

# **Migration of Indian Slaves to African Colonies: Genesis and Nature, 1650-1834**

**Dissertation Submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the award of the Degree of**

**Master of Philosophy**



**PAOKHOLAL HAOKIP**

**Centre for West Asian and African Studies  
School of International Studies  
Jawaharlal Nehru University  
New Delhi-110067  
INDIA  
2004**



CENTRE FOR WEST ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES  
SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES  
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY  
NEW DELHI - 110 067, INDIA

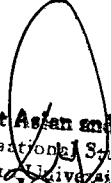
Phone Off. : 26704372  
Telegram : JAYENU  
Fax : 91-11-26165886  
91-11-26162292

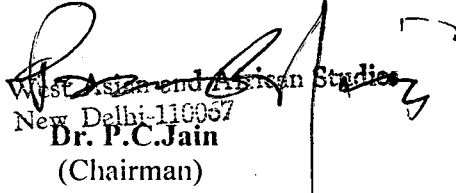
21<sup>ST</sup> JULY 2004

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the Dissertation entitled "*MIGRATION OF INDIAN SLAVES TO AFRICAN COLONIES: Genesis and Nature, 1650-1834*" submitted by **Paokholal Haokip**, is in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the awards of the degree of **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY** from this University. This dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree from this University or any other university.

We recommend this Dissertation to be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

  
Centre for West Asian and African Studies  
School of International Studies  
Jawaharlal Nehru University  
New Delhi-110067  
Prof. Ajay Kumar Dubey  
(Supervisor)

  
Chairman  
Centre for West Asian and African Studies  
SIS, JNU, New Delhi-110067  
Dr. P.C. Jain  
(Chairman)

To

*My Beloved Sister (L) Niengkim Haokip*

*Millou Lhakiehsa*

*Laijon, Niengkim Haokip*

*Siinsung Um mileh*

*Naphung Golcheng in*

*Ngai Na-bang Joulou Aw!*

## *Acknowledgement*

*At the outset I would like to thank my Supervisor Prof. A.K. Dubey, who had guided me with care and patience from the time when he first evoked my interest in this "theme". He had converted my illegible scribble into clear and concrete text with exceptional efficiency. This work would not have been possible to its present shape without his guidance.*

*I am indebted to a large number of friends and well-wishers for the constant support and encouragement they had given me from time to time, J. Guite, who personally assisted me in editing the whole manuscript, T. Lalboi Haokip for collecting materials, Meren Longchar and Vinod Kumar (Yadavji) for the technical support, Elvis, Sajji, Haokholun, Seikhholun, Lobo, Sunil Atom, Baburam Baite, Mangneo Guite, Garry and all members of KWS[D]JNU prayer cell for the constant encouragement and prayers throughout my research.*

*I have been fortunate to be with Prof. Robert C.H. Shell, Department of Statistic, Western Cape University, South Africa, during his short stay in the Centre. He had contributed number of statistical data on Indian Slaves in Mauritius and Cape colony for my work, as well as his constructive criticism and comradely support is immense. I am also indebted to Dr. S.N. Malakar, for his suggestion and encouragement during the course of my work.*

*My thanks are also to Indian Council of Historical Research, for the financial support which enable me to visit West Bengal State Archives and to the staff of JNU Central Library, CHS/DSA Library, ICHR Library, West Bungal State Archives, National Archives of India (New Delhi), and African History Deptt. Library, (Delhi University).*

*Finally, this work would not have been possible without the constant support and encouragement from my Parents and other family members—Bawinu, Helling, Lalam, Thangneo, Vahicy and Hesei.*

*Date: 21<sup>st</sup> July, 2004*

*—Paokholal Haokip*

## *Contents*

<i>Acknowledgement</i> .....	<i>i</i>
<i>Abbreviation</i> .....	<i>ii</i>
<i>List of Tables and Maps</i> .....	<i>iii</i>
1. Introduction.....	2
2. Modus Operandi of the Slave Trade:	
Under the European Colonialism.....	18
3. Slavery in Mauritius:	
A case study of the Indian Slaves.....	43
4. Slavery in Cape Colony:	
A Study of the Slave Society.....	64
5. Concluding Assessment.....	86
<i>Bibliography</i> .....	<i>95</i>

## ABBREVIATION.

1. I.E.S.H.R.=*Indian Economic and Social History Review.*
2. I.H.R. =*Indian Historical Review.*
3. C.O.B. = *Children of Bondage.*
4. J.A.S. = *Journal of Asiatic Society.*
5. N.A.I. = *National Archives of India.*
6. B.R.C. = *Bengal Revenue Consultation.*
7. B.P.C. = *Bengal political consultation.*
8. B.F.C. = *Bengal Foreign Consultation.*
9. F&P. = *Foreign and Political Department.*
10. H.Dept. = *Home Department.*
11. C.H.S. = *Centre for Historical studies.*
12. D.S.A. = *Departmental Special assistance.*
14. I.C.H.R. = *Indian Council of Historical Studies.*
15. J.M.A.S. = *Journal of Modern African Studies.*
16. J.A.H. = *Journal of African Studies.*

## List of Maps and Tables

### Maps:

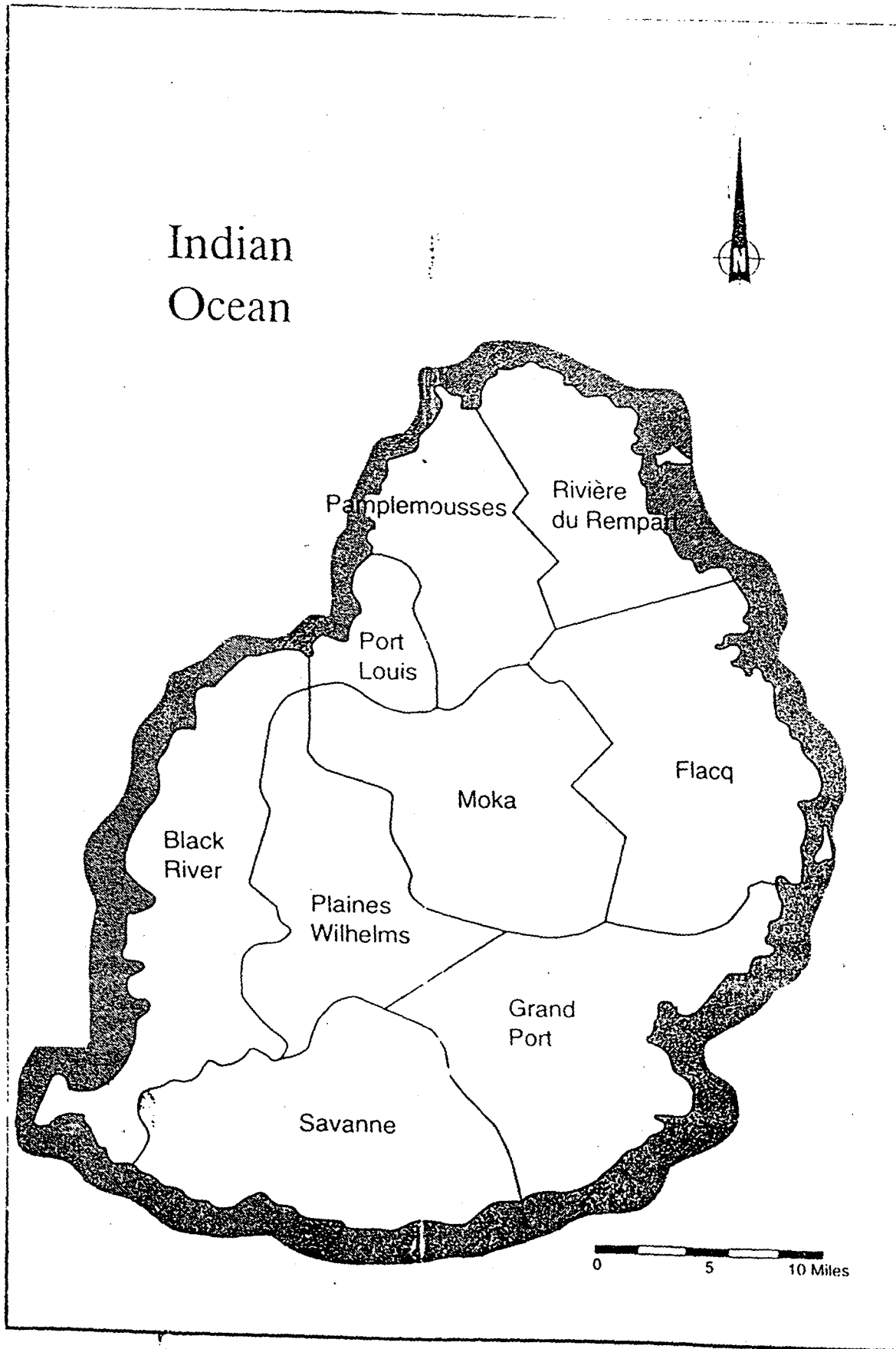
<i>Map No. I: Administrative Division of Mauritius</i> .....	1
<i>Map No. II: Map of Cape Colony showing Table Bay and Administrative district in the Eighteenth Century</i> ... IA	
<i>Map No. III: Portuguese Overseas Commercial Network in Asia</i> .....	17
<i>Map No. IV: Southern Africa, Cape Colony in 1904</i> .....	42
<i>Map No. V: South India during 17<sup>th</sup> Century</i> .....	61
<i>Map No. VI: Slave Trade Routes during European Colonial Expansion</i> ....	62
<i>Map No. VII: Court Towns and Ports in South India, 1500-1800</i> .....	63
<i>Map No. VIII: Map of Asia and Africa depicting different region of the importation of Slaves in Cape Colony and West Indian Ocean Islands</i> .....	85

### Tables:

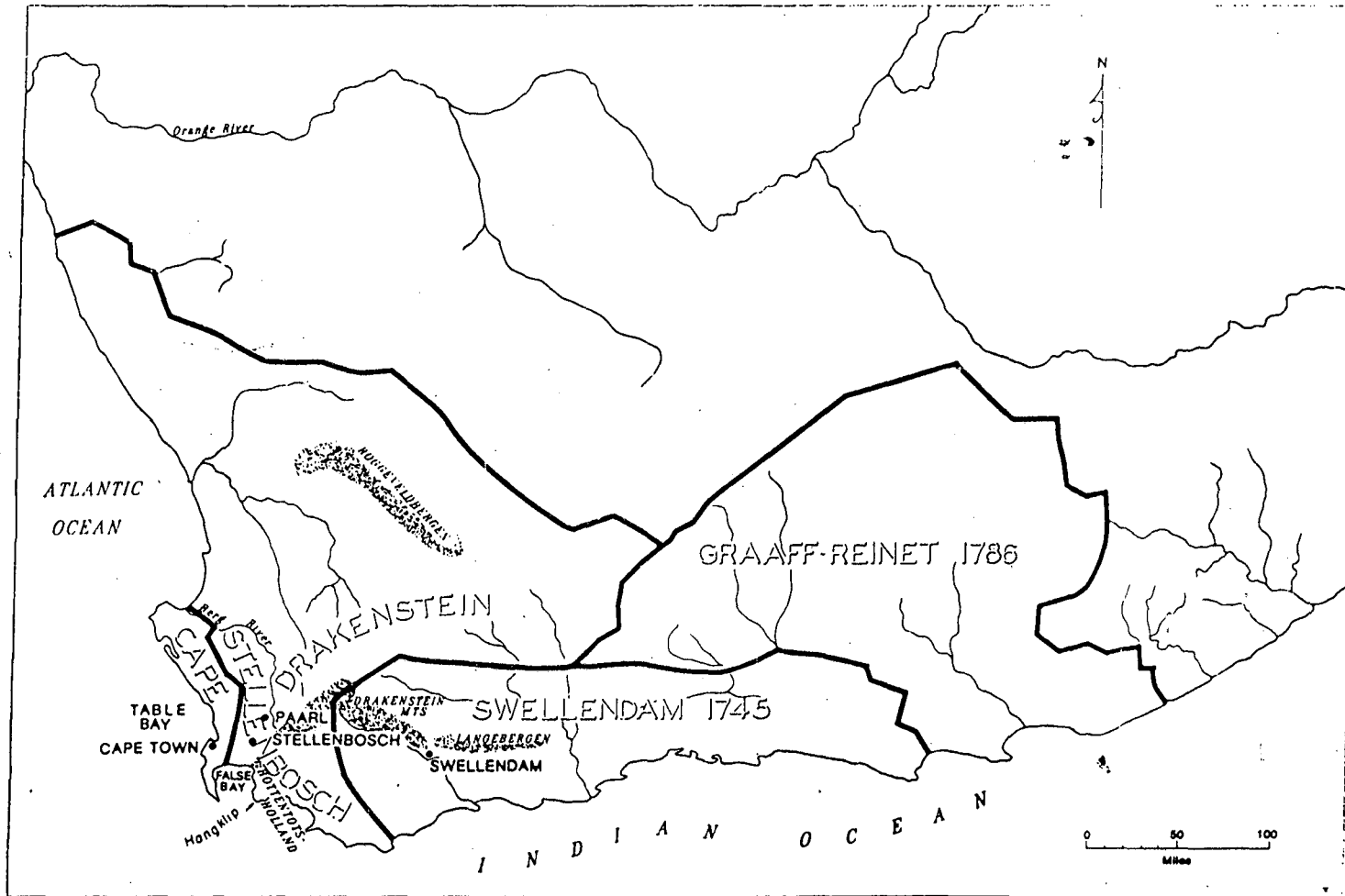
<i>Table No. I: Imported Slaves from different countries</i> .....	7
<i>Table No. II: Detail break-downs of Indian Slaves on regional Basis</i> .....	7
<i>Table No. III: Different Occupations of Indian Slaves in Mauritius</i> .....	46
<i>Table No. IV: Population pyramids of Mauritian Slaves in 1826</i> .....	57
<i>Table No. V: Origin and heights of Mauritian Slaves</i> .....	59
<i>Table No. VI: VOC sponsored Slave trade</i> .....	69
<i>Table No. VII: Stellenbosch district inventories</i> .....	72

# *CHAPTER I*





Map 1 Administrative districts on Mauritius.



Map. 2. Cape colony showing administrative districts in the eighteenth century

## CHAPTER-I

### INTRODUCTION

Slavery the worst form of mans' inhumanity to man, has been an important phenomenon throughout the history of mankind. Africa has been closely connected with this history both as major sources of slaves for ancient civilizations' – the Islamic world, India and America as one of the principle areas where slavery was common. However, the use of the term slavery is always shrouded in confusion as the term applied to the Greek, Roman and European Slavery were quite different from slavery in Indian context, this may be th~~h~~e reason why Megathenes had commented that there was no slavery in India. Moreover, the term slavery like feudalism is often loaded with lots of ideological implication and several interesting aspects such as constitutional, legal social and economic could be attributed to it.<sup>1</sup> India being predominantly an agricultural land, well-developed institutions of agricultural labour and serfdom point to a definite socio-economics system and terms such as 'slavery' and 'serfdom' may be applied to it, in so far as some agricultural labourers were bought and sold, and others were form into a state of perpetual servility and owed service to master on their lands.<sup>2</sup>

Following a similar line Lovejoy<sup>3</sup> argues that "slavery was one form of exploitation, its special characteristics includes the idea that slaves were property, and they were outsiders who were aliens by origins or who had been denied their heritage through judicial or other sanctions that coercions could be used at will, that their labour power was at the complete

---

<sup>1</sup> Dietmar, Rothermund, *The Phases of Indian Nationalism and other Essay*, Bombay: Nachiketa Publications Ltd. 1970, p.165.

<sup>2</sup> Manickam. S., 1982, *Slavery in Tamil Country*, p. Introduction.

<sup>3</sup> Lovejoy, *Transformation in Slavery: A History of Slave in Africa*, CUP, 1983, p.8.

disposal of a master; that they did not have the right to their ... sexuality and by extension to their own reproductive capacities, and that the slaves status was inherited unless provisions was made to ameliorate that status”, what is meant for a human being to be a mere property- a property to be raided, to be tortured, to be sold in the market to the highest bidder”. However, in this paper, we will not embroiled ourselves into several debates on the definition of slavery. raked up by various school of thoughts, it can be best put in the words of Simon Kathleen.<sup>4</sup>

*“The cries of the salves are more pathetic because it is so largely inarticulate comes ringing across the sandy deserts and over the ocean waves to civilization. The system of slavery may vary from the domestic institution which obtains in certain parts of china to the forms of servitudes to be found on the borders and in the hearts of Abyssissia. in the hinterlands of Arabia. in the remote parts of the Sahara, and on the shores of the Persian Gulf.... there is one features which all shades of slavery have in common- the individual ceases to possess the right of a human being and becomes a property”.*

The euphemistic terms which are employed to cloak these systems are chiefly peonage, contract labour or indentured labor, forced labor and pawning.

Slavery in the Indian Ocean was part of the age-long slave trade that existed between East Africa and Asia. The migration of Indian slaves to African colonies began as early as the Portuguese times from the Malabar, coromandel and eastern province of Bengal. The Dutch East India Company (VOC) however did export slaves from the region across the Indian Ocean to its Asian colonies. These companies also supplied cape colony at the southern tip of Africa with slaves from Eastern Africa. Approximately 4,000 slaves were shipped to the cape

---

<sup>4</sup> Kathleen Simon. “*Slavery*”. 1929, August, p.1-3.

by the VOC during the period 1652-1795, but many more slaves of Asian origin were brought into the colony by VOC ships that stopped at the cape on their return voyage from Batavia (now Jakarta) to the Dutch Republic.<sup>5</sup> However, the earliest evidences of slavery between eastern Africa and Asia is well documented from the accounts of the anonymous author's periplus.<sup>6</sup>

There has been hardly any research by scholar in India on the export of Indian slaves to African colonies, long before labourers were sent into semi-slaves (indentured labour) condition in Mauritius in 1833 and Natal in 1860, which left a serious gap in Indian history. Moreover, a study of the slave trade is also important to appreciate the contribution of Indians to the building of South Africa and Mauritius in particular.

Indians played an important role in the spread of Islam in South Africa: The first Mosque in Cape Town was established in the early Nineteenth century by Imam Fran's and Imam Achmat, both from the upper province of Bengal.<sup>7</sup> It is also said that, the Indian contributed in shaping the Afrikaans language, which was created by slaves and the colored, mixed people; the oldest book in Afrikaans was a Muslim religious text published in 1856.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup> Postma, Johannes Menne. 1990, CUP, *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade 1600-1815*, pp.112-113.

<sup>6</sup> Aderbige, A.B., 1989, p.320.

<sup>7</sup> R Shell, in My Synopsis presentation on 25<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2003 at CWAAS committee Room.

<sup>8</sup> [www.file://A:\indian slaves in South Africa.htm](http://www.file://A:\indian slaves in South Africa.htm).p.4.

Researchers in the past three decades by eminent historian and sociologist like Anna Boesken, Margaret Cairns<sup>9</sup>, Achmat David's<sup>10</sup>, Richard Elphick,<sup>11</sup> H.F. Heese, J. H. Hoge, Robert Ross<sup>12</sup>, Robert Shell,<sup>13</sup> Nigel Worden,<sup>14</sup> et. al have destroyed that fact about Indian slaves, for instance slavery had little economic importance in the cape, that the treatment of slaves especially Asian slaves was benign, that Asian slaves were mostly from Indonesia etc. However, in this paper, a peep into the states Archives of West Bengal (Kolkatta), Fort St. George records (made available by CHS, JNU DSA Library) Travelers accounts from ICHR Library and National Archives of India, New Delhi, would shed a new light on the importance of Indian slaves to these African Colonies.

Traveler's accounts like "*The Book of Duarte Barbosa*"<sup>15</sup> in two volumes by Duarte Barbosa and "*A Journey from Madras through Mysore, Canara and Malabar*" by Francis Buchanan<sup>16</sup> will be a guiding path in this paper as they give us an enormous insight into the historical background of the area under present investigation, though a little ahead of our period. Duarte Barbosa in his first volume described in great details the Coast of Africa, Arabia, Persia, and Western India as far as the kingdom of Vijayanagar and in his second, volume he deals mainly with the coast of Malabar, eastern India, further India, China and the Indian archipelago. Likewise Buchanan's accounts is of immense importance for the purpose of investigating Agriculture, Art and Commerce; the Religion, manners and customs:

---

<sup>9</sup> Anna Boesken., 1981. Cape town

<sup>10</sup> Achmat Davids., 1980[1981]

<sup>11</sup> The shaping of South Africa society 1652-1840, Cape town, Longman., 1989.-

<sup>12</sup> Cape torment: slavery and resistance in south Africa., London.

<sup>13</sup> Robert C H Shell.,1994[1997]

<sup>14</sup> Nigel Worden., *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*, CUP, 1985.

<sup>15</sup> Duarte Barbosa., "*The Book of Duarte Barbosa*" in two volumes, Asian Educational Service, New Delhi. 1989.

<sup>16</sup> Francis Buchanan, "*A Journey from Madras through Mysore, Canara and Malabar*", Asian Educational Service, New Delhi. 1989.

the history natural and civil and Antiquities and special focus is also given regarding the price of labour and condition of slaves; the tenure by which Slaves are held.

Scholars like I.M.Cumpston's whose work "*Indian Overseas in British Territories, 1834-1854.*"<sup>17</sup> continued to portray Indian Indentured servants in a passive role, for her emphasis remained upon the impact of British humanitarians' official and politicians who loom large and omnipotent in her study. In other words, she barely acknowledges the demise of the empire, for her work firmly and almost uncritically mirrored many imperial assumptions.

Hugh Tinker<sup>18</sup> "A new system of slavery; the export of Indian labour overseas 1830-1920, stands as a pillar above the rest who try to portray the Indentured labour as an euphemistic term for another form of slavery, though its debt to previous historiographical tradition must be acknowledge. Tinker, synthesizes all previous interpretations for he not only sympathetically portrays the life experiences of the impoverished Indian Immigrants but also places these fully within the context of Western [largely British] economic exploitation of the raw material of the tropic. Tinker, further argues that, it was upon the labour of these workers that the vast overseas wealth of British capitalist was created.

Frank R. Bradlow put together available information from various scholarly studies on the places of origin of the slaves and free blacks between 1658 and early Nineteenth century.

---

<sup>17</sup> I.M.Cumpston, *Indian overseas in British Territories 1834-1854.*, OUP,1953.

<sup>18</sup> Hugh Tinker, *A new system of slavery: the export of Indian Labour Overseas 1830-1920*, OUP,1974.

The information is pretty scant after the 1700 and covers only a little over 3000 persons. The figures were as follows.<sup>19</sup>

*Table No.I: Places of origin of Imported Slaves to Cape Colony.*

Places of origin	No.	%
Africa	875	26.65
India	1195	36.47
Indonesia	1033	31.47
Sri Lanka	102	3.10
Malaya	16	0.49
Mauritius	6	0.18
Others	56	1.17
<b>Total</b>	<b>3283</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Of these, a detail breakdown from India is given as follows:<sup>20</sup>

*Table No. II: The Detail Breakdowns of Indian Slave Region-wise.*

Bengal (including Bihar and Orissa)	498
Coromandel Coast (Tranquebar, Tuticorin, Negapattinam, Pulicat Masuhipatam)	271
Malabar Coast (Goa, Bombay and Surat)	378
Others	36

<sup>19</sup> R. Bradlow and Margaret Cairns, *The Early Cape Muslims: a study of their mosque, genealogy and origins*, Cape Town, 1978, p.102

<sup>20</sup> *ibid.*



## Geographical and Historical Accounts: Mauritius and Cape Colony:

### Mauritius:

When the Portuguese first placed Mauritius on the world map in Sixteenth AD<sup>21</sup>, there was hardly any life and what was in existence was an animal called “Dodo” hence “dodo land”. When the Dutch captured it from the Portuguese in 1638, they named it after Prince of Maurice of Nassau. Then came the French in 1721 who calls it the “Isle de France” – an Island of France, however after the Napoleonic war the British captured it in 1810 under the Treaty of Paris, restoring it to the original name.<sup>22</sup> In 1830 there were 67,619 slaves.

The proportion of men and women was 43:27. The slaves constitutes ~~of four~~ categories:

1. Creoles born of slave parents of the Colony-they formed about 1/3<sup>rd</sup> of the slave population.
2. Indians who were the least in numbers and formed about 1/17<sup>th</sup> of the slave population and included Malays. They were for the most part domestic servants and some were good artisans and remarkable by their sweetness of manners, cleanliness. Hair etc.
3. Slaves from Madagascar mainly Hovas, Betsileos, Antateimos, Skalavas and Constitute 1/5<sup>th</sup>.
4. Slaves from Mozambique and belonging to the following African races: Mocoas, Manjavoas, Semas, Moussenas, Yambanes, Mongumdos, Maravis and Miamoeses.<sup>23</sup>

---

<sup>21</sup> See. Map. No. 1, p.1

<sup>22</sup> P.D. Pillays., *Imperial Policy and Immigration in the colonies 1828-1920*, in Anirudha Gupta, *Indians Abroad: Asia and Africa*, pp. 304-05.

<sup>23</sup> Roy .J.N. 1960, Allahabad ., *Mauritius is Transition*, pp. 134-135.

However, the earliest Indians who came to Mauritius were Slaves of the Dutch. It was Labour-donnais who brought artisans from South India and employed African apprentices who later became good mechanics. In 1740, there were 137 Indians artisans, masons carpenters and blacksmith's 67 African artisans and 72 apprentices. After the departure of the French Engineer one Indian even acted as an engineer and was in charges of the construction.

The second batch of Indian that came to Mauritius consisted of the several brigades of volunteers from Madras and Bengal who joined the British expeditions which led to the conquest of Mauritius in 1810. Farquhar introduced 100 (hundreds) of Indian convicts who made most of the roads of the Islands.<sup>24</sup>

#### **Cape Colony:**

South Africa was discovered by Vasco de Gama in 1497 on his Journey to India. It was Table Bay,<sup>25</sup> that becomes the site of the first permanent European settlement in South African. It had a good permanent spring and was therefore much used as a Temporary halting place by Dutch and English ship in the first half of the seventeenth century.<sup>26</sup>

In 1652 the bedraggled crews of three Dutch East India Company ships splashed ashore in Table Bay to confront the area's original inhabitants, the Khoikhoi (the Dutch called them Hottentots).<sup>27</sup> They suppressed the original inhabitants. The local tribes were subjected to their rule and were used as cheap labor like the Slaves in Northern Africa. Although

---

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., pp. 198-199.

<sup>25</sup> See, Map No. 2, p. 1A also Map No. 4, p. 42

<sup>26</sup> N.C., Pollock and Swanzie Agnew., *An Historical Geography of South Africa.* 1963. Longman, p.36.

<sup>27</sup> Robert C.H. Shell, 1997, (reprint)[C.O.B], *A Social history of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope 1652-1838*, Witwatersand, UP Johannesburg, p. introduction.

European had visited to the Cape earlier, 1652 was the year in which they took permanent possession of the cape peninsula and in doing so, closed one arc of a primordial population movement that had begun in Africa nearly one hundred millennia before. Years later, when the Dutch imported Slaves from the Eastern side of the Indian Ocean, another population arc closed.<sup>28</sup>

Great Britain recognized the cape colony in 1806. As increasing number of British settlers arrived and the British government banned Slavery in 1833, the Boers move inland and founded the states of Transvaal and Orange Free State. Both states were contested and by 1861 and 1877-81, respectively were under British Control. Although, a few of the first slaves come from Societies around the Indian Ocean basin. Slaves mostly came from Madagascar, Mozambique and the East African Coast, from India via the Island of the East Indies Such as Sumatra, Java, the Celebes and Timor.

The first slaves at the cape arrived on 28<sup>th</sup> March 1658 on board the Amersfoort; this group was captured by the Dutch from Portuguese slaves that was on its way to Brazil. During these periods the Cape colony was part of the Dutch East India companies and governed by VOC. The VOC sent out slavers to buy slaves and bring them to the cape colony. These Slaves initially bank on the East Coast of Africa and some Islands.<sup>29</sup>

Similarly, the VOC's return fleets from Batavia and other places in the East which sailed around the cape on their way to Europe, since the officials could not take their slave

---

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Jim Armstrong and Nigel Warden in R. Elphick and H. Giliomee (eds.), 1989, *The Shaping of South African Society 1652-1840*, Cape Town: Maskew Miller, Longman, p.112.

which was not allowed in their country, as result many of these official sold their slaves at the Cape Colony.<sup>30</sup>

The Eighteenth Century saw, the Indian Sub-continent as the main source of slaves for the European colonial masters. Approximately 80% of the Slaves come from India during these period. A slaving station was established in Delagoa Bay (Present day Maputo) in 1721, but was abandoned in 1731 Between 1731 and 1765 more and more slaves were also brought from Madagascar.

However, our main task in this dissertation is to enquire into the Genesis and Nature of the Migration of these slaves hence titled "*Migration of Indian slaves to African colonies: Genesis Nature 1650-1834*" whereby an attempt will be made to achieved the following objective in the next 3 (three chapter) and followed by a concluding remark from the retrospective analysis of the above mention 3(three) chapter. The objectives are:

1. Who were these migrant slaves.
2. From which part of India do they migrate .
3. The social profile of these migrants and the Modus operandi of this [slave] trade.
4. To which part of Africa they were taken to; distributional analysis.
5. The push and pull factors of these migration.
6. A case study of Cape colony and Mauritius.

The work although touching on these issues at various points, deals in the main neither with the debates nor history of the abolition by the British, but the Indian slaves who sold

---

<sup>30</sup> File //A:\slavery % 20 at % Cape.htm, p.2.

themselves during famine and were often trapped by colonial Master on the promise of better opportunities lying ahead of them. However, there are certain problems lying ahead in order to achieved the above mentioned objectives.

First, the period under study can broadly be divided under the following rubrics:

1. 1652-1789 – Migration as a result famine and war and the unholy Nexus between Native brokers and the colonial masters.
2. 1789-1824 – Certain regulations from the colonial master to restrict the slave trade.
3. 1824-1832 – Abolition of slavery in the British domination that saw the beginning of a well organized recruitment and slaves under the euphemistic term called the “Indentured labour period”. So, there may be an overlapping in temporal space.

Secondly, the corpus of the literature are mainly is Portuguese, Dutch and French and most of them are not fully translated into English, Moreover, these sources are not easily accessible as they are located in various state Archive and libraries not to mention of the overseas countries (particularly Mauritius and Cape Colony). This may be the main obstacle in dealing with the subject under research.

Finally, the causes of these migration was not only as a result of War, famine, raids etc. but also the colonial zeals of the Europeans advanced by their economic interest which furthered their political interest as well. Therefore, a cautious approach should be adopted while handling the traveler’s accounts and other primary and secondary sources authored by the colonial masters.

## Advent of Europeans

The search for colonies by the imperialist Nation opens the era of the commencement of the migration of Indian slaves to African colonies. Slavery has been described as one of the buttresses of the Portuguese Empire in Asia.<sup>31</sup> In these tropical colonies, the great issue was stability of plantation production on the twin support of Slave labour and protected markets. Sir Thomas Dalby, had clearly stated that “the pleasure, glory and grandeur of England had been advanced more by sugar than other commodities.”<sup>32</sup>

The increasing pressure on land, war and famine, produced a situation of growing rural indebtedness and swelled the ranks of lawless Labourers, with the labourers and peasants were increasingly unable to support the burden of the hostile ecology and the demand of the Landlords and Tax collectors, particularly in Season when natural disasters strike and whole crop were lost to drought or flood.<sup>33</sup>

This period saw, essential consumer products such as sugar oil and salt were manufactured in Coramandel. The Portuguese term for Sugar-Jagara – was a derivative of the South Indian Chakkaroi, which meant unrefined sugar.<sup>34</sup> So, the European taking chance of famine and often raid the native villages in India transported these slaves to tropical colonies in Africa, to colonized the new world by using these slaves.

---

<sup>31</sup> Stephen S J., *The Portuguese in the Tamil Coast*, Pondicherry, Navjothi, 1998, p.155. See Map No.3., p. 17

<sup>32</sup> I.M. Cumspton., *Op.cit*, p. Introduction.

<sup>33</sup> M.Tayal., “Indians Indentured in Natal 1890-1911,” *IESHR*, vol. 19/4. 1977, pp.519-547.

<sup>34</sup> Stephen S.J.: 1997, *The Coromandel and its Hinterland Economy, Society and Political System 1500-1600*, Manohar, p. 79.

The ability of these (Indian Slaves and Semi Slaves) migrants and their children to play an ever more active and important role in colonial economy as the 19<sup>th</sup> century ended, was an impressive accomplishment. These economic facts of life indicate that the development cannot be understood without examining the various ways and means by which Indian immigrants capitalized upon the opportunities that presented themselves during the latter part of the Nineteenth century.

The extent of this activity become apparent during the census of 1846, while the census confirmed the overwhelming majority of Indian in the colonies earned their living as agricultural labourers, it also indicates that immigrants were already to be found in all non-agricultural sectors of Local Economic albeit, in a small numbers.<sup>35</sup> Crumpston I.M.<sup>36</sup> argues by quoting Lionel Smith that “the Island had been transformed from an African into Asian Colony”. The labourers and reservoir of India soon proved the Salvation of Mauritius and by the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century they constitute 72% of the total population of late the 1983 census, there are five top languages i.e., Creole, 54%, Bhojpuri 20.4%; Hindi 11.5%; French 3.7% and Tamil 3.7%.

The present work consist of 5[five] chapters including the Introduction and the Concluding assessments:

Chapter.1: “*Introduction*” gives a brief summary of the whole chapters and underlines the main objectives of this dissertation, it also define what slavery according to the author

---

<sup>35</sup> Richard, B.Allen, . 1999, Slaves, Freeman of Indentured Labourers in Colonial Mauritius, pp. 143-144. See also Table No. 3. p. 46

<sup>36</sup> Cumpston, I.M., 1956/57, “A Survey of Indian Immigration to Tropical Colonies 1910”, *Population Studies*, vol. 10, pp.158-165.

meant. However, it will not take into account the ongoing debates of what slavery means to different historians and sociologists alike, then it goes on to give a brief literary survey of some outstanding works in the area under investigation.

Chapter 2: entitled "*Modus Operandi of the Slave Trade: Under European Colonialism*," analyze the push and pull factors of the slave trade, in the process it also delineate the economic interest of the colonial masters furthered by the imperialistic zeal and mercantile rivalry between different colonial masters. In other words, this chapter charts the history of oceanic slave trade in the west Indian ocean Islands, the south east Asian countries and the bay of Bengal, dating back to the first appearance of the slave in Cape Colony [1650's] to the beginning of the indentured period [1833].

Chapter 3: "*Slavery in Mauritius: A case study of Indian slaves*." Explores the slave trade from Bengal Presidency, Malabar and the Coromandel coast via Batavia to the west Indian ocean Islands, particularly Mauritius, this chapter also examines the underlying factors why India was given preference for the recruitment of indentured labour after the emancipation of slavery in the Island. It also deals with the problems of the formation of family institution, the nutrition and finally the longevity of the slave's life and a comparison was made on the basis of the population pyramid among different groups of the slaves.

Chapter 4: "*Slavery at the Cape: A case study of the slave society*." deals specifically how the polyglot society evolved in the Cape and the '*lingua franca*' among the various groups of the slaves. This chapter also addresses the changing language of the household as a result of



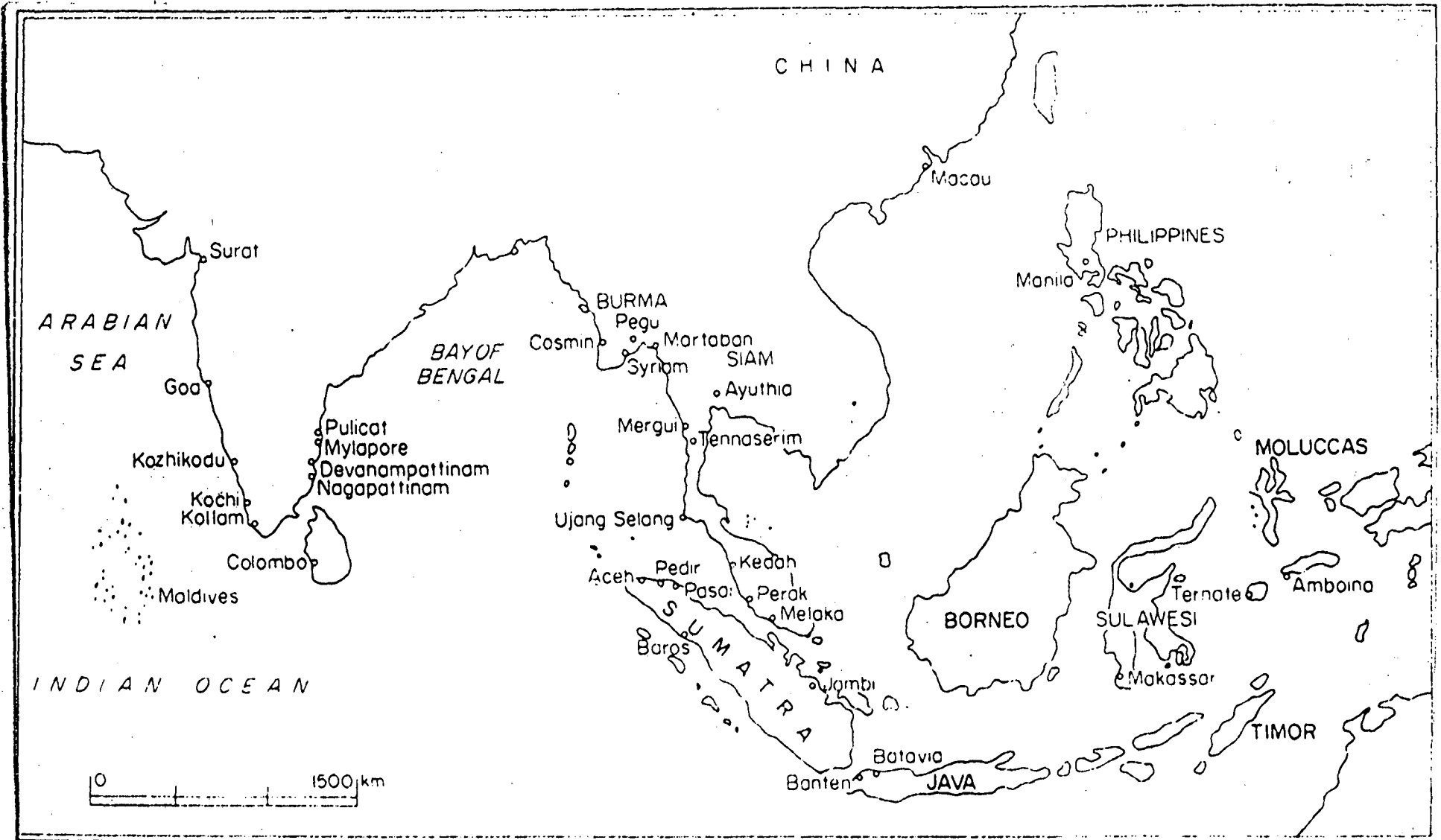
the slave trade and creolisation, also how the changing geographical and statistical distribution effects the price differentiation of the slaves<sup>37</sup>.

Chapter, 5: "*The concluding assessment,*" synthesizes the findings of the study and places the topic "*Migration of Indian slaves to African Colonies: Genesis and Nature.*" within an overall comparative perspective and evaluation of Indian slaves who endures the hardship of the colonial rule and their present status and the cultural influence in the poly-ethnic Society during twentieth century is given.

---

<sup>37</sup> Map no 4., Showing Southern Africa in 1904. (p. 42)

## *CHAPTER II*



Map. 3 Portuguese overseas commercial network in Asia

## *CHAPTER II*

### **MODUS OPERANDI OF THE SLAVE TRADE**

#### *Under the European colonialism.*

The history of the migration of Indian slaves from the Malabar, Coromandel, and of the Bengal province to the African colonies can be divided into three phases. The First phase goes on till the 1789 proclamation. This period witnessed the trading of Indian slaves not only by the Portuguese, Dutch, French and the British but also on the active participation of the natives. The Second phase, which continued till 1824, witnessed certain regulations made by the government, albeit the trade continued unabated without local participation. The third phase covers the period from 1824–1833. This period showed the strict regulations for the total abolition of slavery although it continued under an euphemistic term called “the indentured labour” replacing the illegal 'slave trade' into legally sanctioned 'indentured labour'.

The migration of Indian slaves to African colonies operates under several push and pull factors i.e. famine, war, kidnapping etc. The economic domination of Europe for more than three centuries influenced the colonization process and the integration of the capitalist economy in building up the industrial network with the help of these slaves in the tropical colonies of Africa. For millennia the trading activities in the Indian Ocean operated along a wide area, stretching from South East Africa and Madagascar to South East Asia and sometimes to

Northern Australia, enabling people to travel the ocean leading to a constant mingling of cultures, races religions and trading goods.<sup>1</sup>

When the Portuguese arrived in East Africa at the end of the Fifteenth Century, they found that Indians had already established themselves as traders, middlemen and money lenders along the Coast.<sup>2</sup> There is also an impressive archaeological and documentary evidence to show that commercial and cultural relations between India and Africa flourished long before the advent of the European powers in the Indian Ocean.<sup>3</sup> Therefore it would be pertinent to start here with the different aspects of the migration.

### **Different aspects of the migration**

The Portuguese were followed by the Dutch, French, Danes and the British respectively. This period coincided with the rise of Industrial capitalism that virtually increased the pace of colonial conquest which demanded full exploitation of the colony's resources and labour. The Portuguese were also known for their notorious behaviour against the natives and there are many instances of excessive violence perpetrated by the Portuguese Eastado. This is best exemplified in Zain-ud-din's account:

*'They tyrannized and corrupted the Muslims and committed all kinds of ignoble and*

---

<sup>1</sup> Ram. Bindeshwar. 1998.. "Historiography of the Migration of East Indian in the South West Indian ocean, Global phenomenon of Indian Diaspora during the age of European Expansion." p.1

<sup>2</sup> S.A.I. Tizmi., *Indian sources for African History, (I S A H)*, Vol, II., Manohar, New Delhi, 1989, pp. introduction.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.1-3.

*infamous acts. Their acts of violence were countless...They hindered the Muslims in their trade above all in their pilgrimage (to Mecca). They robbed them, burnt their cities and Mosques, seized their ships and dishonored the sacred book (Quran) desecrated the precincts of the Mosques and incited the Muslims to apostasy. They tortured the Muslims with fire, sold some and enslaved others and practiced deeds of cruelty which indicated a lack of all humanitarian sentiments*<sup>4</sup>

When the European arrived in India, there already existed in India a highly developed economic system where agricultural laborers' served as the main productive force. The growth of sugar plantation on the Indian Ocean Islands of the Isle de France and Bourbon (Reunion) created a regional demand for slaves, which the French traders as well as the Portuguese settlers in Mozambique were eager to import Indians' who were known for their skill in these fields.<sup>5</sup> This period also witnessed the essential consumer products such as sugar, oil, salt being manufactured in the Coromandel. The Portuguese term for sugar *Jagara*, was a derivative of the south Indian *Chakkaroi*, which meant unrefined sugar. The compulsory cultivation of sugarcane imposed by Vijayanagara rulers in the upper valley of Velar river,<sup>6</sup> suggest scarcity of sugar.<sup>7</sup> The imposition was probably made to meet the sugar demand in Coromandel which is best exemplified by Fernand Braudel who argues that "the commodity market for sugar

---

<sup>4</sup> Zain-ud-din (Zinadin), *Historia des Portugese no Malabar por Zinadin*, Frans David Lopes, Lisboa, 1898. Pp.44-45; as quoted in Chandra de Silva, *Beyond the Cape: The Portuguese encounter with the people of South Asia*, p.309.

<sup>5</sup> S.A.I.Tirzmi opcit ppl-4

<sup>6</sup> See Map No.5.

<sup>7</sup> Stephen.S.Jeyaseela, *The CoromandelCcoast and its Hinterland: economy, society and political system 1500-1600*, Manohar, 1997, p.79.

expanded in India."<sup>8</sup> This sugar revolution in the new economic system introduced by Europeans for its plantation in the newly settled colony laid the foundation of today's industrial economy. The slaves brought from the coastal region of Malabar, Coromandel and Bengal province were used to cultivate these newly settled lands for sugar production.

Bindeshwar Ram,<sup>9</sup> argues that, during the age of European expansion, the European quest for wealth and search for markets abroad, drove them for the acquisition of colonies and lust for predominance as well as fight for supremacy at sea, attracted them towards the coastal region of India especially the Malabar Coast. This coastal land provided a safe harbour for the ships and boat. He further argues that "this opened up the door for the migration of many people from South India as slaves (later on as indentured labour) in the newly settled colonies in the south west Indian ocean islands such as Madagascar, Mauritius, Reunion and other smaller islands.

The Dutch Republic, at the end of the Seventeenth Century, developed the largest merchant marine in the world and the Amsterdam, the capital seaport, became the world center of insurance and Finance Institution.<sup>10</sup> Fernand Braudel calls it as the Dutch system' that built on a network of commercial relations of interdependence which combined to produce a series of virtually obligatory channels for the circulation and redistribution of goods. They were vigilant in competition and control of Dutch economic system for the attainment of these

<sup>8</sup> Braudel, F. *Civilisation and Capitalism: The wheel of commerce*, London, 1982, Vol. II, pp. 190-194.

<sup>9</sup> Ram Bindeshwar, *opcit*, p.3.

<sup>10</sup> *ibid.*, p4.



5931-5

objectives.<sup>11</sup> This imperialist mindset of the Dutch East India Company (V.O.C) involved them in the slave trade. The V.O.C not only exported slaves to Cape Colony's from the east African coast but also traded in slaves from Asian countries on their return from Batavia and India.<sup>12</sup>

Till 1704, the migration of Indian slaves from Bihar, United province, Bengal, Madras, Pondicherry, Gujarat, Bombay and coastal district of Malabar and Coromandel Coast was not very much in Mauritius.<sup>13</sup> These Indian slave population, as early as in the Seventeenth Century, reached the Isle of Bourbon (Reunion) under the Dutch. But a large contingent of slaves reached Mauritius when the French colonization started between 1729-1731. During these period the Dutch established factories within the jurisdiction of the Bengal *subah*, not only in the important center of commerce such as at Pipli, Balasore, Patna, Futwah, Dacca, Maldah, Kalikapur near Cassimbazar, Chinsurah and Baranagore but also at some villages in the interior with the object of collecting in sufficient quantities of the various species of goods required for their investment.<sup>14</sup> As per the records available in the Indian and the Dutch archives, the Dutch had "traded" in Bengal and Bihar for almost a century and transported vast quantities of commodities and brought over countless treasures.<sup>15</sup>

As mentioned earlier one find the systematic migration of slaves under the French East India company since their settlement in 1772, for the cultivation of sugarcane and

---

<sup>11</sup> Braudel, F, *The perspective of the world*, New York. 1984.

<sup>12</sup> Potsma, J., 1990: pp.112-113.

<sup>13</sup> Wink, Andre, *Alhind: The making of the Indian Islamic World, : Early Medieval India and the expansion of Islam, 7-11<sup>th</sup> C*, Vol.I, Leiden.1990, p.14.

<sup>14</sup> Datta K.K. 1740-1825, 1968, Patna, pp.1.

<sup>15</sup> Hill, S.C., *Bengal in 1756-57 Vol I Calcutta*, 1905, p29, as quoted in Ram B, *Historiography.....opcit p.5*.



coffee,<sup>16</sup> Likewise the official documents of Bengal Presidency shows that slaves were regularly imported into Bengal and were also exported from Bengal to foreign countries and to settlement such as Sumatra,<sup>17</sup> Ceylon,<sup>18</sup> St. Helena,<sup>19</sup> Pondicherry,<sup>20</sup> Burma<sup>21</sup> and even Australia<sup>22</sup> The Portuguese had carried on slave trade in Bengal before the advent of the English powers<sup>23</sup>, and were said to have laid the foundation of slave trade in India.<sup>24</sup>

The V.O.C. in the coromandel region sometimes resorted to slave raids in the neighboring areas. People were simply kidnapped on the highways or children stolen from their parents. This raised an outcry and the people started avoiding Pulicat, a centre of the V.O.C.<sup>25</sup> In 1652, there was a high demand for slaves in the Indies but the end of the famine checked the boom. In 1659-61, there was again a short lived boom in slave trade in the coromandel because of the Tanjore famine, while describing the suffering of the famine stricken family of the Tanjore region the Jesuit missionaries of the *Madura Mission* writes:

*'How to described the anguish and sufferings of our Christians, wandering on the mountains as so many living skeletons, a prey to the horrors of war and to the distress of famine!.....Our neophytes above ten thousands died of misery. The province of Tanjore suffered most.....A large number of émigrés proceeded to Trichinopoly, where war and*

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. p.6.

<sup>17</sup> *Parliamentary Papers, 1828, Vol.II. p.2.*

<sup>18</sup> *Bengal Public Consultation No. 6 of 3<sup>rd</sup> June 1789.*

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid. No.6 of 8<sup>th</sup> August 1794.*

<sup>20</sup> *Bengal Foreign Consultation No. 13 of 20<sup>th</sup> April 1791.*

<sup>21</sup> *Bengal Political Consultation, No. 47, 17<sup>th</sup> oct 1805.*

<sup>22</sup> *Bengal Public Consultation No.1 of 1<sup>st</sup> Oct 1810..*

<sup>23</sup> Carey .W. *The good old days of Honorable John Company, 1906 Vol I, p.466,*

<sup>24</sup> See., Map 3, Portuguese Overseas commercial network in Asia. P.17

<sup>25</sup> Chakravarty, S., *Journal of Asiatic Society, (JAS), XXXIX (2), 1997. p.84.*

*hunger pursued them; others took refuge at Santhome..... But shame, eternal shame to the Dutch, who cruelly speculated on the misery of the Indians. They enticed them to the coast by the bait of abundant food; then, when their number became pretty large and their strength a little recouped, they piled them up on their ships and transported them to other countries to be sold as slaves. Yes, shame to the barbarians!*<sup>26</sup>

Besides, in about a year some 5000 (five thousands) slaves mostly peasants and craftsmen were purchased at Negapatnam at one rial per head <sup>27</sup> The V.O.C had also mapped out the route extending from Quidah in West Africa to Cape colony then to Malabar and Coromandel coast till East Bengal province and finally to the V.O.C. Headquarters at Batavia(Jakarta)<sup>28</sup> Van Dam (the company advocate )also writes that ‘slaves from South India and Ceylon were added to the Portuguese speaking community of Batavia, there was a large concentration on Tamil slaves in Actuin, for example, Tamils were often taken to Ceylon <sup>29</sup> H. Fuber<sup>30</sup> also writes that;

*“there was a constant movement of Indian slaves to the –eastward,-not only from the raids such as those carried out in Bengal by pirates from the Arakan but from the common practice of selling Indian children into slavery of Malay origin .....To the horrors of the – middle passage- were not entirely confined to the Atlantic .In July 1732, the Dutch*

---

<sup>26</sup> Bertrand, *La Mission du Madure*, III, p.127.

<sup>27</sup> Roychoudhury. T., *Jan Company in Coromandel*, as cited in Chakravarty, *Journal of Asiatic Society*, XXXIX (2), p.85.

<sup>28</sup> In 1610, V.OC established a trading post in Yacatra, which was renamed Batavia, subsequently capital of Netharland Indigs. The French forces took the city in 1811 during the Napoleonic war but the British restored it to the Dutch in 1814.

<sup>29</sup> Chakravarty, S., *J.A.S.*,1997, op.cit. For a brief picturesque see Map . 6. p. 62 .

<sup>30</sup> As quoted in *ibid*.

*company's supercargoes in the yacht "Binnewyssent" bought 190 slaves in Madagascar .....124 buccaneer guns, 505 pounds of gun powder , sundry pieces of goods and presents to tribal chieftains. In November, the Yatch arrived in Sumatra with 100 Men and 54 Women, having thrown abroad the bodies of 25 men and 11 Women".*

Augustin de Beaulieu, a traveler of the Seventeenth Century had reported that he met a few Coromandel slaves in Aceh who had been brought from Negapattinam.<sup>31</sup> Subsequently Negapattinam emerged as a big centre of slave trade under the Dutch. It is recorded that the fall of Portuguese settlement of Negapattinam into the hands of the Dutch on 23 July 1658 upto June 1660 a total of 3695 slaves were purchased by the Dutch and shipped to Batavia via Jaffna.<sup>32</sup>

Not only the Dutch but also equally notorious were the Portuguese who preceded other Europeans in carrying out occasional raid, levied protection money in Hooghly and Chittagong, but an impetus to their slave trade was the Piracy by the Arakanese in the Bengal province. The Eighteenth Century also witnessed the active participation of the Arakanese who were popularly known as 'Maghs' and the Portuguese as 'Feringhis' or 'Harmad', pirates in Bengal. The raids of the Maghs and Feringhis become so common that it found a place even in the Bengali literature, popular folk tales memory, etc. The continuous piracy of slave raids eventually led the Moghul rulers to wipe out the Portuguese bases ,Hooghly was captured in 1632 under Shah Jahan and Chittagong in 1666 under Auranzeb <sup>33</sup>. In 1721, an Armenian

---

<sup>31</sup> Denys Lombard, *Memoirs d'un Voyage aus Indes Orientales: Un Morchand Normand a Sumatra Paris, 1996.*, p.129-130 as cited in Stephen, J., op.cit., p.157. See also. Map. NO 3. p. 17 & Map. NO.6. p.62  
<sup>32</sup> .*Generale Missiviene*, iii, pp.335-355, as cited in Stephen, J.,1998, op.cit., p.157.  
<sup>33</sup> Chakravarty, S. J A S, 1997, op.cit., p.87.

merchants named Coja Daniel ,ordinarily a resident of Chinsurah , renounced all right in his slave girl.<sup>34</sup> In April 1728, one Lwrens Argans sold for Rs 51 at Madras a slave girl named Murielle (Murali), aged about 19 years to M.De la Blanchetiere, Director General for the company of France<sup>35</sup> The city of Calcutta was itself a slave market at that time. Among the items of the company's revenue for April 1752, one item is the sale of slaves<sup>36</sup>.The Portuguese and the Maghs propagated the practice of slavery and bands of the Portuguese and the Maghs gathered in the Sunderbans and Frequently haunted the Neighbouring of Akra, Budge Budge and Calcutta<sup>37</sup>

We also come across the following accounts in the East India Chronicle; “ *InFebruary 1717, The Mughls carried off from the most Southern parts of Bengal 1,800 Men, Women and Children in ten days they arrived at Arakkan , and were conducted before the sovereign, who choose the handicraftsmen about one-fourth of the number as his slaves. Almost three-fourth of the inhabitants of Arakkan are said to be the natives of Bengal or descendants of such, who pray that the English may deliver them and they have agreed among themselves to assist their deliverers.*”<sup>38</sup>In Bihar numbers of boys of tender age were brought by dealers and mutilated so as to grow up as suitable servants for the harems of rich lords and little girls were disposed of to evil characters to be brought up to lives of shame and vice.<sup>39</sup> Natural calamities like famine not only facilitates slave trade but also hampers the company's trade in other areas. Van Dam

---

<sup>34</sup> Bengal Past and Present, 1910, pp.261-264.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Datta, K.K., *Studies in the History of Bengal Subah 1740-1770*, p.499.

<sup>37</sup> Bengal Past and Present, Vol. p.271.

<sup>38</sup> Sec., Map. 3. P. 17

<sup>39</sup> Datta K.K., op.cit., pp.499-500.

<sup>40</sup> also testifies that, great war between Arakkan and Bengal, increased the number of captives brought to slaves markets.

Towards the South, the existence of slavery during the vijayanagar period is testified by medieval traveler like Duarte Barbosa, a Portuguese sea captain writes that:<sup>41</sup>

*“When people on the coromandel coast were starving and many died of hunger, they sold their children for four or five panams in exchange for rice and coconuts ....the Coromandel is the supplier of all lands in this parts of saving cambaya , yet in some years it so happens that no rains falls and there is such a dearth among them that many die of hunger and for this reason they sell their children for four or five panams each, at such seasons the Malabares bring them great stores of rice and coconut and take away shipload of slaves”.*

Not only war and famine which facilitates the slave trade, we also have another system which involved the most iniquities practice of stealing children and uprooting women, the worst offenders were not the Europeans but the local broker, who often for a few paltry of silver, bartered away the freedom and happiness of hundreds of their compatriots.<sup>42</sup> Niccolloa Manucci,<sup>43</sup> ‘the Venetian traveler from Italy gives a horrifying accounts of a transaction in which an Italian Priest at Tranquebar engaged himself, with his connivance the wife of four sons of an Indian Christian of Madurai were treacherously sold away for a sum of 30 pagodas and shipped off to Manila. The frantic efforts of the Husbands to recover his family and the

---

<sup>40</sup> As cited in Chakravarty, op.cit., p...

<sup>41</sup> Barbosa, Duarte. *An Account*, Vol.I. p.215.

<sup>42</sup> Manickam, S., *Slavery in the Tamil Country*, 1982, Madurai, p.37.

<sup>43</sup> Manucci, *Storia do Magor 1653-1708*, Vol. IV, pp.127-129.

merciless treatment he received at the hands of the Italian priest and the Danes at Tranquebar are too pathetic to be told’.

The second half of the Seventeenth Century saw a constant war among local rulers on a large scale. The ruler of Mysore Kanthiva Narasa Raja invaded the Madurai territory around Sathiyamangalam in 1656.<sup>44</sup> He pressed into the country until he seized the fortress of Tiruchirapalli 1659.<sup>45</sup> In the meantime a constant warfare took place between the Nayaks of Madurai and Thanjavur, which eventually coupled the invasion of Bijapuri armies in the territory of Thanjavur who captured the entire kingdom after disposing the Nayaks<sup>46</sup>. Phillip Baldaeues, the Dutch minister (priest) in Ceylon who visited Tanjore region during the grim situation of this famine writes:

*“At the time of our first arrival (1660), we found the affairs of Negapatnam in no small confusion; the city having been just besieged by the Naiks ... Besides this, the king of Visiapour had not long before the seized made inroads into the country , and by destroying all the fruits of the earth ,and whatever else he met with, occasion’d such as famine , that destroy the poor country wretches being forced to fly the city for want of rice and other eatables, you saw the streets cover’d with emaciated and half starv’d persons, who offered themselves to slavery for small quantity of bread ...at the rate of 10 shilling a head ; above all 5000 of them were brought and carried to Jaffnapatam ... Colombo...Batavia”.*<sup>47</sup>

---

<sup>44</sup> Shastri. K.A.. *Advanced History of India*, 1971, p.428.

<sup>45</sup> Thekkedath, J., *History of Christianity*, Vol.II p.227, Bangalore Church History Association of India, 1982.

<sup>46</sup> See map 7. courts ports and towns in South asia. p. 63

<sup>47</sup> Baldaeues, Phillip., *A Description of the east India Coas tof Malabar and Coromandel and also the Isle of Ceylon with their adjacent kingdom and province*, New Delhi, Asian Educational Service, 2000.p.651.

Van Dam (the company advocates of V.O.C.) also writes that ‘The company bought slaves during famine in Tanjore, also from Negapatnam to Ceylon, some five hundreds were taken to Jaffnapatnam to Ceylon, some five hundreds slaves weavers and smiths as well as women and children were taken to Jaffnapatnam. He also gives the horrryfyng accounts of the Gujarat famine but doesn’t relate to the buying and selling of slaves.’<sup>48</sup>

It was the prevalence of famine in this period which both facilitated the task of labor exporter and alerted the authorities to the extent of the trade,<sup>49</sup> from the archival sources, it is also found that in 1785,that flooding and the failures of crops had led to the sale of hundreds of children from Dacca<sup>50</sup> In 1793 the Governor of Ft. St. George describe how during a severe famine in the northern settlement “ the wretches inhabitants were equally anxious with the purchaser” to sell themselves and avoid starvation<sup>51</sup>

### Sources of Slaves

The Dutch carried out various pattern of supply in the slave trade, apparently there are a number of sources by which the V.O.C resorted to acquire slaves:<sup>52</sup>

---

<sup>48</sup> Chakravarty, S., *J.A.S.*, op.cit. p.91.

<sup>49</sup> Carter, M., *Indian Historical Review*, Vol. 15, No. 1-2, 1988-89, p.253.

<sup>50</sup> *Bengal revenue consultation*, 50/60, 9<sup>th</sup> Sept. 1785, Day to Cooper, 2nd March 1785.

<sup>51</sup> *Madras Public Consultation*, 241/36, Governor to the court of Directors, 28<sup>th</sup> Jan 1793 as quoted in Carter opcit., p.235 .For further details see *Records of Forts St.George,Diary and Consultation Book of 1686 21<sup>st</sup> June Monday*.

<sup>52</sup> Chakravarty, *J.A.S.*, pp.87-88.

- 1). The African slave trade was important for the V.O.C, as for all other East Indian companies.
- 2). The V.O.C. often purchased those enslaved by the local wars and slave raids within the sub continent. Hence the importance of the Bengal- Arakan belt becomes as the haven for the sub-continental slave trade.
- 3). The V.O.C Sometimes carried out slave raids on its own, particularly in the Coromandel coast.
- 4). The V.O.C also resorted to 'voluntary' slavery that it took advantage of people selling themselves or their children in times of famine

The archival source and travel literatures also give us a vivid accounts of persons selling themselves as a slaves on his own will, whenever they found it impossible to clear off their debts and interest. The testimonies of an individual witness or victim confirms that those most exposed to the prospect of famine and having perhaps left homes to seek alms or food were easy pickings for the labour exporters. Thus according to the accounts of a Bania merchants and inhabitants of Yanam in December 1792, “ the poor of the adjacent countries had come to this part to benefit from the charity distributed by the English Company” and were among those enticed on to ships waiting in Coringa bay<sup>53</sup>..

There are also instances like persons offering goods for sale were tricked into embarking on board the ship by the promise of good price for their merchandise, and the complaints of their relatives was a frequent cause of intervention by the authorities. The

---

<sup>53</sup> *Madras Public Consultation*. 342/36, Declaration of B.V. 20 December 1792 pp. 12-47 as cited in Carter, op cit., p.235.



consignment of slaves embarked on the French ships *Mars* and *Courrier de Yanam* provoke an outcry because in their haste to complete their cargoes, the shippers secured Indians of indiscriminate social status.

Recruiters were sent into villages around Yanam to enlist Tailors and Coolies by fraudulent offers of works. Local residents were picked up and one eye witness reported seeing “many people in the vessel who by their dress and toys seemed to be of caste and some women with children at their breast”. But it was the abduction of a young Brahmin boys whose family had come to Yanam to beg from the others of their caste which caused “a ferment to break forth”, an angry crowd surrounded the house of the chief of Yanam and the release of some captives was effected from the godown, but the ship set sail before they could be stopped. It was reported that “many natives of their superior caste lost their children on that night” and that the owners of one of the ships, himself on board was believed to have been involved and his house demolished by the crowd.<sup>54</sup>

Medieval travelers like Nicolo Conti, who visited Vijaynagar empire in its heyday informs us that ‘they have a vast no of slaves and the debtor who is insolvent is every where is adjusted to the property of his creditor<sup>55</sup> Another traveler, Francis Buchanan, also talks about the agrestic “slaves” which according to him were the absolute property of the masters and were kept with the labouring cattle in the open , “for these poor creatures are considered as too

---

<sup>54</sup> bid.. p.236.

<sup>55</sup> Sewill, Robert., *A forgotten Empire (Vijaynagar)*, reprint London; George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1924, p.81.

impure to be permitted to approach the house of their Devaru or Lord”<sup>56</sup>. The British account also gives a clear picture of the ‘agrestic slavery.’ During the time of distress the peasant borrowed money and in order to repay their debt he signed a written documents by which he mortgaged himself to his creditor,<sup>57</sup> where Caste tyranny prepared the ground for the gross ill-treatment of the slaves by their master.

As mentioned earlier considerable number of intermediaries –natives and European-were involved in the supply of slaves, under the direction of the merchants often actively assisted or tolerated by the colonial administrator of the Dutch and French “Factories”. The testimonies of Mirham, aged 14-found on a ship proceeding from calcutta to Pondicherry is typical. She was stated to have been stolen from the house of her parents who reside at kutfurdah Ameerah Bass by Moondhee Mahjee, afterward sold to a man by the name of Sampson residing in Calcutta, who left her in a woman’s house at Serampore and was sold by her to Petit Jaun (of Chandernagore) who sold her to M Jourdan,<sup>58</sup> The famine of 1770,<sup>59</sup> and the crop failure in the Dacca area in 1785,<sup>60</sup> threw a large supplies upon the markets as starving peasants sought to safeguard their lives by setting their children.<sup>61</sup> These poor children were for the most part “conveyed out of the country on the Dutch and especially French vessel.”<sup>62</sup>

---

<sup>56</sup> Buchanan, F., *A journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, Asian Educational Service, New Delhi, 1988, Vol II, p.380.

<sup>57</sup> Carter, *I.H.R. opcit.*, p.260.

<sup>58</sup> *Bengal Foreign Consultation 165/53*, letter to Cornwallis 14<sup>th</sup> April 1791.

<sup>59</sup> Chatterjee, B.B., *Ananda Math*, chapter 1, as cited in Chattopadhyaya, *opcit.*, p.81.

<sup>60</sup> *Bengal Revenue collection*, L.R. No. 311 dated 9<sup>th</sup> Sept 1785.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*,

<sup>62</sup> *Bengal revenue consultation*, Dated 17<sup>th</sup> May 1774.

## Role of Colonial Administrator

In 1774, Warren Hasting report the practice of stealing children from their parents and selling them for slaves, has long prevailed in the country, and has greatly increased since the establishment of English government in it.<sup>63</sup> Ships sailing for the Mascarenes in this latter period carried between one and several hundreds slaves each –a contrast to the handful of slaves disembarked at the Mascarenes a century earlier. The French ship took 130 slaves from Bengal in 1798; the *Jean Bass* sailed for the Isle of France in 1792 with 180 slaves on boards and a cargo of 300 was reported on board a ship at Calicut in the same year.<sup>64</sup>

Usually the Indian slaves were often shipped from one Indian port to another prior to export in which case smaller number would be involved, others were brought overland to the point of embarkation and kept in godown until the departure of the ship- the majority were children or young adults, *the stisam Laws cargo* consisted of 20 girls and 8 boys; one was four years old and the rest varied in age between 6 and 17 years they came from Danah, Chinsurah, Chandernagore, Serampore and some from Calcutta.<sup>65</sup> The 130 slaves embarked on the *Friendship* were mostly aged between 8 and 16 years; of the 23 slaves discovered at Quilon four adults women and the rest were described as small boys and girls.<sup>66</sup>

The English residents of the Calcutta presidency while leaving for home were in a habit of taking them their native's domestic servants. They would either take them to Europe as their

---

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>64</sup> *Madras Military Consultation*, 253/11 as cited in Carter, *I.H.R.*, opcit., p.237.

<sup>65</sup> *Calcutta Gazette*, July, 1789.

<sup>66</sup> *Madras Political Consultation*, Munroe to Beate, 31<sup>st</sup> June, 1812, as cited in Carter, *I.H.R.* p.237.

domestic or sell them at a profit in St. Helena or other parts of calls,<sup>67</sup> one of the earliest of such cases came to light when a certain John comedy or John Richmond, a native of Bengal complained that he had been sold by the Rev. Carr, Chaplain of St. Helena<sup>68</sup> to Mr. Wright for 50 pounds.<sup>69</sup> Between 1780-81, issues of Hickey's Bengal Gazette carry a number of advertisements for the purchase and sale of coffee and Malay slaves inserted by the European residents of the Presidency.<sup>70</sup>

On the Coromandel Coast slave trade was effected largely through the French possession or *comptoirs*, namely Chandernagore, Pondicherry, Mahe, and Yanam. Ties between the administration of French India and the Indian possession were close to the early part of the century in particular the Governor of the region played an active part in the export of the slaves.<sup>71</sup> However the frequency and volume was circumscribed by the established trading pattern and the prevailing winds. Ships usually called at the Isle of France on the return voyage from India between March and June, their primary purpose was the transport of merchandise. Prior to 1767 slaves were often merely an incidentals or additional part of their cargo. The volume of the trade was further circumscribed by the vagaries of war: India's coastline was a frequent theatre of battle in the intermittent Anglo-French conflict of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century with the consequent interference to shipping.<sup>72</sup>

---

<sup>67</sup> Carey, W., *The Good old days of Honorable John company*, Calcutta, 1906, Vol. I. pp.466-470.

<sup>68</sup> From John Company to R brooke, esq, Governor of St. Helena May 1791, *Bengal Public Consultation*, No.2of 7<sup>th</sup> oct1791.

<sup>69</sup> *Bengal Public Consultation*, No 2 of.17<sup>th</sup> Oct. 1791.

<sup>70</sup> *Hickey's Bengal Gazettes 1780-81*.

<sup>71</sup> Carter, M., *I.H.R.*, op.cit., p.235.

<sup>72</sup> Filliot, J.M., *La Traitedes Esclaves Versles Mascareignes*, Au. XVIII e Sie'cle, Paris1974., pp.181-83.

Mr. Borrel – a Swiss officer, in the service of the Dutch at Colombo, who had tried to smuggle some native children out of India.<sup>73</sup> Borrel admitted that he had bought 6(six) of them as his servants in Calcutta and the other 2(two) were the property of a man named Milliat from Chandernagore. The names and description of the children procured by Borrel were as follows.

- 1) Ram Sona, aged 9; she was a month in Calcutta. A Muslim brought her from Garriahat and sold her to a woman, who then sold her to Borrel.
- 2) Pedro, age 6; a Portuguese cook brought him from Amiatolla and sold him to Borrel.
- 3) Khirloom, aged 12; her brother sold her to Flora, who sold her to Borrel.
- 4) Panchoo, aged 6; a Portuguese cook sold her to Borrel<sup>74</sup>

Magistrate W.N.W. Hewett of Midnapur, wrote to Cornwallis from Contai sub- division of 13<sup>th</sup> April 1791, that a ship under French colours(flag) was carrying slaves from Bengal to Pondicherry and that, he wanted to rescue them.<sup>75</sup> Hewett furnished a list of the children he had rescued and so provided incidentally a guide to some Calcutta's doubtless well-known but unsung characters.<sup>76</sup>

---

<sup>73</sup> From the superintendant of police to lord cornwallis'K.G. Dated 14<sup>th</sup> sept. 1789, *Bengal Public Consultation* Dated 16<sup>th</sup> sept 1789.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> It was a merchant of Khejuri, named George Wheatley who had first alerted Hewett, he reported to Hewett that he had heard, there is a vessel on hire passage down there. *Bengal Foreign consultation* No,13, Dated 15th April 1791.

<sup>76</sup> *Bengal Foreign consultation* No.14 dated 20<sup>th</sup> April 1791.

## GIRLS

1. Flori, 16; slave of a person called Jeffery, resident in Territa's Bazar, close to Mr. Tirrita's house.
2. Aunchi, 10; salves of a Portuguese woman Reza Bibi of Chinsurah.
3. Jannu, about 13; slave of Bitnur- a Portuguese of Hall-Bazar, Chandernagore.
4. Susan, 17; slave of Latour of Chandernagore.
5. Dulle, 14; stolen from Dana by Senkaruah Sing, who left her house of
6. Mahrua; was sold by her to Petit Jaun, and by him to M. Jourdan.
7. Jayah, 16; stolen from Dana by a bawd and sold to a Portuguese unknown, in the house of M. Latour, she became the property of Latour afterwards, who disposed of her to M. Jourdan.
8. Mirhan, 14; stolen from her parents, sold to Sampson of Calcutta by Mundi Majhee. Sampson later on sold her to Petit Jaun, who sold her to M. Jourdan.
9. Mary, 7; enticed by a procuress called Lury of Calcutta, who lived in Chandni Chalk area. She sold her to Petit Jaun, who again sold her to M. Jourdan.
10. Kamlee, 8; was in possession of a Muslims called Guzzah Gossein and was stolen from there by a bawd of Chinsurah, then sold to Petit Jaun, who sold her to M. Jourdan.
11. Surry, 10; was sold to Petit Jaun by a Portuguese of khidenpur, Calcutta, who sold her to M. Jourdan.
12. Gaurmohan, 17; stolen from Madorolly, sold to Rama Bibi, by her to petit Jaun, who sold her to M. Jourdan.

13. Hanoo, 16; a male servant of Petit Jaun enticed her away; Petit Jaun sold her to M. Jourdan and put her on board of the ship.<sup>77</sup>
14. Lugulah, 8; brought from Dacca by an Armenian named Cranfelt, who sold her to Roja Bibi. Roja Bibi sold her to M. Jourdan.
15. Pieran, 7; she was at peon's house in Dana and enticed from thence by a Portuguese woman, who sold her to petit Jaun, who again sold her to M. Jourdan.
16. Hannah, 8; all the accounts she could give of herself was that petit Jaun told her that he would make her the mistress of a captain, and sold her to M. Jourdan.
17. Marry; servant of M. Jourdan.
18. Sizard; servant of M. Jourdan.
19. Sarvani; belong to another officer.

### BOYS

1. Joshi Sylrah or Harsoo, 12; after his mother's death his grandmother sold him to Petit Jaun, who sold him to M. Jourdan.
2. Jack, 4; was sold by his uncle to Petit Jaun who sold him to M. Jourdan.
3. Jaggoo, 7; was sold by his father's directions to Petit Jaun, who sold him to M. Jourdan.
4. Anthony, 12; inveigled by a Portuguese called Jaun Thakoor from Dacca. That Portuguese sold him to M. Jourdan.<sup>78</sup>

---

<sup>77</sup> *Bengal Foreign Consultation.*, No. 14, dated 20<sup>th</sup> April. 1791  
<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

5. Pidroo, 12; he was brought from Dana in a Boat full of children for sale, by an unknown Portuguese woman, now residing in Chiuva Bazar in Calcutta. He knew his address
6. Meinooally, 6; and
7. Tom, 10; were too ill of small-pox to be brought for examination,

Ratifeah and Tom belonged to another officer,<sup>79</sup> Hewett after taking every possible care of the children handed them over to Superintendent Motte and Maxwell.<sup>80</sup>

Thus it becomes clear that the enslavement in exchange for provision of subsistence in times of scarcity become a common source of slavery during the colonial expansion, after having sold themselves their offspring remains as a slave forever. This system is mostly noticed in Kerala. In Bihar, we have big landlord and middle class people who owned 'agrestic' slaves. Buchanan offer us a good account of slavery in Bihar, which according him was an intrinsic part of the society,<sup>81</sup> there are also instances where the landlord could sell the slaves in the open market to pay the Government revenue.<sup>82</sup>

Colebrooke, who was for many years Judge of Sadr Diwani Adalat and Sadr Nizamat testifies that 'during a famine or death, parents are known to dispose of their children for prices

---

<sup>79</sup> *Bengal Foreign Consultation*, No. 14, dated 20 April, 1791.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1 of 27<sup>th</sup> April, 1791. From Hewett to E. Hay, dated 21<sup>st</sup> April, 1791.

<sup>81</sup> Buchanan, Francis, *An account of the district of Bihar and Patna in 1811-1812*, Usha Pub., New Delhi, 1986, Vol. p.357.

<sup>82</sup> Chakravarty A.K.1977., *opcit.* pp.31-32.



so very inconsiderable and little more than nominal'. Buchanan also writes that in north India the Rajput, Khattris and Kayasthas openly kept women slaves of many pure tribes (high caste)<sup>83</sup>.

In 1774, We also come across from the dispatch of the Governor in council of Bengal to the Court of Directors the East India Company that the practice of kidnapping children from their parents and selling them as slaves was widely prevalent in Bengal and elsewhere, these children were being exported from the country on Dutch and more regularly on French vessel. The most vulnerable areas were the coastal towns in Malabar and Coromandel, where these slaves were shipped off to Bourbon and Mauritius.<sup>84</sup> Sir William Jones, the first Judge of the Supreme Court has recorded that "the condition of slaves within our Jurisdiction is beyond all imagination, deplorable and the cruelties are daily practiced on them."<sup>85</sup>

*From the Report of the Indian Law Commissioners on Slavery (1841) we learn that during the British period the devadasi system had become degenerate and devaradiyar themselves were interested in purchasing slave girls for the sake of perpetuating their profession.*<sup>86</sup> The report says:

*In Trichinopoly, the neighbouring district the only slaves not agrestic, it is stated "are among the dancing girls employed in the Hindoo pagodas, some of whom are purchased in infancy from indigent parents, who have no other means of providing for them"..... The class of dancing girls are also in the habit of purchasing young girls, chiefly from the*

---

<sup>83</sup> Buchanan Francis. Opcit., p.357.

<sup>84</sup> This topic will be dealt in great detail in the next chapter

<sup>85</sup> *Parliamentary paoers (Judicial) 1828*, pp.9-10, N.A.I., New Delhi.

<sup>86</sup> *Parliamentary paoers XXVIII (1841)*, pp.125-126.

*Kykulee or weaver caste, for the purpose of educating them in their profession; and the children of those girls, if females, continue to form a portion of the company to which their mother was attached.*<sup>87</sup>

These are the some the step taken by the company administrator. However, the rise of the East India Company as a predominant political force did not lead to any perceptible change in establishing the condition of slaves, as the E.I.C. realized that slavery was the integral part of their trading mechanism. So keeping this in mind that, an Act was passed in 1798, by which both the Hindu and Muslims slaves were to be governed in accordance with the principle of their respective laws.<sup>88</sup> But later on a clause was introduced into the E.I.C Bill (1833), declaring that the Governor General in Council was empowered to make laws or regulation for the elimination of Slavery either entirely or partially. However, it was Shivaji who made a genuine effort to stop the slave trade before the E.I.C initiatives who issued a *cowle* in March 1678, the charters is as:<sup>89</sup>

*“under the Muslims government it had become lawful for the Europeans to buy men,women and children from here without hindrance. But now so long as I am (Shivaji)master of these lands, you(Europeans)should not buy or transport any women, men and children.”*

---

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., pp.125-26.

<sup>88</sup> Chakravarty.A.K., opcit p., 163.

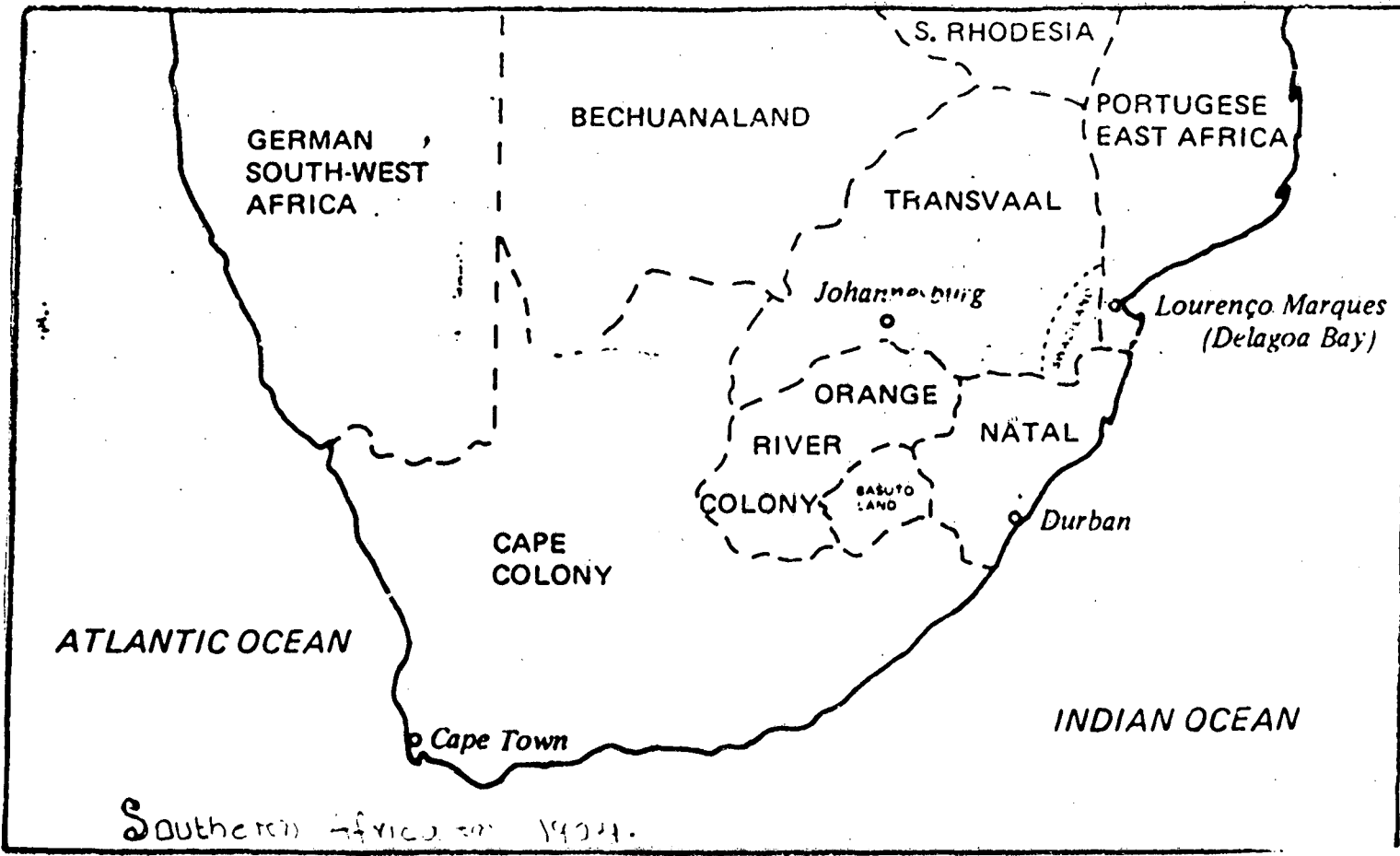
<sup>89</sup> Nilakanta Sastri.K.A., “Shivaji’s charter to the Dutch on the Coromandel Coast”, *Proceeding of the Indian Historical Congress*, Calcutta, 1989., pp.1156-1165.

The only visible result was that the question of slavery was referred to the law commission, which was set up in 1835 under the charter act to suggest reform in the existing judicial system with Macaulay as its president.<sup>90</sup> The following period saw the transportation of Indian slave as 'indentured labour' which was a 'euphemistic' term for another form of slavery.

---

<sup>90</sup> *Proceeding of the law commission evidence on slavery in the East Indies 1839-1841*, NAI, New Delhi.

# *CHAPTER III*



Southern Africa in 1904.

MAP. 4. Southern Africa in 1904, Showing Cape Colony.

### CHAPTER -III

## SLAVERY IN MAURITIUS: A CASE STUDY OF INDIAN SLAVES

Mauritius known generally in the Bengal presidency as “Mirich” is the colony, which has imported the Indian labor for the longest period. The Island remain uninhabited, until the early seventeenth century when the Dutch East India company (V.O.C) begun to take a serious interest in the South western Indian ocean. In 1638, the Dutch made the first of several attempts to colonize the Island which they named Mauritius in honor of Maurice of Nassau, the *stadthouder*, of Holland. The VOC interest in Mauritius was spurred largely by the desire to establish a refreshment station for its ship plying between Europe and East Asia, although exploitation of the Island’s forest of ebony also figured in this early attempts of colonization.<sup>1</sup>

The migration of Indian slaves to Mauritius spans almost the entire history of its colonization. South Asian were among the few of hundreds of slaves brought by the Dutch during their fleeting occupations of Mauritius between 1638 and 1704. They also figured among the earliest slaves in 17<sup>th</sup> century, Isle Bourbon. But it was the advent of the French Colonist in Mauritius, which witnessed the import of Indian slaves on large scale.<sup>2</sup> La Bourdonnais, governor from 1735-1746, envisioned the Mascarenes as a base from which French interest in India could be supported and devoted most of his tenure in office to translate his vision into reality. As a result of his endeavor, the *Ile de France* soon becomes an important base from which French fleets attacked British possession in India.

---

<sup>1</sup> De Nettancourt, 1979 as quoted in Allen B Richard.1999, CUP., P.9.

<sup>2</sup> Marina Carter, 1988-89, *IHR*, vol.15, no.1-2, p.233.

French privateer preyed upon Anglo- Indian and allied shipping in the Indian Ocean during the war of Austrian succession, the seven years war, the war of American independence, and the revolutionary and Napoleonic eras.<sup>3</sup> The island's strategic importance finally forced the British to muster an expeditionary forces in 1810 to capture the Ile de France et de Bourbon.

Concerned about the consequences of returning “the star and the key of the Indian Ocean” to her nemesis, Britain demanded permanent possession of Mauritius and its dependencies, a demand met by the Treaty of Paris in 1814. After the British Colonisation, Grierson made an assessment of the population and come to the conclusion that the total residential is about 369,000 of which large numbers of about 248,000 populations are of Indian Extraction.<sup>4</sup> The slaves of Mauritius can be categorized under the following rubrics based on their origin:

1. Creoles born of Slave parents of the colony<sup>5</sup>
2. Indian slaves mainly from Malay, Malabar & Coromandel Coast and Bengal presidency.
3. Madagascar's slaves
4. Mozambican slaves

---

<sup>3</sup> Allen B Richard., 1999, CUP. P.11.

<sup>4</sup> Griere Son, G.A., *Reports on Colonial Emigration from Bengal presidency, 1883* N.A.I. New Delhi, p.2.

<sup>5</sup> Since “Creoles” has acquired a meaning that is different from the original Portuguese “Crioulo”, meaning a home-born slave, for the purpose of this study “Creole” slaves will be referred to by the neutral term, “Mauritian born”.

According to Etienne Brunel, "The Africans are obtained here as a result of the wars which these people wage among themselves with a sole idea of catering for our ignoble trade. The prisoners are sold to us. The Indians are stolen in India even by those of our merchants who lay hands on them inspite of the precautions of the English government which repudiates these atrocities and prohibits the theft of them, the most lovable men that nature has created".<sup>6</sup>

Roy argues that the first batch of the Indian slaves came to Mauritius under the Dutch occupation of the Island, followed by several brigades of volunteers from Madras and Bengal who joined the British expedition which led to the conquest of Mauritius in 1810.<sup>7</sup> As early as in 1816, the colonial government in a sort of experimentation decided to use the Indian convicts as labour. In the following year some 500(five hundred) convicts were being used to repair roads. By 1828, the number of convicts who had reached the Islands had climbed to at least 1,018.<sup>8</sup>

The Island roads were constructed by Indian convicts who were Transferred here by the colonial master during Farquhar dispensation. It was Labourdonnais who brought artisans from South India and employed African apprentices to become later on as a good mechanics. By 1740 the Island has 137 Indian artisans, masons and carpenters.<sup>9</sup>

The following Table shows the types of work in which Indian slaves were employed:

---

<sup>6</sup> As quoted in Jay Narain Roy 1960, *Mauritius in Transition*, p.198

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> Colonial Office. 167/24-Appendix 23: return of the number of the convicts at Mauritius 30<sup>th</sup> Oct. 1828 as quoted in Allen B Richard 1999 *opcit*, p16.

<sup>9</sup> *ibid.*



**Table No.3. Different occupations' of Indians in Mauritius,1761-1817.**

Works	Male Indians		Female Indians	
	1761	1817	1761	1817
Basket maker	2	-		
Plumber	5	-		
Blacksmith	2	15		
Carpenter	8	63		
Gardner	1	136	3	-
Carter	2	8		
Groom	11	19		
Hospital servants	3	7	-	15
Manual worker	22	84	14	16
Cook	2	340	1	27
Painter	4	11		
Laundry/laundress	-	15	1	69
Domestic	-	485	1	409
Commander	-	112		
Field hand	-	771	-	435
Shoemaker	-	24		
Chicken keeper	-	8	-	46
Tailor	-	27	-	7
Cooper	-	8		
Wig maker	-	9		
Butler	-	2		

Tanner	-	13		
Seller	-	54	-	20
Baker	-	6		
Fisherman	-	49		
Mason	-	21		
Hawker	-	9		
Unfit for work	2	72	5	58
Others	2	136	1	24

Source: See note.<sup>10</sup>

The slave registration of 1761 and 1817 give us valuable information regarding the nature of their work. The figure from 1761 to 1817 reveals the facts that by 1817 the colonial master had a good taste in the skills of Indians in cooking, gardening and other domestic work, which is exemplified by the above data for both male and females. Secondly by 1817 Indians were also enlisted as commanders. However, women's were increasingly involved as plantation or field worker, which is absent in the data of 1761.

The first group slaves in Mauritius were imported by the Dutch from Madagascar, they were deployed in the newly introduced sugarcane plantation Island by the Dutch. In 1706, four years before the Dutch abandoned Mauritius, there were 57 slaves out of a population of 185. The French occupied Mauritius in 1715 and between 1735 and 1767 the number of slaves

<sup>10</sup> PRO T/71, pp.566-76, for 1817 Data and ANOM, DFC. Memoirs 127, for 1761 Data as quoted in carter M. *IHR* vol 15 1988-89 opcit pp.243-244.

population increased from 648 to 15,027 persons. By the time of the French Revolution 1789 there were 37,315 slaves in Mauritius.<sup>11</sup>

During the French dispensation, the colonialist introduced the sugar plantations.<sup>12</sup> In addition, Port Louis became a thriving free port, a centre for trade and privateering. The ideas of Liberty and Equality that were espoused by the French Revolution changed nothing for the slaves in Mauritius. Instead the colonial administrator defied the Government squadrons sent in 1793 to enforce the French abolition of slavery.<sup>13</sup>

During the heyday of the French colonial expansion in India, the slave trade was largely effected through the French possession or “*Comptoirs*” namely- Chandernagore, Pondicherry, Mahe and Yanam.<sup>14</sup> Ties between the administrators of French India and the Indian Ocean possession were considerably close and in the early parts of the eighteenth century, in particular, the governor of the region played an active part in the export of slaves.<sup>15</sup> The frequency and volume of the imports was circumscribed by the established trading patterns and prevailing winds. Ships usually called at the Isle of France on the return voyage from India between March and June.

As mentioned in the previous chapter slave labour has been described as one of the buttresses of the colonial masters. The Muslim merchants and the Portuguese private traders from the West Coast carried on shipload of famine stricken people who had sold themselves

---

<sup>11</sup> Anthony J Barker 1996, *Slavery and anti slavery in Mauritius, 1810-33: The conflict between economic expansion and humanitarian reform under British rule*, Houndmill: Macmillan, p53. For further details see *Foreign and Political 1893, Consultation Dept. 13<sup>th</sup> February no. 36*, NAI, New Delhi.

<sup>12</sup> The first sugar factory was established in 1744.

<sup>13</sup> *Federal Research Division Library of Congress*, ed, by Helen Chapin Metz, 1994, August in <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/mutoc.html>.

<sup>14</sup> See Map.No.7. P. C 3

<sup>15</sup> Marina Carter, *IHR*, op.cit, p.234.

as slaves from the Coromandel ports.<sup>16</sup> The slaves brought by the Malabar merchants from the Coromandel Coast were bought by the Portuguese in Goa and sold to the Mesticoes in northern ports of Bhatkal and Dabul( Dhabol).<sup>17</sup> The Portuguese settlement of Melaka also received many slaves from India.

In South East Asia, Makassare was the base for many of the slave traders as it was important market for slaves. It was also a major transshipment point for slaves in the region. The private Portuguese traders who purchased these slaves employed them in their ships carrying pepper to Jambi. The slaves from Panarukan in Java were also reported to have been sent to Melaka<sup>18</sup>. Thus trading in slaves during the Portuguese period took place as a part of the commercial activities in which the West Coast of India and South East Asia played an active role.<sup>19</sup>

Initially, the French objectives were the transport of merchandise. Prior to 1767 slaves was merely an incidental or additional part of their cargo. The volume of trade was further circumscribed by the vagaries of war; India's coastline was a frequent theatre of battle in the intermittent Anglo-French Conflict of the eighteenth century with the consequent interference to shipping.<sup>20</sup>

As mentioned in the Second chapter, the prevalence of famines in this period which both facilitated the task of labour-exporters and alerted the authorities to the extent of the trade. It was reported in 1785 that flooding and the failure of crops had led to the sale of

---

<sup>16</sup> Duarte, Barbosa,... vol.II,p.125.

<sup>17</sup> Stephen S. Jayaseela, 1998: *The Portuguese in the Tamil coast, Pondicherry*, Navajothi, p.156.

<sup>18</sup> See also map No.3. p-17

<sup>19</sup> See the Portuguese trading networks in South East Asia,Map,No.4.

<sup>20</sup> J.M. Filliot, *La Traitedes Enclaves Verse les Miscarriages Au XVIII e Siecle* (Paris 1974) p.64.

hundreds of children from Dacca.<sup>21</sup> In 1793, the governor of Fort St. George described how during a severe famine in the northern settlements “the wretched inhabitants were equally anxious with the purchasers to sell themselves and avoid starvation.”<sup>22</sup>

Person offering goods for sale were often tricked into embarking on boards the ships by the promise of a good price for their merchandise. Mahmoud, a native of Bombay was taken to Sumatra by his brother at the age of 13, from there he was induced to embark on a ship bound for Mauritius on the pretext of being able to obtain a passage back to Bombay. On his arrival he was treated as a slave and when he complained to the police office, He was threatened with transportation to Botany Bay, if he did not return to his owner.<sup>23</sup> In August 1787, the superintendent of police of Calcutta, Motte and Maxwell, informed the Governor General Lord Cornwallis that they had apprehended “twenty persons ranging from four to sixteen years- who have been stolen or improperly seduced” from Dacca.<sup>24</sup>

In 1805, Peter Johannes- a Portuguese inhabitants of Rangoon, applied to George Udney- the Deputy governor of Bengal to return his female slave Mary alias Albina, who had managed to escape on board the ship Shah Pririe, sailing under the English colours(flag).<sup>25</sup> Mary in her deposition, states that she was born at Calootola within the town of Calcutta, her father was a seacunny named Benedict and her mother’s name was Iria. Both of them were dead.<sup>26</sup> When she was about seven, a European Portuguese called P. Cardozo, “who was at Calcutta then, but now resided at Rangoon, carried her under promise of good treatment, and

---

<sup>21</sup> *Bengal Revenue Consultation* 50/60, 9<sup>th</sup> September 1785, Day to Cooper, 2 March 1785.

<sup>22</sup> *Madras Public Consultation*, 241/36 Governor to the Court of Directors. 28 January 1793 as quoted in Marina Carter IHR, op.cit.p.235.

<sup>23</sup> Marina Carter *Ibid*.

<sup>24</sup> The Superintendent of Police to Earl Cornwallis, the Governor General in Council, *B.R.C.* dated 20<sup>th</sup> September 1787.

<sup>25</sup> From P. Johannes to G. Udney, Vice president and Deputy Governor in Council Fort William, *B.P.C.* no.43, 17<sup>th</sup> October 1805.

<sup>26</sup> *B.P.C.*no.10, 26th December 1805.

then she was taken on board to Rangoon where he made her a slave.<sup>27</sup> After four years Cardozo again sold her to one Salvador De Monte, butler of captain Johnson for one hundred and sixteen rupees, who kept her as his mistress for about a year and then went on to voyage to Madras where she escape through the captain's help.<sup>28</sup>

On arrival at Calcutta she told the Magistrate about her maternal grandmother who lived at Calcutta. As Mary saw her grandmother she burst in tears<sup>29</sup> and asked her grandmother "Don't you recognize me? I am Mary of yours; whom you sold to the Portuguese, who in turn sold me at Pegu".<sup>30</sup> Such was the condition of Indian slaves who willingly or unwillingly had to embark and undergo tremendous mental and physical tortures under the colonial masters. Though, few of them like Mary could manage to come home others were forced to work in tropical countries in the plantation crops.

According to Anthony J. Banker, Slavery in Mauritius was "conspicuously cruel and the lives of slaves [were] uniquely unstable".<sup>31</sup> This was so especially during the early part of the nineteenth century, from the beginning of the British rule in 1810 to emancipation in 1835. Paradoxically, this was also the period in which slavery was beginning to die in the rest of the world through a combination of economic forces and humanitarian pressure.

Britain, the metropolitan power in Mauritius at the time was in the forefront of the movement to bring the trade in slaves to an end, abolishing the oceanic trade in 1807 and

---

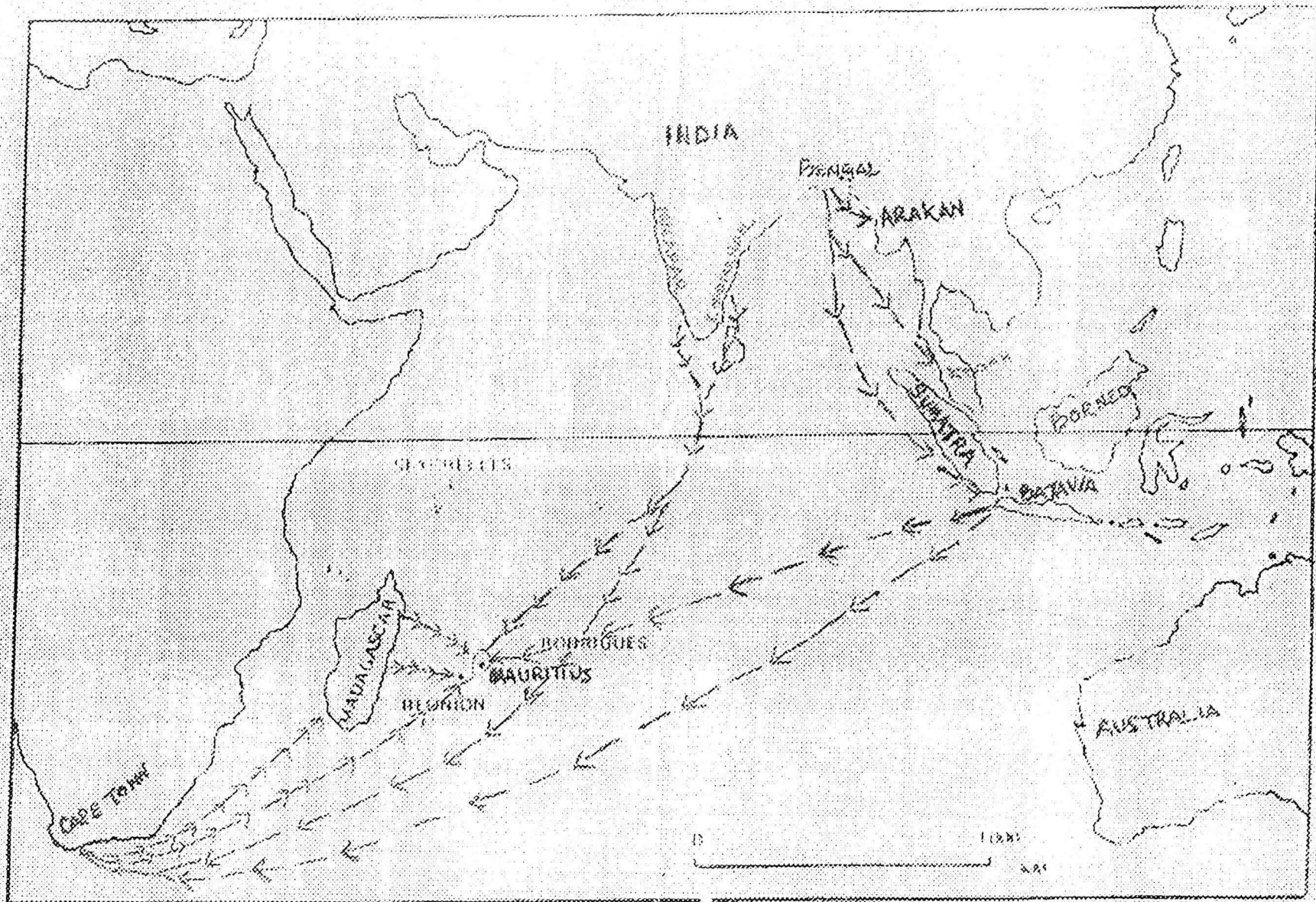
<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

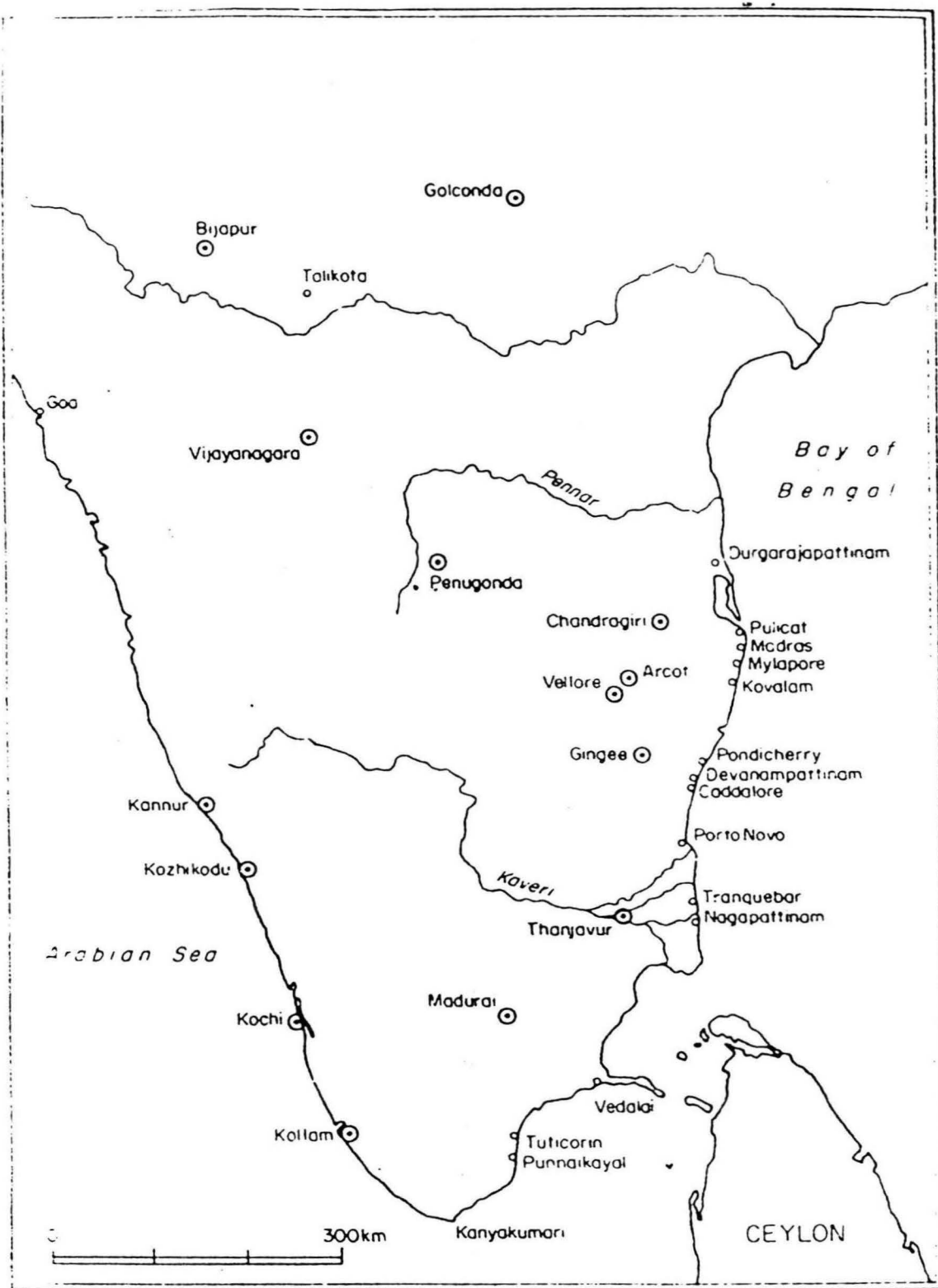
<sup>29</sup> As her grandmother confides to the Magistrate that she sold her due to financial burden after her parents deaths.

<sup>30</sup> B.P.C. no. 11, 26<sup>th</sup> December 1805.

<sup>31</sup> Anthony J. Barker 1996, *opcit*, p.53. For future details see *foreign and political 1839 consultation Dept.* 13<sup>th</sup> February no.36, NAI, New Delhi.



MAP 6. Slave Trade Routes During European Colonial Expansion.



Map 7 Court-towns and ports in South India, 1500-1800



## Chapter -IV

# SLAVERY IN CAPE COLONY:

## *A Study of the Slave Society*

### Historio-geographical setting

On 6<sup>th</sup> April, 1652, Jan Van Riebeeck, arrived in Table Bay with a small fleet of three ships to found the first permanent European settlement in South Africa. He was given instruction by the Dutch Council to build a fort to protect the water supply and accommodate a garrison and sick sailor; to lay out gardens and orchards and barter cattle and sheep with the Hottentots, So, as to ensure an adequate supply of food for the company's passing ships.<sup>1</sup> Subsequently, people from India were taken to the Cape and sold into slavery to do domestic work for the settlers, as well as the dirty and hard work on the farm.<sup>2</sup>

The Dutch had become firmly established in the Indies with their headquarters at Batavia and therefore tended to use the more easterly route to Java.<sup>3</sup> They were followed by the British until their trading interest became more concentrated on Indian soil. Both the British and the Dutch used St. Helena as a stopping Centre to and from the far East, But by the mid seventeenth century, the resource of the Islands such as Pigs were used up<sup>4</sup>, also it was far

---

<sup>1</sup> N.C. Pollocks and Swanzie Agnews; *An Historical Geography of South Africa*. Longmans 1963, pp.37-38.

<sup>2</sup> [www.http//Indian](http://Indian) Slavs in South Africa, htm.pl.

<sup>3</sup> See Map.No.6. P. 62

<sup>4</sup> Pollock & Swanzie, op.cit.p.35.

out in the South Atlantic and on the last lap of the homeward voyages, whereas the Cape was roughly equidistant between Europe and the Indies.

Table Bay that became the first site of permanent European settlement in South Africa. It has several advantage like, good permanent spring and was therefore much used as a halting place by Dutch and English ships Edward Terry described it in 1615, "... for besides a most delectable brook of pure water, arising hard by out of a mighty bill [called from its forms the Table] there are good store of cattle and ships...". Backed by its impressive table-topped mountain, whose steep precipices of grey sandstone on a granite base facing were often obscured by a plunging waterfall of white mist pushed over by the Turbulent South-Easterly and known as the Table clothes.<sup>5</sup> In 1620 captain Shilling and Fitz Herbert of the English East India Company annexed Table Bay for England but their offer was declined by King James I.

In 1657, the first nine land grants, each of 30 acres with freeholds tenure, were given along the banks of the Liesbeeck River, the soil a deep loam, was among the most fertile in the peninsula; farming was greatly restricted by company policy, For example, vegetables could only be sold to ships some day after their arrival, and after the company had sold their own supplies.

The goal of the colonial ruler was to turn Africans into a pliant, disciplined tax-paying, workforce producing for the market. This required divorcing [pushing out] numbers of them from the means of production- land and labor and turning them into wage laborers or peasant producers. This was because the colonial government were short of capital and not been able to extract sufficient money from taxes to fund their administrations and pay market rates for

---

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, p.37

the Labor needed to build the infrastructure. The need of more labour at cheap price is specially required, as the colonial government needed to build - the roads, railways, docks and other projects- to develop their new possessions.<sup>6</sup>

A definite settlement pattern emerged with the small town of Dekkaap (Cape Town) and the forms of the Liesbeeck and Constantia valleys in the peninsula separated by the Cape flats from the Bulk of the Wine farm.<sup>7</sup> Several hundreds of Colonists can be seen at the Cape by the end of the seventeenth century and in contrast to the discharged company servants, proved better farmers and form a stable elements of the population. It is from this small farming nucleus at the Cape at the end of the Seventeenth century that the majority of the African population has grown.

As a result of the French occupation from 1784 and the cosmopolitan atmosphere created, De Kaap came to be called 'Little Paris' in the 1780s. This expansion of the rural and urban economies of the Cape led to consistent demands for slaves in the colony. Although slaves had been introduced as a result of the trading activities of VOC in the east, there was no well established source of slaves. Those imports who were in the cape were organized in a very irregular and haphazard manner or fashion.<sup>8</sup>

Van Riebeeck had hoped to establish a peasant farming communities on European lines.<sup>9</sup> But soon after the first farms were granted along the Liesbeeck River shipment of slaves arrived in the area and the burghers were to rely completely on slave rather than free.

---

<sup>6</sup> Suzanne Miers; *Slavery in the Twentieth Century "The Evolution of a Global Problem"* Altamira Press 2003 p.47.

<sup>7</sup> Pollock and Swanzie Op.cit, p.45.

<sup>8</sup> Nigel Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*, CUP 1985, p.41.

<sup>9</sup> Pollock and Swazie Op.cit, p.52.

white labour. By the mid eighteenth century slave outnumbered the burghers. Internal communications were extremely poor. It was only the mineral discoveries of diamonds and gold in the latter half of the nineteenth century that South Africa became as an important economic base for the European company.

### **The Cape Slave**

At the Cape there were distinctions in family management between patriarchal, paternalistic and patrician family farms.<sup>10</sup> As Phillip Morgan, a historian of the South American has stressed the distinction between patriarchal and paternalism is a fine one. Nevertheless, there are at least four differences between them.

First, patriarchy is a more severe code than paternalism. Patriarchal slave owners stressed order, authority, unswerving obedience, they were quick to resort violence when their authority was questioned. Paternalistic owners, on the other hand, while not against violence, were more inclined to stress their solicitude and their generous treatment of their dependants.

Second, patriarchy was a less sentimental code. Paternalist expected gratitude, even love, from their slaves. Patriarchs never underestimated their slave's capacity to rebel or to run away. Consequently, patriarchal punishments were vicious, sometimes involving the death of the slave or dependent serf. Human life was cheap to the patriarchal owner, while the paternalist owners created the fictional ideal of humble, contented and docile slaves.<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup> Robert C.H. Shell. COB. p.xxviii.

<sup>11</sup> Philip Morgan "*Three Planters and their slaves...*" in Winthrop Jordan and Sheila L. Skemp (eds). *Race and Family in the Colonial South* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi 1987, pp.39-40).

The third and perhaps most important, patriarchal society were starkly based on sexual difference. It was the third family form; the patrician's introduced 'chattel slavery' to South Africa and managed the slave trade until 1795.<sup>12</sup> Fourth, the patriarchal family was more respectful of age as it constitutes authority.

Though few of the first slaves come from West Africa, most slaves come from societies around the Indian Ocean basin. Slaves come from Madagascar, Mozambique and the East African Coast, from India, the island of the East Indies such as Sumatra, Java, the Celebes, Ternate and Timor. These region formed as one of the oldest slave trading areas in the world dating back to 1580.<sup>13</sup> European visitor to the Cape Town were invariably shocked to see some green and blue eyed slave around the port. Religion, clothing, geographical origin, and civic identities also were used to create a sense of difference. By the nineteenth century, race was decisively folded into the social order in the Colonies. The word colored was vigorously applied by the self-styled whites to the descendants of slaves.

The first slaves at the Cape arrived on 28<sup>th</sup> March 1658, on board the *Amersfoort*. This group was captured by the Dutch from a Portuguese Slaver that was on its way to Brazil. Of the 250 slaves that were captured, only 170 survived the journey to the Cape. Most of the slaves on board the *Amersfoort* were originally captured by the Portuguese in present day Angola. On 6<sup>th</sup> May 1658, 228 slaves from Ghana arrived at the Cape on board the *Hassalt*. The slave trade to the Cape was controlled by the VOC. The VOC sent out slavers to buy and bring them to the Cape colony.

---

<sup>12</sup> Robert. C.H. Shell. *COB*,p.XXVII.

<sup>3</sup> Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social deaths: A Comparative Study*, Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press, 1982, p.150.

**Table No.6.VOC sponsored slave voyages 1652-1796**

Region	1652-1699	1700-1749	1750-1795	Total
Madagascar	12	9	12	33
Mozambique, East African Coast Zanzibar	-	-	5	5
Delgoa bay	-	Several	-	Several
Dahomey	1	-	-	1
Total	39			

Source: See Note.<sup>14</sup>

The VOC's return fleets from Batavia and other places in the East sailed around the Cape on their way to Europe. Since VOC officials could not take their slaves with them to Netherlands (because slavery was not allowed in Holland), many of these officials sold their slaves at the Cape to get a better price than in the East Indies.

The Indian sub-continent was the main sources of slaves during the early part of the eighteenth century. Approximately 80 percent of slaves come from India during this period. A slaving station was established in Delgoa Bay [present day Maputo] in 1721, but was abandoned in 1731. Between 1731 and 1765 more and more slaves were brought from Madagascar.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Jim Armstrong and Nigel Worden in R. Elphick and H. Gilomee (eds.) 1989. *The shaping of South Africa Society 1652-1840*. Cape Town, Maskew Miller, Longman, p.112.

<sup>15</sup> [www.http.Links slave routes to Cape Town.htm](http://www.links.slave.routes.to.Cape.Town.htm).p.6. Iziko Museum.

A woman from Bengal named Mary was bought for Van Riebeeck in Batavia in 1653. Two years later in 1655, Van Riebeeck purchased from the commander of a Dutch ship returning from Asia to Holland, a family from Bengal- Domingo and Angela and their three children. On May 21, 1656, the marriage was solemnized at the Cape between Jan Wouters, a white and Catherine of Bengal who was liberated from slavery. Later in the years Anton Muller was given permission to marry Domingo Elvingh, a woman from Bengal.<sup>16</sup>

Evidence from the seventeenth century records preserved in the Cape Town Deeds office shows that there were between three-Twelve clearly identifiable cases of slave sales to individuals at the Cape from personnel or passengers on returning ships from Batavia each year. These includes some, which were made by captains or skippers on behalf of their masters still living in the East Indies.<sup>17</sup> The slotter Hoge which sailed from Batavia in 1783, had twenty slave on board destined for sale at the Cape and was only one of the 137 ships that left Batavia between 1780 and 1790, although, the fact that the slaves on board staged a meeting might indicate that the number was higher than average.<sup>18</sup> The Cape summer would thus have been the peak period for slaves purchase by private individuals in Cape Town and coincided with the season of heaviest labour demand by grain and wine farmers.<sup>19</sup>

In 1767, the council of the Indies in Batavia forbade the carrying of eastern slave to the Cape [Cape colony administration was under the aegis of Batavia] 'either for sale or on order'. on pain of confiscation, a response to the fear of uncontrollable eastern slave in colony

---

<sup>16</sup> [www.http// Indian slaves in South Africa,H tm. p.1](http://www.IndianSlaves.com)

<sup>17</sup> These figure are based on the lists in Boeseken 1977,pp.124-94, as quoted in Nigel Wooden, 1985,p.43.

<sup>18</sup> Nigel Wooden 1985,p.43.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid,p.44.

expressed by the council of policy, but also a measure to attempt to cut down the extent of private trading outside company control.<sup>20</sup>

In January 1786, the Governor and Council refused to permit the captain of a Portuguese slaving vessel to sell any of his slaves, and only granted permission for them to be brought to land before few days on condition that they were closely watched, fearing that their sale would be 'a great handicap... to the slave trade which has been carried out on several voyages with great success for the honorable company.'<sup>21</sup>

The continuing problems of slave supply were caused by the Company's control over both the imports of slaves from the East and over foreign traders. This had led to renewed the demands by the burghers for the opening of a free trade system for slaves to the Frijkenius and Nederburg commission in 1792.<sup>22</sup> Finally, the commissioners conceded finally the right for such a trade but nothing had come of it by the time of British take over in 1795. Precise estimates of the scale of slave imports into the colony are difficult to make because of the fragmentary nature of the surviving evidence and the degree of disorganization in sales to the private burghers which the Company permitted. Moreover, the present work is primarily based on secondary accessible sources from different library in India but not in South Africa and West Indian Ocean Islands.

---

<sup>20</sup> C.R. Boxer: 1965, *The Dutch Sea born Empire 1600-1800*, London. p.240.

<sup>21</sup> Resolution of the Council polity. 6 January Cape Archives, 170, p.137. as quoted in Nigel Wooden, op.cit.p.45.

<sup>22</sup> Nigel Wooden, *ibid.*



**Table.No.7: Percentage distribution of slaves by origin recorded in Stellenbosch district inventories.**

Years		Cape-Born	Madagascar	Mozambique	India		Ceylon	Indonesia	Others
					Bengal	Malabar			
1722-39, N=58	M	10.3	13.0	3.4	8.6	11.2	10.3	27.6	4.3
	F	0	0.9	0	3.4	0.9	0	0	0
	C	5.2	0.9	0	0	0	0	0	0
1740-59, N=108	M	12.0	6.5	4.7	13.0	14.8	0.9	21.3	6.5
	F	7.4	0.9	0.9	0.9	0	0	0.9	0
	C	9.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1760-9, N=144	M	23.6	8.3	2.7	5.5	16.6	0	16.6	0
	F	20.8	1.4	0	0	0	0	0	0
	C	4.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1770-89, N=739	M	13.4	10.0	3.8	8.9	9.6	0	12.6	1.1
	F	14.7	0.8	0.9	0.3	1.1	0	0.5	0
	C	22.0	0.1	0	0	0	0	0	0
1790-9, N=461	M	16.0	12.1	14.9	5.6	6.7	0.9	6.9	0
	F	11.0	1.3	0.9	0.65	0.65	0	1.7	0
	C	21.0	0	0.4	0	0	0	0	0

M=Adult Males  
F=Adult Females  
C=children  
N=Total Sample

Sources: See Note.<sup>23</sup>

Thus there were limitation, to the extent of slave trading from external sources at the Cape and access to those slaves who were imported was easier for Cape Town residents and those in its immediate hinterland. Nevertheless, the analysis of slaves in the Stellenbosch district inventories during the Eighteenth century shown in the Table No.7, reveals that locally born slaves remained in a minority throughout the period, and when children were excluded the percentage of imported slaves is considerably higher. Amongst the imported slave Bengal and Malabar constitute the highest proportion.

<sup>23</sup>

CA 1/STB18/32-18/35, Stellenbosch district estate inventories, 1722-1804, as cited in Nigel Worden, 1985, op.cit., p.47.

patrolling the coast of Africa in order to prevent the trade from continuing. One might therefore expect that the slave population would be reduced and that slavery would become less harsh in British-ruled Mauritius. Instead, the opposite was the case.

It was however, during the early British period that slavery was at its most vicious form. During this period, economic and political changes in Mauritius produced tensions that profoundly affected the lives of slaves. Although the British governed Mauritius they retained the French legal and administrative system, and many of the senior administrators and local officials were French. The dominant culture and religion was French and the economy remained dependent on the French planters, who in turn were dependent on slave labour.

The abolition of the legal traffic in slaves did not however bring an end to slave trading. The importance of servile labour to the Island's economy as well as the desire to placate a restive white population after the colony's capitulation, led Sir Robert Farquhar, the first British governor, to recommend that Mauritius be exempted from the 1807 ban on the British subjects participating in the slave trade, a request which the secretary of state for the colonies promptly denied.

Within a month of the colonial secretary's decision, the island and its dependencies became notorious as the centre of an illicit trade in slaves that lasted into the mid-1820s-30s. It seems likely that the British Governor of Mauritius at the time, Sir Robert Farquhar, connived in the illicit slave trade, which must have been extensive since the slave population in Mauritius grew by over 21.5% in 10 years between 1807-1817, followed by a decline in slave numbers by over 10,000 (ten thousand) between 1817-1827, which

Anthony Barker attributes to the Cholera Epidemic in 1818.<sup>32</sup> Although slave accounted for at least 75 and sometimes as much as 85 percent of the Island's population between the 1730's and the 1820's information about most aspects of slave life remains sketchy, especially during the eighteenth century<sup>33</sup>

### **Family institution of the Slaves**

Mauritius slaves faced great difficulties in forming family bonds and communities. Newly imported slaves, of course were violently dislocated from their kin and culture, but instability was the most important factor that characterized the lives of Mauritius slaves. The rapid expansion of the sugar economy in 1829 and the subsequent slump in sugar prices in 1830 caused growth and disintegration of sugar estates, and slaves were hired out or sold in response to the changing needs of the planters. Because of the shortage of labour, many slaves, over 6000, according to Vijaya Teelock,<sup>34</sup> were "unattached" to particular plantations and were hired out of profit.

Slaves were transferred to wherever their labour was required which further weaken the family and community ties that were already undermined by slavery. Some slaves, especially those who were transferred between Mauritius and the surrounding islands such as Seychelles and Rodriguez, had little hope of maintaining family links. Beside, the slaves who were hired out were often sold. About 29,438 slaves were sold within Mauritius, many to the North and North-East, where the plantations are mainly located.<sup>35</sup>

---

<sup>32</sup> Barker A.J., 1996 *ibid.* p.537

<sup>33</sup> Allen B Richard., 1999,CUP, *op.cit.* p 13.

<sup>34</sup> Teelock, V. *Bitter Sugar: Sugar and Slaving in 19<sup>th</sup> century Mauritius*, Moka: Mahatma Gandhi Institute, 1998, p.139.

<sup>35</sup> Barker, A.J., 1996, *op.cit.* pp. 73-74.

Besides, the dispersion of family and community to other plantations, one of the constraints that slaves faced in forming family links was the gender imbalance. According to Barker's figures, the ratio of men to women was about 62:38 in 1826 and 60:40 in 1832<sup>36</sup> which clearly shows that many male might have to face difficulties in finding partners.

Women, who were the lynch-pin of slave families, were considered to be promiscuous, when they were often sexually exploited. Despite the attitude of the authorities, the constraints placed on them by their masters and the heavy demands of plantation work, slave did create a family life and community of sorts argues Teelock.<sup>37</sup>

Slaves were under great pressure to work long hours and faced various punishments for marooning or neglecting their duties. Plantation slaves worked an average of 14 hours per day, while mill slaves worked between 14 and 16 hours.<sup>38</sup> Even after the slave protection system was introduced in 1829, many slaves complained about heavy workload, the reduction of meal times and leisure times coupled with enforced Sunday work. The slave owners resented the protection system, and often slaves were punished for complaining. Barker opines that the protection system failed comprehensively and further argues that, out of 236 slave complaints only 64 led to the prosecution of the slave owner, 102 cases led to the punishment of the complaining slaves and in 70 cases despite misgivings about the owners' guilt, slaves were simply returned without protection.<sup>39</sup>

---

<sup>36</sup> Ibid. p.168.

<sup>37</sup> Tee lock V., 1988, op.cit, pp.186-204.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, p.133.

<sup>39</sup> Barker A.J., 1996, op.cit,p.84.

Moreover, despite legal restriction from 1827 onwards, which stated that men could only receive 25 lashes, and that women could not be whipped at all, flogging was still prevalent. There were some incidents of unusual cruelty by owners, for which they were persecuted, such as the case of two children of under one year old who were put in chains, which is best exemplified by the words of the protectors:

*“... it would be (the protectors) special care to impress upon (the slaves) minds that the measure of protection afforded to them would be proportionate to their good conduct, industry and obedience to their masters”<sup>40</sup>*

### **Food and Nutrition among the Slaves**

There were several methods of obtaining a food supply for slaves: the owner could distribute ration regularly or allocate a certain portion of land for food production or allow slaves to cultivate their own food, which according to Vijay Teelock never sufficed a balance diet for the slaves.<sup>41</sup> Their diet of manioc, sweet potatoes, maize, and rice with occasionally a little protein in the form of salt meat or fish, was not adequately balanced or proportionate to maintain good health, which was deficient in vitamin, except where slaves could grow or

---

<sup>40</sup> As quoted in Barker, op.cit.p.80.

<sup>41</sup> Teelock V., op.cit.p.215.

gather enough green vegetables and proteins and Consequently many vitamin deficiency related diseases like beri-beri and malnutrition and death were rife in Mauritius.<sup>42</sup>

Two reliable indicators of living conditions are human height and lifespan. The study of human height or autology has been used to established links between nutrition and growth. For example, Emmanuel La Roy Ladurie made systematic measurement of French soldiers in the early eighteenth century to gauge nutrition vis-à-vis their living condition. More recently, Robert Fogel and a team of Cliometricians at Harvard University are currently measuring the heights of civil war soldiers in the United States to determine geographic indices of nutritional well being of sub-populations of antebellum America.<sup>43</sup>

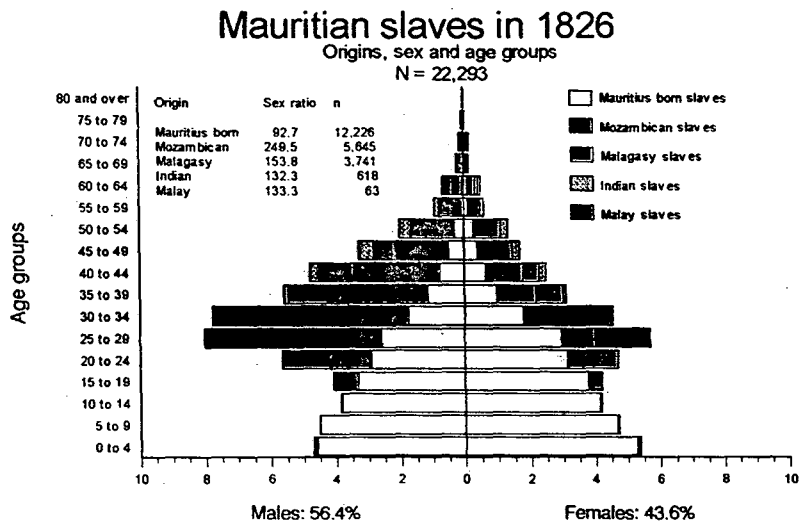
Now, our next emphasis is, if human height may be regarded as a reliable index of nutritional status, then longevity must be regarded as a final arbiter of living conditions. Perhaps a more telling index to the quality of slave lives than relative heights is the mean age, a substitute for the lifespan of slaves. An examination of the population pyramid of our sample shows high death rather amongst all slaves in all age groups.

---

<sup>42</sup> Barker A.J.. 1996, op.cit,p.103.

<sup>43</sup> Barbara Valentine: *Nasty, births and short: towards a clinometric assessment of the living condition of Mauritius slaves in 1826* .

**Table No. 4 Population Pyramid of Mauritian slave in 1826<sup>44</sup>**



From the above population pyramid the conclusions that can be drawn are. That, all slaves of 70 and above, 15.9% were Mauritian born, 33.6% were Mozambican, 22.4% were Madagascar's and 27.1 % were Indians.

The second conclusions that can be drawn is that if one compares these figures with the ethnic proportions of the whole groups, it becomes undoubtedly clear that the group that fared best was the Indians, who formed only 2.8% of the total sample population, yet they also formed 27.1% of the population, of over-seventy year's olds.

The maximum age recorded in each ethnic groups support the idea that Mauritian born slaves had the shortest lifespan and the highest death rates. Now let us compares the longest life span of all the ethnic groups.

<sup>44</sup> This pyramid is prepared by Prof. Robert CH Shell Dept. of Statistics Western Cape University South Africa.

1. The oldest Mauritian-born slave was a woman of 81 years.
2. The oldest Madagascar's was 91 years old.
3. The oldest India was 93 years old.

The third, conclusion that can be drawn here, is that since Indians seemed to survived the exigencies of Mauritian slavery better than any other group, we can assumed that this was the most probable reason why Indian were recruited as indentured labour on the sugar fields where a vacuum had occurred following the evacuation of slave trade. Moreover the condition of life in these colonial (belt of tropics) are much the same viz. an equable climate free from sudden or extreme variations and an amazing fertility. Grierson argues that "As there is no competition in this, he is naturally anxious that his friends and relations should share his success. He returns home to his people and goes back to the colony with several of them intending this time to settle there for good."<sup>45</sup>

In order to grasp a better picture of the nutrition of Indian slaves in Mauritius, let's now take a comparative study of Indian slaves vis-à-vis other slaves from the following graph[Table].<sup>46</sup> Now it becomes increasingly clear that Indian.<sup>47</sup> [Here I assumed Malay slaves as Indian in the previous chapter while analyzing the slave routes Indian slaves were first taken to Aceh, Batavia etc who in turn were transported to colony and the Mascarenes islands] Slaves of both sexes were shorter than Creoles. Now, if the height can be correlated with nutrition, than the diet of Indian slaves were much worse and inadequate than Creole, Madagascar and Mozambique slaves.

---

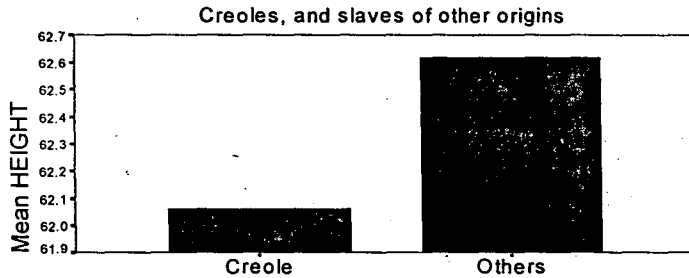
<sup>45</sup> Grierson. George A: *Reports on colonial emigration from the Bengal Presidency* p.35.

<sup>46</sup> See the following graph in Table No.5. That shows the mean Height of Slaves in Mauritius. P. 59

<sup>47</sup> Including Malay Prepared by Prof. Robert C.H. Dept. of Statistic Western Cape University Shell.



Table 5. ORIGIN AND HEIGHTS OF MAURITIAN SLAVES

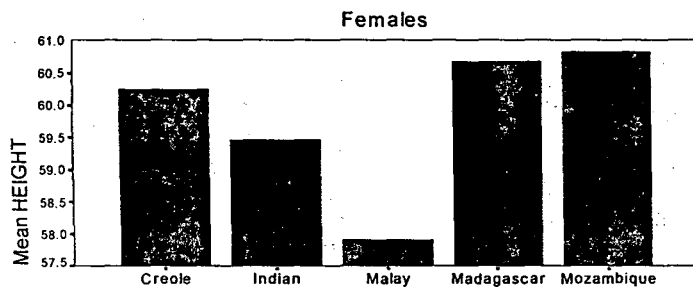


Origin of slave

**Adult slaves, both Creole and others, including those of undetermined gender**

Origin	No. of slaves	Mean height inches
Creole	5185	62.0601
Other	9990	62.6203
<b>Total</b>	<b>15175</b>	

ORIGIN AND HEIGHTS OF MAURITIAN SLAVES

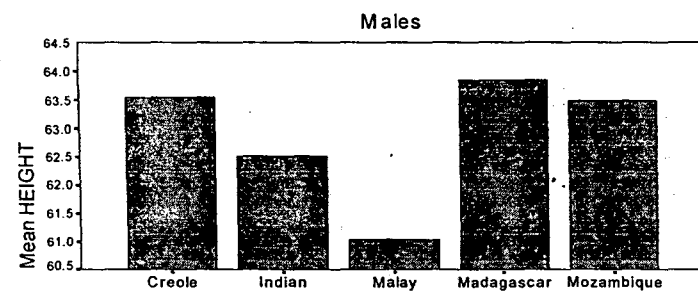


Origin of slave

**Adult female slaves**

Origin	No. of slaves	Mean height inches
Creole	1844	60.2422
Indian	110	59.4682
Malay	16	57.9063
Madagascar	826	60.6782
Mozambique	785	60.8217
<b>Total</b>	<b>3581</b>	

ORIGIN AND HEIGHTS OF MAURITIAN SLAVES

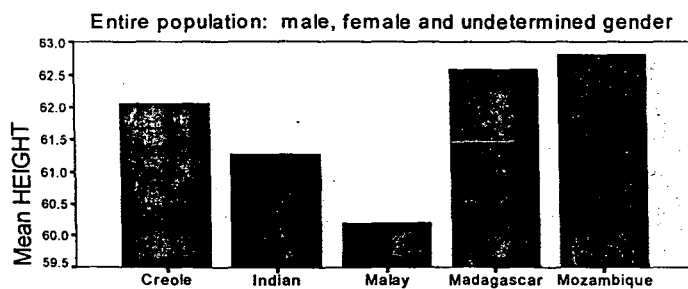


Origin of slave

**Adult male slaves**

Origin	No. of slaves	Mean height inches
Creole	1944	63.5543
Indian	149	62.5101
Malay	16	61.0469
Madagascar	1124	63.8427
Mozambique	2026	63.4908
<b>Total</b>	<b>5259</b>	

ORIGIN AND HEIGHT OF MAURITIAN SLAVES



Origin of slave

**All adult slaves, including those of undetermined gender**

Origin	No. of slaves	Mean height inches
Creole	5185	62.0601
Indian	580	61.2672
Malay	62	60.1935
Madagascar	3635	62.5774
Mozambique	5713	62.8112
<b>Total</b>	<b>15175</b>	

The miserable situation in which Indian slaves in Mauritius found themselves was caused by a lethal combination of economic pressure, British expedience, Franco-Mauritian intransience and planter's greed. It was almost impossible to achieve freedom through rebellion or legal means, and although slaves did form a "family" groups. However, after the emancipation period we saw the evolution of different societies to promote the welfare of Indian slaves.

These migrations has been attributed to the spread of western political and economic empires by Bindheshar Ram,<sup>48</sup> The most significant part of the new labour demand stemmed from the rapid expansion of sugarcane plantation in the second half of the nineteenth century. The labour recruitment policies of the British colonies was also intended towards building a network, reclamation of land and settle the wasteland in the British colonies in the South-West Indian Ocean.<sup>49</sup> Thus the nineteenth century saw the rapid expansion of sugar cultivation at the instance of skilled Indian labourer in the growing competitive markets. By mid nineteenth century, Mauritius had become Britain's premier sugar producer, having expanded 27,000 acres under sugar cane cultivation in the 1820's to 129,000 in the 1860's.<sup>50</sup>

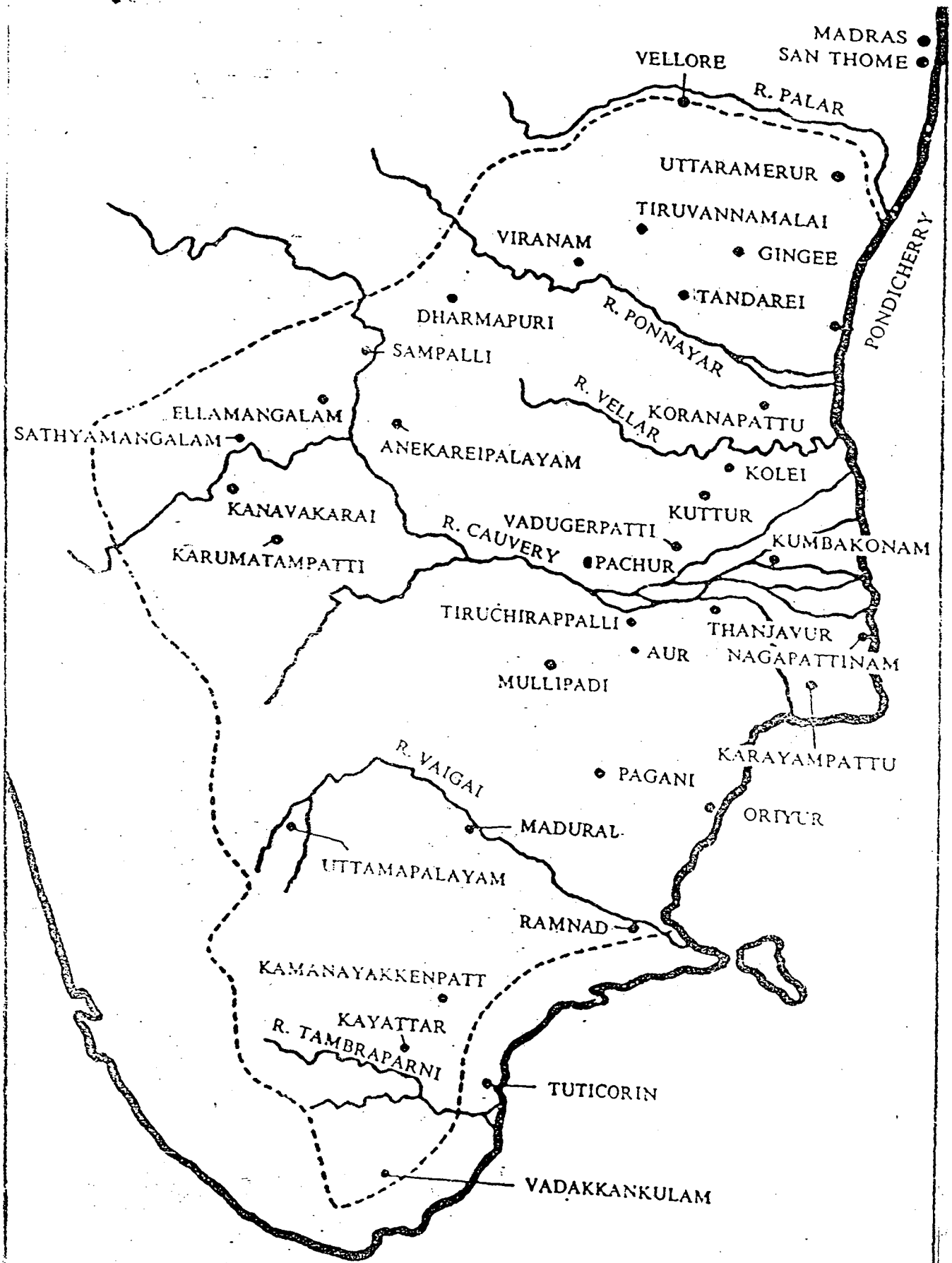
---

<sup>48</sup> Bindeshwar Ram, 1998, *Historiography of the Migration of East Indian in South West Indian Ocean. A Paper presented at 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Dutch landing in Mauritius at LEIDEN*, p.8.

<sup>49</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> *ibid.*

# *CHAPTER IV*



# THE MADURAI MISSION

Map. 5. Showing Vellore River & other administrative boundaries.

Most of the slaves that come from Indonesia also constitute some Indian member as the Dutch and Portuguese first took Indian slaves to South East Asia [discussed in second chapter] and Arakan and from there to Cape colony.<sup>24</sup> Though these figures (stellenbosch) do not provide us the occupation in which they are engaged, usually Indian slaves are more of an artisans than manual laborers, (as the Cape was under the aegis of the Batavian authorities and its administration usually had experience of the East Indies). The relatively high proportion of Indians either from Bengal or from the West Coast of Malabar. This factor may be due to the fact that, the latter was a frequent source for Dutch traders, and Bengali slave.

Slave may have been predominantly brought to the Cape by British traders in the first half of the eighteenth century.<sup>25</sup> In some cases, slaves with names of Indian origin could have been brought to the Cape from Batavia. After undergoing a series of sales from their birth place through South East Asia, and slave names do not always indicate the region of departure for the Cape.

Trends in the Stellenbosch figures correspond quite closely to the pattern of slave imports, which suggest that the Stellenbosch farmers did have reasonably well-established links with the Cape market, either directly or after process of internal sales in the colony.

### **Cape Slave Households and Society**

Cape slave owners were not all of European descent, but Europeans represented the majority of slave owners. The only group that did not aspire to slave ownership was the native people.

---

<sup>24</sup> See Map No.6. p. 62

<sup>25</sup> F.R. Bradlow and M. Cairns, 1978, pp.90-100.

There was no law forbidding them from owning slaves, but only one native woman, Eva, the first Khoi assimilee at the Cape, owned slave. She inherited them when her European husband was killed on a slaving expedition to Madagascar.<sup>26</sup>

No person of purely European descent [of two European parents] was ever enslaved. From 1652 through 1819, the legal line of descent for both slaves and free citizens was matrilineal or uterine. If the mother was a slave and the father free, the child was a slave, if the father was a slave and the mother free the child was free. The colonial authorities conceded in 1819 that slave children had the right to petition for their freedom on grounds of free paternity.

Until 1819, slaves with free fathers could only claim freedom through the prior and proper manumission of their mother. All slave owning societies had to deny matrilineal descent, for if matrilineal descent were recognized, slave mother could theoretically petition for their children's freedom on grounds of free paternity, putting an intolerable burden on any court's ability to establish the identity of the father.

At the beginning of the slave society at the Cape, there were two overriding rules; neither a European nor a native person could be enslaved. The former was custom the latter law. While the law was not observed, allowing for the gradual and yet almost total enslavement of the Khoi by 1828, the custom of no enslaving people of European descent become more powerful than any law. Moreover, the descent system for both slavery and freedom at the Cape were based on uterine descent. In the interstices of the two descent rules there was only

---

<sup>26</sup> Shell. *COB*, p.XXXVI.

one limited opportunity for miscegenated persons born of slave or bonded mothers to acquire their freedom. The unbalanced sex ratios- more men than women- remained high until well into the late nineteenth century in both slaves and free populations. This superfluity of men, combined with the matrilineal legal descent systems, set in motion, a process favoring the emergence of an entitled patriarchy and an elaborate hierarchical system of incorporation of female and alienation of male.<sup>27</sup>

A crucially important consideration in the Cape Household was status.<sup>28</sup> Every Cape households had its won domestic atmosphere thick with status consideration. Despite their short contracts, knights were discontented with their indeterminate status- neither boss nor free- and householders were discontented with their knechts.<sup>29</sup> Complaints about the high wages of the knechts and about their readiness, drunkenness, unreliability and propensity to run away at harvest time clog the seventeenth and early eighteenth century petitions from the settlers.<sup>30</sup>

Cape Historian Nigel Penn has found the first recorded instances of a Khoi woman and placed into serfdom in another part of the colony, an incident that occurred in 1731.<sup>31</sup> Studies of plaguim [the kidnapping of native people] in all other societies do demonstrate that female slaves were captured possibly because they could become breeding mothers and also could more easily be absorbed into the households.<sup>32</sup>

---

<sup>27</sup> Shell. COB, *ibid*, p. XXXVII.

<sup>28</sup> Nigel Wooden 1985. *op.cit* p.64-85.

<sup>29</sup> Shell. *op.cit*. p.17.

<sup>30</sup> De Chavonnes and Van Imhoff, *Reports of Chavonner*. 87.126,137 as quoted in Shell *ibid*.

<sup>31</sup> Nigel Penn, "The Frontier in the Western Cape", in John Parkington and Martin Hall (eds.), *Papers in the pre history of the Western Cape*, Oxford, BAR. International Series.332, 1987, pp.475-476.

<sup>32</sup> Orlando, Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982, p.120.

By 1785 colonel Dalrymple, an Englishman sent out to spy on the possibility of a British invasion could confidently report on the typical Cape domestic situation. At most of the farm houses in the province there resides from 10-20 Hottentots. The Dutch have made slave of them all, and they understand little Dutch, however:

*“They are called free because the master cannot sell them [individually] as they do the Negroes [sic] but the Hottentots cannot go from one master to another and is obliged to work without payment [T]he Dutch farmers give some of the most faithful and intelligent. a cloth coat once in two years which is to them a most magnificent present... [I]f a British army acts in that country they should make them presents of clothing according to their services, and feed them with meats which attracts them, as they seldom gets anything from their master but bread, milk, roots and vegetables.”<sup>33</sup>*

Slave sometimes protested that they were not given sufficient clothing, and as a result most slaves jealously guarded their clothes and at least one dispute over a missing suit led to murder.<sup>34</sup>

The quality of living quarters occupied by slaves also varied considerably. Few Cape farms were large enough to warrant slave ‘village’ of the kind that existed on some of the new world plantations. Stavorinus described the extensive slave quarters on Martin Melck’s farm, in which each of his 200 slave ‘had a separate brick building to sleep in’, but this was very exceptional.<sup>35</sup> Only the larger farms had separate slave sleeping quarters which were sparsely furnished; inventories which include slave ‘houses’ normally list only wooden plank, ‘bunks’

---

<sup>33</sup> Information respecting Cape good hope given by Col. Dalrymple, 1784, as quoted in Shell. CUP, Op.cit.p.31.

<sup>34</sup> Nigel Wooden 1985 op.cit.p.92.

<sup>35</sup> J.S. Stavorinus, 1798, *Voyages to the East Indies (3 vols.)* Trans. Sumuel Wilcocke, London, Vol.II.



and surplus or old farm equipment which was stored there.<sup>36</sup> On most small-scale farms, slaves slept in odd corners of the farmstead; in the kitchen, the attic, or even in the warmer weather out of door in the garden, or on the cow pastures.

In Cape Town it appears that most privately owned slaves slept in the attic, kitchen or out doors of the master home, and there is no evidence for the large yard slave enclosures of cities in the Deep South.<sup>37</sup>

### **Cultural Impact of the Slave Trade**

The oceanic slave trade that supplied slave owners changed dramatically between 1652 and 1822, the last date of illegally imported slaves. The changing shipping patterns, the rise and fall of trading companies and shifting commercial alliances between urban slave traders and transient maritime personnel, all shaped the composition of households at the Cape. The Cape becomes an increasingly Polyglot colony. Between 1652-1808, approximately 63,000 slaves were imported to the cape from four main areas. Now it becomes convincingly clear that, most imported Cape slaves were drawn from the Indian ocean basin, from the East Coast of Africa to the outer reaches of Borneo and the shores of china; these slaves included persons of Abyssinian, Arabian, Bengali, Borneo's, Burmese, Brazilian, Chinese, Iranian, Japanese and Srilankan origin.<sup>38</sup> Map No.8 (below) shows the origin of imported slaves from different parts of Asia and Africa between 1652-1808.

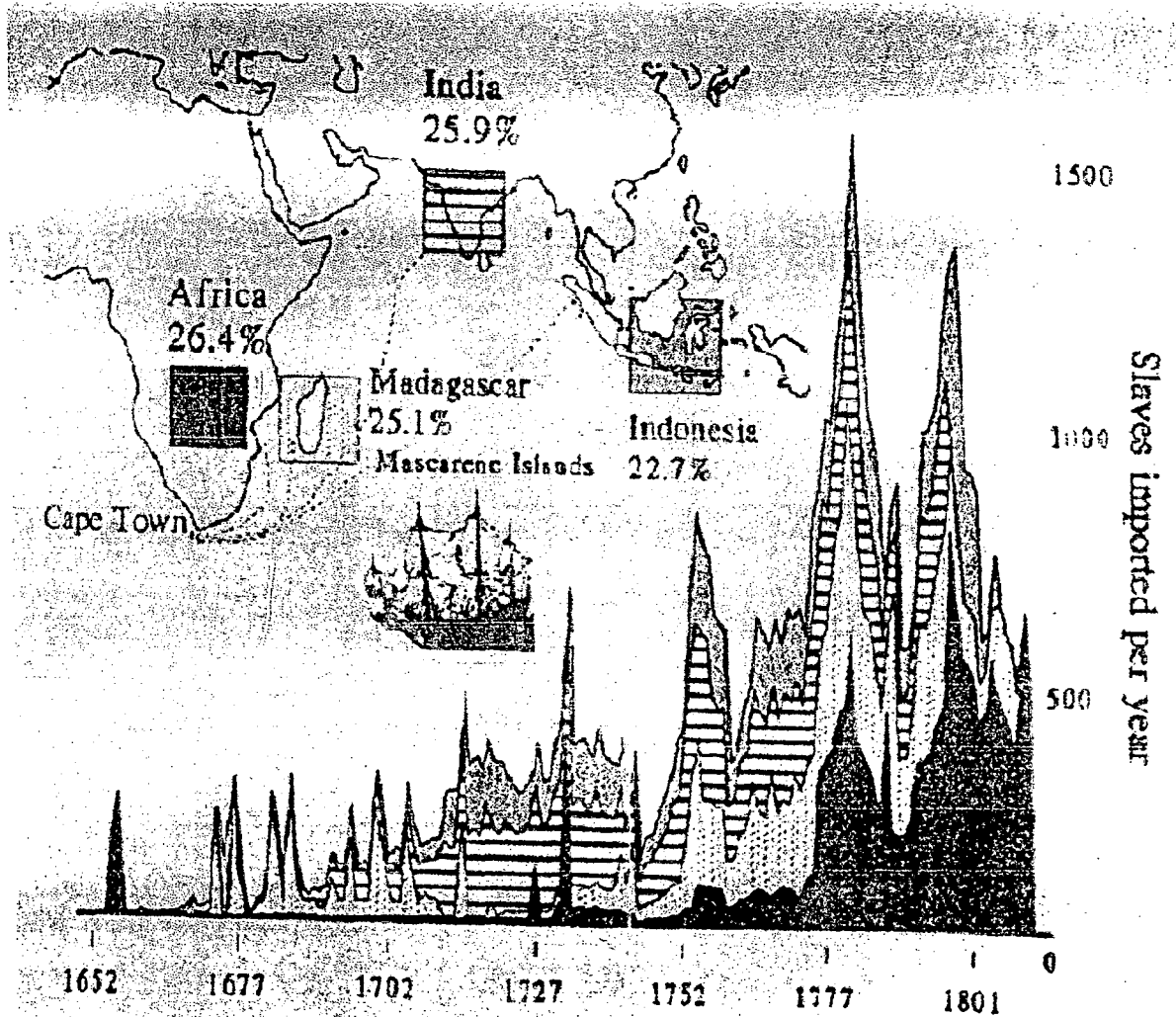
---

<sup>36</sup> *Master of Supreme Court. Section deceased Estate (C.A. MOUC 8/3.30. as quoted in Nigel Wooden p.92.*

<sup>37</sup> R.C. Wade 1964. *Slavery in the Cities: The South 1820-1860.* Oxford.pp.111-112.

<sup>38</sup> For example the first commandant of the colony, Jan Van Riebeeck, owned two "Arabian Slave girls from Abyssinia" Cornelia (10) and Lijsbeth (12) See also. Anna J. Boesken, *Slaves and free blacks at the Cape 1658- 1700*, Cape Town : Tafelberg, 1977,pp.93-96.

**Map&Graph.No.8. Showing origin of imported slave**



Origins of slaves imported to the Cape, 1652 to 1808.

Sources: Shell, C O B. 1974 P41.

Islam was introduced at the Cape by the Indians [most probably, from the upper province of Bengal] and to a lesser extent, Indonesian slaves imported from regions of Moslem control, and was also given impetus by the presence of Batavian political exiles some

of them are of notable Islamic teacher.<sup>39</sup> Although there was no official recognition of Islam by the authorities and permission to build a mosque was not granted until the period of the British occupation, its spread amongst the urban slaves was evident throughout the eighteenth century.<sup>40</sup> In part this was the result of the restrictions on the sale of Christian slaves which encouraged masters to permit their slaves to turn to Islam, and several writers noted a preference for the sobriety of Moslem slaves.<sup>41</sup>

During the Dutch dispensation, slaves were to be converted to Christianity, as far as possible. A Christian slave could not be sold to a Moorish or 'heathen' that is, a Muslim or Hindu or Buddhist. If a non-Christian master did possess Christian slaves within Dutch territory, he had to give the latter the right and opportunity of free practice of religion.

However it does not appear that the Christian slaves, whatever their spiritual benefits, enjoyed any special material privileges. Almost all Europeans used the spread of Christianity as a justification for enslaving non-Christian people.<sup>42</sup> The musical gift of the slaves was particularly noted. According to Lichtenstein, there are many freedmen in the town who gain their living by instructing the slaves in music but neither master nor scholars know a single note. they all played entirely by the ear and slave musician were in demand in Cape Town for private and public function.

Slaving on the East Coast of Africa proved unreliable and dangerous in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century. By 1731, slaves from the eastern possessions of the

---

<sup>39</sup> Shell, 1974; Bradlow.F.R. 1981 Athlone. *The Mosque of Bo-Koap*, Cape.pp.12-13

<sup>40</sup> Davids, 1981 p.1&2 as quoted in Nigel Wooden, *op.cit* p.98.

<sup>41</sup> Shell.1974 *Op.cit*.pp.42-43.

<sup>42</sup> Sudeshna Chakravarti, *The Dutch East India Company and Slave Trade in Seventeenth Century India: A Outline by Pieter Van Dan, an Advocate of the Company; Journal of Asiatic Society*: Vol.XXXIX No.2, 1997.p.92.

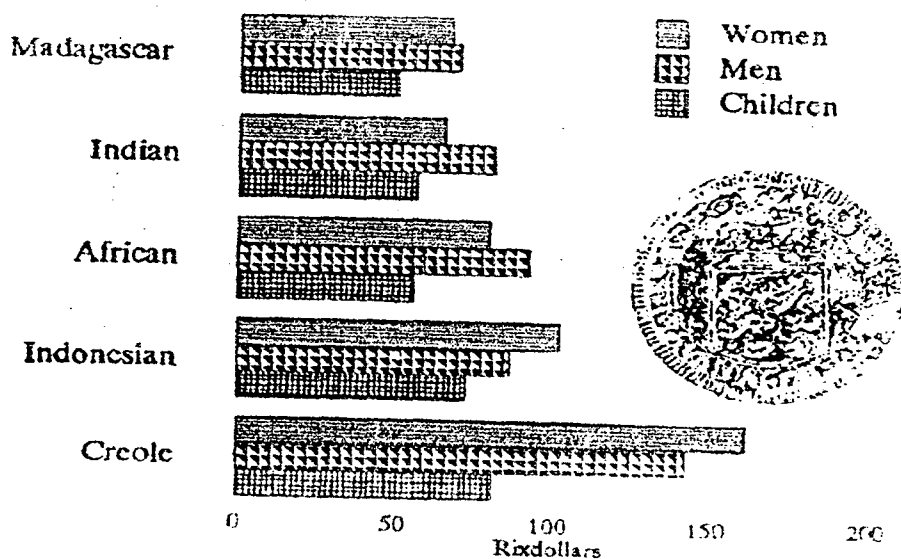
Dutch East India Company had come to outnumbered all other imported slaves at the Cape. The East proved a stable source of slave until the collapse of Dutch Shipping in 1780 and the rise of international maritime commerce around the Cape after 1784.<sup>43</sup>

The lodge slave, those belonging to the Dutch East company suffered high mortality and left few survivors who could propagate a locally born generation. Even in 1808 there were more imported slave than Creole slave in the lodge.

### Price-differentiation of Cape Slave

There was a system of premiums based on the geographic origin and Creole Status of Slaves

**Table.No.8, showing price differentiation of different slaves in rix dollars.**



Price differentiation by slaves' origin, sex, and age.

Sources: Shell. *C O B*, 1974.P.51.

<sup>43</sup> Shell, 1994.COB.p.42.

The above graph shows that Madagascar slaves were on the bottom and Creole fetch the highest. Expectation of high mortality could explain the Lower prices for African and Malagasy slaves. The skill of slaves was directly attributed to origin in one document that mentions the settler's geographical preference of women slaves. It says, "Female slave from Bengal or the coast of Coromandel, from Surat and Makassar are in great demands, because they have a reputation as skillful needle women".

Mentzel spoke, with personal authority on this issue, since he earned some pocket money producing embroidery designs for the settler's wives, who passed them on to their seamstress.<sup>44</sup> By nineteenth century, Cape house holders considered that it was natural for Malagasy and African slaves to work in the fields, Indonesian slaves to be the artisans and Indian slaves to be the service workers of the colony. The mix languages, including Malay, Urdu, Malagasy, Portuguese and Arabic influenced the emerging Cape *lingua franca*. "At mealtimes, various European dialects together with the language used in commerce with Indians viz. the Malay and a very bad kind of Portuguese, were spoken to which confusion was almost equal to that of the tower of Babel".<sup>45</sup>

The new Creole language can be glimpsed from Mentzels comments on the Cape of the 1740s: "It was no easy task to instruct the Madagascar slaves, for they spoke no language but their own. East Indian offices brought slaves from Java, Mallebar, Bengal, Banda and many other Islands and sold them to the inhabitants of the cape. They [the eastern slaves] introduced a common slave language, or *lingua franca*, which they had acquired from the

---

<sup>44</sup> Mentzel. *Description vol. 2*, pp. 127-128 as quoted in R. Shell COB.p.51.

<sup>45</sup> Sparrman, *A Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, vol. 1.p.53.

Portuguese and which could easily be picked up. This language has now been spoken for many years by slaves, Christian inhabitants and even by half-breed Hottentots".<sup>46</sup>

There are many Malay and Indian words in today's Afrikaans culinary lexicon, and in the words of C. Louis Leipoldt, the Afrikaans poet and sometimes Chef, "The most potent influence on Cape Cuisine has been the methods, tastes and culinary customs of the Malay Cooks brought directly from Java in the early eighteenth century".<sup>47</sup>

### **Miscegenation**

Sexual relations between whites and Asian slaves were quite common in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Several studies shows that half of the population of the slaves children were of slave mother and white fathers.<sup>48</sup> In the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, miscegenation or relationship with slaves women, was not condemned. For example, 'Begum Jeanne', the wife of the great French Director Dupleix, was a squadron. Her maternal grandmother was a native, probably a Tamil slave. Yet Dupleix certainly lost no prestige by by marrying her. 'Begum Jeanne', exercised considerable influence in Indian politics and the Mughal emperor himself sought the hand on one of his daughters.<sup>49</sup>

A woman from Bengal named Mary was bought for Van Riebeeck in Batavia in 1653. Two years later in 1655, Van Riebeeck purchased from the commander of a Dutch ship returning from Asia to Holland, a family from Bengal – Domingo and Angela and their three children. On May 21, 1656, the marriage was solemnized at the Cape between Jan C, a white

---

<sup>46</sup> Mentzel, *Description* vol.1.p.56.

<sup>47</sup> R. CH Shell, "*Historical Background*", "In Sue Ross, *Fish Cook Book for South Africa*. Cape Town: South Point Publishing 1978.pp.12-16.

<sup>48</sup> [www.http//..slave](http://..slave) routes to Cape. Iziko Musuem.p.1

<sup>49</sup> Sudeshna Chakravarty, 1997. op.cit,p.95.

and Catherine of Bengal who was liberated from slavery. Later in the year Anton Muller was given permission to marry Domingo delvingh a woman from Bengal.<sup>50</sup> The archival sources indicate that Mary, the first known Indian slave, was found in bed with a constable, William Cornelis in 1660. Van Riebeeck and his family probably took her with them when they moved to Batavia in 1662. Jon 'Begum Jeanne', was transferred to Batavia soon after his marriage to Catherine.

Van Riebeeck sold Angela, who had taken care of his children, to Abraham Gabbema, his deputy and Law officer. Gabbema granted freedom to Angela and her three children before he departed for Batavia in 1666, except that she was required to work for six months in the home of Thomas Christopher Muller. She mixed up with the white community while continuing relations with her friends who were still in slavery. She asked for and obtained a plot of land in the Table Valley in February 1667. In 1669 she married Arnoldus Willemsz Basson, with whom she had three children. Her daughter from the first marriage married a Dutchman.

Many white settlers married or lived with Asian women and their children were accepted in the white community. Marriages between the Dutch and slave women were prohibited in 1685 but persons of mixed parentage were allowed to marry anyone including the white settlers.

J.A. Heese, in *Die Hevekoms Vandie Afrikaner 1657-1867*, presented the result of research from party register and other sources on the ancestors of the Afrikaners. He found that between 1660-1705, 191 Germany settlers married or lived with women who were not

---

<sup>50</sup> [www.http//indian slaves in South Africa.htm.p.1](http://indian%20slaves%20in%20South%20Africa.htm)

pure blood Europeans. Of these women, 114 were from in the Cape and 29 were Bengali and 43 were from other Asian region.<sup>51</sup>

Asian ancestry was not unusual. The mother of Simon Vander Stel, the most prominent governor of the Cape in the seventeenth century after whom Stellenbosch as named, was Maria Lievens, daughter of a Dutch Captain in Batavia and an Asian Women. In Africa, the Patrician “golden age” was symbolized by the Van due Stel dynasty, the families that ruled the Cape from 1680 until 1706, in a consecutive father and son governorship that ended in ignominy for the family and expulsion from the colony for the son.<sup>52</sup> The role of VOC in developing East-West trade followed in some cases by empire building has served as a very important catalyst in modern history. A great deal of research has been done by western and African historian, though the scope remains much more from Indian historians. The VOC though failed in certain aspects, yet did succeed in winning the Indonesian archipelago

In course of time the slaves were however, dispersed and lost their identity. The Indians became part of the “Malay” (as they were taken first to South East Asia) community- the so called Malayo- Portuguese was the lingua-franca in the Asian ports at that time and their descendants later came to be identified as “Cape Malays” (Cape Muslims) as the Muslim community expanded.

---

<sup>51</sup> [www.Indian slaves in South Africa.htm](http://www.Indian.slaves.in.South.Africa.htm).p4.

<sup>52</sup> Shell. *COB*.1974 p.XXVIII.



# *CHAPTER V*

## Concluding Assessment

In retrospect we can say that the slave trade during the Portuguese, Dutch, French, Danish, and the British, imperial expansion[1650-1834] reveals the fact that, events in the Cape colony and Mauritius had an impact far beyond the shores of this seemingly obscure peninsula and in the south West Indian Ocean Islands. The Portuguese who acted as an intermediary in the initial period are said to have founded the slave trade in the West Indian Ocean Islands. These colonial masters found three major ways in which Indian population were forced periodically into Slavery:-

1. By kidnapping.
2. By pressure of needs during famine, war, and other natural calamities
3. Children of slaves were themselves of servile status and women marrying or cohabiting ultimately becomes slaves. These illicit trades which involved the most iniquitous practice of stealing children and unprotected women.

The gruesome nature of the institution of slavery makes people feel at times that “death is any way better than the vegetating life of slavery.”<sup>1</sup>The colonial master, residing at Bengal, Madras and later on at Mumbai were in the habit of taking with them their native domestic servants while leaving for home. After the proclamation of 1794{Bengal presidency}, no case of illegal exports of slaves or free person forced into slavery were reported. But in 1812, Superintendent Forbes of Chandranagore informed the Government that certain Frenchmen from the Java campaign were anxious to take their Malay slaves

---

<sup>1</sup> Bhagavad Gita, *Tapovanam Series No.80, 9<sup>th</sup> edn* 1997.p912.

with them on repatriation.<sup>2</sup> The proclamation of 1789 and of 1794 sought to suppress the exportation of Indians to foreign lands and their illegal sale as slaves there. But no measures were taken by the government to check the importation of slaves by Arabs and Europeans before the year 1811..

In 1807, a general act against slave dealing in all British Territories was passed through both Houses of Parliament, to become operative on 1<sup>st</sup> January 1808<sup>3</sup>, this was further strengthened in 1811 by the Felony Act, 51, Geo 111.C.23, which made slave trading a Felony punishable by transportation.<sup>4</sup> In 1823, however, the greatest doubts were expressed as to whether the Arabs and Portuguese slave-dealers really had been put out of slave trade. As the above measures did not entirely stamp out the traffic in slaves, as reflected in Sir Bartle Frere, writing in the *Fortnightly Review*, argues that the measures of 1824 had not entirely stopped the traffic, though it had curtailed it, and pushed up the price of slaves. It seems probable that it was in fact the reorganization of the customs service in 1834 to which Blaquire refer that effectively ended the sea borne trade through Calcutta.<sup>5</sup> However, there were reports of this from almost every district of Bengal, the North Western Province, Central India and Madras also seems to have been weaker than Bengal.

The west Indian ocean Island and the Cape peninsula is important historically, for reason other than the impact of the oceanic slave trades, the colonial master policy making, and social and economic life in various parts of the colonial world as, both were strategically located which controlled all routes leading to the East. In Mauritius the

---

<sup>2</sup> From Gordon Forbes: Esq, Superintendant at Chandernagore to chief Secretary Edmonstone, dated, 13<sup>th</sup> Jan 1812, B.F.C. dated 17<sup>th</sup> Jan 1812.

<sup>3</sup> *Encyclopedia Britanica*, vol 25, London, 1911, pp.223-24.

<sup>4</sup> R. Coupland- *British Anti-Slavery Movement iii*. as quoted in A K Chattopadhaya., 1977 London p109.

<sup>5</sup> *The Fortnightly Review, New Series*, March 1, 1883, pp36-37.

insurrection, which followed the appointment in 1832 of the abolitionist John Jeremie as the Attorney General, exposed the false promises and defective administrative agencies upon which Britain Policy of slave amelioration rested, and contributed to its abandonment in favour of Imperial statute<sup>6</sup>.

The suffering endured by slaves and Indentured Workers, their resistance to oppression and exploitation, and the way in which white minority population sought to maintain their dominance are recurrent themes in these papers. This emphasis upon the violent and coercive nature of these systems is in part a legacy of the Nineteenth Century abolitionism, its preoccupation with the horrors of slavery, and its concern that “*the recruitment of Indentured Labour was an Euphemistic term for another form of slavery.*”

The Indian Indentured Labour was attractive to Mauritian planters and authorities for reason other than just its proximity and apparent inexhaustibility. For example, 20,000 of the slaves imported into the Mascarenes prior to 1810 were of Indian origin (as discussed in the third chapter), the 75 (seventy five) indentured labourers that arrived in Mauritius in 1834 proved to be the Vanguard of more than 451,000 men, women and children who reached the island before Indian immigration came to end formally in 1910.

As the time pass by, the Indians in Mauritius began to form some association to look after the welfare of their communities, some of which are philanthropic in nature,<sup>7</sup> by and large the Indian communities constitute the largest segment of the poly-ethnic Islands, [though politically marginal until the electoral reforms in the post war year] giving 3 (three) Hindu Prime Minister out of the 4(four) since independence.

<sup>6</sup> Richard B Allen, 1999 op.cit., p172.

<sup>7</sup> For further details see *Mauritius Blue Book 1917*, N.A.I. New Delhi.

The ongoing interaction between Indian and non-Indians in the Socio-cultural spheres where values, norms and forms of organization are continuously negotiated that begun to produce a new form of society in this poly-ethnic Island. Now Indians in the poly-ethnic society outside India cannot simply be viewed as Indians, they are Indian embedded in a particular historical and socio-cultural context and this fact is an inextricable part of their life. Nevertheless the cultural impacts of Indians are so powerful that, nobody would notice that, an advertisement on Television and Radio as being unusual.

From the emancipation of slavery in 1835 till the end of the World War I, millions of Indians were brought to other British colonies, the majority of these labourers hailed from North East province of Bihar and U.P. substantial number also embarked from Madras.<sup>8</sup> Out of the millions of Mauritian population, those of Indian origin constitute the only groups who have continually dominated politics in their new homeland since the electoral reforms. Till 1992 they constitute 65 percent of the total population i.e. roughly one million, inspite of the fact that most of these migrants were creolized during the Nineteenth century;[converted to emergent colored middle class]. Yet, substantial proportion of these urban migrants have retained their identities as true Indians till now, and there is a major chunk of Indian population who are economically influential, “respectable,” and who have exerted enormous influence on the political processes in their new country.

Moreover, the gravitational pull from their mother country is also strongly felt. It posses much stronger Indian favour than any society in the new world. Flights between Bombay, New Delhi and Mauritius are frequent and the Island received, among other things

---

<sup>8</sup> For further details see Surendra Bhanna,p 42, and graph,p.44,for U.P.,p.51 and graph, p.55.

fresh supplies of Hindi Movies and other Indian favour regularly. Of late the 'open sky' policy of the B.J.P led N.D.A. dispensation have added much more in these field and the 9<sup>th</sup> January is being celebrated as Pravasi Bharatiya Diwas Day.

The cultural influences like Tika can still be seen on the foreheads of most Mauritian Hindu women. Even in the town,s most married Hindu women rub henna into the partition of their hair. Bhojpuri, is still spoken fairly widely in the North Eastern villages and is understood by many blacks living in these areas, although only elderly, female, rural Indo- Mauritian now tend to be monolingual in Bhojpuri. The variant of Bhojpuri spoken in Mauritius is closer to that spoken in Bihar than the Bhojpuri spoken in Fiji, Guyana or Trinidad.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, Indian Diasporas in Mauritius also had many disadvantage or negative attitude in their daily life, until the post war reforms. The bulks of them were under-nourished, illiterate, impoverished and were viewed with suspicion and contempt as primitive pagans by whites, brown, Chinese and blacks alike. They [Indians] were also perceived as being agriculturally more remote from the colonial and Creole ruling classes than the blacks and colored. The latter were, therefore, virtually preferred in all forms of employment except that of field labourers.

However, the Indian community after Independence of Mauritius, began to split as a result of civil war or communal riots in their mother country [India] in the late 40's.<sup>10</sup> The Muslims formed their own party, the C.A.M.(comite d' Musalmun). Cultural differences between Dravidians[Tamil, Telegu] and Aryans, especially, Bihari's Marathi's and Bengalis were rampant in all aspects of life. The release of new currency notes in late 90's led to the

---

<sup>9</sup> Thomas H ylland Eriksen.1992 ibid.  
<sup>10</sup> ibid. p.16.

widespread demonstration by Mauritian of Tamil origins who were incensed that the position of the Tamil and Hindi script on the notes had been reversed<sup>11</sup>.

On the other hand, though culturally heterogeneous, they [Indians] tend to share a number of manner, customs, culture and traditions that effectively set them apart from non-Indian Mauritian. The Indians standard view of the blacks is lazy, sexually immoral, disorganized and essentially stupid. Likewise, the Blacks or Creoles, on their part tend to regard the Indians as being too thrifty, sly and cunning, dishonest and boring to the extent that they are unable to enjoy good things in life. However, such kind of misperception between them do not lead to a great deal of tension and uneasiness in the inter- ethnic encounters but served to fix ethnic relationships in social space, at least at the level of representation or Ideology thereby creating a subjective sense of security and stability as regards to Cultural Identity.

After the post war electoral reform, Indians began to hold solid grounds in the Legislature and Executive. All government policy and reforms were interpreted by the Blacks as "*anti blacks*". For example, the Government policy to improve the conditions of the small planters was seen by the blacks as anti black, as majority of the planters constitute Indian populations.

The uniqueness of the Mauritian society is that, this Island was first settled by the colonizer to carry their sugar plantation whereby they imported slaves from various part of Asia and Africa. The Island was gradually populated by the 'Indentured labourers' and finally free passenger [mainly from the Malabar and the Coromandel Coast to try their

---

<sup>11</sup> Brautigam Deborah, "*Mauritius: Rethinking the miracle*," *Current History*, '98(628)1999, May, P.228.

fortunes as artisans and engineers]. Modern Mauritian history has been remarkable for its relatively smooth and peaceful transition from colonial rule and the rule of large plantation owners to multi party democracy.

The 1968 Constitution recognized four main categories: Hindus, Muslims, Sino-Mauritian, and the general population. According to 1989 estimate , of a total population of 1,080,000, Hindus constituted about 52 percent i.e. 559,440; the general population about 29 percent 309,960; Muslims about 16 percent ,179,280; and Sino- Mauritian about 3 percent 31,320. Unlike their mother country, the Indians communities, for most part, the caste systems is not an important factor in social organization and, if anything linger mainly as a basis for choosing spouses. The Hindu observed their ritual in rural community centres called "*baikas*,". The Arya Samajist adheres to a reform branch of Hinduism popular with the lower classes and instrumental in Mauritian community's political and cultural development in the early years of the twentieth century.

The Muslims Population constitutes approximately 95 percent Sunni and Hindi speaking, they also speak Bhojpuri, Gujarati, Urdu and Arabic. The principal place of Worship is the Jummah Mosque in Port Louis but there are many smaller Mosques in the towns and villages.

Another uniqueness of Mauritian society is noteworthy, for its degree of religious tolerance. Mauritians often shares in the observances of religious groups other than their own. In addition the government grants subsidies to all major religious groups according to their membership. Thus, it can be sum up that the Indian slaves who migrated to Mauritius and Cape Colony acts as civilizing agents in their respective new world. In Mauritius it acts

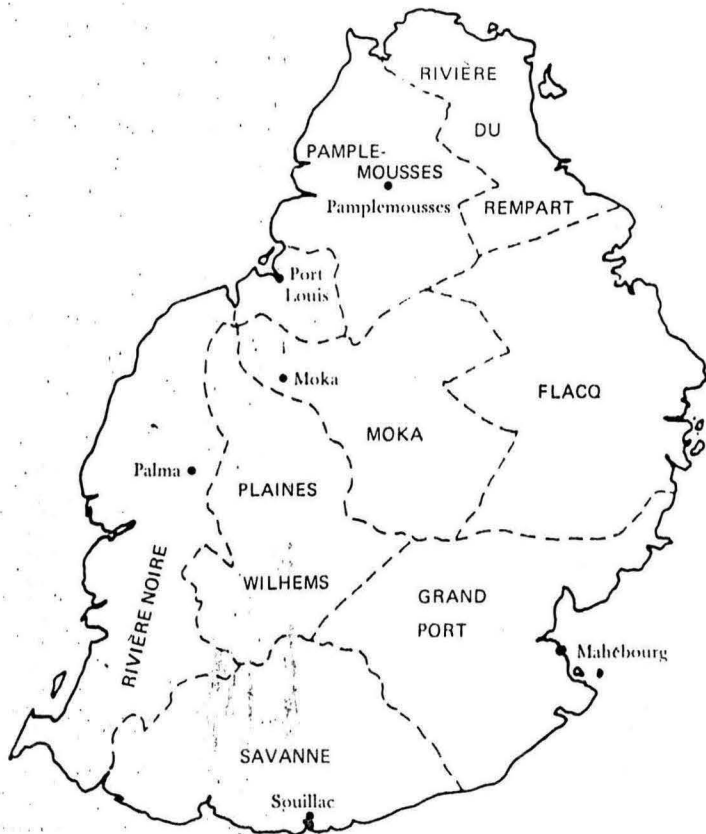


as a torch bearer in respect of morality and spread of Hinduism on the other hand those who migrated to cape Colony played an active role in the spreading Islam. Therefore “Harmonious Separatism”, is the best way to describe the Mauritius and cape Colony’s societies.

Historically, the most important contribution of Indians to Mauritius and Cape Colony has been the extension of monetary economy into a subsistence area a prerequisite for any economic development. A whole array of early explorer, administrator and Missionaries testify to the indispensability of Indians Traders and Artisans in the opening up and development of this island and the cape peninsula.

9. Maps and illustrations

Map of Mauritius (see p.78)



Maps and illustrations

Identification photos of Indian servants, Mauritius (see p. 11)



Source: Courtesy of Mahatma Gandhi Institute of Moza, Mauritius.

## SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

### *Primary Sources:*

#### **A. Archival Materials**

*Bengal Foreign Consultation, 1750–1810.*

*Bengal Past and Present, 1910,*

*Bengal Political Consultation 1750–1810.*

*Bengal Public Consultation, 1750–1810.*

*Bengal Revenue collection, 1785.*

*Bengal Revenue Consultation, 1774 & 1785.*

Bertrand, *La Mission du Madure, III.*

Bhagavad Gita, *Tapovanam Series No.80, 9<sup>th</sup> edn. 1997.*

*Calcutta Gazette, July, 1789.*

Chatterjee, B.B., *Ananda Math.*

*Encyclopedia Britanica, vol.25, London, 1911.*

Griereson, G.A., *Reports on Colonial Emigration from Bengal presidency, 1883, N.A.I. New Delhi.*

*Hickey's Bengal Gazettes 1780-81.*

*Home, Foreign and Political Department, NAI, New Delhi.*

Mackenzie, J.W.P.Muir, *Reports on the Conditions of Indian Immigrant in Mauritius, NAI, New Delhi.*

*Mauritius Blue Books, NAI, New Delhi.*

*Notes on Extracts from the Government Records in Fort St.George, Madras, Letters from England, 1670-1677.* (DSA, CHS/JNU).

*Parliamentary Papers 1828.*

*Proceeding of the law commission evidence on slavery in the East Indies 1839-1841,* NAI. New Delhi.

Records of Fort St.George.1671-1711[D.S.A.Library,C.H.S. J.N.U]

*Reports on Emigration from the Port of Calcutta to British and Foreign colonies, 1909-Bengal* Secretariat, NAI, New Delhi.

*The Exports of Coolies from India to Mauritius,* Pamphlet issued by the anti-slavery committee, 1842, NAI, New Delhi.

*The Imperial Gazetteer of India: The Indian Empire,* NAI, New Delhi.

## **B. Travelogues**

Baldaues, Phillip, *A Description of the east India Coast of Malabar and Coromandel and also the Isle of Ceylon with their adjacent kingdom and province,* New Delhi, Asian Educational Service, 2000.p.651.

Buchanan, F., *A journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar,* Asian Educational Service, New Delhi, 1988, Vol II, p.380.

Buchanan, Francis, *An account of the district of Bihar and Patna in 1811-1812,* usha publication New Delhi 1986Vol. p.357.

Duarte Barbosa, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa, 2 vols.,* Asian Educational Service. New Delhi. 1989.

J.S. Stavorinus, *Voyages to the East Indies* (3 vols.) Trans. Samuel Wilcocke, London, Vol.II.  
1798.

Manucci, N., *Storia do Magor or Mugal India, 1653-1708*, Vol. IV.

Sparman, *A Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, vol.1.

### ***Secondary Sources:***

Allen, R.B., *Slaves, Freeman of Indentured Labourers in Colonial Mauritius*, CUP, 1999.

Anthony J. Barker, *Slavery and Anti Slavery in Mauritius, 1810-33: The Conflict Between Economic Expansion and Humanitarian Reform under British Rule*, Houndmill: Macmillan, 1996.

Bhana, S., *Indentured Indian Emigrants to Natal, 1860-1902*, Promilla & Co., Pub., 1991.

Bradlow, F.R., and Margaret Cairns, *The Early Cape Muslims :a study of their mosque, genealogy and origins*, Cape Town, 1978

C.R. Boxer, *The Dutch Sea born Empire 1600-1800*, London, 1965.

Carey, W., *The Good old days of Honorable John company*, Calcutta, 1906, Vol. I.

Carter, M., *The Last Slaves: Liberated Africans in the Nineteenth Century Mauritius*, Cassis, 2003.

Chattopadhaya, A.K., *Slavery in the Bengal Presidency*, The Golden Eagle Pub. House, London, 1977.

Clarke, C., *South Asian Overseas: Migration and Ethnicity*, (Ed.), CUP, 1990.

Crocker, W.L., *On Governing Colonies: Being an Outline of the Real Issues and a Comparison of the British, Frewnch and Belgian approach to them*, London, Allen & Onwin, 1947.

Cumpston, I.M., *Indian overseas in British Territories 1834-1854*, OUP, 1953.

- Datta, K.K., *Studies in the History of Bengal Subah 1740-1770*, Calcutta, 1936.
- Dietmar, Rothermund, *The Phases of Indian Nationalism and other Essay*, Bombay, Nachiket Publications Ltd. 1970.
- Dubey, A.K., (Ed.), *Indian Diaspora: Global Identity*, Kalingaa Publication, Delhi, 2003.
- Elphick, R. and H. Giliomee (eds.), *The Shaping of South African Society 1652-1840*, Cape Town: Maskew Miller, Longman, 1989.
- Filliot, J.M., *La Traitedes Esclaves Versles Mascareignes*, Au. XVIII e Sie'cle, Paris1974.
- Hill, S.C., *Bengal in 1756-57 Vol. I Calcutta*, 1905.
- Jacqueline, J., *A Social History of the Labouring Class: From Colonial Past to the Present*, Blackwell Pub., 1999.
- Kathleen, S., *Slavery*, 1929.
- Lanka, S., *Indian Overseas: A Study in Economic Sociology*, Madras, G.A. Natesan & Co., 1933.
- Lombard, D., *Memoirs d'un Voyage aus Indes Orientales: Un Morchand Normand a Sumatra Paris*, 1996.
- Lovejoy, P., *Transformation in Slavery: A History of Slave in Africa*, CUP, 1983.
- *The Ideology of Slavery in Africa*, (eds.) Sage Pub., 1981.
- Manickam, S., *Slavery in Tamil Countr: A Historical Overview*, The Christian Literature Society, Madurai, 1982.
- Miers, S., *Slavery in the Twentieth Century "The Evolution of a Global Problem"* Altamira Press, Oxford, 2003.
- Morell, W. P., *British colonial policy in the age Peel and Russel*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1930.
- Nagapen, A., *The Indian Chriatian Community in Port Louis, Moka*, 1984.

- Nair, A.K.K.R., *Slavery in Kerala*, Mittal Pub., Delhi, 1986.
- Natarajan, B., *Slave Trade in Madras, Madras Tercentenary Commemoration Volume*, Madras, OUP, 1939.
- Nath, D., *A History of Indians in Guayana*, London, 1970.
- Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social deaths; A Comparative Study*, Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press, 1982.
- Pinto, J., *Slavery in Portuguese India, 1510-1842*, Himalaya Pub., House, 1992.
- Pollocks, N.C. and Swanzie Agnews, *An Historical Geography of South Africa*, Longman, 1963.
- Postma, J.M., *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade 1600-1815*, CUP, 1990.
- Roy, J.N., *Mauritius is Transition*, Allahabad, 1960.
- Roychoudhury. T., *Jan Company in Coromandel*,
- Saha, P., *Emigration of Indian Labourer, 1834-1900*, People's Publishing House, 1970.
- Saunders, K., *Indentured Labour in the British Empire 1834-1920*, London, Caron Heln, 1984.
- Scarr, D., *Slaving and Slavery in the Indian Ocean*, London, Macmillan Press, 1998.
- Sen, S., *Colonist and the Empire: India 1890-1914*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1992.
- Sewill, Robert., *A Forgotten Empire (Vijaynagar)*, London; George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1924 (reprint).
- Shastri, K.A., *Advanced History of India*, OUP, 1971.
- Shell, R.C.H., *Children of Bondage: A Social history of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope 1652-1838*, Witwatersand. UP Johannesburg, 1994 (reprint:1997).
- Stein, R.L., *The French Slave Trade in the Eighteenth Century: An Old Regime Business*, University of Wiscosin Press, London, 1979.
- Stephen, S. Jayaseela, *The Portuguese in the Tamil coast*, Pondicherry, Navajothi, 1998.

- 
- *The Coromandel and its Hinterland: Economy, Society and Political System 1500-1600*, Manohar, 1997.
- Teelock, V., *Bitter Sugar: Sugar and Slaving in 19<sup>th</sup> century Mauritius*, Moka: Mahatma Gandhi Institute, 1998.
- Telfair, C., *Some Accounts of Slavery at Mauritius Since the British Occupations 1810*, London, 1830.
- Thekkedath, J., *History of Christianity*, Vol.II, Bangalore, Church History Association of India, 1982.
- Tinker, H., *A new system of slavery: the export of Indian Labour Overseas 1830-1920*, Oxford University Press (OUP), 1974.
- Tirzmi, S A I., *Indian Sources for African History*, vol.II, Manohar, New Delhi, 1989.
- Valentine, B., *Nasty, births and short: towards a clinometric assessment of the living condition of Mauritius slaves in 1826*, (Unpublished papers, Mahatma Gandhi Institute, Mauritius).
- Vincent, H. and Frederich, M., *British Colonial Developments, 1774-1834*, Select Documents, Clarendon Press, 1953.
- Wade, R.C., *Slavery in the Cities: The South 1820-1860*, Oxford.
- Wink, Andre, *Alhind: The making of the Indian Islamic World, : Early Medieval India and the expansion of Islam, 7-11<sup>th</sup> C*, Vol.I, Leiden.1990.
- Wood, A.J.R.Russel, *A World on the Move: The Portuguese in Africa, Asia and America, 1415-1808*, Manchester Carcanet Press, 1992.
- Worden, N, and Crais, C., *Breaking the Chain: Slavery and its Legacy in the Nineteenth Century Cape Colony*, Witwatersand UP, 1994.
- 
- *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*, CUP, 1985.



## ***Articles:***

- Adepoju, A., "Issues and recent trends in International Migrations in Sub-Saharan Africa"  
*International Social Science Journal*, 165, 2000, Sept., pp.431-466.
- Allen, R B., "Unbridled and Licentious proceedings: The illegal slave Trade to Mauritius and Seychelles during the early Nineteenth Century" *Journal of African History*, 42,2001.
- Altink, H., "Slavery by Another Name: Apprentice women in Jamaican Work House in the period", *Social History*, 26 (1), 2001, Jan., pp.40-59.
- Benedict, B., "Slavery and Indenture in Mauritius and Seychelles" in Watson, J., (ed.) *Asian and African Systems of Slavery, Oxford, 1980.*
- Benjamin, M., "Trading Activities of Indians in East Africa (with special reference to Slavery) in the Nineteenth Century" *IESHR*, 35 (4), 1998, pp.405-420.
- Bindeshwar Ram, *Historiography of the Migration of East Indian in South West Indian Ocean*, (A Paper presented at 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Dutch landing in Mauritius at LEIDEN), 1998.
- Bolland, O.N., "System of Domination after Slavery: The Control of land and Labour in the British West Indies after 1838" *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol.23/4, 1981.
- Brautigam, D., "Mauritius: Rethinking the miracle", *Current History*, '98 (628)1999, May, pp.228-31.
- Bull, M., "Slavery and the Multiple Self" *New Left Review*, 23, 1998, Sept.-Oct, pp.94-131.
- Campbell, G., "Madagascar and the Slave Trade, 1810-1895" *Journal of African History*, 22(1981) pp.203-227.
- Carter, M., "Indian Slaves in Mauritius (1729-1834), *Indian Historical Review*, Vol. 15,

- No. 1-2, 1988-89, pp.233-47.
- Cassels, N.G., "Social Litigation under the Company Raj: The Abolition of Slavery Act V, 1834" *South Asia*, 11(1), 1988, pp.59-87.
- Chakravarty, S., "The Dutch East India Company and Slave Trade in Seventeenth Century India: An Outline by Pieter Vandam, an advocate of the Company, *Journal of Asiatic Society*, Vol.xxxix, No. 2, 1997. Pp.73-99.
- Cumpston, I.M., "A Survey of Indian Immigration to Tropical Colonies 1910", *Population Studies*, vol. 10, 1956/57, pp. 158-165.
- Dubey, A.K., "India and Experiences of Indian Diaspora in Africa" *Africa Quarterly*, Vol. 40, No.2, 2000, pp.69-93.
- Eriksen, T H., "Indians in New World: Mauritius and Trinidad" *Social and Economic Studies*, 41:1 (1992)pp, 157-187.
- Galenson, D., "The Rise and Fall of Indenture Servitude: An Economic Analysis", *Journal of Economic History*, vol. Vliv, No.1.
- Genovese, E., "The Treatment of Slaves in Different Countries: Problems in the applications of the Comparative Methods" in *Slavery in the new World: a Reader in Comparative History*, (eds.) Lowea Foner and E.Genovese, Engelwood Cliffs, Parentice-Hall, 1969.
- Green, W.A., "The Perils of Comparative History: Belize and the British Sugar Colonies after Slavery" *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol.26, 1984, pp.112-119.
- Henry, B. and Michael Pitt, "Plantation and Mode of Exploitation" *Journal of Peasant Studies*, Vol.1/3, 1974, pp.519-547.
- Jain, P.C., "Emigration and Settlement of Indians Abroad" *Sociological Bulletin*, 38 (1), 1989, pp.155-168.

- Jain, R.K., "Indian Diaspora, Globalisation and Multiculturalism, a Cultural Analysis"  
*Contribution to Indian Sociology*, 32 (2), July-Dec., 1998, pp.337-360.
- Mathew, K., "Indian Diaspora in East and South Africa" *Indian Horizon*, Oct-Dec., 2000,  
pp.1-20.
- Mistry, P.S., "Mauritius-Quovadis?" *African Affairs*, 98 (393), 1999, Oct., pp.551-69.
- Morgan, P., "Three Planters and their slaves..." in Winthrop Jordan and Sheila L. Skemp (eds).,  
*Race and Family in the Colonial South*, Jockson: University Press of Mississippi, 1987.  
pp.39-40.
- Nelson, D., "Caste Hierarchy and Competition in an Overseas Indian Community" *Contribution  
to Indian Sociology*, 7 (1), 1973, pp.1-15.
- Nilakanta Sastri, K.A., "Shivaji's charter to the Dutch on the Coromandel Coast". *Proceeding of  
the Indian Historical Congress*, Calcutta, 1989, pp.1156-1165.
- Okoth, G.P., "Slavery: Case for Repration" *Africa Quarterly*, 40 (2), 2000, pp.93-116.
- Penn, N., "The Frontier in the Western Cape", in John Parkington and Martin Hall (eds.), *Papers  
in the pre history of the Western Cape*, Oxford, BAR. International Series.332, 1987,  
pp.475-476.
- Pillays, P.D., "Imperial Policy and Immigration in the colonies 1828-1920", in Anirudha Gupta,  
*Indians Abroad: Asia and Africa*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1971, pp. 304-05.
- Prasad, P., "Female Slavery in the Thirteenth Gujarat Documents in the Lekhapadhati,"  
*Indian Historical Review (IHR)*, VOL 15.No15 No.1-2,1988-89.
- Rana, P.B and Prabhu, P.M., "Tea and Money versus human life: The Rise and Fall of the  
Indentured System in Assam Tea Plantation, 1840-1908", *Journal of Peasant  
Studies*, vol.19/3, Oct., 1991, pp.142-171.

- Rayden, D.B., "Does Decline Make sense? The West Indian Economy and the abolition of the British Slave Trade", *Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies*, 31(3), 2001.
- Ross, R., "The White Population of South Africa in the Eighteenth Century", *Population Studies*, 29, 1975, pp.210-222.
- Sareen, T R, "Slavery in Indian under British rule 1772-1843" *Indian History Review*, vol.15 No.1-2, 1988-89, pp.257-268.
- Saunders, C., "Liberated Africans in Cape Colony in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century", *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 18, 1985.
- Seth, V.S., "Dynamics of Indian Diaspora in Eastt and South Africa" *Journal of Indian Ocean Studies*, Vol.8, No.3, Dec., 2000, pp.217-227.
- Shell, R.C.H., "Historical Background", in Sue Ross, *Fish Cook Book for South Africa*, Cape Town: South Point Publishing, 1978.pp.12-16.
- Tayal,M., "Indian Indentured Labour in Natal 1890-1911" *IESHR*, Vol.,xiv, No,4, pp.519-547.
- Walvin, J., "Slavery and the British" *History Today*, 52 (3), 2000, March, pp.48-54.

### ***Websites:***

- <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/mutoc.html>, "Federal Research Division Library of Congress," ed, by Helen Chapin Metz, 1994, August.
- [www.file://A:\indian\\_slaves in South Africa.htm](http://www.file://A:\indian_slaves_in_South_Africa.htm).
- [www.http.Links](http://www.links.slave_routes_to_Cape_Town.htm), slave routes to Cape Town.htm.p.6. Iziko Musuem.
- [www.slave, routes to Cape. Iziko Musuem.p.1](http://www.slave_routes_to_Cape_Iziko_Museum.p.1)

