

AAPRAVASI GHAT TRUST FUND

Newsletter

2nd November 2016 No. 13



10 years of Inscription

on UNESCO's World Heritage List

Local Economic Development Plan

for the historic city of Port Louis

Research Plan (2016-2021)

in view to deepen research on indenture

Visit of the UN Secretary General



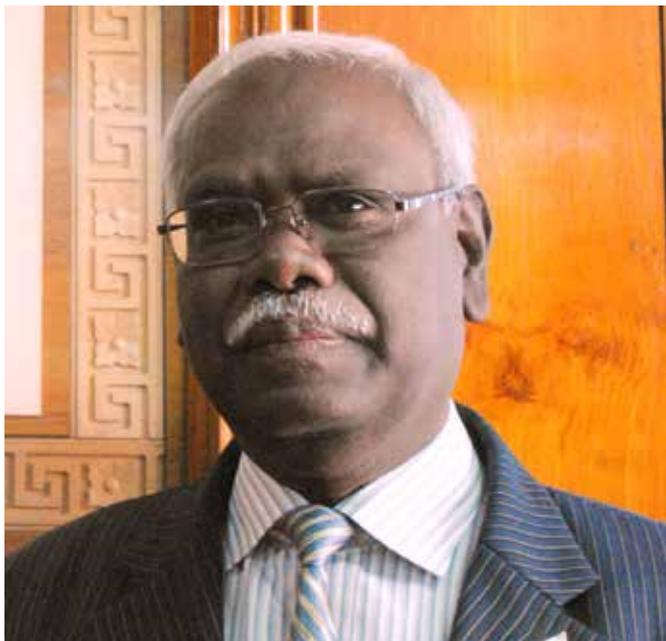
United Nations
Educational, Scientific and
Cultural Organization



Aapravasi Ghat
inscribed on the World Heritage List in 2006



AAPRAVASI
GHAT
TRUST FUND



The 2nd of November 2016 marks the 182nd anniversary of the arrival of indentured labourers in Mauritius. This year's commemoration takes on a greater significance because it also marks the tenth anniversary of the inscription of the Aapravasi Ghat on UNESCO's World Heritage List. In 2001, the Government of Mauritius, then headed by Sir Anerood Jugnauth, who is now again our Prime Minister, took the bold and laudable initiative of choosing this particular date to observe this special day, which had forever altered the destiny of this small Indian Ocean island-state.

The Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage Site was the landing place of hundreds of thousands of immigrants between the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is a unique place in time and space where the '*Great Experiment*' began and its success in Mauritius led to the introduction of indentured labour in other parts of colonial plantation world.

In 2002, the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund (AGTF) was established, and since then it has played a paramount role in promoting the local and international importance of the Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage Site and other indenture sites besides disseminating the experiences of the indentured labourers in Mauritius.

Over the past decade, it has been a major objective of the AGTF to encourage Mauritians, scholars and tourists to visit the world's only World Heritage Site

linked with indentured labour. After all, this hallowed site symbolizes a movement of peoples who defied tradition, travelled hundreds of miles to Mauritius and other distant lands. These brave souls crossed the *Kalapani* with the hope of carving a better life for themselves and their children.

In May 2016, the Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage Site was graced with the high profile visit of His Excellency Ban Ki-Moon, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who was inspired by the historic and heritage significance of the site.

During the course of this year, several key projects have been completed: the inscription of the Indentured Labour Archives of the Republic of Mauritius on UNESCO's Memory of the World Register, the Research Plan and a Strategic Plan (2016-2020). Other major projects that are in the process of being realised include the Indentured Labour Route Project and the Local and Economic Development Plan for the Aapravasi Ghat Buffer Zone. Some of the other on-going projects are the archaeological excavation works at Bras d'Eau and Bois Marchand cemetery.

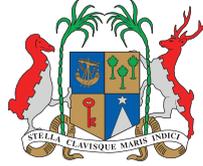
Among the important events that were held this year were the commemoration ceremonies marking the inscription of the Indentured Labour Archives of the Republic of Mauritius on UNESCO's Memory of the World Register and the 10th anniversary of the site's accession to World Heritage Site status. An important ceremony was also held at Antoinette-Phooliyaar in the context of the ICOMOS International Day for Monuments and Sites. In addition, AGTF also participated in the successful '*Poruli* by Light' and the annual Consultative Committee for the Buffer Zone.

In line with the objectives of its Act for publications related to indentured labour, the AGTF is launching a coffee table book on the Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage Site and a new issue of its annual newsletter.

Lastly, the AGTF is committed, as it has been doing for the past years, to accomplish its mission and to promote the Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage and other indenture sites in Mauritius and overseas.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'D. Y. D.', written in a cursive style.

Dharam Yash Deo Dhuny
Chairman, Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund
2nd November 2016



PRIME MINISTER REPUBLIC OF MAURITIUS MESSAGE



I am pleased to be associated with the publication of the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund Annual Newsletter on the occasion of the 182nd Anniversary of the arrival of the indentured labourers in Mauritius.

This singular event ushered a new era in our country's history which forever altered its demography, economy and politics. The 36 Indian immigrants who arrived in Mauritius on the ship 'the Atlas' on 02 November 1834 were the pioneers and the precursors of almost half a million immigrants, who eventually called this small Indian Ocean island their home.

The Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage Site is a place of shared history and shared memories since our ancestors landed there. It is a unique place which provides us with a tangible example of our common heritage. We are very grateful to our ancestors who helped in building this peaceful, multi ethnic and democratic country, recognised by the world as an example of unity and diversity.

In 2001, it was under my prime ministership that Government decreed 02 November a public holiday to honour the memory of the indentured labourers.

Last year, the Indenture Immigration Records of the Republic of Mauritius have been inscribed on the UNESCO Memory of the World International Register.

This year we commemorated the 10th Anniversary of the inscription of the Aapravasi Ghat on the World Heritage List of UNESCO.

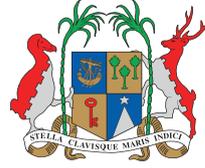
And in November, we shall be holding the first meeting of the International Scientific Committee for the Indenture Labour Route Project in Mauritius. The International Scientific Committee, that would comprise countries involved in the Indenture Labour System, namely, India, Guyana, Trinidad, South Africa, Reunion Island, Surinam, Fiji, Malaysia, UK and France, would ratify the Terms of Reference of the Committee and discuss the course of action for the elaboration of an international database on the Indenture Labour System.

I take this opportunity to commend the Chairman, the Board and the Staff of the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund for the various projects implemented and initiatives taken to honour the memory of our immigrant ancestors.

I wish you good luck for your future endeavours which I am sure will help to preserve this unique World Heritage Site for prosperity.

The Rt Hon Sir Anerood Jugnauth, GCSK,
KCMG, QC
Prime Minister

31 August 2016



MINISTRY OF ARTS AND CULTURE MESSAGE

It gives me great pleasure to associate myself with the publication of the 13th Edition of the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund Newsletter to commemorate the 182nd Anniversary of the Arrival of the Indentured labourers in Mauritius and the 10th Anniversary of the inscription of Aapravasi Ghat as a World Heritage Site.

The Aapravasi Ghat was a core transiting site for immigrants who disembarked at Trou Fanfaron harbor in Port Louis. The stairs which they climbed bear testimony of the hardships they endured to shape the social, political and economic fabric of Mauritius. It is, therefore, fitting that we pay tribute to them.

When the Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage Site was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 2006, the World Heritage Committee recommended to “undertake research on indentured labour to consider the extent, scope and impact of the indentured labour Diaspora around the world”.

Mauritius undertook initiatives to create an Indenture Labour Route Project and Government has agreed to the setting up of an International Scientific Committee. The Committee will comprise a corpus of professionals in various fields such as history, anthropology, archaeology and heritage. One of the main tasks of the Committee will be to develop an international database on indentured labour, accessible worldwide, so as to disseminate information about such a major historical event and build greater understanding and cooperation among people.

The international indenture labour route project will be complementary to the Slave Route Project and the General History of Africa and implemented in the context of the International Decade for People of African Descent (2015-2024).

The secretariat of the international indentured labour route project will be established through the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund.

Another landmark achieved in the history of indentured labourers is the inscription of the indenture immigration records of the Republic of Mauritius on the Memory of the World Records. In fact, as recommended by UNESCO at the time of inscription of the Aapravasi Ghat on World Heritage list, all records related to indenture immigration located at our National Archives, National Library and MGI have been inscribed on UNESCO memory of the World Register in October 2015.

This Government is leaving no stone unturned to pay homage to our ancestors by giving their efforts world wide recognition.

To conclude, I wish to convey my appreciation to the good work carried out by the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund and wish you success in your endeavours.

S. Baboo
Minister



MESSAGE FROM THE LORD MAYOR OF PORT LOUIS

I am pleased to be associated with the annual newsletter 2016 of the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund. This year, a double event will be celebrated by the AGTF: the 182nd anniversary of the arrival of indentured labourers in Mauritius, precisely at the Aapravasi Ghat, and the 10th anniversary of the inscription of the Aapravasi Ghat on UNESCO's list of world heritage sites.

This historical landmark is now recognised as a symbol of the Mauritian identity as it is there that the ancestors of a great number of our compatriots landed to work as indentured labourers and thus contributed to make of the island a prosperous and successful nation.

Since the Aapravasi Ghat had a key role in the indenture labour system and in the development of the sugar cane industry, it will always be associated with the history of Mauritius, also of Port Louis. It is therefore our duty to remember the hard work, the sacrifices and the sufferings of these labourers who contributed to Mauritian nation building. The past has helped in building the present Mauritius and we have to always keep in memory past history to build a better present and future for our country.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Mohammad Oumar Kholeegan'.

Mohammad Oumar KHOLEEGAN
LORD MAYOR

8 September 2016



AGTF PROJECTS 2016 – 2017

CORINNE FOREST, HEAD TECHNICAL UNIT

This year has been particularly special for the staff of the AGTF as we celebrated 10 years of work at the World Heritage Site. This moment in our professional life also gave way to further thought on successes achieved and the challenges that have been overcome in the last ten years.

Numerous projects were undertaken at the AGTF. Most may not be visible to the general public because these projects dealt with efforts made to set up a framework for the preservation, management and promotion of the World Heritage Site in line with the requirements of UNESCO. In this undertaking, it is to be noted that the technical and research team has made relentless efforts to reach targets and in most cases, has achieved most productive results.

As per our internal organisation, projects are related with three main disciplines: heritage conservation, research, heritage interpretation and promotion. Our main achievement during the year 2016 is the completion of the Local Economic Development (LED) plan that seeks to address the issue of heritage and development in the city centre of Port Louis. This project supported by UNESCO is very much in line with challenges and issues currently being discussed in the heritage field because it addresses a key question: how to integrate heritage into development strategies and how to use heritage as an asset for economic development?

These questions will also be our focus when conducting a survey for the development of an exhibition area at Trianon Heritage Site where conservation is still under way. The aim is to integrate Trianon Heritage Site

in the local area as a key cultural heritage site where people can measure the importance of Mauritian heritage. This long term project will require the preparation of a detailed project proposal including a feasibility study.

The ultimate goal of developing activities at heritage sites supports the setting up of a local heritage trail dedicated to the history of indenture in Mauritius. Many sites that are the focus of our research i.e. Flat Island, Antoinette Phooliyaar and Bras d'Eau will also form part of this heritage trail.

In order to create support for visitors and provide key information, we will continue our research on indenture now that the Research Plan has been prepared to provide a defined framework and updated objectives for our research programme. The scope of our research has been broadened to encompass new research themes, especially to look at the perception that Mauritians have for their heritage. We believe that this type of research is key to determine the way we should restate information to the public about their past and also to prioritize our projects and activities. This will be very important especially when setting up a road map for the Indentured Labour Route currently in progress. This project will start effectively when the International Scientific Committee will meet in Mauritius in the course of the year.

Besides these projects, research on indenture and our regular events and activities will be on to share the results of our work with one and all as our research reveals the richness of Mauritian heritage.

PREPARING THE LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT (LED) PLAN FOR THE HISTORIC CITY CENTRE OF PORT LOUIS, MAURITIUS

DR ENRICO BERTACCHINI, ASSISTANT PROFESSOR IN ECONOMICS, UNIVERSITY OF TORINO, ITALY
DR ALESSIO RE, HERITAGE EXPERT, CSS-EBLA, TORINO, ITALY

With rapid urbanization, development pressures are posing major challenges to cities featuring valuable historic cores and distinctive cultural atmosphere. The preservation of cultural values of both tangible and intangible heritage is often deemed to hinder economic value generated by new development opportunities. At the same time, uncoordinated private interests risk to deplete the collective values and resources traditionally shared by local communities. In the last decades there has been an increasing worldwide recognition about the role of culture as a lever for local development and urban regeneration, as it has been clearly illustrated by the most recent orientations expressed by the same UNESCO, especially with reference to the 2011 Recommendation of Historic Urban Landscape. Economists have also increasingly focused on the analysis of the economic characteristics of cultural heritage, highlighting its values for local sustainable development and the challenge that such particular class of resources determine for their proper management.

In the case of Mauritius, the city centre of Port Louis has seen development happening with little consideration for heritage assets. As a consequence of the World Heritage Status for Aapravasi Ghat, the Planning Policy Guidance 6 (PPG6) was issued in June 2011 to restore the architectural harmony in the buffer zone but above all, to encourage sustainable development in the capital city where low-controlled development has led to the loss of cultural values and economic assets. Since then, the PPG 6 is supporting the integration of heritage into the development strategies and projects to add value to the whole city centre. In addition to the provisions established by this planning document, there is also a need to support development initiatives in the area identified as the Central Business District. To this end, the Local Economic Development (LED) Plan Project



was initiated by the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund with the financial support of UNESCO, as a key project to identify investment opportunities in the city centre. This project comes at a critical time when official planning strategies and regulations at the national and local level, notably the National Development Strategy and the Outline Planning Scheme of the city of Port Louis, have acknowledged as a priority the urban renaissance and regeneration of the city of Port Louis, by enhancing its historic urban environment.

The core aim of the LED Plan project is to use heritage as a key vector for sustainable development and as a key tool for diversifying the local economy. This economic model has been used in many countries where the dereliction of city centres has led to the loss of financial and social assets. Generally, the benefits arising from historic city center revitalization are of three types:

- a) Effects on physical regeneration, including reuse of abandoned buildings, increase use of public spaces and improvement in the aesthetic quality and integrity of the place.



View of Royal Street, Port Louis (AGTF Collection)

b) Economic impacts, including job creation, development of new firms, increase in tourism flows and expenditures, increase in real estate values.

c) Cultural and social impacts, such as the preservation of the historic and distinctive character of the place, maintenance of traditional skills, rituals and cultural customs, change in the perceived image and reputation of the place and its inhabitants and, finally increased social cohesion of the local community.

Similarly, the LED plan project will propose measures to direct investments towards heritage rehabilitation and design a broad set of strategies aimed at the regeneration and enhanced attractiveness of the city core through renewed functional uses of heritage assets.

The LED Plan started with the preparation of a situation analysis using data and information for the assessment of the local context, and with consultations with the local community in order to get feedbacks from relevant stakeholders on a first set of proposed actions and strategies forming part of the plan.

The situation analysis included a building and land use survey of some 2,000 buildings conducted by the AGTF staff and a dedicated survey focusing on the economic and cultural valuation of heritage rehabilitation in the city center of Port Louis. The survey was administered to a significant sample of foreign tourists and Mauritians visiting the city center to obtain quantitative estimates of the cultural values and the economic effects respondents would attribute as beneficiaries to potential investment projects concerning heritage rehabilitation and the revitalization of area. The result supported in economic terms the overall goal of the LED plan and confirmed the possibility to devise policy actions for the culture-led revitalization of the target area.

The survey on building use and economic activities provided relevant informational resources to understand the economic dynamics of the city centre and the impact that the proposed actions identified in the LED Plan may have.

The proposals for development and action plan forming part of the LED plan are based on an accurate benchmark analysis of the international positioning of the city of Port Louis and an in-depth socio-economic impact assessment. This strategy enables:

- i) to identify complementarities with existing proposals;
- ii) to give to policy-makers a wider set of development actions based on heritage rehabilitation and culture-led regeneration strategies and
- iii) to devise a realistic and implementable plan of actions identifying potential funding sources and opportunities.

So far, three main different groups of actions have been proposed and discussed:

- Project proposal for the rehabilitation and functional revitalization of the Waterfront area (Buffer Zone 1), including i) the set up of a Cultural Heritage District, hosting a museum and new cultural facilities and ii) the development of a more business oriented Waterfront Creative District in the Granary and its surroundings to host creative services business and companies.

- Incentive measures and actions for the rehabilitation of buildings with historic and architectural value in the city center and culture-led economic revitalization of the area, mainly based on Mauritian food and gastronomy activities as a key intangible cultural asset.
- Cross-sectoral and institutional actions to ease the investments in rehabilitation and boost the cultural tourism attractiveness and place-branding of the city of Port Louis.

Regarding the management of the plan, on the basis of other successful international experiences of urban regeneration, the main measure that has been proposed as an implementing mechanism for the LED action plan is the setting-up a Public-Private arrangement, tentatively labeled PL2030.

The main functions of this new body should entail:

- Promote and follow the preparation of an executive masterplan for the area, with the scope to detail and integrate the LED plan proposed actions;
- Effectively coordinate, through the adoption of specific financial tools, the actions for the rehabilitation and revitalization of both the Waterfront area and the city center;
- Attract investors for the development of Waterfront Creative District
- Invest in the purchase and rehabilitation of historic buildings in the city center;

- Oversee the implementation of the Historic Building Special Program, coordinating funds and the financial and institutional tools related to the program;
- Provide grants and incentives for the rehabilitation of buildings with historic and architectural value in the city center and for attracting and developing new culture-led business activities;
- Coordinate the branding and cultural tourism strategy for the city center of Port Louis;
- Develop promotional and communication strategies to enhance the awareness in local community and stakeholders of the values of the preservation and rehabilitation of historic heritage.

The final plan will be submitted officially to the AGTF Board and the Ministry of Arts and Culture in September 2016.

*Tourists taking pictures at the gate of Chinatown, Port Louis
(AGTF Collection)*



THE PREPARATION OF A RESEARCH PLAN FOR THE AAPRAVASI GHAT TRUST FUND

CORINNE FOREST, HEAD TECHNICAL UNIT

Research at the AGTF started in 2003 with the setting up of a research unit. At this point in time, a research programme was designed to document the Aapravasi Ghat as part of the process of preparing a nomination dossier to propose the inscription of the Aapravasi Ghat on UNESCO's World Heritage List. After the inscription of the Aapravasi Ghat in 2006, it was essential to review our strategy in order to define orientations in line with the mandate of the AGTF (to conduct research on indenture and related sites), and with the World Heritage status of the site which opened up vast opportunities for research.

Initially, the main concern was to further substantiate the outstanding significance of Mauritius in the history of indenture in accordance with the World Heritage status requirements.

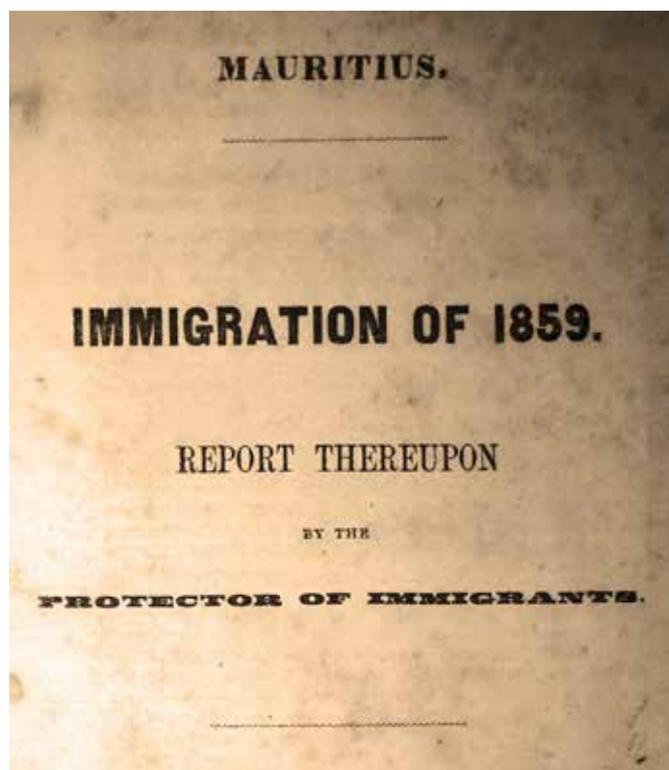
In order to maximize results and focus on priorities, the preparation of the Research Plan was a fundamental step to attend to our objectives in the most efficient manner. This Research Plan states our policy, guidelines and strategy with the view to position the AGTF as a key institution for research on indenture as per the Objective 6 of our Strategic Plan.

This vision is also supported in the Management Plan of the Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage Site as Objective 11: the AGTF shall "Continue and encourage multidisciplinary research on the scope and extent of indenture by establishing local, regional and international networks" as per the recommendation made by UNESCO.

The methodology used for the preparation of the Research Plan included working sessions with Dr Richard Allen, Historian from Framingham University (USA), from 23 May to 10 June 2016. Richard Allen has been collaborating with the AGTF since its inception. He is a key contributor to the Nomination Dossier of the Aapravasi Ghat (2005), to the Nomination Dossier for the inscription of the

indentured immigration archives on the Memory of the World International Register (2012) and to the storyline of the Beekrumsing Ramlallah Interpretation Centre (2014).

What is more, Richard Allen is the author of several articles and publications on slavery and indenture in Mauritius and stands among the most prolific and renowned academic writers on these topics. The rationale to hire the services of Dr Allen was to work with a confirmed and experienced Historian of indenture in order to think out our strategy in the perspective of the latest academic debates on indenture. Our team also benefitted from his professional experience of research in the Mauritian and British archives that provided a sense of how far could research topics be achieved and which methodology could be used to address them.



Report of the Protector of Immigrants and Portraits of indentured labourers (Mauritius National Archives and MGIIIA)

The result of this collaboration and debates on research already undertaken led to the following strategy for research at the AGTF:

Objective 1 “Research on origins” is crucial to appreciate the modalities and dynamics of indenture in later periods. A thorough understanding of how indenture began is vital to comprehend the development of the indentured labour system and reasons that presided over the way it evolved. The topics include:

1. Research on the origins of the sugar industry;
2. The transition between slavery and indenture and the relationship between the two labour systems;
3. Research on early migration (c1825 to c1850);
4. Research on social mobility;
5. Research on Port Louis and its relationship with rural districts and the wider world.

Objective 2 “Multidisciplinary research” will deal with the study of two sites namely Bras d’Eau and Flat Island with a focus on:

1. The early years of the indenture system (1820s-1830s);
2. Memory and heritage especially contemporary perception of heritage.

Objective 3 will deal with Memory and Heritage. The focus will be on the way Mauritians perceive heritage related to indenture. The research will cover initially on two main themes:

1. Modern perceptions of the indentured experience;
2. Perceptions of the Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage Site.

Oral history materials (800 interviews in total) will be used to delve into these themes to better understand how people think about their heritage and inform on modern public memory of the indentured experience.

The topic of research will inform on public expectation of heritage institution on measures taken to preserve and enhance this heritage, which is essential to achieve our mission.



Dr. Richard B. Allen is a scholar known internationally for his work on the social and economic history of Mauritius, slavery and indentured labour in the colonial plantation world, and slave trading in the Indian Ocean. He is the recipient of two Fulbright research awards and prestigious research fellowships from the American Council of Learned Societies and the National Endowment for the Humanities.

His publications include *Slaves, Freedmen and Indentured Laborers in Colonial Mauritius* (Cambridge University Press, 1999); *European Slave Trading in the Indian Ocean, 1500-1850* (Ohio University Press, 2014); many chapters in books published in the United States, Europe and elsewhere; numerous articles in prominent academic journals including *Journal of African History*, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth*, *Journal of Social History*, *Journal of World History*, *Slavery and Abolition*, and *Revue française d’histoire d’outre-mer*; and articles in encyclopedias on Africa, slavery, and global human migration.

He co-authored the successful applications to designate the Aapravasi Ghat and the Le Morne Cultural Landscape in Mauritius as UNESCO World Heritage Sites and the dossier nominating the indentured immigration records of the Republic of Mauritius for inscription on UNESCO’s Memory of the World Register. He also serves as editor of Ohio University Press’s Indian Ocean Studies series.

UNCOVERING PLANTATION LIFE IN BRAS D'EAU

JULIA JONG HAINES, UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

Over the last year, I have been conducting archaeological research in Bras d'Eau national park, located on the North East coast of Mauritius, with a small team of research assistants. During the 18th and 19th centuries the park was a 1000-arpent plantation estate and I am using both documents from historical archives and archaeological data to study what life was like for the labourers who lived and worked there in the past.

Michel Champeaux de Vaudon, born in Mauritius in 1748, and his brother Louis Claude Champeaux, were first given the property as a concession for their “troupeaux” or animal herds in 1786. In 1788, civil status census record stated that Michel Champeaux had a total of 63 slaves, 3 horses, 50 cows, 46 calves or heifers and 100 pigs (Archives Nationales d’Outre-Mer, Aix-en-Provence: G/1/476). The property is bought in 1816 by Dr Pierre Carcenac and through the 19th century the property continued to change hands several times. It is still unclear exactly when the estate became a sugar plantation, however by the time the estate is purchased by Jean Clément Ulcoq, the proprietor of Bras d'Eau from 1841-1862, Bras d'Eau was a sugar estate with a mill and steam press. The archives also provide only snapshots at different times of how many labourers were working on Bras d'Eau. Between 1841 and 1846 alone, 390 newly arrived labourers came to Bras d'Eau. Bras d'Eau is said to have been “abandoned” as a sugar estate in 1868, just two years after Jean Arthur and Alfred Michel purchase the property. Archival records indicate that the owner Jean Arthur Michel lived part of the time in Curepipe and partly in Bras d'Eau before his death in 1903.

To better understand the organisation of the estate, six months were dedicated to surveying and mapping all archaeological vestiges. The landscape in this part of the island is very rocky and Bras d'Eau’s previous inhabitants used these stones to construct different features across the site. The largest structure on the estate is the sugar mill, however the most extensive feature on this estate is actually a network of roads made of basalt boulders and laid out in a rough grid across the whole property. Within the southern

portion of the estate, industrial and domestic buildings and features cover an incredible 14 hectares inside the estate. The majority of these ruins are low walls and foundations.

To examine 18th- to 19th- century labourer daily life in Bras d'Eau, we excavated seven different trenches in and around ruins of long barrack-style structures, individual structures and enclosed yard spaces. Roots of trees that were planted during the 19th century by the forestry department disrupted much of the stratigraphy; however some architectural features were still present. While it was previously assumed that the majority of the structures in the park were constructed with dry set masonry, excavations revealed a clay-mud mortar inside stonewalls and fragments of white lime mortar that likely once filled the exterior cracks. Over time, the mud and mortar has eroded and washed away from the stone walls. Flooring was made of natural bedrock and hard compact clay deposits.



Artefacts found at Bras d'Eau
(Courtesy of Julia Haines)

ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH ON FLAT ISLAND – THE 2016 SEASON

DR SAŠA CAVAL AND ALESSANDRA CIANCIOSI

A wide range of artefacts was recovered, the majority of which were the ubiquitous 19th century ceramic tableware and bottle glass found on similar contemporaneous habitation sites. These artefacts were imported from Europe and Asia, a testament to the global spread of material culture underpinned by overseas colonial endeavours. There was also a variety of low-fire, hand-built earthenware that were likely imported or brought by labourers from India, China, East Africa or made locally. These ceramics came in the form of hookah pipes, small round bowls or oil lamps, bottles, larger utilitarian vessels. These ceramics of indeterminate origin makes Mauritian archaeology, particularly unique within contemporaneous historical archaeology. The red wares and coarse wares provide the opportunity to look at Indian Ocean cultural practices, regional trade networks and potentially local ceramic production. More intimate and personal objects were also found, such as ceramic smoking pipes and broken ceramic fragments reshaped into round gaming pieces, and bone, mother-of-pearl, metal and brass British regimental buttons. While keeping in mind the context of globalization during this period, excavations have provided unprecedented look into labourers' material culture and the trade networks the colony participated in.

The Mauritian Archaeology and Cultural Heritage (MACH) project, based at Stanford University, USA, has been working on the heritage of Mauritius for eight years. Since 2014, the team has focused attention on Flat Island, undertaking detailed survey of subsoil features and the standing archaeology. Through these surveys of the island, which was established as a quarantine station in the middle of the 19th Century, we have identified a number of preserved structures associated with health, along with living quarters.

In collaboration with the AGTF and the National Parks and Conservation Services (NPCS) of Mauritius, the main purpose of our work has been to assess the feasibility of this island to function as a heritage attraction, and if so, provide evidence to establish how visitor activities could be sustainably managed. The archaeological research was performed under the project 'Documentation and Conservation of the former quarantine station in Flat Island, Mauritius', funded by the AGTF and US State Office, Port Louis, through the award from the 'Ambassador's Fund for Cultural Preservation'.

Based on preliminary seasons of work, Flat Island clearly represents a significant heritage asset for Mauritius, for both local and tourist markets. Our immediate objective was to document the remaining structures, and overall archaeological potential, on Flat Island. Our results will then form part of a wider restoration and conservation plan to promote the preservation of this important cultural site.

During the 2016 field season, a group of 12 individuals incorporating students and professional archaeologists and split into teams, undertook detailed surveys of the architectural features; a geophysical survey of subsoil features, and an environmental sampling for geo-archaeological analysis.



Brass British regimental buttons
(Courtesy of Julia Haines)

The first team were charged with locating and positioning the standing archaeology. To do this, the team first had to examine in detail the archival material that had been prepared by the AGTF. Georeferencing the structures was performed with a GPS and the total station, used for accurate measurements of the architectural features. In the so-called European Quarters on the Eastern side of the island, two buildings were discovered and georeferenced: these included a well-preserved colonial house and its associated kitchen building, with the original oven. Other related structures comprises of water tanks and piping. Additional recording of the structures included detailed drawings, photography and analytical description.

Another team conducted a survey on the western side of the island to locate the so-called *Coolie-Camp*, and any additional buildings. Approximately half-way between the Eastern and Western part of the island, i.e. between the indentured labourers' and European quarters, a construction was found, identified as a hospital, with associated kitchen and water tank. Archival documents reference two indentured labourers' camps close to the coast on the western side of the island. We located these; however, the thick vegetation prevented any detailed recording or analysis.

Finally, a team from Reading University, UK, led by Robert Fry, conducted geophysical prospection on the eastern side of the Island, close to the 19th-century pier. The instrumentation detects fluctuations in the ground through non-destructive assessment. An electrical signal is directed from the device deep into the ground, this signal is reflected on subsoil objects and returns to the device. In this way, it reveals an image of underground features. Analysis of the spectral density and the time-frequency signal thus provides a detailed map of the subsoil archaeology. As a non-destructive technique, geophysics is imperative in archaeological research.

In addition to these three teams, Dr Aleksander Pluskowski from Reading University, UK collected geoarchaeological sediment samples. This kind of analysis allows us to investigate not only the correlation between geological and archaeological layers but also the human-environmental interactions and climate changes.

Finally, a drone was used to collect aerial photos and videos. This remotely controlled aircraft, allowed for a

comprehensive overview of the quarantine island and its structures, as well as provides data for an assessment of the wider archaeological landscape. Since the last aerial imagery of Flat Island was produced in 1974, and Google Earth images of the island often have cloud coverage and a low resolution; thus they cannot be used for our research. The information that a drone provides is very valuable due to its clarity and possibility of computational manipulation and modelling.

Structure found on Flat Island
(AGTF Collection)



THE INTERNATIONAL DAY FOR MONUMENTS AND SITES IN APRIL 2016



The International Day for Monuments and Sites is an annual event held on 18 April since 1983. It was initiated by the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) to raise public awareness about the diversity and vulnerability of the World's Cultural Heritage and to draw attention to the efforts that it required for its protection and conservation. Every year, the ICOMOS selects a theme that inspires various activities in many countries around the world. This year, the theme was 'The Heritage of Sports' and the objective was to celebrate the role of sports in the improvement of human life.

The Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund is taking an active part in the celebration of this event every year since 2006. It is an opportunity to promote the Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage Site and to raise awareness on the History of Port Louis. The activities proposed this year were organised in collaboration with the National Parks and Conservation Services and the National Heritage Fund. It included:

- Guided visit at the Aapravasi World Heritage Site (AGWHS) and the Beekrumsing Ramlallah Interpretation Centre. Educational and playful activities for children and adults including storytelling, the history of ceramics and pottery-making, and construction techniques were also part of the visit;
- Heritage walks in the AGWHS Buffer Zone 1 where visitors could appreciate the history of Port Louis through buildings pertaining to the French and British periods;
- Guided visit at Bras d'Eau National Parks where visitors could appreciate the result of a first archaeological survey;
- Guided visit at the Government House and at the State House;

A total number of 2, 950 visitors were recorded to have taken part in these activities this year.

COMMEMORATION CEREMONY AT ANTOINETTE-PHOOLIYAAR

INDIRA GYARAM, PROGRAMME COORDINATOR

The Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund in collaboration with the Ministry of Arts and Culture organised a commemoration ceremony on Sunday 3rd April 2016 at Antoinette-Phooliyaar in memory of the first Indian indentured labourers who went to work and live on Antoinette Sugar Estate in November 1834.

This ceremony entitled “Antoinette-Phooliyaar Revisited: 1984-2016” reminds us of the first national commemoration ceremony which was held at Antoinette-Phooliyaar over a period of seven days in September 1984, under the auspices of the first government of the Right Hon. Sir. Anerood Jugnauth, Prime Minister of the Republic of Mauritius.

The chief guest was Lady Sarojini Jugnauth and distinguished guests were Hon. Santaram Baboo, Minister of Arts and Culture, Hon. Ravi Yerrigadoo, Attorney-General, Hon. Ravi Rutnah, Deputy Chief Whip, Mr. Yash Deo Dhuny, Chairman of the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund and Mr. Joorooduth Chuckun, Chairman of the District Council of Rivière du Rempart.

The ceremony began with a wreath-laying and a *diya* (lamp) lighting at the Antoinette-Phooliyaar lotus stele. Afterwards, a stele in memory of the Antoinette-Phooliyaar indentured workers was unveiled by Lady Sarojini Jugnauth.

The cultural part of the ceremony took place at Bracknell Palace Hall where distinguished guests addressed the audience. This was followed by a cultural programme presented by the Mahatma Gandhi Institute and the local community. An exhibition was also set up by the AGTF on the history of Antoinette, its indentured workers and their descendants. Other activities proposed were traditional cuisine, songs, dances, story-telling, riddles, plays, pottery-making and traditional games performed by the youth of Barlow. The event attracted more than 3,000 visitors.



The wreath laying ceremony at the lotus stele (AGTF Collection)



Lady Jugnauth, the Hon. Santaram Baboo and Mr. Dhuny visiting the stalls presenting traditional food (AGTF Collection)

ORAL HISTORY PROJECT ON ANTOINETTE SUGAR ESTATE AT PHOOLIYAAR NAGAR AND BARLOW

KIRAN CHUTTOO JANKEE, RESEARCH ASSISTANT

One of the most emblematic and oldest sugar estates in Mauritius is the Antoinette Sugar Estate, located in the north of the island. It was the sugar estate where the first group of indentured labourers went to work and live in 1834. It is also one of the few estate camps where inhabitants were collectively moved to a single locality at Phooliyaar Nagar near Barlow, in the early 1980s. These inhabitants retain very vivid memories of their life experiences on the sugar estate and the estate camps. The Oral History/Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) research team of the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund, have been recording these unique recollections since 2015.

The Sugar Estate's mill and camps are in ruins today. Most of the camps, with the exception of three chambers with crumbling stonewalls, which no longer serve their purpose have been erased from the landscape and replaced by sugar cane plantations. However the fountain, the rain gauge and the well, which is full of water even though in an abandoned state, still exist. The water basin that provided the sugar mill with water has survived although the stones are gradually wearing away. The chimney is well-conserved; the bell of the chimney is today kept at the entrance of the Tamil temple of Petite Julie, as requested by the community. The *Kalimaye*, with the sacred 'peepal tree', still stands prominently in the midst of cane fields. Informants said: "None of us know since when the *Kalimaye* exists, it is there since time immemorial".

The inhabitants who have been relocated at Phooliyaar Nagar and Barlow were very pleased to narrate their life histories on the Antoinette Sugar Estate camp. The Oral History project in Phooliyaar Nagar has been so far quite informative and enriching. Dozens of families are yet to be interviewed. Some of the people whom we interviewed are Mr. Periasamy Nellamootoo, Mrs. Guanamah Seetiah, Mr. and Mrs. Poloo Oozagheer, Mrs. Kalawtee Balgobin, Kisto Family, Appadoo family who are all from Phooliyaar Nagar, and Puboo and Dhuny family from Barlow.

The inhabitants have mixed feelings and memories of the Antoinette Sugar camp. Talking to us about their past experiences and their perception of life on sugar camps is like revisiting those days dating back to the mid-20th century till the 1980s. Their last memory is that of pain: they had to face flood in their camps every time it rained as they were located in a valley. Each rainy day was equivalent to a loss of cattle and destruction of their huts and thus a miserable life for several days. The frequent theft of their cattle was another source of worry as the stable located at the entrance of the camp, was unattended at night time.



However, the relocation to Phooliyaar Nagar was the best thing that happened to them and they express gratitude and appreciation to the eminent personalities who made it possible.

The estate camps were a source of pleasant memories as well for the community. Families belonging to different faiths were living like a big family and celebrated all festivals together; they cherish the moments when they would often sit under the huge banyan tree near the '*bhaitka*' and chat at leisure. They recollect that they were able to save money when they lived on the estate which they consider was prosperous for them. They enjoyed numerous facilities such as free electricity, water and shelter.

On the contrary, there was a lack of means of transport. They had to walk several kilometres from the estate camps to go to villages like Rivière du Rempart. However, transport facilities were provided to The Mount hospital when they were sick or injured. They lived in sheer poverty and misery and, could hardly afford basic necessities. They had only one outfit at times. There were no beds and they had to improvise a bed-like structure to sleep. Some of them would sleep in gunny bags to keep warm as they had no means to buy a blanket. They had to toil very hard to earn money and make ends meet.



Mrs. Dhuny, in the middle, being interviewed by the AGTF research team (AGTF Collection)

OUR INFORMANTS

Our informants who are mostly elderly people above 70 years old welcomed our team with enthusiasm although with some reticence at first. However, after a while they open up and relate their personal life history with deep emotions, thrill and interest. They shared with us the most intimate space in their house like the kitchen, the small shrines and the bedrooms; they even invite us for lunch with the family after the interviews.

The most important moment of the interviews occurred over lunch and tea time. The informality of sharing food privileges conviviality and intimacy, and builds a strong rapport. Interviewees spontaneously reveal some of the most interesting and forgotten treasures in history, especially related to food, shortage of clothing, basic shelter, mattresses made up of vetiver, collecting water at two o'clock in the morning from the public fountain and the celebration of festivals like *Holi*, which was celebrated from 6 in the morning to 9 at night. They shared with us their personal faith regarding *Kalimayes*. They believe the prayers performed were always heard: and some of them still go there on foot every morning, others every week and some on every festival day.

Our informants often wait for other family members to leave so that they could disclose some of the intimate and intriguing stories, jokes and riddles, which they usually share with their granddaughters. For instance, the 90 years old Mrs. Matty Chintaram Dhuny enthusiastically shared with us alone the most interesting riddles in *Bhojpuri* that they would share with none except perhaps with their grandchildren.

Mrs. Dhuny dressed in a cotton sari, head covered in the traditional way, lowers her tone and unleashes some of the unheard of riddles in *Bhojpuri* with powerful words rhyming beautifully with mysterious and double meanings. We listened and noted them in all confidentiality.

Oral history was used as an important research tool to understand how the last batch of Antoinette Sugar Estate inhabitants felt and responded to key moments of their lives such as at work, their daily routines, how they perceived the whole system of indenture and how they lived the transition from Antoinette to Phooliyaar Nagar.

In the context of this project, the informants' life stories have been recorded and safeguarded in our local history. In the next phase of the project, the team will pursue research with the communities of the camps of Petite Julie, The Mount, Mont Loisir, D'Épinay, Rivière du Rempart, which we believe will yield valuable knowledge about life on sugar estates.

THE INTERNATIONAL MUSEUM DAY

VIKRAM MUGON,
HERITAGE INTERPRETATION MANAGER

The Beekrumsing Ramlallah Interpretation Centre joined the worldwide community of museums to celebrate the 39th edition of the International Museum Day on 18th May 2016. The International Museum Day aims at raising public awareness about the role of the museum in the development of society. Each year the International Council of Museums selects a specific theme that it considers of crucial importance to be highlighted. The theme for this year was “Museums and Cultural Landscapes”, proposed in the Siena Charter, and which was also at the heart of debates of the 24th ICOM General Conference, held in July 2016 in Milan.

This theme implies that museums have a certain responsibility to impart their own specific knowledge and skills to the landscapes where they are located. The main mission of museums is to oversee the safekeeping and protection of the heritage that lies both within and beyond their walls.

In line with the theme of this year, a talk and photo exhibition were organised at the Beekrumsing Ramlallah Interpretation Centre on 18 May 2016. Mrs. Corinne Forest, the Head Technical Unit made a presentation on the Buffer zone of the Aapravasi Ghat and the Local Economic Development plan which is being prepared at the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund in view of assessing the best strategies for sustainable development as well as for the retention and regeneration of Port Louis as a Cultural city.

Furthermore, the audience had the privilege to listen to the testimonies of Mr. Daureeawoo and Mr. Gunowa. Both had worked at the Aapravasi Ghat in the 1970s the then Coolie Ghat. They shared their memories of *La Place d'Immigration*. They recalled of a period when Port Louis was a bustling, vibrant and safe city. The audience had also the opportunity to listen to Mr. Jaffar Sobha who shared his fond memories of a bygone era of Port Louis and to view his collection of old photographs of the capital.

Heads full of memories and anecdotes of a bygone time, the audience insisted on the need to devise strategies to revive the cultural life of the capital city.



THE AFRICAN WORLD HERITAGE REGIONAL YOUTH FORUM

VIJAYALUTCHMEE BEEJADHUR-POTEAH, HERITAGE GUIDE/PUBLIC OUTREACH OFFICER

The African World Heritage Regional Youth Forum was held from 28th April to 4th May 2016 on the Robben Island World Heritage Property in Cape Town, South Africa. The Forum was organised by the African World Heritage Fund (AWHF), Robben Island Museum (RIM) and the UNESCO World Heritage Centre with the support of the South African Government and African Union.



*Souvenir photo of the 24 participants
(African World Heritage Fund)*

The UNESCO World Heritage Education programme is one of UNESCO's most successful flagship programmes for young people. The programme generates awareness-raising and capacity-building activities that enhance the visibility of the Convention and facilitate the greater involvement of young people, including women and indigenous communities. Their empowerment and inclusion contribute to World Heritage conservation. One of the major activities is the World Heritage Youth Forum that has become an annual event, organised and held in close conjunction with the yearly session of the World Heritage Committee.

These fora provide the opportunity for young people to exchange experiences, to discuss common concerns, to discover new roles for themselves in heritage conservation and have their voices heard. Each youth forum takes up specific issues linked to

World Heritage and carry out hands-on activities that provide some basic skills in conservation and preservation, contributing to the promotion of World Heritage education and youth involvement.

The African World Heritage Regional Youth Forum addresses young people and aims at providing a sustainable platform for youth in Africa that could increase the involvement of youth in the promotion and protection of World Heritage in Africa, and also deliver essential feedback to UNESCO, the World Heritage Committee and the African World Heritage Fund (AWHF) on youth challenges, accomplishments and actions related to the implementation of the World Heritage Convention in the region. It responds to the interest expressed by States Parties to hold a youth forum at a regional level as well as to the Second Cycle of Periodic Reporting in the Africa Region, which called for increased involvement and benefits for local communities in World Heritage. That was the first regional youth forum on World Heritage in Africa. It addressed youths from 24 Anglophone countries of the African Continent.

After a rigorous selection process, 24 (including me) participants, out of more than 600 applicants, were selected. The participants were well-oriented and guided before and during the Youth Forum, and participants were provided with appropriate materials for the smooth running Forum.

My participation in the Youth Forum was enriching and fruitful. I learnt enthusiastically about Robben Island and the importance of youth education and involvement in the management and conservation of heritage. I also learnt about the heritage and culture of each participant. My participation in the Youth Forum has helped me to understand the importance of youth education and participation in heritage management as a vector for sustainable development.

My participation in the Forum will help me in my profession as Heritage Guide/Public Outreach Officer. Since nearly 70 % of our visitors are students, I will use the experiences I have acquired and my own talents to highlight the importance of the Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage Site as the heritage of humanity and encourage Mauritian Youth to participate in the protection and management of the site.

UNESCO INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE: “SAFEGUARDING AFRICAN WORLD HERITAGE AS A DRIVER OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT”

CORINNE FOREST, HEAD TECHNICAL UNIT

The International Conference entitled “Safeguarding African World Heritage as a Driver of Sustainable Development” was held in Arusha International Conference Centre, Tanzania from 31 May to 3 June 2016. The Conference was organised by UNESCO and the Republic of Tanzania, and was chaired by Major General Gaudence Milanzi, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism of Tanzania.

The objective of the Conference was to:

“bring together and raise awareness among various stakeholders in African heritage on the timely topic of heritage conservation and sustainable development. The discussions will reflect the concern for “planet, people, prosperity and peace”, identified as areas of critical importance in the 2030 UN Agenda for Sustainable Development. The conference’s principal goal is to address the issues, challenges, and major threats to the effective management and conservation of World Heritage in Africa. [...] it will aim to propose solutions [...].”

The International Conference was held to discuss the critical situation of heritage in Africa. Eighty-nine African Sites are inscribed on the World Heritage List which represents only 10% of UNESCO’s List. This is under-representing the richness, quality and variety of African heritage.

Heritage in Africa is the subject of much concern because it is affected by many factors including armed conflicts, erratic development, weak management, lack of competence, uncontrolled migrations, destructions, looting, poaching, etc... This explains why 33% of the sites listed on the World Heritage in Danger by UNESCO are located in Africa.

However, surveys have shown that the nomination of a site on the World Heritage List brings socio-economic development. Considering this, the UNESCO conference aimed at debating how heritage can be a driver for development in Africa.



Countries' delegates
(whc.unesco.org)

Heritage and development have been a major subject of concern those last years with several conferences and workshops organised by ICOMOS and others. The need to integrate heritage into development strategies has been identified as a major strategy to achieve sustainable development. So the more that the General Assembly of States Parties to the World Heritage Convention adopted a Policy Document for the Integration of a Sustainable Development Perspective into the processes of the World Heritage Convention in November 2015 in line with the goals of the United Nations 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.

The conference brought together African professionals, academics, government representatives, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and the private sector to discuss challenges and practical solutions for heritage and sustainable development in a changing world. Participants from all countries in Africa including one from the Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage Site presented papers from Tuesday 31 May to Friday 3 June 2016. Participants were divided into working groups to work on recommendations to be submitted to the task force in charge of drafting the final recommendations.

On 4 June 2016, the participants ratified the Ngorongoro Declaration on World Heritage and Sustainable Development that was welcomed in the Istanbul Declaration adopted during the 40th session of UNESCO World Heritage Committee held in Turkey from 10 to 20 July 2016.



EXTRACTS OF THE DECLARATION ARE PUBLISHED HEREUNDER:

“Declare:

African Heritage is central in preserving our culture and thereby uplifting identity and dignity for present and future generations in a global environment Heritage, including World Heritage Properties, is a driver of sustainable development and a motor for achieving regional, socio-economic benefits, environmental protection, and social cohesion and peace;

1. The African Union and its regional economic communities to promote sustainable development while guaranteeing the conservation of African natural and cultural heritage in line with its visionary Agenda 2063,
2. African Heads of State to adhere to their commitments under various Conventions, including the 1972 World Heritage Convention, while undertaking development projects in a sustainable manner. We further invite African States Parties to harness the opportunities offered by new and emerging technologies to secure the conservation and sustainable development of the World Heritage properties,
3. African States Parties to develop and implement policies that prevent and resolve conflicts as well as restore peace, security and social cohesion within and outside their borders using heritage values,
4. African States Parties to promote the role that women and youth play in the conservation and management of natural and cultural heritage,
5. African States Parties to empower communities and improve their involvement in decision making, benefit sharing and promote them as ambassadors of World

Heritage and inclusive Sustainable Development initiatives,

6. Development partners – industry, the private sector, and multi-bilateral partners – to consider heritage as a driver for sustainable development in Africa, and contribute resources for the effective management and conservation of heritage,
7. The International Community, the African Union and African States Parties to cooperate and collaborate in global dialogue to address the challenges the region faces including climate change, terrorism, illegal arms trade, illicit trafficking of flora, fauna and heritage properties, poverty and other issues which critically impact African natural and cultural heritage,
8. The General Assembly of States Parties, the World Heritage Committee and World Heritage Centre and the Advisory Bodies to work together with African States Parties to support research in order to find appropriate and sustainable solutions for development projects within and outside World Heritage properties. We further call upon the World Heritage Committee, Centre and Advisory Bodies, in partnership with the African World Heritage Fund and African States Parties, to develop a reference framework and capacity building and education programmes on heritage and sustainable development issues,
9. The Committee and the Advisory Bodies to support improved regional balance and representation in the work of the Advisory Bodies,
10. States Parties to strengthen the regulatory environment for addressing heritage concerns in the development process, most particularly by ensuring strong linkages with established impact assessment processes, urban and rural landscape planning and mainstreaming of natural and cultural capital values into national development policies and investment plans.

The Hon. Santaram Baboo, Minister of Arts and Culture, addressed the International Conference during the closing ceremony and confirmed the commitment of the Mauritian Government to work towards the preservation and rehabilitation of heritage to the benefits of sustainable development.

THE INDENTURED IMMIGRATION RECORDS ON THE MEMORY OF THE WORLD INTERNATIONAL REGISTER OF UNESCO



Presentation of certificate for the Mahatma Gandhi Indian Immigration Archives by the Honourable Minister to the Director General and Director of the Mahatma Gandhi Institute (AGTF Collection)

The Records of Indentured Immigration of the Republic of Mauritius were inscribed on the Memory of the World International Register in 2015. The Memory of the World programme was established in 1992 by UNESCO with the objective to preserve archival records and their dissemination around the world. The vision behind is that “the world’s documentary heritage belongs to all, should be fully preserved and protected for all and, with due recognition of cultural mores and practicalities, should be permanently accessible to all without hindrance”.

The Indentured Labour Records of the Republic of Mauritius document the success, and the extent of the “Great Experiment” and it covers the period 1834 to the 1930s. The records are rare, original and exclusive. They document the policy framework and administrative functions of the indenture labour system. These series of documents are also crucial to understand the full perspective of indentured immigration as they provide vital information on the



history and origins of indentured immigrants. To mark the inscription of the Indentured Immigration Records on the Memory of the World International Register of UNESCO, an official function was held at the Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage Site on 09 June 2016. The Hon. S. Baboo, Minister of Arts and Culture, unveiled a commemorative plaque and presented certificates to the National Archives of Mauritius, the Mahatma Gandhi Institute and the National Library.

An exhibition presenting key archival documents inscribed on the Memory of the World International Register of UNESCO was organised by the National Archives of Mauritius, the National Library and the Mahatma Gandhi Institute in the hospital block of the Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage Site.

ANATOMY OF A WORLD HERITAGE SITE: THE AAPRAVASI GHAT FROM NATIONAL TO INTERNATIONAL SITE

DR VIJAYALAKSHMI TEELock, GOSK
(FORMER CHAIRPERSON OF AGTF 2002-2011,
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF HISTORY & FOUNDING
MEMBER OF THE CENTRE FOR RESEARCH OF SLAVERY
AND INDENTURE, UNIVERSITY OF MAURITIUS, FORMER
VICE-CHAIRPERSON OF THE TRUTH AND JUSTICE
COMMISSION OF MAURITIUS)

The recognition of the Aapravasi Ghat site to World Heritage status was a momentous event in many respects. First, in terms of conceptualization of heritage as a valued tool for preserving our nation's memory, it represented a paradigm shift in how Mauritians thought about their history. Although many had fought for the preservation of particular monuments and sites in the past, it was the second time that popular imagination became caught up with a historical site and a public discourse emerged on 'heritage'. Second, the protection of heritage was still in its infancy and there were few trained Mauritians in heritage-related fields. Third, it was important that the history of indentured immigration gained the international recognition it deserved as one of the significant migrations of the nineteenth century. This migration impacted the societies it touched and transformed them forever. Last but not least, despite the existence of a relatively healthy historiographical tradition on indenture, most scholars had not thought of indenture 'spatially' or in terms of physical structures. Only Beekrumsing Ramlallah in the 1970s, had sensed the historical importance of this site and succeeded in raising the consciousness of political leaders and intellectuals about it.

The Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund (AGTF) was the heir to Ramlallah's work and continued where he had left off. The AGTF transformed the Aapravasi Ghat from a National to an International site. My contribution here is to provide an insider view of the process of inscription and in so doing, acknowledge those who contributed to this process and may today feel forgotten in the recuperation process that has tended to follow any major achievement in Mauritius. It is important to preserve 'institutional memory' of this site in an objective and inclusive manner.

It is generally recognised that the success of the Aapravasi Ghat dossier at UNESCO was largely due to the synergy built up from 2002 to 2005 between Government, students and professionals in the field of history, heritage conservation and administrators. Prime Ministers of Mauritius, Sir Aneerood Jugnauth and Navin Ramgoolam separately met with UNESCO Secretary General and requested its assistance to support the wish of the Mauritian Government for World Heritage Status. The process of working towards inscription was a unique moment in time and an experience those of us who were involved in it will never forget.

My own association with AGTF started in 2001 with its creation. From informal conversations held with Mrs. Saloni Deerpalsingh and Mrs. Sarita Boodhoo, it appears that there was dissatisfaction with how the site was being managed. They felt the need to create a separate institution, hence the creation of the AGTF. Up to then, my academic focus had always been the history of Mauritian slavery and had been concerned with history of indentured labour mainly as a 'descendant' and with my father's search to find his family roots in India.

I was approached in the corridors of the Faculty at the University of Mauritius, by colleague, Jocelyn Chan Low who asked whether I was interested in the chairpersonship of AGTF. When I replied that I had no idea what being a Chairperson entailed as I had never been part of any Board, he replied, "Don't worry, you only have to go there once a month. The staff will do all the work". This turned out to be the understatement of the decade as from 2002 to 2005, I was almost everyday at the AGTF in between lectures and after work. We were not studying history but making it! As I later learnt, my name had been suggested by Mr. Deotam Santokhee who was Cultural Adviser to the Hon. Paul Berenger, then Prime Minister.

SETTING UP THE AGTF

The first meeting of the AGTF Board was held on Friday 23 August 2002 after a preliminary meeting held at the Ministry of Arts. The Board members were told that we were to implement Government's wish to obtain World Heritage Status for Aapravasi Ghat. Some of the Board Members of the first AGTF Board included Shila Gangoosingh, the Vice-Chairperson and Rector of Hindu Girls College; Saloni Deerpalsingh, Curator of the Mahatma Gandhi Institute's Indian Immigration Archives; Deotam Santokhee, Cultural Adviser at the Prime Minister's Office; Ally Orjoon, historian; Babooram Gunesh, V. Valaydon, Oudaye Gangoo and Suresh Seeburrin from the socio-cultural organisations. In the first few months, it was the Board who looked after the site, as there was no staff: we even took care of cleaning the site on occasions, for example, before the arrival of visitors as the workers despatched to help us, informed that sweeping did not form part of their scheme of duties!

We were able to recruit an Administrative Secretary, an Accounts Officer and a driver. I am happy to see that the Administrative team recruited at that time, is still present at AGTF today and have ensured the much-deserved continuity it so desperately needs. Homage must be paid to them for their perseverance. These are Vedanand Ramoutar, D. Rughoo, Prithee Nunkoo

Amirchand Teerbhooan, and A. Cahoolessur.

In 2003, we contacted the University of Mauritius and asked them to send a list of their ten best graduates in History. Some were recruited on a temporary basis as Research assistants. These were, in 2003, Renganaden Andiapen, Brindah Annasawmy, Brian Chung, Caroline Francois, Vickram Mugon, Jayshree Mungur and Maurina Soodin. Later, Satyendra Peerthum, Simla Ramlagan and Corinne Forest joined them. The Administrative staff and Research team became the core of AGTF.

My own inexperience as a Chairperson drove me to 'go by the book' and I followed the professional advice of many administrators and consultants. I believe this is what led to the success of AGTF because even though we were inexperienced, we did 'listen' and 'adapt' recommendations to the Mauritian context and achieve a near-professional level of competence in the field of heritage.

None of us however had any idea what to do about achieving World Heritage status for the Aapravasi Ghat. We first turned to Amitava Chowdhury, who had started working at the University as an Archaeologist. Apart from recommending an in-depth archaeological investigation of the site, he also recommended we contact ICOMOS to seek advice.

*Conservation work at the Aapravasi Ghat
(AGTF Collection)*





*Members of the AGTF team and the ICOMOS team from India in 2003
(AGTF Collection)*

The National Heritage Fund, headed by Philippe de Lahaussé de la Louvière, recommended ICOMOS India for symbolic reasons.

The year 2002 thus represents a paradigm shift in the way this site was conceptualized. In keeping with requirements of ‘authenticity’, the site needed to have the original features of the Immigration Depot. The archaeological campaign, started jointly by the Mahatma Gandhi Institute and the University of Mauritius, led to the original features of the Immigration Depot being exposed and viewed for the first time by many.

After preliminary archaeological works, the exposed features required conservation. With this objective in mind, in May-June 2003, the AGTF invited an ICOMOS team from India, consisting of an Archaeologist R. C. Agrawal, a Conservation Architect Munish Pandit, and a Restoration Engineer Devendra Sood. Their task was to assess the condition of the site and make recommendations as to the conservation of the site so as to allow it to be nominated as a World Heritage Site. They submitted a Technical Report recommending several steps for the professional conservation of the site as well as training of Mauritians.

At that time there was no professional restoration architects, no professional museologists, no professional archaeologists or heritage managers in Mauritius. This Technical Report became our ‘Bible’ for the next two years.

HERITAGE TRAINING 2002-2005

One of the requirements of UNESCO was to have a competent body of professionals managing the site. The AGTF offered training to the Research Assistants in one of the following fields, on condition they signed a bond to return to work for AGTF afterwards: conservation, heritage management, museology, archaeology. Up to today, the AGTF continues to employ most of these first graduates. They are: Vickram Mugon, Maurina Soodin, Renganaden Andiapen. Jayshree Mungur now works for the National Heritage Fund. Others have emigrated, married or are working elsewhere. The pace of work was frenetic as there were deadlines to meet and we had the consultants only for a few weeks each year.

It was not uncommon for staff to be working throughout the night: this shows the dedication of the staff and their commitment to the AGTF. Many Board members gave moral support by being continually present and helping the young staff out through their numerous contacts and experience. We also conducted on-site training. ICOMOS India consultants, Mr. Munish Pandit, Conservation Architect, and Mr. Sood, Assistant Superintendent Archaeological Engineer, between 2003 and 2005, imparted their knowledge in practical conservation and heritage management.

Mauritius owes a huge debt to Mr. Munish Pandit for having gone beyond his role and became personally involved in the World Heritage dossier. He gave us more than just advice on architectural restoration. Despite his youthful demeanour, he had infinitely more practical experience in heritage management, in dealing with civil servants, politicians and research staff. We shared the same vision: to create a pool of young, near professional Mauritian team who would be able in the future to manage the World Heritage Site, a goal which we felt was entirely possible. Mr Pandit also provided the moral and technical support to counter the negative (and nasty) comments being made about our work at AGTF. Many people were

sceptical about Aapravasi Ghat becoming a World Heritage Site. The arguments included those who believed the site was too small; that there was nothing but a 'pile of stones' there, that 'indentured history' was not unique and so on. Others felt we were 'ethnicising' or 'hinduising' history. The name 'Aapravasi' itself became a subject of misgivings and somehow found its way into ICOMOS recommendations. Thus, when the dossier went to the World Heritage Committee, it was returned with a comment that the term '*Aapravasi*' be changed to a 'more neutral' term i.e., which in their opinion, meant it should be in English and French. The local context was not understood and it was not realized that the term 'aapravasi' was coined to replace the term '*coolie*' which many Indo-Mauritians had found offensive and up to very recently in Mauritius, was used as a pejorative term to label people of Indian origin. Furthermore, the term '*coolie*' meaning 'porter' in modern Hindustani, did not accurately reflect the occupations the indentured were engaged in the nineteenth century. It was ironic that the derogatory term '*coolie*', which was also a non-English word, had been perfectly acceptable previously and entered the languages spoken in Mauritius but '*aapravasi*' was not. This ICOMOS recommendation was rejected by the AGTF and the Mauritian Government.



Mauritian delegates at the World Heritage Committee, where the Aapravasi Ghat was proclaimed World Heritage Site in 2006 (AGTF Collection)

PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT

There is no doubt that AGTF Board, staff and others became personally involved in the preparation of the dossier. Nothing was spared and family and personal careers were sacrificed by many of us. It became not just a job to be performed but also a personal challenge.

For myself, dealing with this mix of people was an enormous challenge for a person whose head had either been stuck in books or looking after my young children. My children, Ihtisham and Atish, accompanied me everywhere and at every step at the Aapravasi Ghat. My parents and sisters, Neena and Sajni, were my constant support and especially my father's advice, who had a long career in the Civil Service and had even worked at the Aapravasi Ghat when it was used as War Department. My family, my profession as an historian and lecturer at the University, my paternal ancestry as descendant of an indentured labourer, all became merged into one driving force. I believe this same force motivated many of us at that time.

This driving force included the AGTF Board and the Ministry, both working towards the same goal. Mr. Gungah, Mr. N. Ballah, Mrs. C. Ramah, Mr. F. Chuttan of the Ministry, even though they were not convinced of what we were doing, allowed us to function and guided, cajoled us and sometimes reprimanded us. The three Ministers of Culture from 2002 to 2006, Mr. Motee Ramdass, Mrs. Leela Dookhun and Mr. Gowreesoo had the courage to support us even though they did not always quite understand what we were doing. I can still hear the voice of Mr. Ramdass thundering across the corridors of the Ministry. To these Ministers and Ministry staff, the Aapravasi Ghat owes a huge debt. Who can forget the kind and gentle Mr. Orjoon? or Richard Allen, historian who terrorized us with his red pen: our drafts reports came back covered in red with his corrections. These persons are fondly remembered up to today. Our reward came on 16th July 2006 when those of us present at Vilnius, Lithuania heard the Chairperson of the World Heritage Committee proclaim Aapravasi Ghat as a World Heritage Site. It was an achievement not only for the site, but a celebration of teamwork and team spirit.

10TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE INSCRIPTION OF THE AAPRAVASI GHAT ON UNESCO'S WORLD HERITAGE LIST (2006-2016)

INDIRA GYARAM, PROGRAMME COORDINATOR

On Saturday 16th July 2016, the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund celebrated 10 years of the inscription of the Aapravasi Ghat on UNESCO's World Heritage List. To mark the celebration, a symbolical wreath-laying ceremony was organised at the World Heritage Site. The Hon. Santaram Baboo, Minister of Arts and Culture, His Lordship, Mr. Mohammad Oumar Kholeegan, Mayor of the City Council of Port Louis; His Excellency, Mr. Ashok Kumar, Acting High Commissioner of India, and Mr. Dharam Yash Deo Dhuny, the Chairman of the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund graced the function. After the wreath-laying ceremony, the guests visited an exhibition highlighting the achievements of the Trust Fund during the last ten years. The visit was followed by a symbolical planting of sugarcane by the Hon. Santaram Baboo and other guests. Then, the dignitaries recorded their impressions on the collective work of art in the hospital block. This work of art was created to receive the contributions of all people who took part in projects with AGTF and will remain for posterity. Other invitees were also invited to write their appreciation.



Members of the AGTF writing on the collective work of art (AGTF Collection)

A DECADE OF HERITAGE ENGAGEMENT

VIKRAM MUGON,
HERITAGE INTERPRETATION MANAGER

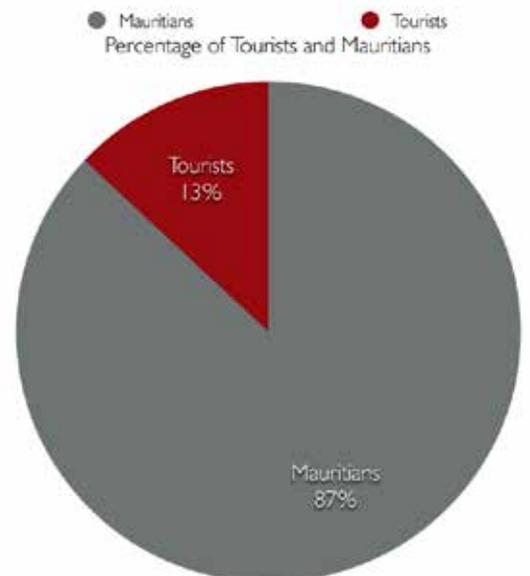
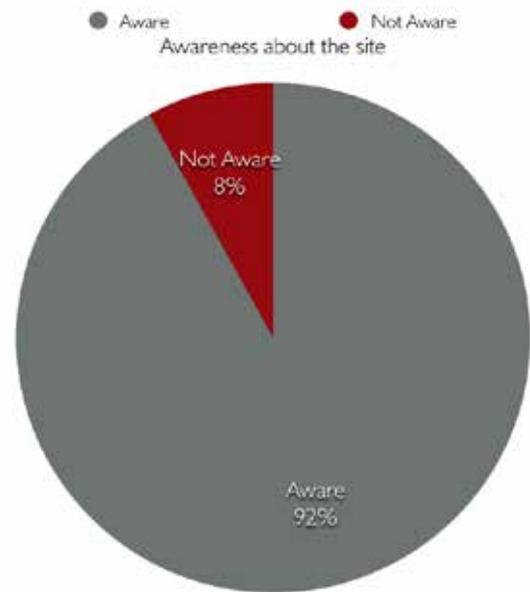
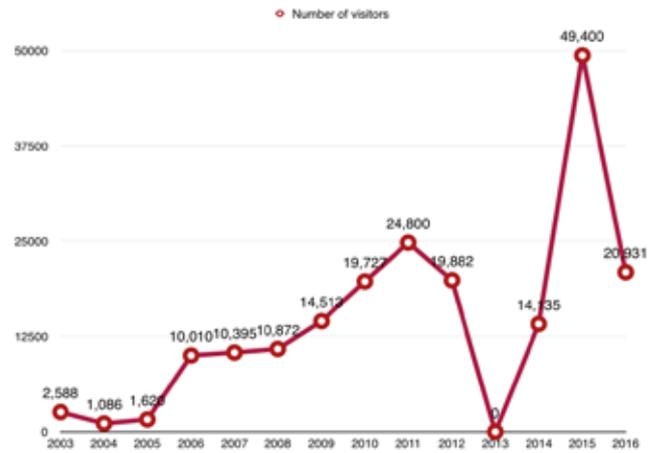
The year 2016 marks the tenth anniversary of the inscription of the Aapravasi Ghat on UNESCO’s World Heritage List. The setting up and implementation of diverse projects and programs such as the Oral history project and the Outreach program have increased awareness of the site. The opening of the Beekrumsing Ramlallah Interpretation Centre in 2014 led to the doubling of the number of visitors reaching 50,000 in 2015 with a majority of 87% of Mauritians.

In the course of 2015, the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund in collaboration with the students from Sir Gaëtan Duval Hotel School of Mauritius conducted several visitor and non-visitor surveys at the Site as well as around the island in order to understand its audience and to ascertain how target audiences perceive the site. During the non-visitor survey some 500 questionnaires were administered across the island. Some of the Key findings are presented.

92% of respondents were aware about the Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage Site. 96.4 % of the respondents stated that they knew where the World heritage Site was located.

44% of those who said they were aware of the site informed that they had got to know about the site through television. Another 25% got to know about the site by word of mouth. 22% of the respondents said they had visited the Aapravasi Ghat. Among those who had visited the site 98 % were overall satisfied with the quality of their visit and more than 80% said that they strongly recommended the visit to others.

Moreover, the survey revealed that the majority of respondents were in favour of charging an entrance fee for the upkeep of the site. 70.3% of the respondents to the visitor survey and 68.4 percent to the non-visitor survey stated that they were agreeable to pay for an entrance fee of between 25 and 50 rupees.



VISITS OF EMINENT PERSONALITIES AT THE AAPRAVASI GHAT WORLD HERITAGE SITE

SOONANDA NANKOO- BHADYE
HERITAGE GUIDE/ PUBLIC OUTREACH OFFICER



29 JANUARY 2016

John Kinahan,
ICOMOS, NAMIBIA

"Extraordinary and beautiful – thank you for the privilege"

29 JANUARY 2016

Edmond Moukala,
UNESCO, PARIS, FRANCE

"Our common heritage our past, present and future – our identity a driver for a sustainable development"



12 MARCH 2016

H.E. Rajaonarimampianina Hery,
PRESIDENT OF MADAGASCAR

"Je dédie cette visite en mémoire de tous ceux qui ont sacrifié leur vie pour bâtir ce que nous sommes devenus aujourd'hui"



01 APRIL 2016

Veena Sikri,

PROFESSOR & AMBASSADOR, INDIA

"Thank you for this amazing visit. It is moving and deeply inspiring to visit Aapravasi Ghat, now a UNESCO World Heritage Site and to see the trials and tribulations over which the indentured labour triumphed against all odds. The people of Mauritius are deservedly proud of their contributions and that of the descendants of the 1834-1910 arrivals, in building your beautifully prosperous and peaceful country"



20 MAY 2016

H.E. Cheryl Spencer,

JAMAICA, SOUTH AFRICA

"Excellent work - Great Experience - Clarity on heritage between Jamaica and Mauritius. No wonder the two countries hereunder up been so close. Much appreciated."

29 MARCH 2016

Laurent Garnier,

AMBASSADEUR DE FRANCE, MAURICE

"Bravo pour ce très beau musée, à la fois émouvant et pédagogique. Je lui souhaite un grand succès auprès de Mauriciens et de tous les visiteurs qui s'intéressent à l'histoire singulière de l'île"

10 MAY 2016

H.E. Ban Ki Moon,

SECRETARY GENERAL, UNITED NATIONS

"I am very honoured to have been enriched by my visit to Aapravasi Ghat. It is rightfully recognized by UNESCO for the story it has to tell. Thank you for keeping alive this critically important history of indenture in the 19th century for future generations"



COLLOQUE RÉGIONAL ODI “MIGRATIONS INDIENNES, ARTS, HISTOIRE”, ILE DE LA RÉUNION, 12 AOÛT 2012

CÉLINE RAMSAMY-GIANCONE,
ORGANISATION POUR LES INITIATIVES DE LA DIASPORA

L'ODI-Réunion a organisé un colloque régional “Migrations indiennes, arts, histoire”, le vendredi 12 août en partenariat avec l'université de La Réunion et le musée Stella Matutina, lieu symbolique lié à l'engagisme. En effet ce musée est installé dans les murs de l'ancienne usine sucrière de Piton St Leu, construite en 1855. Après les vœux du consul de l'Inde, Sanjeev K. Bhati, la présidente de l'ODI, (Organisation pour les Initiatives de la diaspora) Céline Ramsamy-Giancone a rappelé les objectifs du colloque : jeter les premières bases d'une approche transdisciplinaire à partir de l'engagisme, diffuser les recherches scientifiques afin de lier histoire des arts régionale et histoire nationale.

Prosper Eve, président du comité scientifique a ouvert le colloque par une leçon très détaillée sur deux structures du patrimoine artistique des indiens hindouistes de La Réunion, des statues arrivées de l'Inde au XIX^e siècle.

Après une réflexion de Khal Torabully, autour de l'esthétisme et de l'engagisme, trois sessions ont été proposées. Les « Arts visuels », ont donné lieu aux interrogations de Sangari Ananda portant sur les survivances du Kolam à La Réunion et sur sa symbolique. Une analyse des lithographies ayant pour sujet les fêtes Indiennes du XIX^e siècle par Antoine Roussin peintre de La Réunion a donné l'occasion à Céline Ramsamy d'exposer l'aspect le plus visible des cultes indiens. Le *Yamsé* ou *Muharram*, aurait été implanté dès le XVIII^e siècle dans l'île, et se serait poursuivi au XIX^e par les engagés, hindous et musulmans, comme dans la plupart des colonies françaises et britanniques.

La session « Histoire et témoignages » a porté sur la transition entre esclavage et engagisme, ainsi qu'à un exposé sur la condition des femmes dans les colonies

britanniques par Sheela Narayanan. Cette présentation s'est basée essentiellement sur les travaux de Marina Carter et Gaiutra Bahadur. Elle a permis de pointer des similitudes avec la situation précaire des femmes engagées dans toutes les colonies.

La session « Arts sacrés a donné lieu à une étude linguistique de Sully Govindin sur le « Bal tamoul » ou « Barldon ». L'iconographique des padons, art pictural hindou apporté au XIX^e siècle a fait l'objet de la communication de Coraline Parthenay, adjointe au pôle scientifique du musée. Une étude autour du « tambour malbar, objet d'étude » par Stéphanie Folio, doctorante en ethnomusicologie a clôturé la session.

Céline Ramsamy-Giancone, présidente de l'association ODI et Coraline Ranganaguy-Parthenay, adjointe à la direction scientifique du musée font un bilan positif de ce premier colloque, fenêtre sur l'indianité réunionnaise. Les actes sont attendus en cours d'année.



Colloque régional “Migrations indiennes, arts, histoire”, 2016
(Courtesy of Céline Ramsamy - Giancone)



MAURITIAN REFLECTIONS ON THE ARCHAEOLOGY PROJECT IN BRAS D'EAU

ASHNA DARBARY, ANUSHA BROJOMOHUN,
CHRISTOPHER TENERMONT AND NISHANT RAMDHUN,
UNIVERSITY OF MAURITIUS

A GRANDMOTHER'S RECIPE: BREADFRUIT CURRY

AARTEE PYDATALLI, FIELD GUIDE

Culinary tradition is part of the social practices of a community and is one form of Intangible Cultural Heritage. During fieldwork on the inventory of elements of Intangible Cultural Heritage, the AGTF came across several recipes. One of these recipes is breadfruit curry. Most of the interviewees would associate the breadfruit curry with difficult times of their lives, especially during '*letan miser*' (poverty). When families could not afford to buy rice or flour, breadfruit was an easy alternative. It was available in every part of the country and free and fulfilling for the stomach. Today, breadfruit is considered as rare food and is among one of the very old and rustic traditional Mauritian food.

INGREDIENTS:

500g breadfruit (Discard the core and cut the fruit into small slices)
1 medium size white onion, finely chopped
100g tomato puree
2 tbsp. curry powder
2 dry red chillies
1 tsp. garlic paste
½ tsp. of fenugreek seeds (methi)
Some curry leaves, thyme and coriander leaves finely chopped, water
Salt to taste and some cooking oil
Preparation time: 25 mins

METHOD:

- Wash the breadfruit.
- On medium heat, in a pan add 2 tsp. of oil.
- Add onions, curry leaves, fenugreek seeds, garlic and thyme. Cook for 5 mins.
- Then, add the breadfruit and the curry powder. Stir well.
- Add some water. Cover the pan with a lid and leave to simmer until breadfruit is soft and is almost melted in the curry.
- Add the tomato puree and stir well. Let it cook on low heat for another 5 mins.
- Serve with rice or with flatbread (farata) and pickles on the side.

TIPS:

Before cutting the breadfruit, oil your hands, the cutting board and knife. This will prevent the milk substance from the fruit to stick on your hands and utensils.

Geographically situated on the eastern part of Mauritius, Bras d'Eau is known in the region as a shortcut linking the village of Poste de Flacq to Roches Noires to avoid the Poste Lafayette coastal road. With a serpentine road snaking through a gloomy Araucaria forest, many legends of ghosts have haunted one of the country's beloved national parks. Even though we were once forewarned of Bras d'Eau's foreboding paths by superstitious motorists who frequented the park, Bras d'Eau is now known for hiking trails and the preservation of its unique wildlife, such as the rare endemic flycatcher, since gaining national park status in 2011.

Before joining the archaeological project under the direction of Julia Jong Haines of the University of Virginia, last year, we all felt that Bras d'Eau was just a natural park, not a site for serious research. However, hidden in the forest are the archaeological remains of the Bras d'Eau sugar estate, from the ruins of the imposing sugar mill to the ancient labourer's settlements. One may live their entire life in Mauritius - some of us live right next to Bras d'Eau - without being aware of the numerous historical structures that were part of the vast sugar estate, where our ancestors - slaves and indentured labourers, once dwelled.

In addition, our preconceptions of archaeology, the action-packed digging and treasure hunts of the movies, proved to be entirely incorrect. Archaeologists are far from engaging in an infinite search for gold and priceless artifacts: they are in search of humanity, of bridging the gap between past, present, and future. The Bras d'Eau Archaeological Project taught us much more about archaeology, Mauritius, and ourselves.

Archaeology is also more than simply digging. We learned that excavation is but one small part of a wide range activities that spans surveying, mapping, and artifact analysis. Likewise, it cannot be done at random at anytime or anywhere; a dizzying multitude of considerations must be taken before proceeding with excavation.

One of the first steps before even considering excavation is to survey the potential site. Surveying requires close examination of an area of land with the aim to discover all archaeological remnants, to make a map, or simply construct a description of the site. Most visitors see the ruins of the Old Sugar Mill and the *Puit Français* upon entering the park, but the question is, what else is in the forest that was once part of not only Mauritian, but also of slave and indentured history worldwide? Through surveying, our team focused on creating a map to encompass everywhere we believe the plantation was active in the end of the 18th century through the 19th century. Today, we have only the foundations of what we believe are the workers' living quarters, but the survey has allowed us to identify the number of structures and the location of each of them. At first glance, surveying seems like counting and keeping a record of the number of structures: boring work. But its beauty begins to shine when we were able to precisely map each structure, with detailed descriptions and locations. We spent five months cutting through the jungle and fighting the mosquitos in the hottest summer months to lay the foundation for us to understand how the site is organized and determine where to excavate.

After the survey comes one of the most infamous parts of archaeology: excavation. During the survey, we found numerous surface artifacts in the labourers' quarters, thus we decided to excavate there in the hope of learning about the lives of the people who lived in Bras d'Eau years ago. Excavation "units," trenches of perfect squares, were made inside the remnants of structures and yard spaces. An important yet oft-unknown aspect of excavation is learning how to distinguish between the different texture of soil and its colours. Soil stratigraphy which is essential to help reconstruct what happened in the past on the

land and also to the artifacts found in a particular layer. Before starting excavation we thought that we would dig quickly with hoes, however trowels are the main tools that we used so as to be more vigilant of the stratigraphic layer and also not to damage the artifacts. The process demands meticulous, often tedious, documentation of all stratigraphic layers and artifacts. In addition, photographs must be taken and a daily log kept to record every piece of work done during the day. And as we packed up for the day, we stored the artifacts we collected for analysis later, which consisted of dating and identifying their origins.

It is very tempting to dig more when artifacts are spotted while excavating; we cannot go beyond a stratigraphic layer, as the depth should be uniform throughout the unit. The digging continues until the natural bedrock or untouched soil is exposed everywhere in the excavation unit. After removing the dirt from the excavation unit we have to sift it in case we missed any artifacts while digging. Excavation is not as simple as we anticipated; it entails responsibilities, patience and hard work. However, at the end of the day when one ponders over their findings, one is gripped with a sense of satisfaction and pride.

In the end, contributing to archaeological research in Bras d'Eau has really enlightened our team with new knowledge and continues to motivate us to pursue it as a career. We had thought that archaeology was only about hoeing the earth to find skeletons and valuable objects like gold. We thought it was straightforward work, where we would only have to dig until we obtain the predetermined results. Archaeology gave us the privilege of exploring a widely romanticized yet misunderstood area of study. It is a different kind of treasure hunt altogether: the treasure of knowing where we came from and how we used to be.



ANIMALS, SPACE AND SANITATION DURING THE INDENTURE ERA

RESHAAD DURGAHEE, SCHOOL OF GEOGRAPHY
UNIVERSITY OF NOTTINGHAM

Studies on Indian indenture in Mauritius naturally focus on the experience of the men, women and children who arrived to work on the island's plantations. That experience was shaped by the likes of colonial administrators and estate owners. There was, however another much less explored group which had a profound effect on the life experience of indentured labourers in Mauritius – animals. To date, animals have been given marginal attention in terms of their role during the indenture era yet throughout this period they appear in archival material, particularly in documents concerning sanitation and disease. In taking a geographical approach when analysing indenture, the spatiality of animals and their relationships with humans become apparent. Indeed, 'animal geography', a burgeoning branch of research within the discipline of geography aims to place animals at the centre of the spaces they affect rather than remaining "relegated to the margins of geographical study".¹

The intersection of non-human animals with human societies, in this case with the indenture era population of Mauritius, is a crucial factor in understanding the importance of the environment, space and the wider landscapes inhabited by indentured labourers. Indentured labourers often kept animals as a source of food or as work animals. The animals themselves were under regulation in order to prevent disease and the spread of unsanitary conditions. In turn, other animals were introduced to control disease, highlighting the often conflicting relationship humans have with animals.

To maintain sanitary conditions, regulations were passed on the keeping of animals. Ordinance No. 8 of 1874 stated that "no horse, mule, donkey, cow, pig or goat shall be kept in any building or dwelling which is used for human habitation".² This was for the benefit of labourers – to increase levels of sanitation and lower the incidence of sickness and disease – but also of the employers who relied on labourers to cultivate

sugarcane. If disease struck a camp, the effects would be felt by the estate owners too. Regulations of the care of animals were also established. Animals were prohibited from "stationing" in the immediate vicinity of public fountains, and the washing of animals in these areas was strictly forbidden.³ Meanwhile, other public spaces such as markets were also controlled. Only specified seafood and meat from specific animals could be sold, which included butcher's meat (beef, goat and mutton), pork, poultry, rabbit and venison, and only at designated times. Shark flesh was to be displayed on a separate stall "distant from other kinds of fish".⁴

All estates were inspected by colonial officials such as the Medical Inspector and animals often became a focus of their reports. Between 1866 and 1868, over 33,000 people on the island died from what had been named 'Mauritius Fever' which was later realised to be mosquito-spread malaria.⁵ Consequently, upland areas away from the coast were deemed as healthier and less prone to mosquito infestation due to the cooler climate. However, it was not just coastal locations which gave colonial officials reason to worry. Accumulated water and waste in any location provided ripe conditions for the prevalence of mosquitoes, and thus the risk of malaria.

Beau Plan was one estate which had a high death rate attributed to malaria, along with neighbouring L'Espérance which was described in 1906 as being "close to the Pamplemousses River with its jungle of 'reserves' in which the anopheles mosquito finds eminently suitable conditions for its reproduction and multiplication".⁶ In June 1906, after a visit to Beau Plan, the inspector wrote that "*years ago a dam was constructed across the Ville Bague Canal...with the result of forming a large marsh which is now nearly choked up with rushes, grasses and aquatic plants of all kinds. This marsh is situated between the two principal camps of the estate. Needless to say the fever mosquito swarms in the marsh*".⁷ The vivid description of the marsh adjacent to the dwellings of Beau Plan evokes strong images of a disease-ridden landscape. Seven years earlier in 1897 the inspector, Cecil Hall stated that although the camp was built on "an elevation which is naturally well drained", the marshes present in the area were contributing to the excessive death toll of labourers (see figure 1).⁸

The mosquito was the vector of a disease that became the scourge of the island. By the turn of the twentieth century however, another disease threatened to ravage the colony, with another animal at the heart of its

transmission – the rat. Plague was reported in 1899 on the Bon Espoir estate and the medical inspector outlined that, “the spread of infection was in a great measure facilitated by the proximity of the inhabited huts in the estate camps favouring the transmission of the germs by rats”.⁹ Once again, the location of dwellings of labourers and human-animal interaction (this time the rat, rather than the mosquito) was called into question. With the outbreaks of malaria, the aim was to move dwellings away from low-lying areas and stagnant vegetated bodies of water. Plague however, added another spatial dimension – that of density and reaction to the disease included evacuation, segregation, inoculation, disinfection and destruction. The Schoenfeld estate was one of the worst hit with the proprietor Alex de Rosnay stating that the estate had destroyed over 21,000 rats between 1897 and 1900.¹⁰ De Rosnay had previously received a memorandum concerning the destruction of rats from the Protector of Immigrants, which had been written by the Mayor of Colombo in Ceylon highlighting the inter-colonial nature of combatting plague. Indeed, Mauritius was not the only colony to suffer from plague. The Pacific Ocean colony of Fiji which also imported indentured labourers from India found itself in the grip of plague at the same time as Mauritius and issued detailed instructions on how to destroy rats.

The spatiality of the plague outbreak in Mauritius, affecting the densely populated camps and moving between neighbouring estates and villages became evident. The desperation to avoid an epidemic on the scale of the 1860s malaria outbreak led to the introduction to the island of another animal – the mongoose. In January 1900, John Trotter, the Protector of Immigrants wrote to the Mauritius Emigration Agent in Calcutta explaining that the Governor wished “to experiment with introducing mongooses here to kill rats so as to avoid the spread of plague by rats. I have accordingly been instructed to ask you to send me ten male mongooses...the younger the better”.¹¹ Further requests for mongooses were made by Trotter, this time for males and females. Of the previous batch, one had died on board the ship and one on arrival, one had escaped and “one turned out to be a jackal”.¹² To make the purpose of having a mongoose clear, Trotter underlined that “there is no object in taming it as what it is required to do is to run wild...and live on young rats”.¹³ The plague outbreak in Mauritius demonstrates the risk posed by the density of the population and close proximity of estates to one another, but also the trans-oceanic networks across the Indian Ocean in terms of finding

a solution to the epidemic.

The forbidding of domestic animals in labourers’ huts, the shift of camps away from mosquito infested stagnant water and low-lying coastal areas, the correlation of population density on camps and the spread of plague by rats and the introduction of mongooses to control disease all illustrate the central roles – both negative and positive – that animals played during the indenture era in Mauritius. Far from being merely bit players in the human experience of indenture, animals were actually pivotal actors in determining how indentured labourers experienced space on the island.

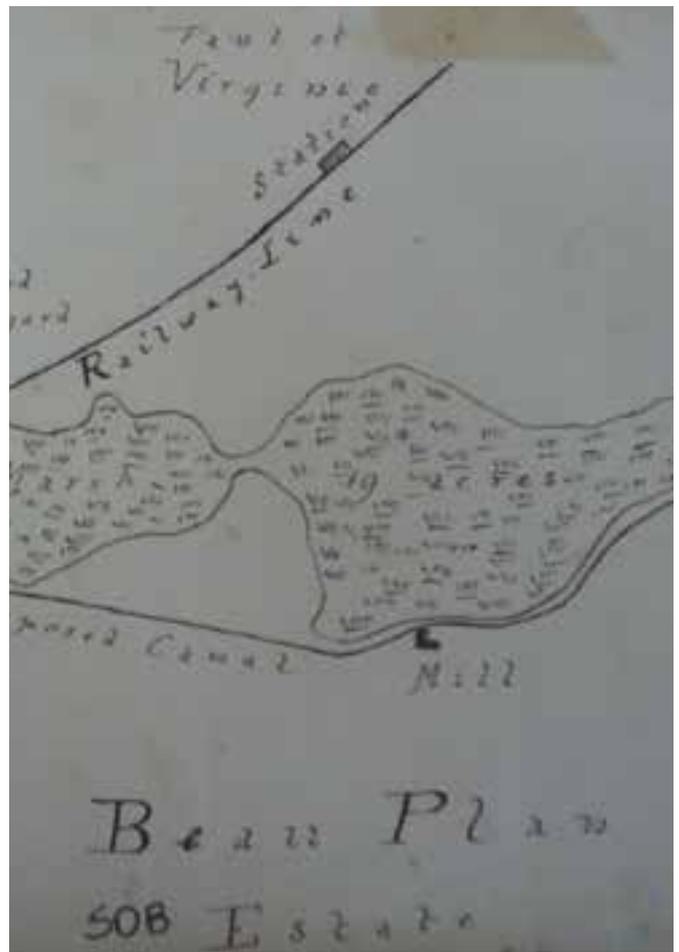


Figure 1: Cecil Hall's sketch of Beau Plan, showing the location of the estate next to the 19 acre marsh. (PA269, NM.)

¹ Whatmore, S. (2000) *Animals, Geography of*, pp 25-26 in Johnston, R.J. et al. (2000) *The Dictionary of Human Geography*. Malden, MA., Blackwell.
² Appendix no. 1 to Minutes no. 21 of 1878. Z8A12, National Archives of Mauritius (NM).
³ Appendix no. 1 to Minutes no. 16 of 1876. Z8A12, NM.
⁴ Regulations for the management of public markets and for the sale of articles of human food. Appendix no. 6 to Minutes of Council no. 28 of 1878. Z8A12, NM.
⁵ *The Times*, 8 August 1867, p.6; *The Times*, 19 August 1868.
⁶ Report of estate inspector, June 1906. PA269, NM.
⁷ *Ibid*.
⁸ Extract from the half-yearly report ending 31.12.97 on "Beau Plan" estate, Pamplemousses. PA269, NM.
⁹ PA269, NM.
¹⁰ Letter from Alex de Rosnay, proprietor of Schoenfeld estate to the Protector of Immigrants, 21st July 1900. PA213, NM.
¹¹ Letter from the Protector of Immigrants to the Mauritius Emigration Agent in Calcutta, 6th January 1900. PB38, NM.
¹² Letter from the Protector of Immigrants to the Mauritius Emigration Agent in Calcutta, 7th March 1900. PB38, NM.
¹³ Letter from the Protector of Immigrants to the Officer in Charge, Port Louis prison, 9th March 1900. PB37, NM.

HISTORY AND REMEMBRANCE

“GAUGING THE PULSE OF FREEDOM”: THE EXPERIENCE AND ORIGINS OF THE LIBERATED AFRICANS ASSOCIATED WITH THE AAPRAVASI GHAT WORLD HERITAGE SITE (1856-1931)

SATYENDRA PEERTHUM, HISTORIAN

THE HETEROGENOUS ETHNIC ORIGINS OF THE LIBERATED AFRICANS (1856 - 1869)

One of the largely ignored research themes in Mauritian indentured labour historiography over the past four decades has been the experience and origins of the Liberated Africans during the nineteenth century. Between 1811 and 1827, or during the slavery era, the majority of the Liberated Africans or 69% came from Madagascar, 30% from Mozambique and other parts of East Africa, and 1% from the Comoro Islands. They came from numerous ethnic groups and spoke many different languages. It is important to note that the Mozambican Liberated Africans originated from Mozambique, parts of Malawi, Tanzania, and the Great Lakes region and consisted of the Yao, Makua, Maravi, Lomwe, and Nginodo tribes.

The Malagasies arrived mainly from central, eastern, and northern Madagascar and consisted of Merina, Sakalavas, Betsimisarakas, and some of the natives came from specific areas such as Nossi-Be island, Diego Suarez, Mahajunga, and the island of Sainte Marie. The Comorians belonged to ethnic groups who lived on the four main islands of the archipelago of the Comoros, namely Grande Comore, Mayotte, Moheli, and Anjouan.

Unlike during the slavery era, during the indenture period, the Mahatma Gandhi Institute Indian Immigration Archives Registers indicate that between 1856 and 1869, almost all the Liberated Africans who were registered at the Immigration Depot were from the Yao, Maravi, and the Makua ethnic groups of Mozambique and parts of Malawi. A detailed analysis of the registers of the ship the Mascareignes in February 1856 to those of the Perseverance in October 1869 is quite revealing when focusing on the tribal breakdown of the Mozambican Liberated Africans.

The table below covers the 2,365 Liberated African men, women, and children who registered at the Immigration Depot and began serving their indentured labour contracts during that period.

Mozambican Tribes	Number	Percentage
1. Maravi	449	19%
2. Makua	402	17%
3. Yao or Monjawa	1230	52%
4. Yambana or Yambane	95	4%
5. Sena	48	2%
6. Makonde	94	4%
7. Lomwe	47	4%
TOTAL	2365	100%

(Source: PE & PF Series, Mahatma Gandhi Indian Immigration Archives)

The statistics in the above table shows clearly that the Yao or Monjawa was the most important tribe followed by the Maravi, and the Makua followed by four minor ethnic groups. Therefore, the majority of Mozambican Liberated Africans came from the central, west central, western, and east central coast of Mozambique. As indicated earlier, there was a similarity between the ethnic origins of the Mozambican Liberated Africans who were landed in Port Louis between 1811 and 1827 with those who were brought to Mauritian shores from 1856 to 1869. This is an extremely important fact. It shows, to a certain extent, one of the major continuities that characterises the social history of the Liberated Africans under slavery and during the indenture period in Mauritius.



A Redrawn Map showing the Ethnic Regions in East Central Africa during the Nineteenth Century of Mozambique, Malawi, and Southern Tanzania (AGTF Collection)

However, a major difference between the two periods is that the Liberated African population was more diverse during slavery when compared with to that of indentured labour. Richard Allen explains that “those exported from Mozambique and the Swahili Coast came from 14 populations” during slavery in Mauritius, while those who arrived during the indenture period were drawn from 7 major ethnic groups. (Refer to Table 1). The MGI registers also provide additional important and useful information on tribal origins of the Liberated Africans such as through their names and tattoos or tattoo marks.

Among the 2,365 Liberated Africans who were registered at the Immigration Depot, names such as Mabrook, Nasibon, Oolait, and Soolia recur frequently which, to a certain extent, gives an indication of particular tribal origins. In addition, there were tattoos on the faces, shoulders, and bodies of an estimated 1,301 Liberated Africans, mostly adult males and women including some children and infants, which represents around 55% of those who were registered.

<i>Names</i>	<i>Marks</i>
<i>Adam Majeerania</i>	<i>4 tattoos belly</i>
<i>John Mackwell</i>	<i>Tattoos all over body & face</i>
<i>James Jhivatee</i>	<i>Circular tattoo forehead</i>
<i>William Masonmangah</i>	<i>Long tattoo belly</i>
<i>David Maneekoo</i>	<i>semi circular tattoo forehead</i>
<i>Denis Hoolamanekah</i>	<i>round tattoo forehead</i>
<i>Paul Nussipoo</i>	<i>semi circular tattoo forehead</i>
<i>George Cherinjerany</i>	<i>tattoos face & front body</i>
<i>Augustus Cappeparoo</i>	<i>tattoos forehead & temples</i>
<i>Antony Casomany</i>	<i>small circular tattoo forehead</i>
<i>Henry Andalika</i>	<i>circular tattoo on forehead</i>
<i>Alfred Namroowaniah</i>	<i>circular tattoo forehead</i>
<i>Lafalan</i>	<i>tattoo mark forehead</i>
<i>Macheerana</i>	<i>tattoo marks face</i>
<i>Salama</i>	<i>tattoo marks temples</i>
<i>Sidaya</i>	<i>tattoo marks cheeks</i>
<i>Chaparanee</i>	<i>face tattoo marked</i>
<i>Chagiwoo</i>	<i>tattoo mark forehead</i>
<i>Jaffaranee</i>	<i>tattoo marks face</i>

A sample of Liberated Africans with tattoos and letters branded, 1860-1869 (PE & PF Series, MGIIIA)

Name	Marks
Peter Paracalah	letter G on right arm
Arthur Barakah	letter C on right arm
Charles Masimah	letter G on right breast
Jim Anitendajay	scar right arm with letter M
Albert Varavathy	letter M on right arm
Thomas Anooquanjay	letter G back right shoulder
James Chamlengah	letter M on right arm
Robert Yamoitoocah	letter M on right arm
Ambrose Chemdayaa	letter M on right arm
Edmund Checadisinyay	letter G on right arm
Oswald Checundevo	letter G on right arm
Nicholas Chivalayo	letter S on belly

In addition, the case-studies of Rebecca Lingafay and Miriam Jonarim highlight the tribal diversity of the Mozambicans who were brought to the Mauritian shores as 'African Recaptives'. Their experiences bear testimony to the stigma of slavery they endured as they had branding marks on their bodies which they carried with them their entire lives.

THE CASE-STUDIES OF REBECCA LINGAFAY AND AND MIRIAM JONARIM

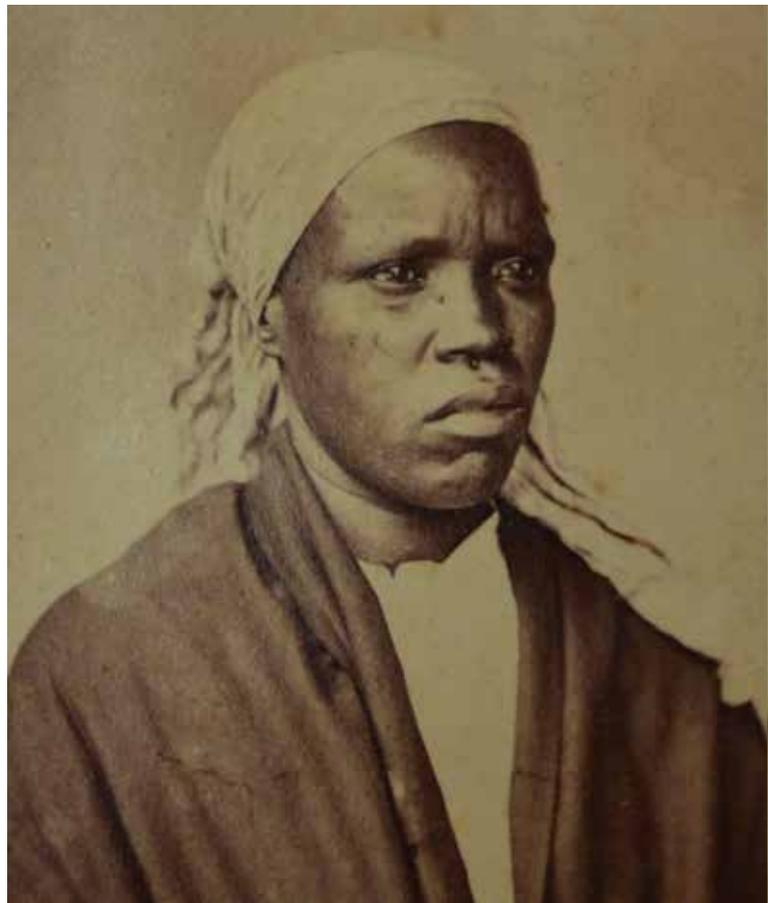
In September 1861, the Acting Protector of Immigrants, Mr. Beyts wrote to the British Governor, after having spoken to the Liberated Africans who arrived on the ship the *Manuella*:

"Taken captive far in the interior of Africa by some of the native chiefs in their kidnapping excursions, torn from their homes, subjected to a long and wearisome march to the coast of several hundreds of miles under the greatest deprivations, often devoured by thirst in the arid parts of the Country, or drinking water such as our animals would turn from in disgust.

They arrived on the Mozambican coast, where they were imprisoned in pens similar to cattle pens, and their food thrown to them as pigs. Then after shipment....crowded into, and confined in the between decks of the vessel which in temperature and odour....rendered fearfully noisome by their excreta, it would have been surprising if any of these wretched beings should have retained some semblance of health."

A striking and tangible evidence of the trauma and brutal process of enslavement for the Liberated Africans can clearly be seen in the branding marks on their bodies. Many of those who arrived between 1856 and 1869 had the letters G, M, and S marked on their arms, bellies, shoulders, and breasts. An estimated 213 Liberated Africans - 170 males, 23 females, 20 children were branded. Furthermore, they consisted around 9% of the total number of African Recaptives who were registered and engaged at the Immigration Depot.

Immigrant Lingafay arrived in Mauritius in September 1860 on the ship the *Manuella*. She was a 15-year-old girl and had a branding mark with the letter K on her right shoulder. Lingafay was a Maravi from the village of Kosebi near Lake Nyasa. She was engaged to Mr. d'Arifat as a domestic and then as a seamstress. By 1879, she had adopted the name of Rebecca, became a Catholic, and was already married with two children. By the early 1880s, Rebecca Lingafay left the service of her employer, purchased a small plot of land near Signal Mountain, and had established her own small

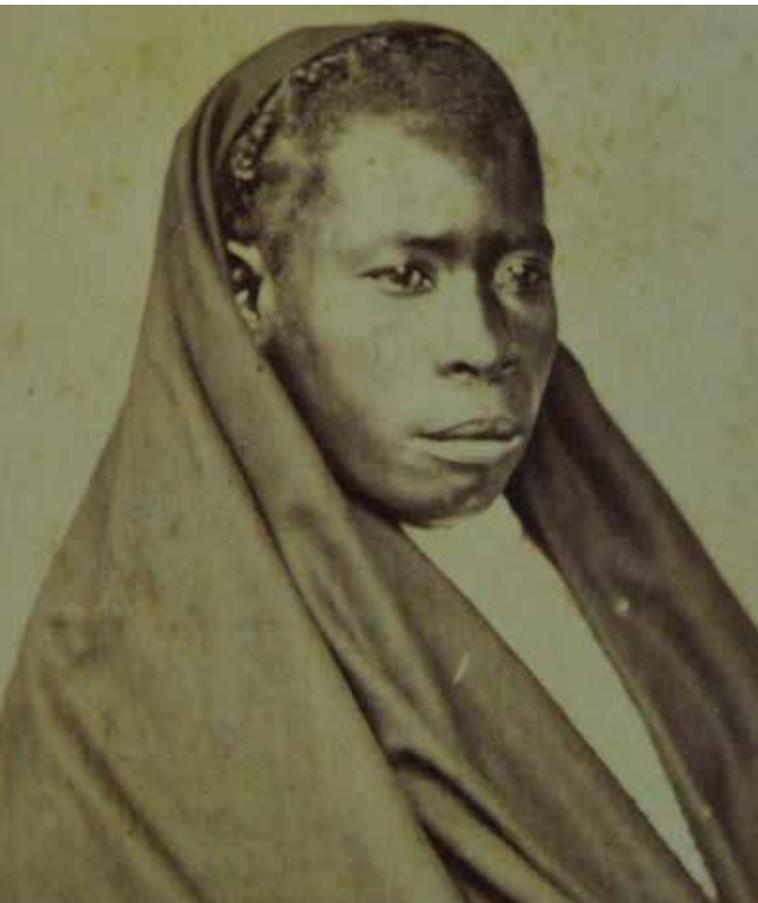


Rebecca Lingafay was photographed at the Immigration Depot in 1879 at the age of 34 (PG Series, MG111A)

business. She passed away there in 1931 at the age of 86.

During an interview in 2014, the then 90-year-old great grandson of Rebecca Lingafay, Mr. Joseph Marcus avowed that the branding mark on his Mozambican ancestor's back was *"a painful reminder of the former status of my ancestor as a slave which she carried with her throughout her long and eventful life and which she did not wish to talk about it which was her sincere wish as told by some of her male descendants. Her life-long objective was to cherish her freedom as a free person and as an Afro-Mauritian of Maravi Mozambican origin and to become a productive member of Mauritian colonial society which she did by getting married and having children and by becoming an entrepreneur, and a small landowner."*

The painful memories of their enslavement and branding form an integral part of the experiences and subaltern life-stories of scores of Liberated Africans like Rebecca Lingafay and Miriam Jonarim



A MAN OF THE PEOPLE MANILAL MAGANLAL DOCTOR (1881-1956): A PIONEER OF THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE OF THE INDIANS AND THEIR DESCENDANTS IN MAURITIUS

MR YASH DEO DHUNY,
CHAIRMAN OF THE AAPRAVASI GHAT TRUST FUND

On Thursday, 28th July 2016, the Manilal Maganlal Doctor Memorial Foundation and the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund in collaboration of the Port Louis Municipality and the Ministry of Arts and Culture celebrated the 135th birth anniversary of Manilal Doctor in the Company Gardens in the heart of the city of Port Louis. The main speakers at this auspicious ceremony were Hon. S. Baboo, Minister of Arts and Culture, His Worship M.O. Kholeegan, the Lord Mayor of Port Louis, Mr. V. Ramkisson, President of the Manilal Maganlal Doctor Memorial Foundation, and Mr. Yash Deo Dhuny, Chairman of the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund. Mr. Dhuny who was the chief guest delivered the keynote address.

In their speeches, Mr. Dhuny and the main guests paid a vibrant homage to Manilal Doctor and they reminded the audience about the unrelenting and indefatigable crusade of this Indian patriot, Gandhian, and humanist for the betterment of the poor and downtrodden. Much emphasis was laid on the key role he played in the psychological and physical liberation and upliftment of the Indian indentured workers and their children in British Mauritius between 1907 and 1911, as the emissary of Mahatma Gandhi.

The ceremony also comprised the garlanding of the life-size statue of Manilal Doctor, and a prayer was said in his memory. Two poems were recited by a school teacher and a pandit of the Arya Samaj as a tribute to his struggle and achievements as a defender of the Indian indentured workers and their descendants in

Miriam Jonarim arrived in Mauritius on the Brig Clifford in 1866 at the age of 12. She was a Muslim Makua from the coast of Mozambique and had a branding mark with the letter M on her left leg. Miriam was photographed at the Immigration Depot in 1879 when she was 25 years old (PE, PF, & PG Series, MGIIIA)

in Mauritius. Furthermore, it is also remembered by their descendants today and has had a lasting effect and legacy on them. Vijaya Teelock explains *“Freedom, according to the slave and indentured, included also the concept of autonomy:(...) a keen sense of autonomy seems to have developed. This seems to have emerged directly out of their experience as enslaved and indentured.”*

When looking at the names and places of origins of the Mauritian Mozambican Liberated Africans, that *“these individuals, who evidently had a vivid sense of their African origins, negotiated their integration into Mauritian Creole society and how, if at all, they may have made Mauritians of African descent more aware of that heritage as a result of their mere presence and self-identification”*. Their desire to give meaning to their freedom emerged from their arduous and terrible experience and memories as enslaved Africans in Mozambique and indentured Africans in Mauritius. It is through a detailed study of the experience of hundreds of Liberated Africans, like Rebecca Lingafay and Miriam Jonarim that it is possible to gauge the pulse of freedom for them under indentured labour system in nineteenth century Mauritius.



Souvenir photo of the annual commemoration of the Birth Anniversary of Manilal Doctor, 2016 (AGTF Collection)

Mauritius, Fiji, and other parts of the British Empire. Mr. Ramkissoon, the President of the Foundation who was the main organiser of the event, requested the Government of Mauritius and the Ministry of Arts and Culture to have a street and a public building in Port Louis named after this great figure. Mr. Sanyasi, the Secretary of the Manilal Doctor Foundation, was the master of ceremony.

THE STORY OF MANILAL DOCTOR

Sri Manilal Maganlal Doctor, a close friend of Mahatma Gandhi, was one of the most important figures of 20th century Mauritius. He was a unique and brave Indian patriot who showed that one man can make a difference in shaping the destiny of the Mauritian people. Manilal was a true Gandhian in every sense of the word and a key historical personality. He contributed to the psychological and physical liberation of the oppressed Indo-Mauritian masses under the yoke of oppression of the British and of the island's local sugar barons.

Manilal believed in social justice, equality of all men, and in human rights for all. He was the epitome of what Mark Twain, the famous American writer who visited Mauritius during the 1890s, called a 'Citizen of the World' and whom Gandhi called his 'Emissary to the Overseas Indians.'

MANILAL DOCTOR'S STRUGGLE IN MAURITIUS



Manilal arrived in Mauritius in October 1907. A few days later, he clashed with the Judge of the Supreme Court when he refused to remove his shoes and turban (Manilal wore a Parsi-style head-dress) on entering the court, pointing out that these were allowed in the high courts of Bombay and Madras. The matter was taken before Governor Sir Charles Bruce, a Sanskrit scholar, sympathetic to the plight of Indians. He issued an order allowing shoes and turbans in the courts of Mauritius. Indians in Mauritius used to be treated with severity; they were always given the maximum punishment for any crime, even petty ones, while Europeans were given nominal punishment or only fined for serious offences. Manilal pleaded for balance between crime and punishment. For the first time, Indo-Mauritians found a lawyer they could rely on and he was soon accepted as their leader. He left Mauritius for Bombay on 28 November 1910.

On 15 March 1909, Manilal Doctor launched a weekly newspaper, *The Hindustani*, with the motto: "Liberty of Individuals! Fraternity of Men!! Equality of

...races!!!” It was first published in English and Gujarati, but Gujarati was soon replaced with Hindi to the masses. The newspaper was fined on a number of occasions for its editorial and reporting of court cases but it continued to be published even after Manilal’s departure. Manilal tried to arouse worldwide sympathy towards the suffering of the Indo-Mauritians by writing regularly in overseas newspapers.

In early 1911, Manilal left for South Africa to consult with Gandhi. On 11 October 1911, a few weeks after his arrival in Durban, he married Jayakumari Devi (Jekiben), daughter of Gandhi’s friend, Dr. Prajivandas Jagjivandas Mehta (Rangoon). Gandhi encouraged him to practise law in South Africa, but Manilal wanted to take part in the debate of Congress calling for the abolition of indenture. He attended the 26th Annual Session of the Congress and seconded the motion calling for an end to indenture.

THE LAST YEARS OF HIS STRUGGLE AND DEATH

Manilal became a regular contributor to the Socialist, an English periodical in Bombay. He was soon involved in socialist activities and came into contact with Communists who were trying to get organised in India. M.N. Roy’s idea of a party for the masses appealed to him but he was opposed to the idea of infiltrating the Congress. Manilal attended the Gaya Congress in 1923 and shortly afterwards issued a manifesto of the Labour and Kisan Party of India. It served as model to the Communists, with whom Manilal was associated.

Not surprisingly, he came to the attention of the authorities and spent some time defending others who shared his own left-leaning ideas. He was not happy with rivalries among Indian leaders and kept looking for outside openings. He tried to settle in Penang (Malaysia) but was warned by the Colonial Secretary for Singapore that he would be prevented from landing there. His dream of having a life of professional barrister was realised when the Chief Justice of Aden (with whom he had studied in London) asked him to come and practise there after assuring the colonial authorities that he would not be a problem there as there was no indenture system in Aden.

He continued to provide his service to the people of Aden and Somaliland (1935–1940) but the revolutionary and radical zeal seemed to have left

him. He visited Mauritius in 1950 where he was enthusiastically welcomed and saw the great progress achieved by the Indo-Mauritians under the leadership of Sir Seewoosagar Ramgoolam and the Bissoondoyal brothers. In 1953, he returned to India from Aden and lived in Bombay until his death on 8 January 1956.

In conclusion, Manilal Doctor was a man of the people and served the downtrodden not only in Mauritius, but in other parts of the British Empire such as Fiji, Somalia, Aden in Yemen, and India. He was truly a Citizen of World who laboured ceaselessly for equality, fraternity, social justice and human rights. He was a humanist, a Gandhian, and a visionary who dedicated his life to the betterment of his fellow brothers and sisters.



Statue of Manilal Doctor at the Company Garden (AGTF Collection)

THE GENESIS OF THE INDENTURED LABOUR PORTRAIT PHOTOGRAPHS: A TIMELINE

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The following timeline was pieced together while constructing the social biography of the Indentured Labour Portrait Photographs. It will help address discrepancies and uncertainties about the Indentured Labour Photographic system, imposed upon the indentured labourers of Mauritius by the British colonial administration. Today, these photographs live different lives and are associated with new meanings and interpretations. This article focuses on the genesis of this remarkable photographic archive so that our encounters with the photographs today are informed by the significance of their past. When we encounter these photographs today, we are viewing the indentured labour story and the colonial photographic system that created them.

I define the photographs as an ID photograph during the colonial period where its ultimate purpose was to serve as an identification document. The timeline presented here ends at the point where the photographs were decommissioned and left abandoned and deteriorating on the shelves of the Immigration Office, silently waiting to be rediscovered and transformed, some 50 years later. At this time, under the auspices of the new Independent Government of Mauritius, they became, more accurately, portraits, where they were interpreted as visual depictions of individuals and evoked an interest in the subjective life of the labourer. Today they continue to visually express indentured labour narratives, as well as performing important connections between the labourers and their descendants.

What sets the Indentured Labour ID photograph apart from other colonial photographic systems, was its administrative and monitoring function, primarily to control the movement of labourers around the island. The official start of the ID photograph system in 1865 positions this enterprise as unique and remarkable in the history of photography. Also, the execution of the ID photograph system marks this photographic endeavour, in the mid-19th century, as an eminent feat, namely its complex photographic

and printing processes, staffing, the management of subjects, shipping and photograph supply constraints, and the sheer volume of images, 194,000 to (at least) 200,000 over 49 years.

THE GENESIS OF THE INDENTURED LABOUR ID PHOTOGRAPH

1847 - The start of the Old Immigrant Ticket.

Ordinance No. 22, 1847: Old Immigrants must register at the Immigration Depot and carry at all times the 'Old Immigrant Ticket'. The 'Old Immigrant Ticket' referred to labourers who had completed their work contract period. Many 'Old Immigrants' would re-engage again as indentured labourers.

1864 - The proposal to use photographs for visual identification purposes was introduced in 1864. At this time, the 'Immigration Ticket' transitioned from a text document, to both text and image. On the 20th July 1864, Mr Beyts sent this letter to the Governor of Mauritius:



Sir,

I enclose a ticket bearing the photograph of the immigrant to whom it belongs, and request that it be forwarded to his Excellency, the Governor. I have had it prepared (at the suggestion of Mr. Chasteneuf) with the object of testing the possibility of employing photography as a means of checking the false personations, desertions and the offences of which Immigrants often render themselves guilty by procuring and using tickets which are not their own (PB 11: 90-91).

The first suggestion of the ID photograph came from a Mr Chasteneuf who worked in the audit section of the immigration department (PB 11: 90-91). How he came upon the idea of an identification photograph is unknown; however, as already mentioned, there were examples of institutional use of photographs in other British colonies, and an active photographic studio industry in Port Louis at that time (Breville, 1999). Mr Beyts, the Protector of Immigrants in 1864, believed

that a photograph affixed to the immigrant ticket would render the immigrant tickets useless to thieves and vagrants who might be tempted to steal them. It would also supply the Savings Banks Officer or Magistrate with a means of recognising the identity of the persons presenting themselves. The Governor approved the trial of a photographic identification system in 1864. Mr Lecorgne, a local professional photographer, conducted the trial over a two-month period. The trial lasted from July 1864 to September 1864. On the 26th September 1864, Mr Beyts wrote to the Governor ascertaining that:

Sir,

The application of photography to the immigration tickets has proceeded with perfect ease. I have no hesitation in recommending that steps be taken with a view of generalising the system (PB11:122-123).

The photographic identification system became officiated four days later on the 30th September 1864, at the passing of the Government Order 4270 (PB11: 132-133).



Photograph of fingerprints (MGIIIA/ PG 53)

1865 - The Photographer, Mr Lecorgne, being the only person who applied at the time, was contracted in a private capacity to take ID photographs of ‘Old Immigrants’ at the beginning of 1865. He was contracted for a period of five years, ending in October 1869 (PB12: No.12, 1st February 1868). So, from 1865, indentured labourers who had completed their indenture contract were requested to travel to the Immigration Depot in Port Louis to obtain a photograph for their Old Immigrant Ticket. Mr Lecorgne was contracted to provide the following service:

To provide during five years two photographs of each immigrant, the one to be affixed to the ticket, and the other to be preserved in the immigration office; and, further, to provide the small tin-box which immigrants are want to carry slung round their neck, and containing their papers, for which he was

to receive \$1 per photograph (PB12:1080,1865).

1866 - Mr Beyts claimed that the photographic system had been successful in its aims, justified by the following statistics: in 1864 the committals for desertion amounted to 6040, and in 1865 had decreased to 4599. These results were attributed to the discipline at the vagrant depot, and the greater difficulty for deserters to use false immigration tickets, due to the photographic system (Protector of Immigrants 7th Annual Report, PB11: paragraph 46.) Hence, Mr Beyts proposed that: “(...) *I recommend that it be preservingly maintained, till all the tickets in the hands of immigrants be provided with the portraits of their owners*” (PB11: 26th February, 1866).

1867 - The New Labour Law of 1867 further controlled the physical movements of the ex-indentured labourers. It forced ‘Old Immigrants’ to re-contract themselves back onto the sugar estate. The Labour Law of 1867 targeted anyone who had not secured gainful employment, charging them with vagrancy and threatening incarceration for one month. Consequently, the Labour Law made it compulsory for all immigrants, whose engagements had expired and whose immigrant tickets did not bear a portrait, to be sent to the Immigration Depot to have their photographs taken (Ⓜ2, No. 24, 24th January 1866: 38).

1868 - The Compulsory ID photograph for all ‘Old Immigrants’ came into operation.

1869 - When Mr Lecorgne’s contract was ending, it became apparent that the photographic enterprise had been one of economic exchange and profitability. Over the five years of duty, Mr Lecorgne received payment for 116,333 photographs, which amounted to the ‘enormous sum’ of £23,311.12. When challenged on the sum of profits, Mr Lecorgne was unable to account for the discrepancies in financial accounts of the photographic Depot citing, “I am an artist and not a merchant” (Frere & Williamson Report, 1875. Royal Commission Report).

In 1869, Mr Carbonel took over the private photographic contract charging the labourers 2 shillings for the photographs, half the cost as before. After a twelve-month contract period, the photographic studio changed from the private contract arrangement to a government managed entity. Ensuring the lowest price of the photograph to labourers and providing the strict monitoring of the photographic studio’s chemical supplies

Mr Carbonel remained as the Head Photographer but became a government salaried employee. At the changing of the head photographer in 1869 we also see changes to the ID photograph indexing system. Between 1864-1869, the ledgers had been organised alphabetically by surname, and in 1869 they changed to a sequential numbering system. Under the new system, the labourer's name and immigration number were inscribed into the ledger linked to a photograph number.

1872 - As a result of the harsh repercussions of the 1867 Labour Laws, the British Government appointed a Commission of Enquiry in 1872 to travel to Mauritius and investigate the treatment of indentured immigrants (Vijaya Teelock 2009, Mauritian History: 238).

1875 - Mr Carbonel resigns as Head Photographer. Mr Britten becomes his replacement.

1878 - The New Labour Law of 1878: All 'new' indentured immigrants are to be photographed at the time of their arrival in Mauritius.

1879 - Mr Britten (Head Photographer) dies, and A.Sinapa is instated as the new Head Photographer. The very first indentured labourers to be photographed at the time of arrival in Mauritius disembarked from the ship Genobia on the 7th February 1879 (PB26: No.65). The New Labour Law of 1878 also declared that a photograph of the incorrigible vagrant was to be taken and sent with a letter to the emigration agent from where the immigrant was recruited, requesting that they not be permitted to return to Mauritius: "... please do not send them back to this colony again as they will not work and are of no use to the colony" (PB33.No: 1115, 1116, 1117: 330).

1880 - The Immigration Depot Photographic Branch begins to take photographs of prisoners.

1888 - Mr Senèque is employed as new Head Photographer.

1900 - Due to continuing plague epidemics, temporary photographic studios are set up at Cannonier's Point to photograph arriving indentured labourers placed in quarantine at either Cannonier's Point or Flat Island.

1904 - Difficulties begin in recruiting labourers to Mauritius due to higher wages in Natal, South Africa. The Protector of Immigrants writes to recruitment

agents in India suggesting that the ID photographs be taken at immigration depots in Madras and Calcutta. Both agencies reply that it is not feasible or possible to photograph the immigrants before embarkation (PB 44: 1396; A 328; B 2016; B1783).

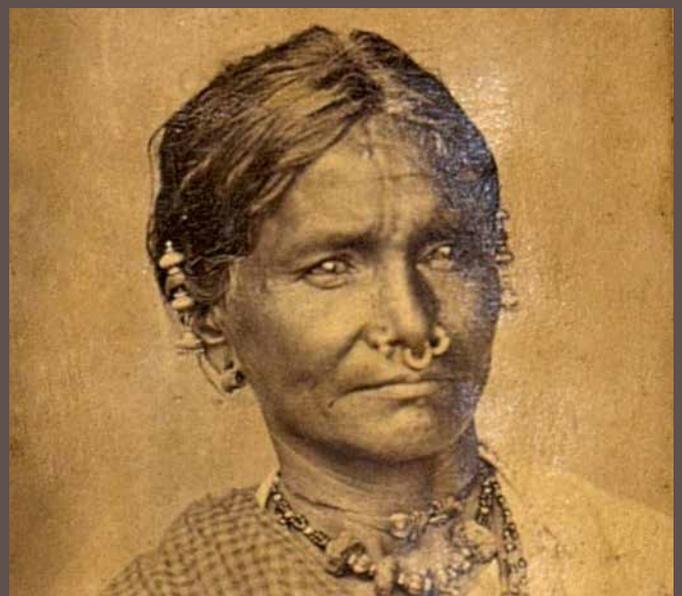
1910 - Indentured labour recruitment ends. ID photographs still taken for immigrant tickets.

1914 - The indentured labour ID photograph system ended, replaced by the fingerprint as the new form of visual identification. The Finger Printing Ordinance No.45 of 1914 was legislated: *Subject to regulations which shall be made as provided by Article 280 of Ordinance No.12 of 1878, it shall be lawful for the protector to apply the Finger Print System as a means of identification for Immigrants in place of the photograph.*

The photographic ledgers were left decommissioned in the site of Immigration Office, here they remained silent and exposed to the damaging elements of humidity, heat, moisture, cyclones and people, until their discovery and re-evaluation as valuable objects of National and Indo-Mauritian heritage.

The story of the Indentured Labour ID Photograph does not end here, the social biography of their remarkable survival, recovery and transfiguration is another enlightening story that is still to be told.

The information provided for this article comes from a doctoral research project, conducted by Kathleen Harrington-Watt (PhD. Candidate, Canterbury University, New Zealand) in Mauritius during 2011-2014.



Photograph published with consent of Ramanah family, 2015

QUARANTINE AT FLAT ISLAND: IMPACT ON THE ENVIRONMENT

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Uninhabited offshore islets were considered highly suitable places for confining people suffering from contagious or transmissible diseases in 18th and 19th century Mauritius. Introduction of plant and animal species to sustain the quarantine station transformed the ecosystem of the islands. Witnessing the rapid environmental degradation, the authorities took conservation measures but with mitigated success. This paper looks at the environmental issues raised by the setting up of a Quarantine station for Cholera and other diseases on Flat Island in 1856. The evolution in understanding about ecology from 18th Century naturalism to late 19th Century theories, is inferred through the thinking and corrective actions of colonial functionaries and scientists.

PARADISE LOST

There are few accounts of the flora and fauna of Flat Island, especially when human intervention had not occurred. The earliest one was penned by Jean Baptiste Lislet Geoffroy in 1790. He observed that there were many *Latania* palms, as well as *Tournefortia* trees along the coast. "The greater parts of the islands (Flat and Gabriel) are covered with a reed which resembles the *Calamus aromaticus*. There used to be a great number of grass-snakes but fires have almost destroyed them" (Lislet Geoffroy Journal).¹

Twenty years later, at the time of British invasion of Mauritius James Prior observed the following:

"Flat Island abounds with small but not ill-flavoured hares, which make an acceptable addition to a sea-dinner. Several of these have been killed with sticks. Curlews seem the only birds worth shooting, but though numerous they are excessively shy... (The island is) covered by strong grass, among which is that tufted species which, when split and dried, is made into hats by the seamen. The cotton-shrub also grows here; Myriads of lizards occupy the ground, the rocks, the shrubs, the grass and the sand; but there are none of the larger species named guana" (James Prior, 1810).²

The hare were certainly introduced by passing ships or pirates who used the islands even when it was under Dutch occupation (between 1638 and 1710). The French (1715-1810) did not seem to have made any use of the island, which allowed the hare to multiply and damage the flora and fauna.

LOOMING EPIDEMICS

The first Cholera Pandemic of 1816-1826 touched Mauritius in 1819 through a navy ship coming from Ceylon. Ten sailors had died during the voyage but no isolation or precautionary measures were taken. The disease flared up on the island and caused some 7,000 deaths. It was an occasion for acrimonious confrontation of French and British medical practitioners on the island: the British doctors thought that the disease was neither contagious nor introduced from outside while the French and local doctors thought the contrary.³ When the ship came back again in 1820 with several cases of the same disease and five deaths medical opinion was unanimously in favour of the contagion theory: the ship was sent on quarantine to Flat Island.

From then on, every ship coming with cases of disease and death was viewed with suspicion from a vigilant population and sent by the governor to Flat Island or other islets for quarantine. It was the case especially for those bringing indentured labourers from India to service the sugar cane plantations. A Board of Health was established in 1851, with the duty, among others, to decide on quarantine measures. The local Medical Society protested and deplored the anti-contagionist ideas prevailing in Great Britain and militated in favour of strict quarantine measures.⁴ Public opinion was largely in favour of quarantine for any vessel with suspect cases although it entailed additional costs for the ships and the authorities and misery for the passengers.

The Governor obtained a credit of £4,757 from London to set up a lazaret near Port Louis in 1854. This event coincided with the arrival of a ship from India with cholera on board. Although it was sent to Flat Island there had been contact with Port Louis and cholera flared up, killing 7,650 people between May and August that year. Even then the British surgeon in charge was not convinced of the contagiousness of the disease: "I consider the appearance of the disease, in the first instance, due to atmospheric causes, known to Divinity alone".⁵ The authorities eventually gave in to public opinion, strongly motivated by local doctors

and the press, and constructed the quarantine station on Flat Island.

FLAT ISLAND QUARANTINE STATION

Decision was taken to build a proper quarantine station on Flat Island in 1854. Prior to that quarantined passengers dwelled in tents and huts. A hospital complex, including the superintendent's residence was constructed in stone. Wells were dug and huts for Indian coolies were built at one extremity of the island. A lighthouse was constructed on the hill to render approach safer, as well as a jetty to facilitate landing. Roads were laid out. A condensing apparatus was installed to obtain fresh water from sea water, with a capacity to produce 12,000 gallons per day.⁶ The station was provided with a system of telegraphic communication and a signal station. The installation also comprised of a lime kiln where coral was transformed into quick lime that was used in those days to disinfect graves.

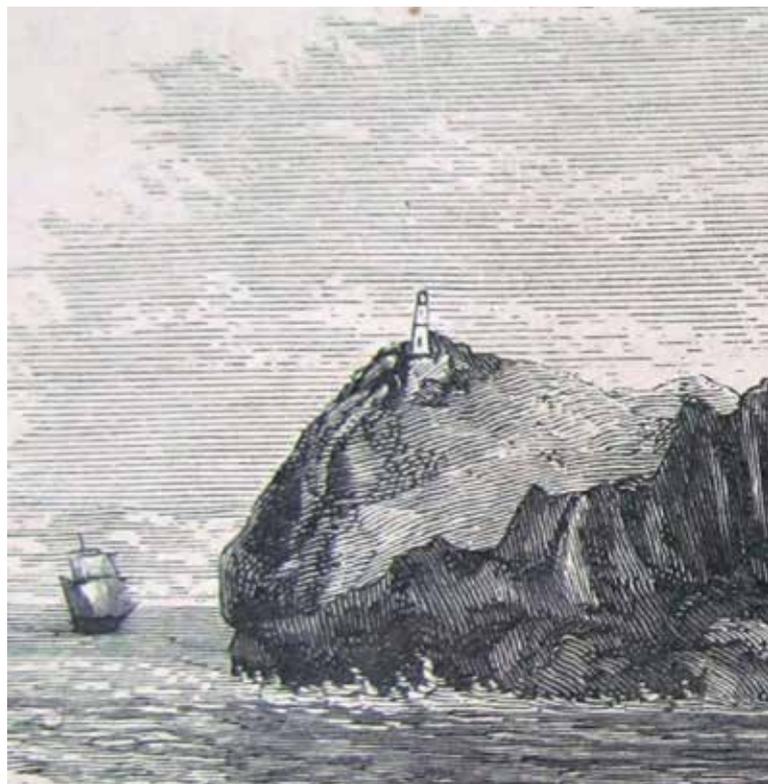
The Central Board of Health had recommended, in a decision taken in 1856, quarantine for 21 days in case of cholera and smallpox from the date of death or cure of the last case. The ships were to be detained for 21 days in case of smallpox and 15 days for other diseases.⁷ The quarantined passengers were issued basic rations and medicine. However, weather constraints and quarantine regulations pertaining to the supplies' ships made shipments erratic, which caused a lot of hardship to the sick and detained. Healthy people were required to grow vegetables and fish to supplement the supplies. Thus, a variety of vegetables, including medicinal herbs were cultivated, and animals were reared on Flat Island.

The force of the wind on Flat Island made life very uncomfortable. It was therefore decided to plant trees as windbreaks. The Botanical Garden of Pamplemousses furnished 800 filaos (*Casuarina equisetifolia*) in 1857 to be planted along the coast and along the roads and paths. They were planted along the windward sides of buildings as windbreaks and to supply firewood.⁸

The superintendent requested for more trees in 1859. This time there was an effort to plant fruit trees as well as fast growing trees likely to furnish firewood.⁹ The following plants were sent:

- 50 Olive(?) Plants (*Olea*)
- 50 *Ficus indica*
- 50 Tamarind trees (*Tamarindus indicus*)
- 50 *Albizzia lebbeck*
- 50 Custard Apple
- 50 *Eugenia jamblona*
- 50 Mangoes (*Mangifera*)
- 50 Guavas (*Psidium*)

A survey of the vegetation in Flat Island was made in 1885 by John Horne, the then director of the Botanical Gardens, while he was quarantined. It reveals that only two tamarind trees were present, the *Ficus* were growing poorly but the *Albizzia lebbeck* and *Eugenia jamblona* had, as in Mauritius, naturalized and spread



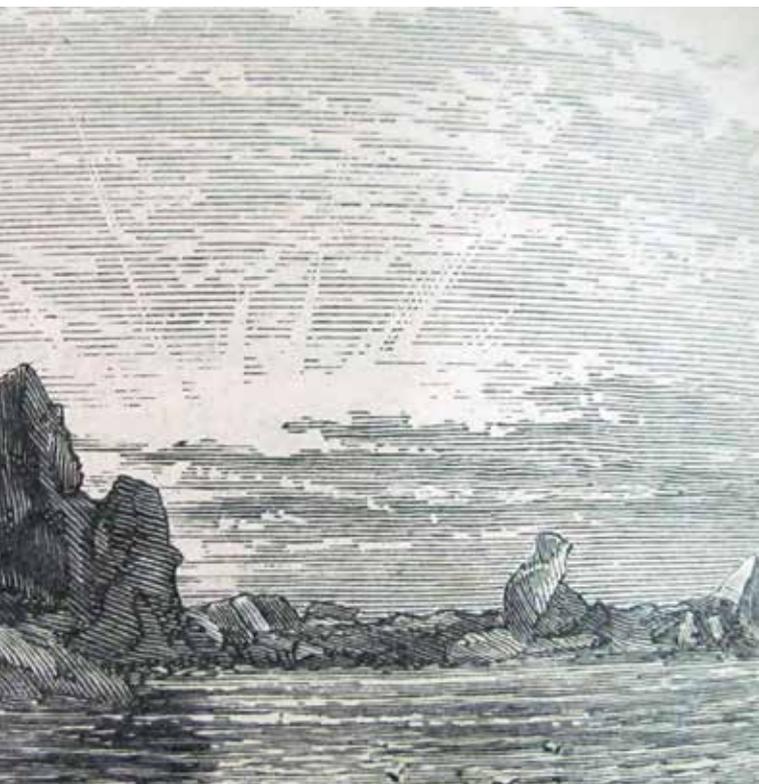
all over the place. There was no sign of the other trees introduced in 1859¹⁰ while the filaos fared very well. He observed that there were 122 species and varieties of plants on Flat Island, including 69 indigenous, 38 naturalised, while 15 species were cultivated in gardens, fields or woods. Among the endemic plants there were still many *Latania loddigesii* and *Pandanus vandermeershi*, which are endemic to the islands of the north, the Flat island balm (*Psiadia trinerva*), two species of ferns and the indigenous tropical island coastal vegetation with *Tournefortia*, *Suriana*

and Ipomea genera. The citronella (*Andropogon scheinanthus*) grew widely.

Exotics that had naturalized included the coconut, date palms, the *Zyzyphus jujuba*, *Panicum* herbs (fataque), the Aloe vera and a cactus, the *Opuntia tuna*. Horne feared that the latter two plants, which are fast-growing and adapt very well to dry climates, would take over the vegetation.

Plants that were introduced for food or medicine included common vegetables and herbs consumed by Indians as well as the *Datura alba*, used as a narcotic, *Palma christi*, *Moringa* and other useful plants such as the soap tree (*Sapindus emarginatus*).

Flat Island benefited from the reforestation programme of the 1870s which followed the deadly malaria epidemic of 1865-1869. Thousands of trees, mainly Australian *Acacias* and *Albizzia lebeck*,



Lithograph of Flat Island (Nicolas Pike, Sub Tropical Rambles in the Land of Aphanapterys. Personal Experiences, Adventures, and Wanderings in and Around the Island of Mauritius)

were planted on the hills around Port Louis and the coastal areas, including Flat Island. During the 1880s *Eucalyptus* was propagated in various areas of Mauritius and some were also cultivated on Flat Island. A few *Eucalyptus rostrata* were seen in 1885 by Horne but no sign of any acacia.

The Flat Island Quarantine Station was utilized fully during the third Cholera Pandemic of 1851-1861. Mauritius was hit during 1854 and 1856 but many ships carrying cases of cholera had been quarantined during that period. Failures in supplies, difficulties to find a quarantine doctor, bad weather, including cyclones, resulted in high mortality on the island, which gave a very bad reputation to the station. To placate criticism another quarantine station had to be built on Main Island in 1858.

Flat Island installations were still used from time to time to isolate ships' passengers and crew in case of occurrence of contagious diseases like smallpox and measles. A doctor related his personal experience as a quarantined passenger in 1940. Three sailors of the steamer in which he travelled coming from Europe, suffered from smallpox. The crew as well as the passengers were sent to Flat Island, along with a doctor, the steward-in-charge of the station, a sanitary inspector, 2 dressers, a nurse, a maid, a cook and a policeman. The passengers were released after 14 days, which covers the length of the incubation period, while the sick and the other personnel stayed on for another fortnight. They obtained fresh supplies every day except for a period of cyclonic weather, where they had to live on rice and fish. He reported that flies were a terrible nuisance during the day and mosquitoes at night. They obtained water from rain water collected in tanks that were rarely cleaned.¹¹

Although Flat Island was occupied occasionally, its fragile ecosystem has been deeply disturbed. Introduced species of plants and domestic animals have spelt great damage to indigenous flora and fauna. Hare, goats, cows etc. have grazed the plants and prevented the regeneration of trees. With the loss of endemic species of palms the lizards that lived on them disappeared, as well as the snakes that preyed on them. To-day Flat Island is almost devoid of trees, except for a coastal strip where filios are surviving. A variety of marine birds still visit the island but few find proper nesting places on it.

EARLY CONSERVATION MEASURES

Ile de France / Mauritius was the first tropical entity to introduce conservation measures in 1769, with the *Règlement Economique* (Grove, 1995: 220). The island was then co-governed by intendant Pierre Poivre, a naturalist-philosopher, who was to influence subsequent French thinking about the importance of forests and their influence, namely on water resources. The *Règlement Economique* required, among others, that land owners should keep a quarter of their land under woods, and a strip along rivers should remain under trees. In 1804, another landmark piece of legislation would be promulgated by General Decaen, establishing mountain reserves (the upper two-thirds of mountains), river reserves (wider than Poivre's) as well as littoral forests along a strip all around the coast. This 'arrêté' was to remain a standard piece of legislature for Mauritius that is in force, with minor modifications, till date.¹² These laws were not however, explicitly extended to the dependencies of Mauritius.

With British takeover of the island and its dependencies in 1810 emphasis shifted to the development of the agro-industry of sugar on Mauritius. An era of speedy deforestation and destruction of endemic flora, which constituted 8% of the original vegetation, (with 7 genera of flowering plants with 300 species) followed. Endemic fauna, mostly birds, 2 species of bats, and numerous insects became rarefied and several species are now critically endangered. A voice of dissent could be heard, namely from local naturalists regrouped under the local Royal Society of Arts and Sciences. It's only after the Fever Epidemic of 1865-69, which caused 40 to 45,000 deaths and attributed by doctors and scientists to climate changes and siltation problems brought about by deforestation¹³ that the authorities reacted. Old conservationist laws were reformulated and provisions made reforest crown lands. Sanitary plantations of trees were made as the Miasma Theory on the causes of diseases prevailed.

Governor Sir Henry Barkly, who was also a naturalist, started a reforestation programme with Australian *Accacia* and *Albizzia lebbek* in the early 1870s. Nearly one million trees were planted on slopes, coastal areas and on Flat Island. As seen above only *Albizzia lebbek*, introduced from India in 1750s and which had naturalized in Mauritius thrived there.

The plants from Australia were considered with great favour in the Empire and Governor Sir George F. Bowen made great efforts in the 1880s to spread various species of *Eucalyptus* trees. Two species adapted very well and still cover large tracts of cultivated forests. As from 1880, colonial government began to acquire lands especially in watershed areas and highlands, for forest plantations. Between 1880 and 1904 some 37,000 Acres of land was purchased and 4, 000 acres of forest plantation, mainly of fast-growing exotic species, had been laid out in Mauritius (Brouard N R, 1963: 51).

CONCLUSION

The responses to the degradation of the environment reflect the ideas and priorities of the respective periods. Flat Island suffered from the initial introduction of useful exotic plant and animal species, followed by corrective measures to palliate against the destruction of natural habitat by reforestation. Unfortunately many of the introduced plant species ended up by becoming botanical pests while natural fauna was replaced by exotic pests.

The history of Flat Island also reveals a superposition of, at times, conflicting ideas and attitudes of French and British naturalists and medical practitioners as they appeared over the late 18th and 19th Century.

¹ Lislet Geoffroy "Note sur l'île Plate" (written in 1790) Transactions of the Royal Society of Arts and Sciences, 1872, VI: « ...la plus grande partie de ces îles (Plate et Gabriel) est couverte d'un Roseau qui ressemble au *Calamus aromaticus*... Il y avait autrefois une grande quantité de couleuvres, mais le feu ayant passé plusieurs fois sur ces îles les a presque toutes détruites ».

² James Prior Journal quoted by Barnwell PJ, Visits and Despatches. Compilation of Visitors Writings on Mauritius and Dependencies, Port Louis, 1948, pp. 206-207.

³ Raymond d'Unienville; 1819, 1854, 1856, Epidémies de Choléra et conflit médical anglo-français au sujet de la contagion, Port Louis, Société d'Histoire de l'île Maurice, 2000.

⁴ Since cholera hit Britain in the 1830s debate was raging between those who were in favour of quarantine to protect the population and the proponents of free trade, backed by influential merchants.

⁵ Dr A Montgomery, quoted by d'Unienville, p. 4.

⁶ Nicholas Pike, Subtropical Rambles in the Land of the Aphanepterix, New York, Harper & Bros, 1873, p. 203.

⁷ Bolton's Almanac, 1856.

⁸ NA, RA Series, 1504-1505, From Chief Medical Officer to Colonial Secretary, 16 Apr. 1859.

⁹ Idem.

¹⁰ John Horne, 'Notes on Flat Island' (Report read at the Royal Society of Arts and Sciences in 1885), Transactions of the Royal Society of Arts and Sciences, 1887, XIX, Annexe E, pp. 101-112; John Horne, 'Notes on Flora of Flat I', Transactions of the Royal Society of Arts and Sciences, 1887, XIX, Annex G, pp. 116-151.

¹¹ Shun Shin, Mémoires of a Government Medical Officer, 1936-1966, Pp. 28-29.

¹² Brouard, N A, History of Woods and Forests in Mauritius, Port Louis, 1963.

¹³ Meldrum C, 'Weather, Health and Forests' in Davidson, A, Inquiry into the Causes of Malarial Fever in Mauritius, Port Louis, Mercantile Rec. Co., 1880.



Souvenir photo of the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund Board members and staff, for the 10th anniversary of the inscription of the World Heritage Site on UNESCO's World Heritage List, 16 July 2016 (AGTF Collection)



The AGTF board members and staff express their deep gratitude to Mr. Kewalparsad Seetul for his contribution, as a Financial Operation Officer since 2011, and wish him a happy and fruitful retirement.

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