaves, and also thousands of domestics.[94] Without a doubt, many of these non-praedial slaves were found in Port-Louis and they formed part of a large urban class of skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled slaves which continued to exist during the early post-emancipation period.

Gender and Manumission

Between 1835 and 1839, the overwhelming majority of the male apprentices who purchased their freedom in Port Louis and on the sugar estates in the rural districts were headmen, *commandeurs* or overseers, estate workshop supervisors, stone masons, blacksmiths, mechanics, tailors, cart makers, cart drivers, house servants, carpenters and other skilled and semi-skilled workers. Female apprentices who bought their freedom were domestics, washerwomen, seamstresses, mid-wives, dyers, sugar bag makers, bakers, cooks and others engaged in skilled and semi-skilled work. The majority of apprentices who bought their freedom and were being manumitted by their masters and mistresses were apprentice females.[95]

Table 4.4: The Different Categories of Apprentices Manumitted in Mauritius, 1835–1839

Categories of Apprentices	Number & percentage of Apprentices
Apprentice Women and Girls	2,860 (55%)
Apprentice Men and Boys	2,340 (45%)
Total	**5,200 (100%)**

Source: Calculated from MNA/IE 42 to IE 45, Register of Manumission Acts of Apprentices between February 1835 to December 1836; MNA/IF 1 to IF 41 Certificates of Liberation from Apprenticeship or Enfranchisements 1835-1839.

The tendency towards a greater number of women seeking manumission was a feature of both slavery and apprenticeship. Gender played an immense role in influencing a slave's access to freedom.[96] Furthermore, Robert Shell once noted that 'the process of manumission favoured adult female slaves and their children' which was common in many slave societies including Mauritius.[97] Between 1768 and 1789, in Mauritius, out of 785 manumitted slaves, around 479 (or 61 per cent) were females and 306 (or 39 per cent) were males.98 The result of having so many females being manumitted was that it caused a great imbalance in the sex ratio in the colony's free population of colour. In 1788, among the Free Coloureds, there were 725 females and only 435 males. By 1806, the Free Coloured females outnumbered the males by two to one in the colony and three to one in Port-Louis.[99] This demographic trend continued well into the early nineteenth century.

Between 1821 and 1826, around 433 slaves were manumitted, of whom 65.6 per cent were females and 34.4 per cent were males.100 Between 1829 and 1830, out of 612 slaves who were manumitted, around 45 per cent were males and 55 per cent were females.101 Between 1826 and 1832, female slaves consisted 38 per cent to 39 per cent of the slave population when compared with 62 per cent to 61 per cent for their male counterparts.[102] In Mauritius, the percentage for the manumission of female slaves remained almost the same between 1768 and 1825. But after 1829, or during the last years of slavery, the gap in the number of manumissions between the male and female slaves gradually increased.

These facts and figures are reinforced by Jean de la Battie, who observed that during the late 1820s and throughout the 1830s, those who were generally manumitted were young women and their children.1[03] According to the manumission records of the Protector of Slaves, between 1829 and 1831, more than 70 per cent of those who were freed were women and children. In addition, between 1829 and 1830, around 500 domestics, or 40 per cent of all the slaves who were freed, were manumitted.[104]

Many manumissions were the result of liaisons forged by the slave women with Free Coloured men. The Mauritian archival record gives numerous examples of this. In June 1816, Dimanche Terreux, a manumitted Malagasy slave, purchased the freedom of his common law wife, Raboude, a 28-year-old Malagasy female slave.[105]

In 1828, the Commissioners of Eastern Inquiry were critical of the island's colonial officials for not paying enough attention to the female government slaves in Port-Louis because: 'No notice having been taken in the Matricule establishment of the connections formed by the women in town'. They went on to observe that 'in no case does it appear that any of the women are married, although several have declared their willingness to marry the individuals with whom they have connected themselves'.[106] The observations by the Commissioners give a clear indication that there were many female government slaves in Port Louis who were intimately connected with a number of Free Coloured men. There were even fugitive female slaves who cohabited with Free Coloured males. In 1831, Symdaker, an Indian convict, was arrested along with Euphrasie. When questioned by the police, Symdaker stated that Euphrasie was his wife and, upon further investigation, it was discovered that she was a maroon slave.[107]

Apart from the Free Coloured men, the female slaves also had intimate but illicit relationships with the white male colonists. In Port Louis, these women usually lived with white male artisans and soldiers and those termed *petits blancs* (poor whites).[108] Some among the female slaves also bore children with these white colonists. This can be seen in the case of Anne and Julien. In July 1832, Julien, the son of Anne, an Indian female slave, and of an unknown white colonist, was baptized as a Catholic only eight days after his birth. Julien was recorded as a mulatto, but it seems that the father did not acknowledge the child.[109]

In 1828, the Commissioners of Eastern Enquiry had recommended that the Matricule Department, which had been created to take care and supervise the government slaves, had to be abolished because of the amount of money the local colonial government spent to maintain it.[110] The commissioners recommended that, for the female government slaves, 'The persons connected with the negresses, who are resident in Port Louis, should be required either to marry, or to give security to provide for them'.[111] Thus, in the event that the Matricule Department would be abolished, the royal commissioners strongly recommended that the free men, mostly Free Coloureds and a few white colonists who had formed intimate connections with these female slaves must either marry or provide for them.

In order for commissioners Colebrooke and Blair to make such a recommendation, these intimate relationships between the female government slaves and Free Coloured males were quite common. But, at the same time, it must be made abundantly clear that these female slaves were not simply the victims of sexual exploitation by their male lovers, because some of them willingly got involved into this type of relationship as a means of survival. In other words, they also stood to gain from such a relationship. The commissioners observed that the colony's Matricule Department,

> till lately did not possess any information regarding the connections of the female slaves, who, when not living with any of the Government Negroes, have resided in the town, attending from time to time to receive clothing and rations for themselves and the children they might have.[112]

Therefore, some of these female slaves were able to use the intimate relations which they had formed with the Free men in order to live with them in Port Louis, instead of with the other government slaves. These relationships forged in the town allowed these government-owned slaves to obtain clothes and rations for themselves and their children. Through these men, they also secured their freedom.

In June 1831, Charlotte Gentille, a female government slave who worked at the Royal College in Port Louis, paid £ 60 in order to get herself and her two children manumitted. Charlotte stated that over several years, she had saved her money and she had also developed an intimate relationship with a Free Coloured man who resided in Port Louis. She also mentioned that in some ways, this Free Coloured man helped her to obtain her freedom and to procure the clothing and food for herself and their children. It seemed therefore that Charlotte was the man's partner and that the two children were the result of their relationship.[113]

These relationships between the female slaves and the Free men of colour and white colonists did not end with the abolition of slavery, but continued during the apprenticeship period. Some 80 per cent (4,200) of all registered manumissions were through self-purchase. In addition, a careful analysis of the IE and IF series

shows that 2,520 apprentice females (60 per cent) and 1,680 apprentice men (40 per cent) were manumitted through self-purchase. The high rate of female apprentice manumission during this period can be partially seen through the fact that the number of apprentice women in the colony decreased from 24,518 in 1835 to 18,236 in 1838 – a reduction of more than 25 per cent. It is interesting to note that even after 1838, there were several apprentice women who put forward large amounts of money in order to pay for their freedom. This went on even during the last weeks and days of the Apprenticeship System in Mauritius.

Table 4.5: Categories of Apprentices Manumitted through self-purchase in Mauritius, 1835–1839

Categories of Apprentices	**Number & Percentage of Apprentices**
Apprentice Females	2,520 (60 %)
Apprentice Males	1,680 (40 %)
Total	**4,200 (100 %)**

Source: Calculated from MNA/IE 42 to IE 45, and MNA/IF 1 to IF 41.

Between February 1835 and January 1837, more than 600 manumission acts were issued; however, from January 1837 to March 1839, more than 4,600 acts of manumission were granted with more than 4,000 of them (86 per cent) being through self-purchase. Therefore, the majority of the manumissions during the apprenticeship period were secured between January 1837 and March 1839. Over a period of 27 months, 148 apprentice manumissions on average were granted mainly through self-purchase. At the same time, between January 1837 and March 1839, about 2,500 apprentices (62 per cent) of those who bought their own freedom were apprentice women and young girls. Recent research shows that the female apprentices were determined to be free, and they had access to a certain amount of capital. The apprentice men and women were able to save their money and managed to secure their freedom.

The World View of the Apprentices

Some of the key questions which need to be addressed include the following: Why did so many apprentices, especially the female apprentices, struggle to purchase their freedom? What was their worldview? How did they perceive freedom and the apprenticeship system? It is essential to understand their ethos, perceptions and worldviews which help to dictate and shape the actions of the apprentice men and women. Some of the historical records of the 1830s provide some of the answers to the above questions.

In May 1838, Baker observed: 'A fundamental error of the apprenticeship system is that it has caused the Emancipation Act itself to be regarded as a reluctant concession, rather than as a just right or boon. However received in

England, the blacks themselves have never regarded, and to the last hour of their apprenticeship will regard it as a grievous continuation of slavery.' He also reported: 'Almost daily the apprentices are purchasing their freedom at enormous prices, just as if no act of emancipation existed. Thus the dignity and grandeur of the Act of Emancipation is utterly lost for the present black.'[114]

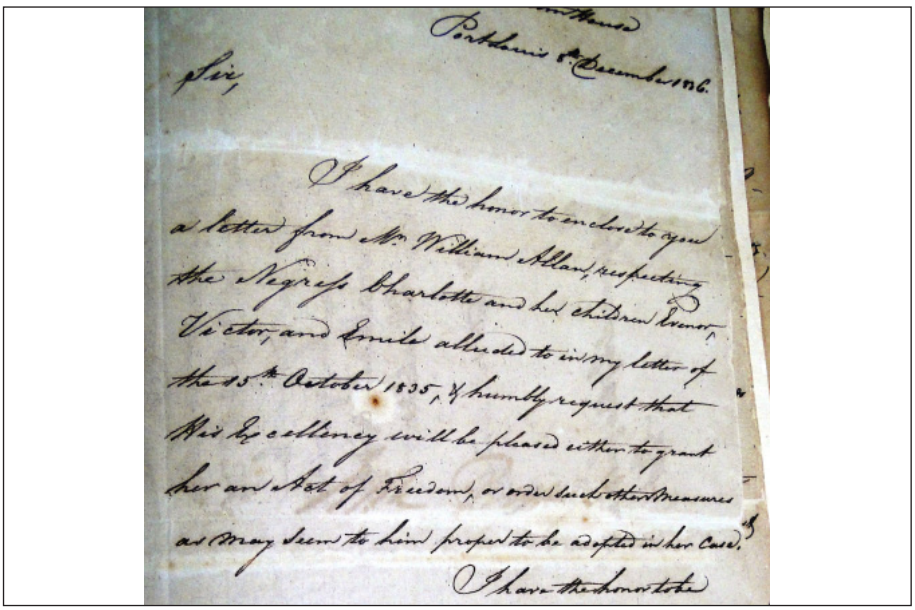
In his report for the month of June 1838, Special Magistrate Percy Fitzpatrick of the Savanne district observed: 'There is a great and general desire for the purchase of discharge from apprenticeship, an idea prevalent among the apprentices that the enfranchisement (or manumission) to be granted when the time of service expires will not be a secure state of liberty. They also think that liberty by purchase is more credible than freedom given by Parliament.'[115] Satteeanund Peerthum describes that during the apprenticeship period, the British Parliament or 'the mother of parliaments was a discredited institution in the eyes of the apprentices in Mauritius' and 'that the gift of freedom from above could only be spurious'.[116]

The thirst of these apprentices for freedom is given even greater credibility because between 1837 and 1838, the special magistrates from Savanne, Grand Port, Flacq, Rivière du Rempart, and the other rural districts reported that large numbers of apprentices were purchasing their freedom.[117] It must be remembered that, most of the apprentices had done so through self-purchase.[118] Therefore, it would not be an exaggeration to state that these Mauritian apprentices had a strong desire for freedom.

Their determination to be free was fuelled by the fact that in 1835 they had realised that they had been cheated out of their long-awaited freedom. Many of the apprentices, especially the females, desired to bring about their freedom through their own efforts rather than being freed by the British government. In their eyes, freedom from below was desired and seen as being honourable, while they rejected freedom from above or freedom being bestowed upon them by the British imperial government. This would certainly explain why there were hundreds of Mauritian apprentices, the majority of them apprentice women, like Pamela Bellehumeur, Marie Louise, Franchette, Coralie and Therese Batterie, who spent a big amount of money to secure their freedom during the last weeks and days of the Apprenticeship System in Mauritius in 1839.

In early February 1839, Pamela Bellehumeur, the female apprentice and domestic of Mr. Bouffe of Black River district, purchased her freedom from her owner which was officialised by the district's special magistrate. On the same day, Marie Louise, the female apprentice of Mr. Lionnet of Port Louis, was manumitted through self-purchase. Three days later, Franchette, the female apprentice of Mr. Robert of Black River district, secured her freedom. On the same day and in the same district, Coralie, the female apprentice and domestic of Mr. Bullen, purchased the rest of her time of service under the apprenticeship system which was sanctioned once again by the district's special magistrate. Even more dramatic

was the action of Therese Batterie, the apprentice of Mr. Aristide Buttie of the district of Black River. During the first week of March 1839, Therese was able to purchase her freedom, and of her two children, from her master barely three weeks before final emancipation on 1 April 1839.[119]


Port Louis 6th December 1836.

Sir,

I have the honor to enclose to you a letter from Mr. William Allan, respecting the Negress Charlotte and her children Emmy, Victor, and Emile alluded to in my letter of the 25th October 1835, & humbly request that His Excellency will be pleased either to grant her an Act of Freedom, or order such other Measures as may seem to him proper to be adopted in her Case.

I have the honor to be

Photo 4.1: The manumission of a female apprentice and her children in Mauritius, 1836

Source: Mauritius National Archives

Many of apprentices were able to work in their spare time; they were paid wages and saved their money. Thus, Mauritian apprentices had access to financial resources which proved to be the key to their freedom, especially between 1837 and 1839. Without a doubt, their determination to purchase their freedom was fuelled by the realisation that they had been cheated of their long-awaited freedom and they considered the apprenticeship system as a prolongation of slavery. Therefore, during the second half of the 1830s, the apprentices gradually bought their freedom and left their owners in order to carve an economic life of their own as a free people in Port Louis and the rural districts of Mauritius.

Conclusion

One of the major objectives of this chapter has been to fill one of the glaring gaps in Mauritian slave historiography by focusing on slave and apprentice manumission between 1829 and 1839. This chapter has shown that there was a strong desire on the part of the slaves and apprentices to purchase their freedom before the

abolition of slavery and the termination of the Apprenticeship Period. There were thousands of slaves and apprentices who were able to buy their freedom, especially the skilled and semi-skilled workers. Their desire to purchase their freedom was intimately linked with their worldview. Central to this was the determination to end their conditions of servility, attain some type of individual independence, and leave the perimeters of the sugar estate and the employment of their masters or mistresses in Port Louis. It has been highlighted that manumission through self-purchase might be viewed as an act of passive resistance where the slave or apprentice was able to end his or her condition of servility.

This chapter has also shown that despite restrictive manumission laws, a large number of slaves persevered and were freed. When they could not, they marooned. It is important to note, however, that between 1829 and 1839, the number of slaves and apprentices who were manumitted never surpassed more than 10 per cent of the total Mauritian slave and apprentice population. However, when compared with other British slave colonies, during the same period, such as Jamaica in the Caribbean and the Cape Colony in South Africa, British Mauritius had much higher manumission rates for its slaves and apprentices.[120] Furthermore, these high manumission rates highlight the human agency of thousands of these slaves and apprentices during this period of social and economic transition in Mauritian history. They did not wait for their owners and the British colonial authorities to free them, but they were able earn enough money through their wages, mostly as skilled and semi-skilled slaves and apprentices, to secure their freedom.

The arrival of indentured Indian workers brought with it the widespread use of money through the payment of wages which had a direct influence, to a certain extent, on some of the apprentices. During the 1830s, many of the female slaves and apprentices were gradually learning that access to finance and wages offered them a direct avenue of achieving their long-cherished dream of freedom, as they showed that they were fit for freedom.

This chapter has also highlighted the role of women slaves in ameliorating their status. This is similar to Zanzibar where another form of upgrading of status occurred when slaves became *suria* (see Chapter 4). When slavery was abolished, they struggled to retain their rights acquired during slavery.

Notes

1. Quotation and idea derived from John E. Mason, '"Fit for Freedom"': The Slaves, Slavery, and Emancipation in the Cape Colony, South Africa, 1806 to 1842' (PhD thesis, Yale University, 1992).
2. Herbert Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts: Nat Turner, Denmark Vesey, Gabriel and Others*, New York, USA, International Publishers, 1974, Reprint of the 1943 original Edition, p.140.

3. Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, Andre Deutsch Ltd, London, UK, 1964, p.204/205.
4. Christopher Saunders, 'Free Yet Slaves': Prize Negroes at the Cape Revisited' in Nigel Worden and Clifton Crais, eds, *Breaking the Chains: Slavery and its Legacy in the Nineteenth-Century Cape Colony* Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, South Africa, 1994, p.114.
5. Allen*, Slaves, Freedmen*, p.83.
6. MNA/ID 2/No.3, Return of the Numbers of Manumissions effected by Purchase, Bequest, or Otherwise from 1st January 1821 to June 1826; Rene Kuczynski, *Demographic Survey*, Vol II, Part 4: *Mauritius and Seychelles,* London, 1949, p. 762-763; Allen*, Slaves, Freedmen*, p.83. For the Cape Colony See Bank, *The Decline of Urban Slavery at the Cape, 1806 To 1843,* Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, Communications, No.22 (1991), pp.173/178-179.
7. Eugene Bernard, 'Les Africains de L'Ile Maurice: Essai sur les Nouveaux Affranchis de l'Ile Maurice' in Archives Coloniales, Vol II (Port-Louis, Imprimerie de Maurice, 1890) (Reprint), p.530.
8. Allen*, Slaves, Freedmen*, p.83.
9. Statement showing the Number of Slaves Emancipated in each year since 1814 to the end of 1826, Enclosure E in Despatch No.3 of Governor Sir Lowry Cole to Lord Viscount Goderich, Mauritius, twentieth October, 1827, *BPP,* 1828, XXVII, p.367.
10. Statement showing the Number of Slaves Emancipated in each year since 1814 to the end of 1826, BPP, 1828, XXVII, p.367.
11. *Observations of the Commissioners of Inquiry upon the proposed Ordinance in Council, for improving of the Slave Population in Mauritius*, Enclosure 2 (a) in Despatch No.2 from Commissioners W.M.E. Colebrooke and W. Blair to the Right Honourable William Huskisson, Mauritius, nineteenth May 1828, BPP, 1829, XXV (338), p.23.
12. Author's Analysis; For impact of Manumission on the growth of Mauritian free coloured population see Kuczynski, Demographic Survey, p.760-763; Bernard, 'Les Africains', p.530; Bolton's Mauritius Almanac & Official Directory for 1851, (Mauritius, 1851), p.405; BPP, 1823, XVIII (89), p.125; MNA/ID 2/No.3, Return of the Numbers of Manumissions.
13. Teelock, *Bitter Sugar*, pp.220-221; Statement showing Number of Slaves Emancipated since 1814 to 1826, *BPP*, 1828, p.367.
14. Allen*, Slaves, Freedmen*', p.41/45-46; Teelock, *Bitter Sugar*, pp.62-64/82-85/219-220; Barker, *Slavery and Antislavery in Mauritius, 1810-1833*, pp.73/74-78/119-125; For details on the extent of maroonage and maroonage statistics see MNA/IB 6, Return of Slaves and Prize Negroes Declared Maroons (1st January 1820-15th December 1826) in Correspondence and Returns Relating to Marron Branch of the Police Department at Mauritius.
15. Author's Analysis; See Barker, *Slavery and Antislavery in Mauritius*, pp.4-6; Teelock, *Bitter Sugar*, pp.220-221.
16. Barker, *Slavery and Antislavery in Mauritius*, pp.73.
17. Teelock, *Bitter Sugar*, pp.220-221; VijayaTeelock, 'Breaking the Wall of Silence: The History of the Afro-Malagasy Mauritians in the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Mauritian Studies*, Vol.3, No.2 (1990), pp.5-6.

18. MNA/SA 16, Despatch from Lord Goderich to Governor Colville, Downing Street, London, 27 July 1831.
19. Return of Enfranchisements confirmed by HE the Governor of Mauritius, between the twentieth June 1828 and the twentieth June 1829, G.A. Barry, Chief Secretary to the Government, Chief Secretary's Office, Port-Louis, 1st July 1829, Enclosure No.2 in the *Report of the Protector and Guardian of Slaves from twentieth March to 24th June 1829*, Enclosed in Despatch No.1, from Sir Charles Colville, to Secretary Sir George Murray, Mauritius, 3 September 1829, BPP, 1830-1831, XV (262), p.57.
20. Despatch No.1, Governor Sir Lowry Cole to Earl Bathurst, Mauritius, 8th February, 1827, BPP, 1828, XXVII, p.275; *Ordinance of His Excellency the Governor in Council, Given at Port Louis, in the Island of Mauritius, 27th January 1827*, & *Proclamation, R.T. Farquhar,* Port-Louis, 30th December 1814, both Enclosed in Despatch No.1, pp.275-280.
21. Despatch No.2, BPP, 1828, XXVII, p.280-281; See also Governor Cole's Manumission Ordinance of January 1827, BPP, 1828, XXVII, pp.276-279.
22 Despatch No.2.
23. Despatch No.54, Extract of Despatch from Lowry Cole to Huskisson, Mauritius, seventeenth May 1828, BPP, XXV (333), p.98.
24. Statement showing Number of Slaves Emancipated since 1814, p.367; Despatch No.54, BPP, XXV (333), p.98.
25. *Observations of Commissioners* Encl. 2 (a), Despatch No.2, p.23.
26. Despatch No.2, pp.280-281.
27. BPP, 1829, XXV (338), p.23.
28. This very important theme has hardly been covered in the last twenty five years in the major academic studies on Mauritian slavery during the British period such as M.D.North-Coombes, 'Labour Problems'; Sadasivam Reddi, 'Aspects of Slavery; Nwulia, The History of Slavery; Barker, Slavery and Antislavery; VijayaTeelock, Bitter Sugar; Scarr, Slaving and Slavery; Richard Allen, *Slaves, Freedmen*'.
29. *Report of the Protector to Colville, from twentieth March to 24th June 1829*, Enclosed in Despatch No.1, p.4.
30. BPP, 1830-1831, XV (262), p.4; Thomas to Colville, Port-Louis, 28 December 1829, *Report of the Protector for the half year ending 24th December 1829*, Enclosed in Despatch No.4, 25th January, 1830, BPP, 1830-1831, XV (262), p.104.
31. BPP, 1830-1831, XV (262), p.6.
32. Robert Shell, *Children of Bondage: A Social History of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1838,* (Johannesburg, Witswatersrand University Press, 1994), p.47.
33. *BPP,* 1830-1831, XV (262), p.104.
34. Teelock, *Bitter Sugar*, p. 99-100.
35. BPP, 1830-1831, XV (262), p.104.
36. Return of Enfranchisements between the twentieth June 1828 and the twentieth June 1829, 1st July 1829, Enclosure No.2 in the *Report of the Protector twentieth March to 24th June 1829*, Enclosed in Despatch No.1, p.57.
37. Calculated from Kuczynski, *Demographic Survey* , p.763.
38. Calculated from Ibid, p.763;

39. Calculated from MNA/IE 8-10, 12-16, 37-40, 42, 63-84, Affranchissements or Manumissions for January 1829-January 1835
40. Ibid, p. 763.
41. Calculated from Kuczynski, *Demographic Survey*, p.763; For the Slave Population See Kuczynski, *Demographic Survey* Table 15: Population by Sex & Race, Mauritius, 1822-8, p.770; MA/Mauritius Blue Book for 1835, p.322-323; See also Reddi, 'Aspects of Slavery during British Administration', p.108.
42. Reddi, 'Aspects of Slavery', p.119.
43. Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts: Nat Turner, Denmark Vesey, Gabriel, and Others,* p.140.
44. Teelock, Bitter Sugar, p. 221.
45. Idea derived from Ibid, p.221
46. Shell, *Children of Bondage,* p.xlii
47. Ibid, p. 371-372.
48. Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, p.98; In this part of his academic study on slave societies, Patterson is discussing and analysing the ideas of Hegel on the slaves, the German philosopher from the late eighteenth century.
49. Eric Foner, *Nothing But Freedom,* Baton Rouge, Louisiana University Press, 1983. p.6.
50. John E. Mason, 'Social Death and Resurrection: Conversion, Resistance, and the Ambiguities of Islam in Bahia and the Cape', Seminar Paper presented at the University of the Witswatersrand Institute for Advanced Social Research, 14 August 1995.p.47.
51. Teelock, *Bitter Sugar*, p.220; Mason, '"*Fit for Freedom": The Slaves, Slavery, and Emancipation in the Cape Colony, South Africa, 1806 to 1842'*, pp.506-516.
52. *Observations of the Commissioners of Inquiry,* 19 May 1828, BPP, 1829, XXV (338), p.23.
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