

LIFE ON THE SUGAR ESTATES DURING THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES

The absence of an established labour framework and the lack of basic facilities on sugar estates in the early years of the indentured labour immigration, rendered the working and living conditions of indentured labourers extremely difficult. Another factor was poor health caused by the harshness of their long and tedious voyage in ships packed with people and goods.

Mr. Baudot remarked that *“the health of the newly arrived is bad: they are generally not effective for some time and sickness prevails among them more in the half year than afterwards.... It is in the 8th or 9th month nearly a year, the Indians are fit for hard work. They may be put when not sick on their arrival, to holing, but they cannot during the first year do alone a fourth or a third of the proper task. They can only cut one half of much number of canes...”*

The large majority of the indentured labourers were accustomed to agricultural work. However, those who were not underwent a “seasoning” process. The adaptation period could take up to three months for the labourers. The workers physically fit and apt were assigned to the holing, planting and reaping of sugarcane. On the other hand, the elderly and physically weak were assigned to secondary tasks which were executed at a slower rate.



Labourers removing rocks or 'derocking' in a field with crow-bars in the 1940s
(Mauritius Chamber of Agriculture)

The work on sugar estates was organised into groups and numerous tasks. The *chef gardien* also known as *chef sirdar* who acted as an intermediary between the administration of the estate and the indentured labourers, organized life in the camp. At four o'clock in the morning, the *sirdar* sounded the first call to awake the women of the camp. At five o'clock, the second ringing of the bell was meant to draw away men from their beds. An hour later, they would have to answer *l'appel*, the call, time at which the *sirdars* would allocate the day's tasks. Field workers would then fall into two groups: the *grande bande* and the *petite bande*. The *grande bande* would be assigned arduous work while the *petite bande* would be engaged in performing light work. Then, with the field tools on their shoulders, they would walk in the direction of the cane fields for their day's labour.

The labourers performed various tasks depending on the seasons, namely *entre coupe*, the period in-between harvests, and *la coupe*, harvest time. *Entre coupe* and *la coupe* extended from January to mid-July and mid-July to December respectively. The planting period fell during *entre coupe* from October to January. Labourers undertook various tasks in the fields which included derocking, ploughing

and preparing cuttings for the planting of the next crop. Harvesting of sugar canes required a large manpower and an elaborate organisation as they were expected to cut about 30 to 40 tons of canes a day. Using cutlasses, labourers cut down sugar canes to ground level and arranged them in bundles before loading them onto wagons to be transported to the mills.

Men and women performed almost the same tasks except cane-cutting which was a man's job. They had to work the same number of hours on the plantation. They were allocated other tasks like cleaning up the fields and *dépaillage* (removal of dry leaves from the sugar canes).

Plantation labour was tedious and arduous. Pauses during working hours were strictly controlled. The indentured labourers worked under the stringent supervision of the planter or his overseers from the time of the call until the end of the day.

The hours of work varied from 4 a.m to 8 p.m (for work allocated in sugar house) and from 4.30 a.m to 5 p.m in the cane fields. The day of labour finished at 6 a.m for most labourers. They had to work additional hours if the tasks were not completed. Moreover, specific tasks of a two-hour duration such as the cleaning of mills, carrying wood for fuel, quarrying stones and repairing roads, were generally assigned to labourers on Sundays. Labourers also had to complete the Sunday *corvée* which consisted of cutting wood or grass, or other small works for the maintenance of the camp houses.

Making of furrows for sugar cane plantation during the 1940s
(Mauritius Chamber of Agriculture)



LODGINGS

In the early years of indentured immigration, the immigrants' contract made no provision for lodgings during their industrial residence on the island. Nonetheless, they were provided with accommodation as it was "the general custom of the country to furnish lodgings for the free labourers, as it had been formerly the case with the slaves". However, no law existed regarding the maintenance of huts by planters until 1845. Serious attention was paid to housing only after a series of epidemics broke out in mid-1860s, taking an alarming death toll. Ordinance No. 31 of 1867 officially required all employers to provide indentured labourers with "sufficient and wholesome lodgings according to the usage of the colony".

The law regarding labourers' dwellings was as follows:

- "Every person employing labourers upon a country Estate shall provide them with sufficient and wholesome lodgings according to the usage of the colony.
- Whenever it shall be proved to the satisfaction of the Stipendiary Magistrate of the district, that the lodgings of any labourer is insufficient, unhealthy, or otherwise unfit to be inhabited by such labourer, the said Magistrate shall order that, within a certain period, to be by him fixed, the employer shall cause the dwelling complained of to be altered or repaired, so as to render it wholesome and sufficient or another dwelling to be supplied to the labourer.
- He shall require the employer to make the labourer an allowance or indemnity of three pence for each day, from the date of his order, until the labourer be properly lodged to the satisfaction of the said Magistrate.

- Any master failing to comply with any such order of the magistrate shall be liable to a fine not exceeding £ 5, and the labourer shall be entitled to demand the cancellation of his contract".

The dwellings of indentured labourers consisted of thatched huts, or shacks that typically contained two rooms and an open verandah. The straw walls were plastered with a mixture of soil and cow dung, called *tilk* in Hindi. As the houses were not resistant to natural calamities such as cyclones, over time, the sugar estates started using more resistant materials such as wood, iron sheets, stones and cement to build houses for labourers on the estate camps. However, the type of lodgings changed almost immediately when labourers acquired small plots during the *grand morcellement* between the 1870s and 1920s, signifying their social and economic mobility.



The estate camp of Riche-en-Eau during the 1940s
(Mauritius Chamber of Agriculture)

FOOD, CLOTHING AND OTHER AMENITIES

The contract of an indentured labourer made provisions not only for his wages but also for food and clothing allowances. This part of the contract was not always respected by some planters. On some estates, labourers were deprived of rations if they were absent. If daily tasks were not completed, they would receive a smaller amount of food. The labourer's ration consisted of the following basic food items and proportions:

Provisions (Weekly)	Quantity
Dholl	1 ½ lbs.
Salted fish	1 ½ lbs.
Ghee or oil	4 oz.
Rice	Varied from 1 'la mok ti pois' to 3 depending on the owner of sugar estates
Salt	4 oz.

Table 4: Food provided to indentured labourers
(Report of the Royal Commissioners appointed to enquire the treatment of the immigrants in Mauritius, 1875)

Clothing was provided to the immigrants annually or twice a year. The men received *dhobis* and *cumlies* and women would receive *calico* cloth.

Most sugar camps lacked basic amenities such as water. Every day, women had to make at least five trips to fetch water from the river or the well in order to meet the needs of the family. Dr Stein pointed out that the lack of clean water on sugar camps was problematic, as it was the cause of several diseases and deaths.

Nevertheless, it was noted that sugar factories often discharged their waste in the rivers and that labourers would use the same water for bathing, cooking and drinking. Pits called *privé* or *pik* served as toilets. Generally, pits were enclosed by walls made of straw. Lime was regularly poured in the hole as a preventive measure of hygiene. Some estate camps had no toilets or washrooms.



A sugar estate camp, 1940s
(Mauritius Chamber of Agriculture)

CONDITIONS OF INDENTURED LABOURERS DURING THE PEAK YEARS OF INDIAN LABOUR IMMIGRATION

Between the mid and late nineteenth century, a battery of legislations ensured planters, and more importantly the island's sugar industry, with an abundant, stable and malleable workforce. The freedom of this workforce was limited by several labour and vagrancy ordinances which were enacted by successive British Governors and the Council of Government with the support of the island's Franco-Mauritian and British Plantocracy. The paramount objectives of the labour laws of 1847, 1864, 1867 and 1878 were to control the labourers' mobility and lives.

Between 1863 and 1870, the regulations governing indentured labourers became more oppressive. The Ordinances of 25 August 1869 stipulated that indentured workers had only eight days following the completion of their industrial residence, or any other engagement, to either return to their lands of origin or re-engage. Non-observance of the law was liable to a fine of £2 or seven days' imprisonment, as well as any other punishment that might be imposed on vagrancy. Additionally, a labourer forfeited two days' pay for one day absence from work and in case of desertion or change of work,

the labourer was fined or imprisoned as a vagrant. Other problems faced by the labourers concerned irregular payment of wages, poor housing and rations and lack of proper medical care.

The framework of the indenture system compelled both New and Old Immigrants to work and live on sugar estates. They could not pursue another livelihood or accede to better positions off the sugar estates until the mid-1870s. The unflinching campaign led by Adolphe de Plevitz, a European planter militating in favour of indentured immigrants, convinced the British Government to despatch a Commission of Enquiry to enquire into the treatment of indentured immigrants in Mauritius. The Royal Commissioners who inspected the living and working conditions of indentured immigrants on the island in 1872 did not hesitate to state that the "traditions of slavery" still survived in the colony.

As the indentured system evolved, living and working conditions for indentured labourers improved. The *Grand Morcellement* or land parceling movement which started in the 1860s gave the working class access to property. The *morcellement* was a phenomenon unheard of in any other sugar colonies in the world. This led to the emergence of a class of small planters.

The crisis that affected the sugar industry in the 1870s, and the enforcement of the labour laws of 1878 led the British Government to review its colonial policy. Consequently, while centralising the sugar production as from 1861, the colonial authorities allowed indentured labourers to acquire land with the view to sustain local workforce for the sugar industry. By the early 1920s, the Indo-Mauritians owned more than 40% of arable land in Mauritius and accounted for more than 25% of

colony's annual sugar production. This community of small planters formed the lower middle class by the turn of the century.



Workers in the sugarcane field
(British National Archives)

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE OF INDIAN IMMIGRANTS

Social life centred around the *bhaitka*, which was the social centre for indentured labourers located on every estate and in the nearby villages. The *bhaitka* also served as a school for the labourers' children. Each afternoon, at about 4 o'clock, the children would learn to read and write in Hindi and would also learn about religion and Indian culture.

The colonial government was not opposed to the construction of religious buildings such as mosques and temples. The *kalimai*, altar of village deities, was built at the entrance of estate camps. Among the festivals, *Holi* was celebrated widely by people who were throwing coloured powder and water at each other as per the tradition.

Bonfires were lit on the eve of the festival, also known as *Holika Dahan* (burning of *Holika*). Diverse traditional holy festivals like *Moharam*, *Cavadee* and *Rambhajan* were celebrated in the villages. There were no restrictions on the celebration of festivals such as the *Cavadee* and *Moharam* but paid leave was only granted on the occasion of *Moharam* and New Year.

Indian labourers also practised traditional games, like the *Goulee Danda* and would also organise stage acts like the *Indra Sabha*. On the whole, the immigrants devised their own leisure activities and perpetuated their traditions.



A school in a camp (*Bhaitka*) at the Mount Sugar Estate during the 1940s
(Mauritius Chamber of Agriculture)



(British National Archives)



(British National Archives)



(Mauritius Chamber of Agriculture)



04

THE DIVERSITY OF INDENTURED LABOURERS

*Portraits of Immigrants
(MG11A)*

Indentured workers came to Mauritius from different parts of the world including China, East Africa, India, Madagascar and Melanesia. An estimated total of 462,000 indentured workers reached the country between the year 1826 and 1910. The Mahatma Gandhi Institute Immigration Archives and the Mauritius National Archives indicate that around 97.5% of the indentured immigrants originated from the Indian sub-continent. Around 2.5% men, women and children came from China, Southeast Asia, Madagascar, the Comoros, Mozambique, Réunion Island other parts of East Africa such as Ethiopia, Yemen and Ceylon.

Before 1834, various sources of cheap labour had been explored and tapped. Mauritius experimented with Indian labourers from South India and Chinese labourers. However, the experiments failed as transshipment, working and living conditions of contractual labourers were harsh.

Importation of indentured labourers from India under private initiative between 1834 and 1842 followed the same trend. Conditions of transportation, recruitment, working and living remained unchanged. Indentured labourers often travelled on ships in the same state as those of the slaves. In addition, working and living conditions of indentured workers were harsh, fraught with problems such as irregular payment of wages, poor housing and inadequate rations, a lack of proper medical care and heavy penalties for missing work or leaving estates without permission. High mortality rate was a significant feature of the early days of indenture. This resulted in the decision of the Government of India to ban emigration of labourers to Mauritius in 1839. Mauritian planters had to look for other sources of labour.

Between 1839 and 1842, Comorian, East African and Malagasies labourers were recruited as an alternative to Indian labour. When Indian indentured immigration resumed in 1842, under government control, the colonial administration pledged to guarantee planters a stable supply of labour from India and assure the Indian Government of giving indentured labourers a more humane treatment.

The British colonial authorities reacted by adopting a number of measures to improve the conditions of transportation, the recruitment and processing of the indentured immigrants as well as their working and living conditions. The most important of these measures was the establishment of the post of Protector of Immigrants in 1842. The Protector supervised the indenture system, heard the labourers' complaints and reported on the welfare of the island's workers. Between 1860 and 1885, indentured labourers lodged 110,940 complaints against their employers. Almost 80,000 of these complaints concerned the late or partial payment of wages. In the large majority of wage cases, magistrates ruled in favour of the indentured worker.

The implementation of these measures ensured not only a steady flow of labour from India but a massive influx of labour immigration from different parts of the sub-continent further diversifying the existing population. The arrival of an indentured population in Mauritius and their settlement radically changed the demographic profile of the local population. During this period, Mauritian society witnessed the emergence of a highly diverse population with different cultural, religious and linguistic backgrounds.



*A group of Indian indentured workers on a sugar estates in Mauritius
1870 (Mauritius National Archives)*



Photograph of an indentured labourer named Raggoo, 1865
(MGIII A/PE series)

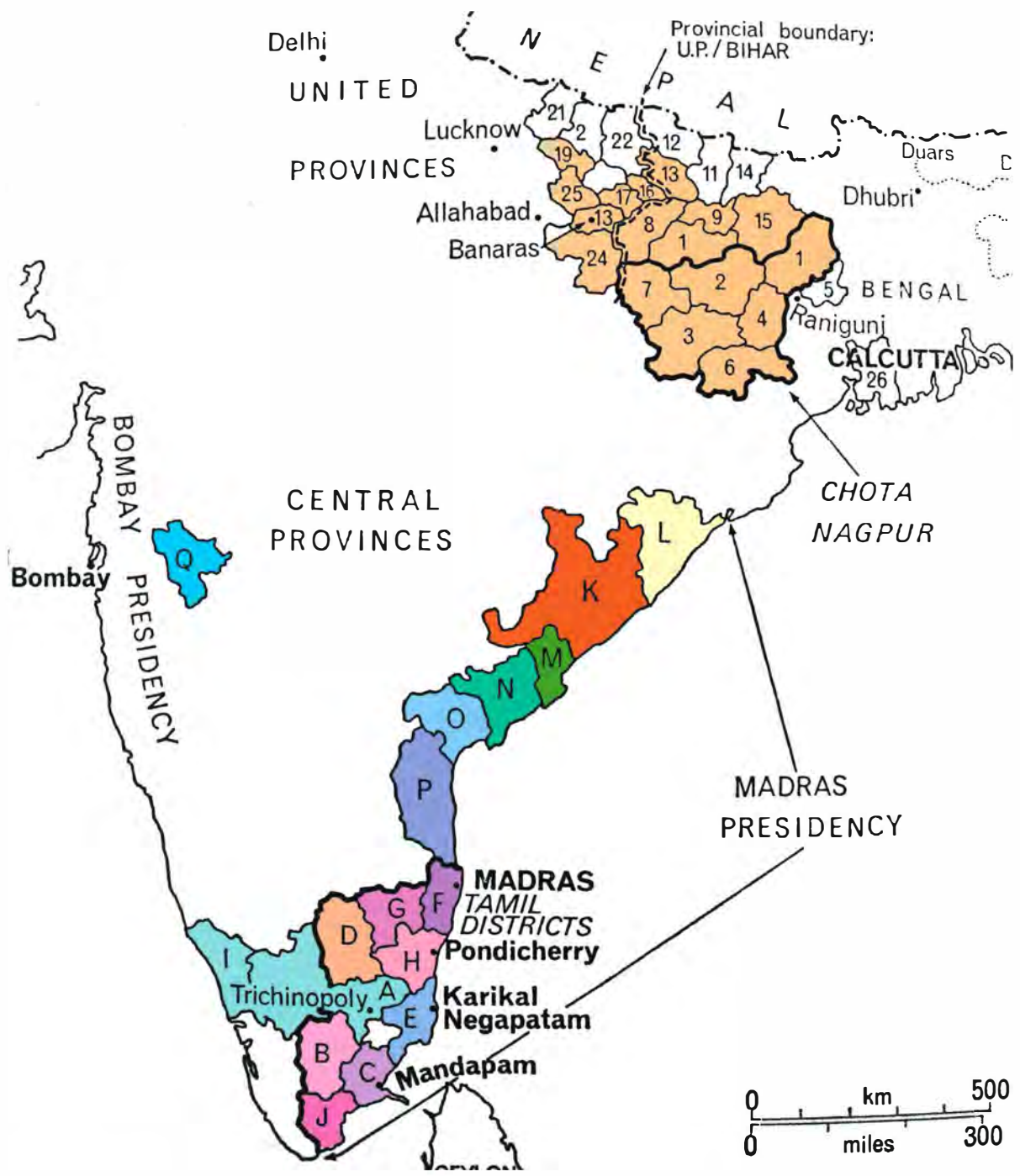
INDENTURED LABOURERS FROM INDIA

British India loomed as a strong and steady supplier of indentured workers to Mauritius, and to other British colonies as well. The recruitment was mainly effected in the Presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay. The ports of these presidencies, namely Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, developed earlier by the British East India Company, greatly facilitated the attempts of the British authorities in their strategy for obtaining cheap labour. Subsequently, these ports became the main ports of embarkation of Indian indentured labourers. A number of emigration depots and sub-depots were also set up to accommodate emigrants before they went on board ship.

J. Geoghegan, a British colonial official in India, observed that between 1842 and 1870, around two-thirds of all the contractual workers who arrived in Port Louis originated from Bihar, Bengal, Orissa and the United Provinces in India. Indentured labourers recruited from the Northern Districts of Bihar and Bengal were collected at the Depot of Bhowanipore for shipment to Mauritius from the port of Calcutta; recruits from the Southern Presidency of Madras were stationed at the depot in Vepery to embark from the port of Madras, and those from the Western coastal strip of the Bombay Presidency were shipped from the Bombay Depot.

Indentured labourers in Mauritius arrived from various places of the Indian sub-continent: Bihar (40%); Andhra, Telangana, Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil districts (31%); Bengal and Uttar Pradesh (20%); and Maharashtra (9%). Initially, recruitment was effected in the interior, starting in the northern hilly plateau: between 1842 and 1870, tribals represented 17 % of the total Indian population brought to Mauritius. As demand for labour increased, recruitment expanded towards the northern plains and coastal regions of the south and west India.

Bihar became one of the most important geographical sources of indentured labourers for Mauritius. The socio-economical upheavals present in the area, such as heavy taxation, the money lenders regulation Act, harvest failures, famines and droughts, forced many people to emigrate, especially the poor and landless. The indentured labourers from Bihar, called *Biharis*, were described as steady, patient and docile workers by planters. From 1826 to 1910, it is estimated that more than 183,200 labourers came from present-day Bihar and Jharkand, making a total of 40% of all indentured workers who landed in Port Louis.



SOUTHERN INDIA

The Tamil Districts. A. Trichinopoly - B. Madura - C. Ramad - D. Salem - E. Tanjore - F. Chinglepur - G. North Arot - H. South Arcot - I. Malabar - J. Tinnevelly

The Telugu Districts. K. Vizagaparam - L. Ganjam - M. East Godavari - N. West Godavari - O. Gunjam - P. Nellore

Bombay Presidency. Q. Ahmadnagar District

NORTHERN INDIA

Hill Coolie Districts. 1. Saneal Parganas - 2. Hazaribagh - 3. Ranchi - 4. Manbhum - 5. Birbhum- 6. Singhbhuffi

Bihari Districts. 8. Shahabad - 9. Patna - 10. Gaya - 11. Muzaffarpur - 12. Champaran - 13. Saran - 14. Darbhanga - 15. Monghyr

Districts of the United Provinces. 16. Ballia - 17. Ghazipur - 18. Azamghar - 19. Fyzabad - 20. Basti - 21. Gonda - 22. Gorakhpur - 23. Banaras - 24. Mirzapur - 25. Jaunpur

Calcutta Metropolitan atta . 26. Twenty-Four Farganas

The main regions and districts of recruitment of Indian indentured labourers between 1826 and 1910 (Hugh Tinker, A new system of slavery, 1974)

SOUTHERN INDIA

The Madras Presidency in British India covered much of the southern part of the sub-continent including the whole of the Tamil districts, Andhra and Telangana, parts of Odisha, Kerala, Karnataka, and the union territory of Lakshadweep. It was one of the most important sources of indentured labour next to Bengal Presidency. The development of factories, first by the British greatly facilitated recruitment of labour from neighbouring villages. The setting up of an emigration agency in the 1840s and the reopening of the port at Madras in 1849 also boosted labour emigration from South India. Indentured labourers from the Madras Presidency were mainly Tamils and Telugus, among whom were Christians and Muslims. Kannadas and Keralites constituted a smaller group.

The Tamil indentured population is estimated at around 25%, amounting to 114,500 individuals for the whole period of indenture in Mauritius.

The Telugus, often called Telingas or Talingas or Coringas, who migrated to Mauritius were considerably lower in number than the Tamils with an estimated percentage of 7% for the period between 1834 and 1910. Telugu indentured recruits originated mainly from the littoral districts of Vizagapatnam, Ganjam and Rajahmundry and the coastal villages in the vicinity of the Port of Coringa.

The Port of Coringa was until 1839 linked to Madras by a shipping service to transport immigrants; however, some indentured immigrants were transported directly to Mauritius from Coringa and other minor ports such as Cuddalore and Pondicherry. The port of Coringa gradually lost its importance in the conveyance of indentured labourers after it was hit by a violent cyclone in 1839.

WESTERN INDIA

Although the Bombay Presidency was established as a trading post for the British East India Company as early as the seventeenth century, relatively very few indentured labourers arrived from the region. Archival records on Indian labour immigration show that between 1834 and 1910, around 10% of the total number of Indian indentured workers or around 45,800 men, women, and children who arrived in Mauritius came from the Bombay Presidency and neighbouring regions. The overwhelming majority of these labourers were called 'Maratta'; however, among them were emigrants from regions of present-day Rajasthan, Gujarat, Punjab and present-day Pakistan.



Photograph of an indentured labourer named Lotah, 1883 (MGIII/ANPE series)

INDENTURED LABOURERS FROM OTHER COUNTRIES

While a staggering figure of nearly half a million indentured labourers came mainly from India, several thousand Chinese immigrants and a few Malagasy, Comorian, East Africans (mainly Mozambicans) and liberated Africans also arrived in Mauritius. An estimated 10,364 non-Indian contract workers arrived in the island between 1829 and 1880. In the 1850s till the 1870s, the presence of Yemeni, Arab Omani, Ethiopian and Burmese contract workers and Indians who worked several years in Yemen and Réunion Island were also recorded. The records also show that quite a few dozens of Siddhis - Indians of African origins, and Mozambicans who had worked in India, landed in Mauritius as labourers.

Recourse to non-Indian indentured workers, particularly Chinese and African, was made when demand for labour was high, especially when the suspension of Indian immigration in 1842 provoked a disruption in labour supply. The occasional disruption of labour from their main supplier demonstrated to colonists in Mauritius that relying upon a single source of labour could be problematic and made them look to other countries for labour.

These indentured immigrants were bound by the same labour law as the Indian indentured workers. However, some new legislation was put in place to

regulate their conditions, mainly for African workers and liberated Africans. The British exercised great vigilance to avoid allegations of indulging in a new slave trade.

These labourers worked on the sugar estates and a large number of them were also sent to work in Port Louis. High mortality rates prevailed among this group of indentured labourers. Many deserted and were arrested as vagrants for illegal absences and desertion. At the same time, they protested against their appalling living and working conditions. Eventually, a considerable number of these labourers returned to their countries of origin.

	Workers and their origins	Total Number
1	Sinhalese (1837-1839)	15
2	Liberated Africans (1857-1869)	2, 876
3	Chinese labourers (1829-1853)	3139
4	Johannese and Comorian labourers (1841)	206
5	Yemeni Muslim Labourers from Aden (1853-1856)	468
6	Malagasy (1839 - 1856)	3607
7	Siddhis originally from India of African descent, were Muslims, settled in Aden and arrived in 1856	16

8	Christian Abyssinian/ Ethiopian workers (1853 - 1856)	13
9	Muslim workers from the Laccadives Island close to the Maldives in 1857	4
10	Other workers who arrived from East Africa through India (1856 and 1879)	20

TOTAL : 10, 364 workers

Table 5: Numbers of non-Indians workers in Mauritius and their origins (Satyendra Peerthum, *Voices from the Edge*, 2015)

INDENTURED LABOURERS FROM AFRICA

In 1807, almost a generation before the abolition of slavery in British colonies, the Imperial Government passed the Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, which outlawed the importation of slaves into its overseas colonies. In March 1808, an Order-in-Council passed by King George III, and approved by the British Parliament, stipulated that Africans who were seized on slave ships by the British Navy would be forfeited to the British Crown.

The Africans captured on slave vessels by the British naval forces were listed under different appellations: 'Liberated Africans', or 'Prize Negroes', 'Prize Slaves', 'Government Apprentices', 'Government Blacks', and 'African Recaptives'. The majority of the nineteenth-century Liberated Africans originated from Madagascar, Mozambique, other parts of East Africa, and the Comoro Islands.

During the second half of the 19th century, Liberated Africans landed in Port Louis harbour and the majority of them were kept for 48 hours at the Immigration Depot. Between January 1856 and October 1869, 2,365 Liberated Africans were brought to the Depot where they were processed and allocated to various private employers by the Protector of Immigrants.

In June 1865, Ordinance No.18 came into operation "to amend the law regarding contracts of service with liberated slaves [Liberated Africans] landed in Mauritius or Seychelles." The Ordinance imposed that labour contracts for Liberated Africans be made in writing for a duration of five years in the presence of a Stipendiary Magistrate. The new labour agreement bound the employer to provide his or her Liberated African worker with wages, rations, proper lodgings, and medical care.

Article 5 of the Ordinance provided for the maintenance of the Liberated Africans at the Immigration Depot under the superintendence of the Protector of Immigrants from the time of their arrival in Mauritius until their allocation to employers. The Protector was also given the responsibility of selecting the employers in order to protect the African recaptives from undesirable masters and mistresses.

The immigration registers indicate that during the 1850s and 1860s, 40% of the Liberated African males were employed as servants, with 30% a semi-skilled and skilled artisans, and 30% as labourers on sugar estates and in Port Louis. Around 90% of Liberated African females were employed as servants and 10% as dressmakers. It is interesting to note that the majority of the Liberated Africans were not engaged as field labourers on sugar estates, but as servants, or worked for private companies and wealthy individuals.



Photograph of Aboodallah Langany, a liberated African from Mozambique, 1856 (MGIIIA/PE series)

INDENTURED LABOURERS FROM CHINA

An estimated 3,139 Chinese indentured immigrants arrived in Mauritius during the whole period of indenture. These labourers were recruited mainly from Singapore, Penang and Macao.

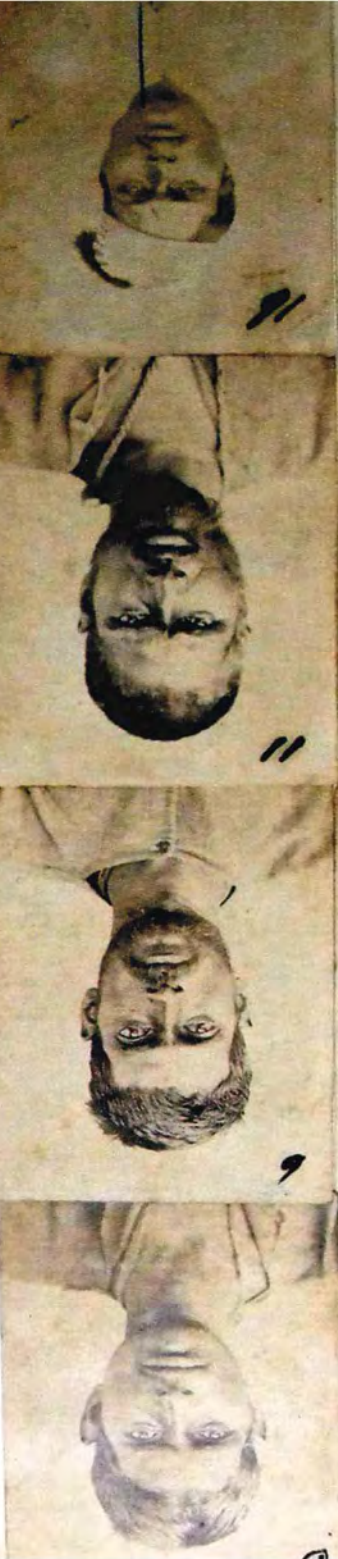
The recruitment of Chinese workers was supported by the first British Governor Sir Robert Townsend Farquhar and on August 1826, Sir William Gordon reported that Chinese workers could be easily recruited as agricultural servants, giving momentum to the recruitment of Chinese indentured labour in Mauritius. The largest number of arrival of Chinese workers in Mauritius occurred between the year 1840 and 1844, during the suspension of emigration from India. During that period, more than 2,700 Chinese indentured workers arrived.

From 1810 to 1840s, the experiment of recruiting Chinese workers failed successively through the years and this for many reasons. The workers were unsatisfied with the working conditions and the terms of contracts provided to them. They were often tricked about the type of work they would perform in Mauritius inducing their refusal to work and to accept the harsh working conditions and the low wage rate. They were thus often perceived as being insubordinate and rebellious. The last major wave of Chinese indentured immigration ended in 1844.

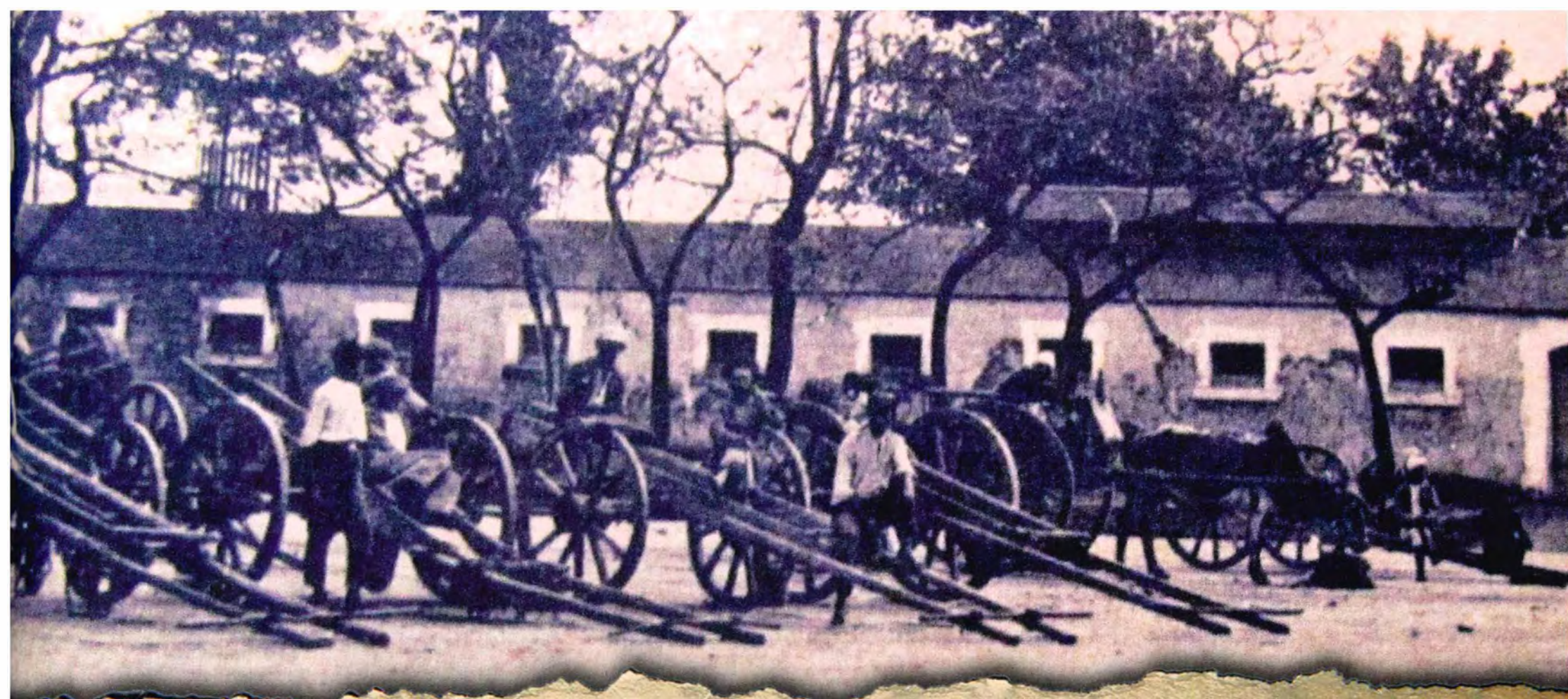
Immigrant Assene from Penang, 1841 (MG111A/PE series)



Harker - 324,370
 Thomas - 325,396
 Anthony - 303,443
 Busham - 303,100
 John - 306,566
 Emann - 301,526
 Miller - 312,243
 Huxton - 286,390
 Ruygan - 272,739
 Bonwilliam - 135,058
 Lundman - 317,817



... name in ...
 1887. Mr. L. Argent
 Schuyler



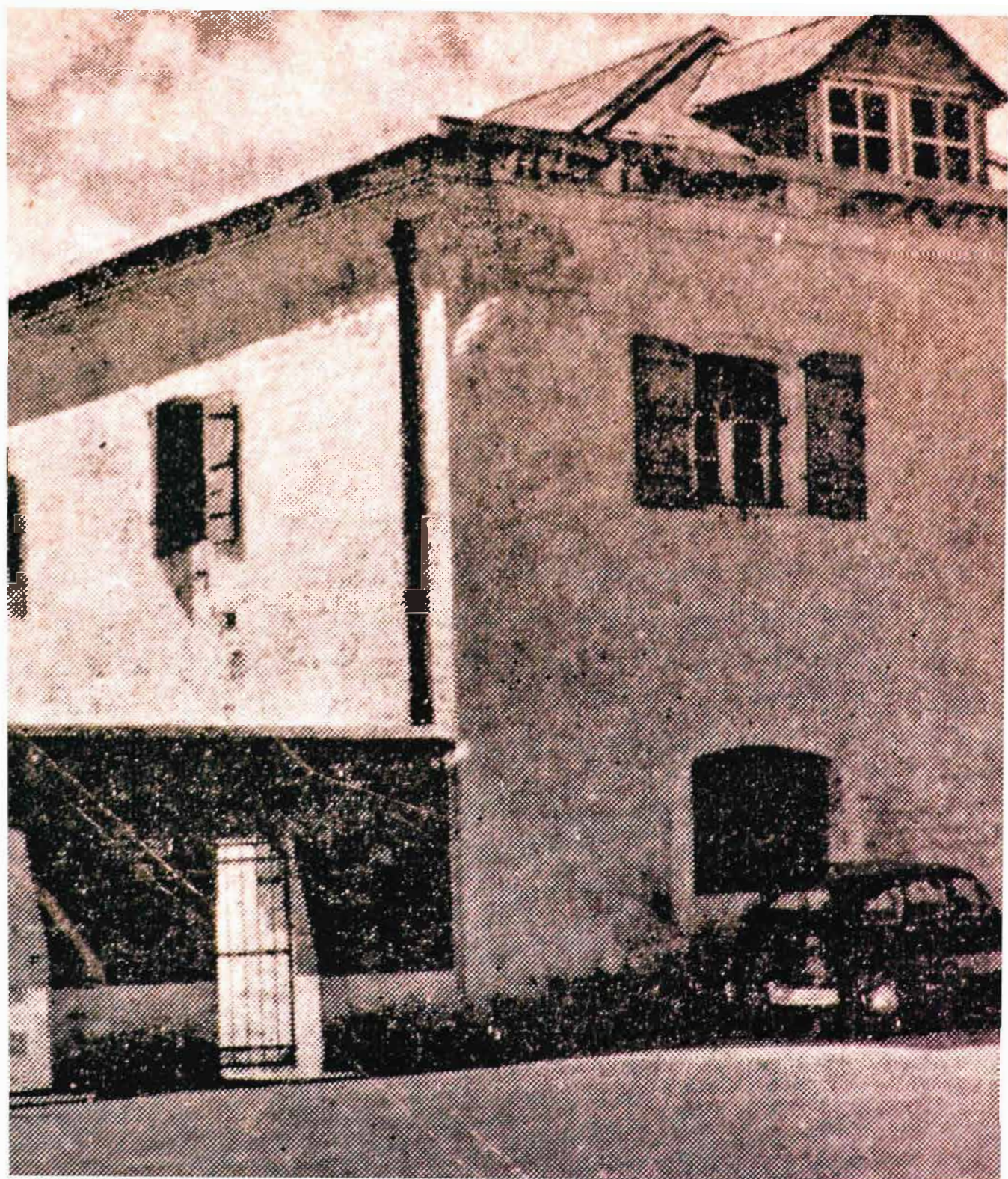
05

FROM IMMIGRATION DEPOT TO WORLD HERITAGE PROPERTY (1970-2014)

*The Immigration Depot and Immigration square, 1910
(Courtesy of Late Leela Gujadhur Sarup)*

The formal end of the indenture system in 1910 caused the Immigration Depot, or Coolie Ghat, to gradually lose its *raison d'être*. The Depot was officially abandoned when the post of the Protector of Immigrants was abolished in 1938. As from then, the building was converted into offices for various Government departments. It successively housed the departments of Labour, War, Public Assistance and Social Welfare.

After Independence in 1968, the site gradually became a symbol of the massive "*displacement of people from their homeland*" in the context of indentured labour immigration and started receiving due attention.



The Immigration Depot's office (K. Hazareesingh, 1950)

At the end of indenture, the Immigration Depot was converted into an administrative centre for the labouring class as the totality of the records related to indentured immigrants were stored in the building. The Commission of Enquiry of 1937, recommended the setting up of a Labour Department to protect the rights of labourers, and also to amend and administer the Labour Code accordingly. Thus, in 1938, a Labour Department was established at the Coolie Ghat. It was mandated to inspect all registered sugar estates, in particular health, housing and safety of workers at their place of work. The Department also provided loan facilities to sugar estates under the Labour Welfare Fund Committee.

In 1942, the War Department was established at the former immigration depot until 1945. The traditional vocation regarding the labouring population resumed in 1950 with the setting up of the Public Assistance Department at the Coolie Ghat. This institution provided financial assistance to needy. It also operated as an employment office – Employment Service Branch – in association with the Labour Department for the registration of the unemployed besides providing them with job opportunities in sectors such as the sugar industry, the Public Services, secondary industries and in private households. Nonetheless, it can be implicitly inferred that the establishment of a Public Assistance Department was to help people recover, and legitimately inherit, any plot of land or property that their ancestors had owned.

In 1953, a Social Welfare Department was set up at the Coolie Ghat, to work in joint collaboration with the Public Assistance Department. The Social Welfare Department comprised two distinct sections: the Social Welfare Unit concerned with the promotion and coordination of voluntary effort, and the Probation Service Unit dealt with delinquency and the treatment of offenders.

Most departments became inoperable in the wake of cyclone Carol which destroyed parts of the ex-Immigration Depot building. Unoccupied, the building turned derelict, and the records were left at the mercy of nature until Beekrumsing Ramlallah, then member of the Parliament and journalist, took the initiative of transferring them to the Mauritius National Archives in the early 1970s. In 1976, the records were placed into the custody of the Mahatma Gandhi Institute in Moka. In the 1980s, almost two-thirds of the former Immigration Depot were demolished to build the motorway.



Inside the eastern courtyard of the Immigration Depot (Mr Jaffar Sabha)

CAMPAIGN FOR THE RECOGNITION OF THE COOLIE GHAT AS A NATIONAL HERITAGE SITE (1970-1987)

The intrinsic significance of the former Immigration Depot began to be appreciated in the 1970s. Mauritians became aware that the ancestors of almost 70% of the population first touched the Mauritian soil at the Depot. The commemoration of "Indian Colonisation between 1835 and 1935", in the year 1935, was the first event that effectively commenced building national awareness regarding the arrival of indentured workers in Mauritius. After a period of apparent lull, in the early post-Independence period, Beekrumsing Ramlallah took up the challenge of launching an awareness campaign through the Press. By 1970, he regularly published articles on the Indians in Mauritius, laying emphasis on their hardships and their immense contribution in the island's economic progress during the colonial time. His articles also focused on the history and the significance of the Immigration Depot - a heritage that should be preserved for posterity. His writings deeply impacted on the mind of the Mauritian population. And he added that

"...we have thought it fit to publish some photographs and other documents of the Indian Immigrants so that the youth of today, especially of Indian origin, will be aware of their past history and be able to judge the contrast between the past and the present."



Cleaning of the Aapravasi Ghat led by Beekrumsing Ramlallah (on the right) before the visit of Mrs. Indira Gandhi on 1 June 1970 (Courtesy of Sadhna Ramlallah)

INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION

Mrs. Indira Gandhi, then Prime Minister of India, was the first eminent guest to visit the Immigration Depot in June 1970. Her visit underscored the significance of the *Coolie Ghat* as a historical site for Mauritians. Beekrumsing Ramlallah played an instrumental role in convincing the Government of Mauritius to include the visit in Mrs. Indira Gandhi's programme.

During her visit, Mrs. Indira Gandhi lighted a *diya* (small earthen lamp) in memory of the Indian immigrants who had arrived in Mauritius. Pictures of the site were published in the Press for the first time which triggered off tremendous interest in the site. However, despite Press coverage, the commemoration of the arrival of Indian indentured labourers remained unofficial. Ramlallah's unflinching campaign to promote the *Coolie Ghat* at national level bore fruit after his persistent appeals to the government to officially commemorate the arrival of indentured labourers. The first official ceremony was held at *Coolie Ghat* in 1978.

*Visit of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India on 6 June 1970 at the Coolie Ghat
(Government Information Service, Prime Minister's Office)*



As per tradition since 1970, the performance of a *Yaj* (prayer) is a regular event to consecrate the landing place of the indentured immigrants. In the ensuing years, the commemoration acquired a new dimension with the participation of representatives of different religious groups in a multi-religious prayer. The yearly visits of eminent dignitaries at the former Immigration Depot also demonstrated worldwide recognition.

*Yaj Ceremony in 1978 and in 2013
(Courtesy of Sadhna Ramlallah and AGTF Collection)*

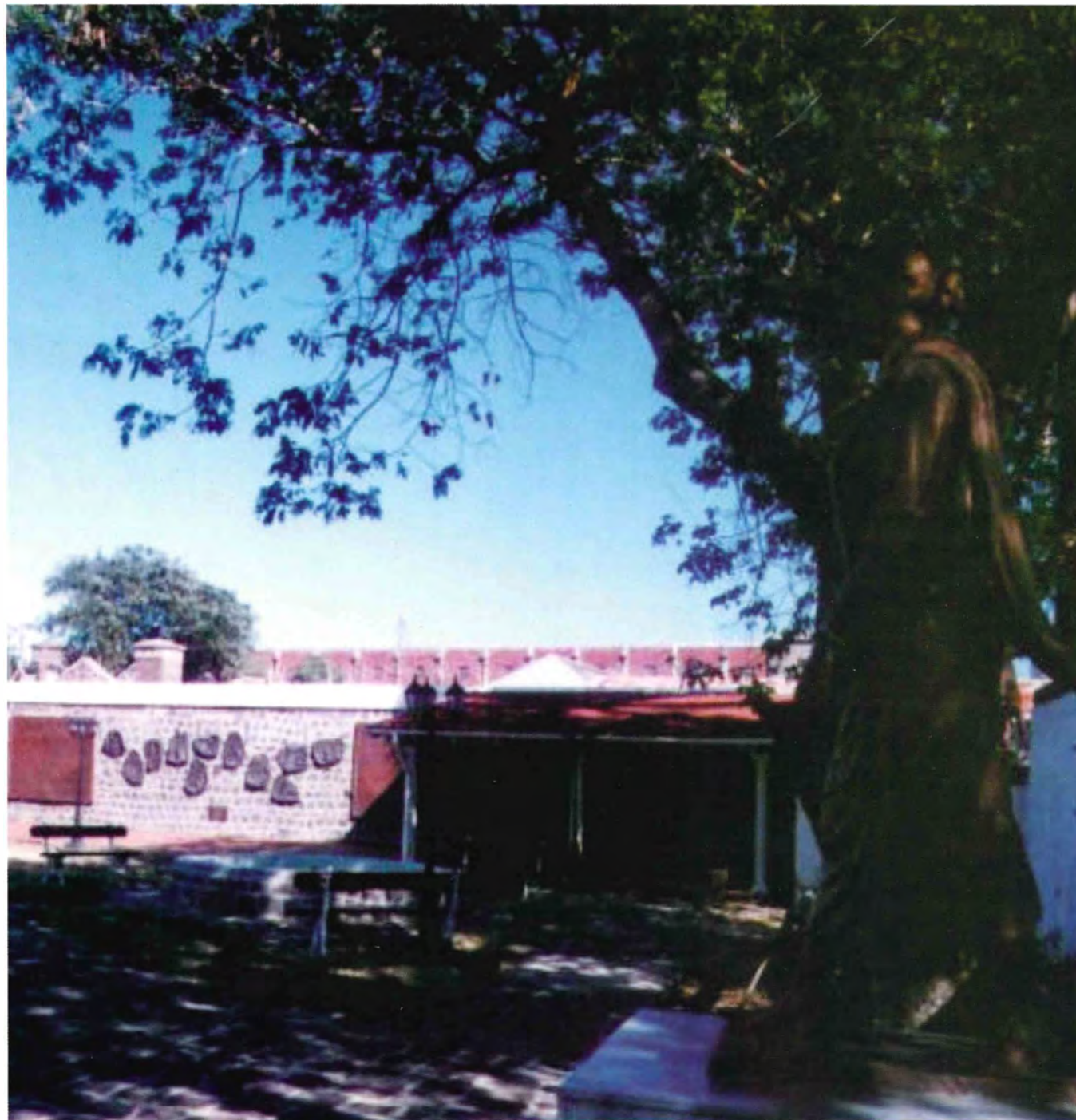


THE AAPRAVASI GHAT WORLD HERITAGE SITE: LIEU DE MÉMOIRE

The Coolie Ghat was proclaimed as a National Monument in April 1987, elevating the status of the site as an essential component of Mauritian cultural heritage. In November 1989, the term 'Coolie Ghat' was officially changed into that of 'Aapravasi Ghat' because of the derogatory connotation attached to the word 'Coolie'. The same year, the Government of Mauritius established a plan for the restoration of the Aapravasi Ghat to pay tribute to the memory of the Indian indentured labourers and to preserve the historic features as a key landmark for the nation.

In 1994, the Ministry of Arts and Culture launched the "Aapravasi Ghat Project" to revalorize the site. The project consisted of creating a promenade, setting up a folk museum, the construction of a moat and an entrance canopy of 90m² along the wall encasing the landing steps and, other amenities. The preservation and restoration projects were initiated with the assistance of the Indian Government to establish the site as a '*lieu de mémoire*'. The promenade was inaugurated by the Prime Minister during the Commemorative Ceremony held on 2nd November 1996.

*The courtyard of the Aapravasi Ghat after the completion of the promenade project
(Mr Jaffar Sobha)*



Works of art in bronze depicting the different phases of Indian immigration, from indenture to village settlement, were unveiled. The works of art were enhanced by two bronze plates donated by the Indian Government, one carrying a poem in Hindi written by Abhimanyu Unnuth on Indian immigrants; the English rendering by Ramesh Ramdoyal, was sculpted on the second bronze plate.

In 1977, after the visit the Indian Prime Minister, H. E. Shri D. Gowda at the Aapravasi Ghat, the Government of India donated 1.1 million Mauritian rupees for the implementation of the Aapravasi Ghat Project.

The year 2001 marked a major evolution for the heritage site: the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund was set up to the develop and manage of the site, the 2nd November was decreed a Public Holiday to

mark the arrival of the first indentured labourers in Mauritius. The same year, the Government initiated actions to inscribe the Aapravasi Ghat on the World Heritage List of UNESCO.



Works of art by Devanand Bungshee, depicting the different phases of the Indian Immigration (AGTF Collection)

During a meeting in Paris in 2002, Sir Anerood Jugnauth, the Prime Minister of Mauritius, officially met the Director-General of UNESCO, Koichiro Matsuura, to engage in this process.

In 2003, UNESCO delegated two consultants to Mauritius to prepare a tentative list of properties to be considered for World Heritage status. The following year, the Director-General of UNESCO visited the Aapravasi Ghat while the site was included on UNESCO's tentative list. As the Aapravasi Ghat holds universal, cultural and historical values, expressed in its Outstanding Universal Value (OUV), the site was inscribed on the UNESCO's World Heritage Site List on 12 July 2006, under criteria VI which defines a World Heritage Site *"to be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic or literary works of outstanding universal significance"*.

"Aapravasi Ghat, as the first site chosen by the British Government in 1834 for the 'great experiment' in the use of indentured, rather than slave labour, is strongly associated with memories of almost half a million indentured labourers moving from India to Mauritius to work on sugar cane plantations or to be transhipped to other parts of the world."

(The Outstanding Universal Value
of the Aapravasi Ghat)

His Excellency Koichiro Matsuura, the Director General of UNESCO, in 2004
(AGTF Collection)

THE AAPRAVASI GHAT WORLD HERITAGE PROPERTY BUFFER ZONE

After the inscription of the Aapravasi Ghat on the World Heritage List, a Buffer Zone was delimited around the site to preserve the context in which this World Heritage Property has evolved through time, thus supporting its historical and the cultural significance. The Buffer Zone which extends from Royal Street to Quay D and from Duke of Edinburgh Street to Sun Yat Sen Street, encompasses most valuable elements of our tangible and intangible heritage.

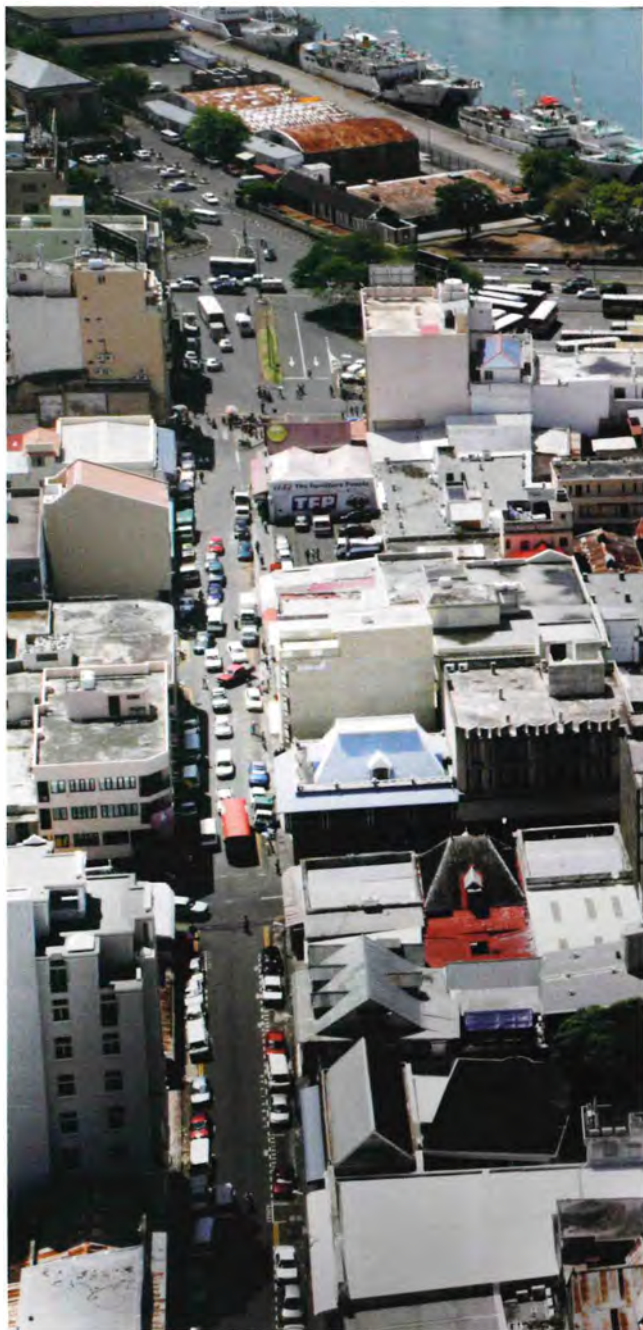
Nearly 60% of the Immigration Depot was located in the Buffer Zone before it was demolished in the twentieth century. Today, the visual and historical links between the Aapravasi Ghat and its Buffer Zone substantiate an interrelated historical evolution. As far back as the late 1840s, the ever-increasing immigration to Mauritius and expanding port activities resulted in the development of commercial activities in the area, and among others, provided materials and goods for the daily

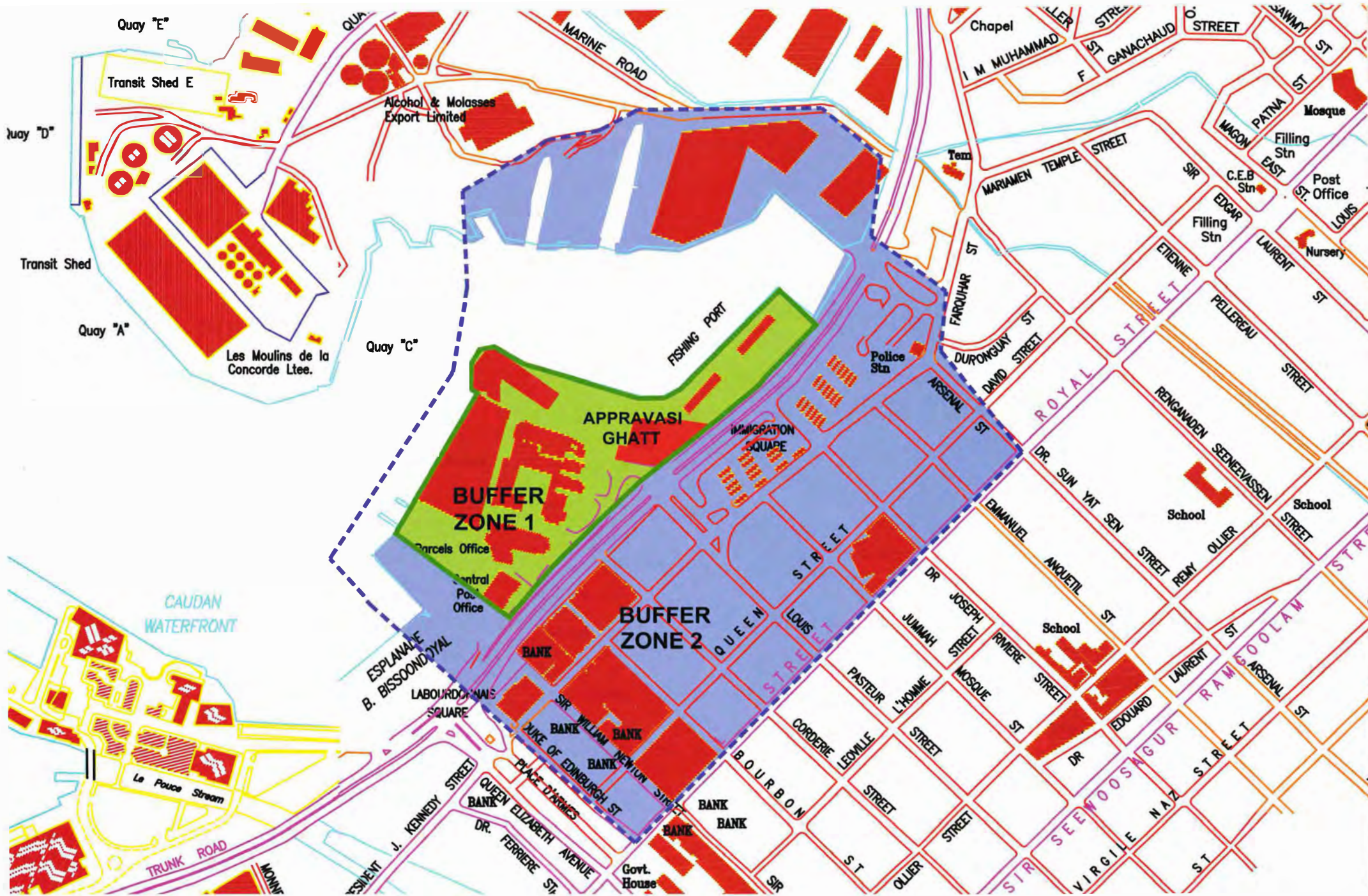
running of the Immigration Depot. As such, the surroundings of the Core Zone have been a centre of trade, commerce and other cultural expressions for more than two centuries, making it a place of strong interaction between people of various cultural backgrounds.

Some of these traditional activities have survived to this day. The continuity in land-use pattern and the nature of commercial activities attest to the long-standing commercial and ownership tradition dating back to the indenture period, and has also ensured the permanence of intangible cultural heritage pertaining to this area. The Buffer Zone presents significant examples typical Mauritian colonial architecture which stand as places of shared history as mostly erected by slaves, convicts and indentured labourers. Among this National Heritage are the Military Hospital, the Post Office, the Central Market and several old warehouses associated with the sugar industry, representing the French and British colonial legacy to the island.

The heritage located in the Buffer Zone of the Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage Site is now protected. The objective is to sustain the cultural value of the Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage Site through the preservation and enhancement of this historic setting where major heritage elements still stand in the vicinity of this site. This zone is indeed a key landmark for the people of Mauritius and the core root of the city of Port Louis. The first town expanded and developed from there, receiving Mauritians of all creeds and walks of life as from the French period to this day.

*Aerial view of the Buffer Zone
(AGTF Collection)*





Map showing the Buffer zone of the Appravasi Ghat World Heritage Site (AGTF)

THE AAPRAVASI GHAT CONSERVATION PROJECT (2004-2010)

As a key element in this highly historical setting, the Aapravasi Ghat was restored to revive its authenticity and integrity. In 2004, the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund launched the Aapravasi Ghat Conservation Project which aimed at preserving the site. The project was guided by the international standards for conservation expressed in the NARA, BURRA and VENICE charters of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS).

Authentic materials and traditional techniques were used to preserve and underscore the aesthetic and historic value of the monument. As most structures of the site are made of stone masonry, the materials used for the conservation works consisted of lime mortar. This ancestral technique was revived: the lime mortar was prepared after in-depth historical research and chemical testing of the remaining lime mortar, stones and wood on site. The years 1864 to 1866 served as a benchmark for the conservation project because archival records provided a detailed description of the works undertaken during this period. Moreover, this time-span corresponds to the peak years of immigration and to the crucial role the Immigration Depot played during those

years. Consequently, the conservation works were based on this detailed archival documentation.

Overall, the objectives of the conservation project consisted of:

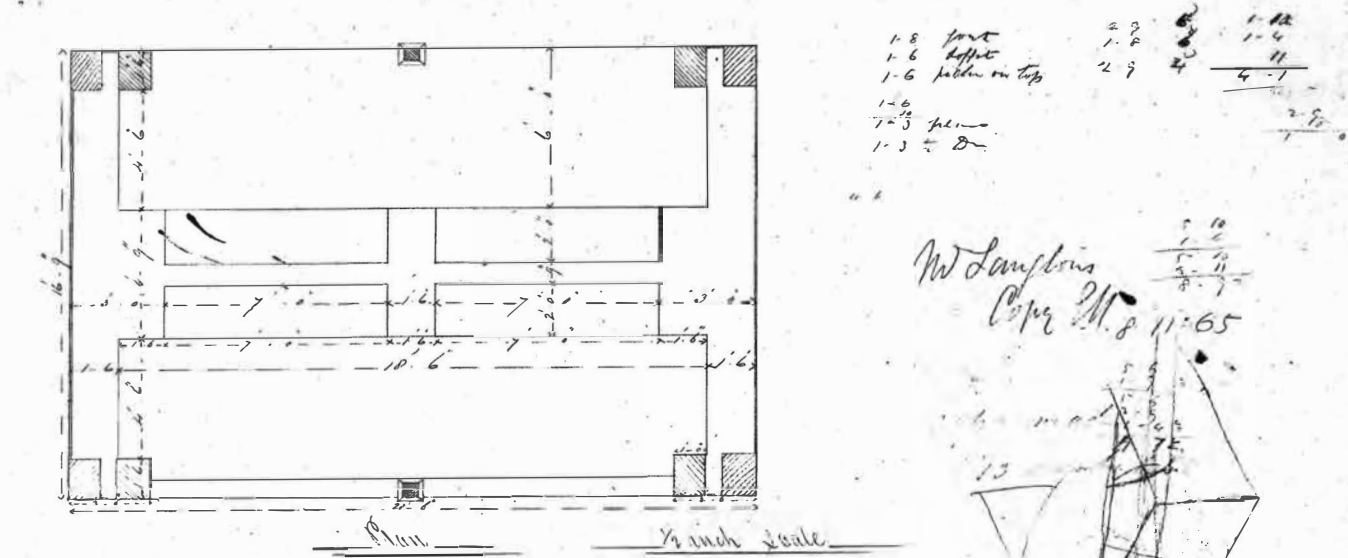
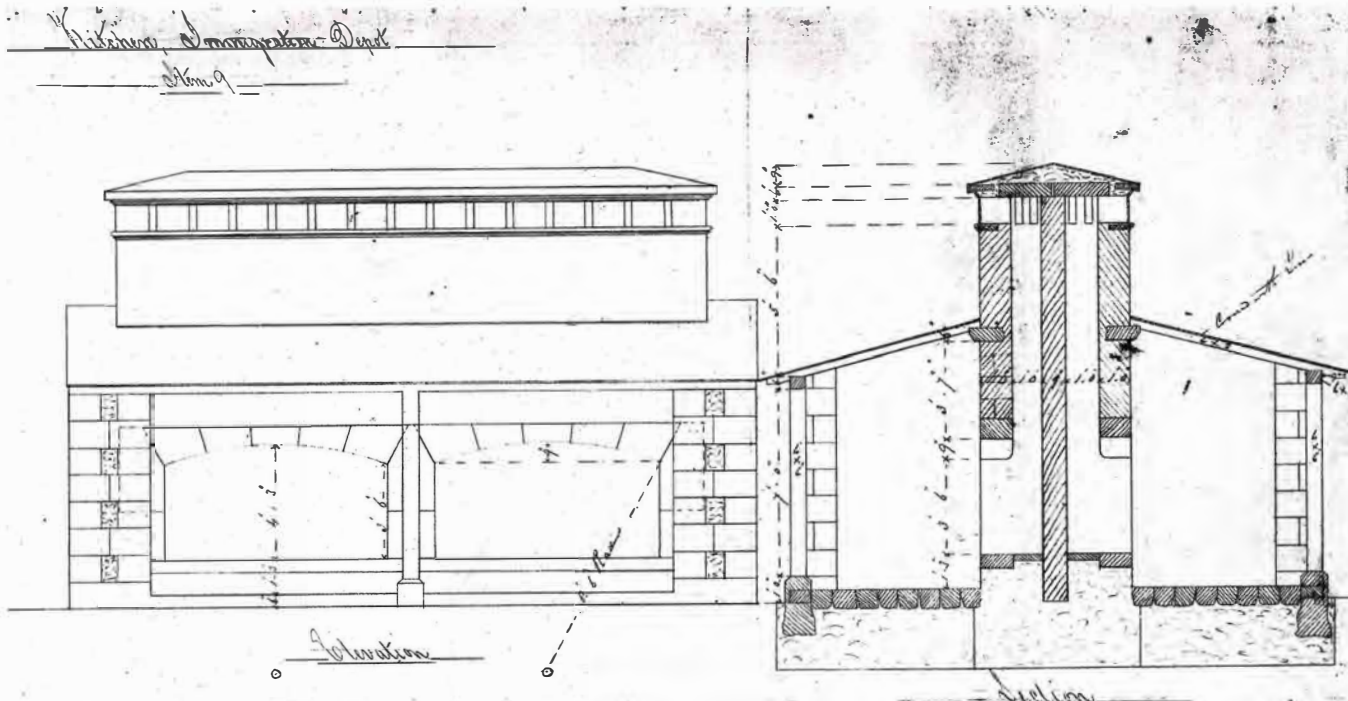
- Conservation of the historical and archaeological features;
- Removal of all modern materials dating to the renovation project in the late 1990s;
- Restoration and conservation of the important features of the site.

Restoration and conservation works also entailed the removal of features which were not related to its initial function as an immigration depot. The conservation process was guided by documentation on original materials and authentic archives. As a corollary measure, removal of later additions, intrusive elements and extraneous features from the site constituted a secondary objective.

The project revealed that past alterations were not compatible with the integrity and authenticity of the site. Therefore, the conservation consisted in restoring the Aapravasi Ghat based on the period when it was an immigration depot for indentured labourers and to intervene in favour of its conservation to prevent further damage and decay.



*Lime mortar being crushed
(AGTF Collection)*



Elevation plan of the immigrant's kitchen at the Immigration Depot dated 1865 (Mauritius National Archives)



Preparation of traditional mortar (AGTF Collection)



Consolidation of original tarfelt in privies area (AGTF Collection)

54



Edging of plaster in washing basin
(AGTF Collection)

EXPLORING THE INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF THE INDENTURED LABOURERS AND THEIR DESCENDANTS

The Aapravasi Ghat Conservation Project (2004-2010) was undertaken to preserve the tangible aspects of the Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage Site. UNESCO also underlines the importance of preserving the Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH), which is an integral part of our culture. In 2003, UNESCO launched the *Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage*, considering that traditions and living expressions received from ancestors deserve to be preserved to sustain identities and cultural diversity. As ICH is a strong identity marker, UNESCO in its Convention stresses the importance for tradition bearers to identify and recognize this heritage as key elements for their identity and culture. Intangible cultural heritage is expressed through the following elements of our daily life:

- Social practices
- Representations
- Expressions
- Knowledge and skills



The Cavadee procession along Jummah Mosque in Royal Street, Port Louis
(AGTF Collection)



Preparing traditional food called Bhajiah (A.C.F. Collection)

Intangible Cultural Heritage also includes the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces that communities, groups and individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage.

Several countries supported the framework for the safeguarding of ICH when they signed the UNESCO *Convention on the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*. In 2004, Mauritius became the second member state to ratify this Convention. Two years later, the Aapravasi Ghat was inscribed under criterion VI on the World Heritage List, recognizing that Intangible Cultural Heritage also substantiates its historical significance as an international symbol of the indenture labour system prevalent in the nineteenth century.

Consequently, the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund has paid particular attention to the living heritage associated with indenture. The Trust Fund initiated a project to identify elements of Intangible Cultural Heritage that relate to the experience of indenture. As part of this project, more than 60 elements of ICH were inventoried and documented.



Basket making (AGTF Collection)

The inventory of Intangible Cultural Heritage related to indenture forms part of the official national inventory spearheaded by the National Heritage Fund. During our research on ICH, numerous social and religious practices were inventoried. An outstanding element that indentured labourers brought with them in the nineteenth century, was the *Geet Gawai*.

Geet Gawai is a combination of social practices, rituals, music including vocal and instrumental, dance and drama. It is also an embodiment of knowledge, and skills developed by its bearers. It represents the community's beliefs system entrenched in the *Bhojपुरi* language and tradition. It is a key element in rituals pertaining to the rite of passage, traditional healing and folk festivals. This tradition was transmitted and perpetuated in families from generation to generation by word of mouth. Today, *Geet Gawai* is widely practised in Mauritius.

The identification and documentation of ICH led to the recognition of a heritage that forms part of our daily lives. Some are specific and deserve to be proposed to UNESCO for inscription on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity.

Many rites and rituals encase the marriage ceremony of the Bhojपुरi community. The picture shows chumayi, a rite where the bride is blessed by the elderly members of the family. (AGTF Collection)





Chanting while crushing spices on ros-kar' (grinding stone)
(AGTF Collection)

CONCLUSION

The Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage Site is a unique place where between 1849 and 1910, hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children first set foot on Mauritian shores. It was also the place where they spent their first days in Mauritius. A large majority of them adopted the island as their new home. Almost 70% of the ancestors of the Mauritians population passed through this historic place in Port Louis harbour.

These labourers originated from India, China, East Africa, Madagascar and South East Asia. Those brave souls who climbed up the emblematic steps of the Aapravasi Ghat were adherent to different culture and faiths.

In 1987, the Aapravasi Ghat was declared a National Monument by the Government of Mauritius. In 2006, it was the first indenture site in the world to be inscribed on UNESCO's prestigious list of World Heritage Sites. As such, the Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage Site is the most important surviving manifestation of the indentured labour system used in the colonial plantation world in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

The Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage Site is also an architectural ensemble that represents the beginning of a new world economic order that emerged during this period.

The significance of this global migration – and of the Aapravasi Ghat as the paramount symbol of that migration- is underscored by the creation of rich and vibrant multi-cultural societies in numerous countries. As the Mauritian experience attests, the creation of such societies are intimately bound up with the story of the men, women, and children who passed through the gates of the Aapravasi Ghat.



The entrance of the Aapravasi Ghat
(AGTF Collection)

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88. A.O. Thompson, 'African Recaptives under Apprenticeship in the British West Indies, 1807-28, *Immigrants and Minorities*, 9 (1990).

89. Markus P.M. Vink, 'Indian Ocean Studies and the New Thalassology' in Michael Peason, *The Indian Ocean* (London, Routledge, 2003).

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92. Anand a. Yang, 'Labourers on the Move: A Study Internal Migration in India', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 10 (Summer 1979).

IV) Unpublished Conference/Seminar Papers:

1. Richard Blair Allen, 'Reconceptualizing the "New System of Slavery' (Unpublished research paper presented at the International Scientific Conference on 'New Perspectives on Indentured Labour (1825-1925)' held at the University of Mauritius, 5-8 December 2011).

2. Richard Allen, 'Lectures on Analysis and Significance the 19th and 20th centuries Notarial records of the Mauritius Notarial Records' which were delivered in five sessions between 7th and 21st August 2007 at AGTF.

3. Clare Anderson, 'The Politics of Punishment in Colonial Mauritius, 1766-1887' (Presented at History Workshop at the University of Warwick in 2010).

4. J.Chan Low, 'Des Enagages malgaches pour l'île Maurice vers le milieu du XIXe Siecle' (Unpublished research paper which was presented at the International Scientific Conference:

New Perspectives on Indentured Labour (1825-1925) (5 to 8 December 2011) which held at the University of Mauritius and organized by the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Find with the collaboration of the Ministry of Arts and Culture and the University of Mauritius.

5. Heloise Finch-Boyer, 'Du Fromaz Caille au "Bangouni Komor": Remembering Comorian Indentured Labour in La Reunion' (Unpublished academic paper presented at the International Scientific Conference on 'New Perspectives on Indentured Labour (1825-1925)' held at the University of Mauritius, 5-8 December 2011').

6. Walton Look Lai, 'The Came in Ships: Imperialism, Migration and Asian Diasporas in the 19th Century' (Paper presented at the Seventh Jagan Lecture at the York University on October 20th 2007).

7. Michele Marimoutou-Oberle, 'La Quarantine des Engages a la Reunion: Les Lazarets de la Ravine a Jacques et de la Grande Chaloupe' (Unpublished academic paper presented at the International Scientific Conference on 'New Perspectives on Indentured Labour (1825-1925)' held at the University of Mauritius, 5-8 December 2011').

8. Christelle Miao Foh, 'Chinese Indentured Labourer and the Free Chinese Immigrant Settlement of Port Louis (Unpublished academic paper presented at the International Scientific Conference on 'New Perspectives on Indentured Labour (1825-1925)' held at the University of Mauritius, 5-8 December 2011).

9. Satyendra Peerthum, '“The Achievements of those first Indian Pioneers”’: A Study of the Life-Stories of Immigrant Shaikoussen, Mahadoo, and Servanin and the Issue of Worker Agency in 19th Century Mauritius' (Paper submitted to the 'Legacy of Slavery and Indentured Labour: Past, Present and Future' Conference between 6th June and 10th June 2013 in Paramaribo, Suriname).

10. Satteeanund Peerthum, 'The Making of our History': A Brief Analysis of the Historiography of Indentured Labour in Mauritius and Reflections on Past Commemorations of the Arrival of Indentured Labourers' (Unpublished academic paper presented at the International Scientific Conference on 'New Perspectives on Indentured Labour (1825-1925)' held at the University of Mauritius, 5-8 December 2011).

11. Satyendra Peerthum, "Long and Productive Lives": The Life-Stories of the Pioneers Ex-Indentured Labourers in Mauritius from the 1830s to the 1880s with an Overview of the Genesis of the Mauritian Indentured Labour System between 1834 and 1842' (Unpublished research paper which was presented at the International Scientific Conference: New Perspectives on Indentured Labour (1825-1925) (5 to 8 December 2011) which held at the University of Mauritius and organized by the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund with the collaboration of the Ministry

of Arts and Culture and the University of Mauritius).

12. N. Sachadeva, 'Imperial Vision: Photography in British India, 1857-1900: An Essay with Select Sources' (New Delhi, India, January 2004).

13. Vijaya Teelock & K. Mundil, 'Land Issues in PostEmancipation Society' (Unpublished research paper which was presented at the Conference Commemorating the 160th Anniversary of the End of Apprenticeship, PostEmancipation Mauritius, 1839-1911, at the Mahatama Gandhi Institute, 23-26 June, 1999)

14. Nigel Worden, 'Slavery and Emancipation in Mauritius and at the Cape: Towards a Regional Comparative Study' (Mahatama Gandhi Institute, Seminar on the Concept of Mauritian Studies, 27th-31st August 1994).

V) Dissertations :

1. Richard Blair Allen, Creoles, Indians Immigrants, and the Restructuring of Society and Economy in Mauritius, 1767-1885

(unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Illinois, USA, 1983)

2. Virginie Chaillou, *De l'Afrique orientale a l'océan Indien occidental Histoire des engages africains a la Reunion au XIXe Siecle*' (Ph. thesis, University of Nantes, 2010).

3. Ali Abdallah Fouard, *Les engages comoriens a la Reunion dans la premiere moitié du XXe siècle: pratiques sociales et religieuses* (M.A thesis, University of Reunion, 2009).

4. Pierre Gueyraud, *The Intergration of the Ex-Apprentices into Mauritian Society, 1839-1860* (M.A thesis, University of Sorbonne, Paris, 1985).

5. Thany Hamadi, *Les engages comoriens a la Reunion, 1885-1915* (M.A thesis, University of

Reunion, 1993).

6. Brenda Howell, *Mauritius, 1832-1849: A Study of a Sugar Colony* (Ph.D thesis, University of London, 1950).

7. Stephan Jerome Karghoo, *From Enslavement to Emancipation: The Struggle for Freedom of Liberated Africans in Early Nineteenth Century Mauritius, 1810s-1830s* (M.A thesis, University of Mauritius, 2011).

8. James Ng Foong Kwong, *Les Hakkas a l'Ile Maurice* (M.A thesis, University of Reunion, 1989)

9. James Ng Foong Kwong, *La Naissance du Commerce Chinois, 1826-1875* (DEA, University of Reunion, 1996).

10. M.D. North Coombes, *Labour Problems in the Sugar Industry of Ile de France or Mauritius, 1790-1842* (M.A thesis, University of Cape Town, 1978).

11. Satyendra Peerthum, *Determined to be Free: A Study of Slavery, Manumission, and the Free Coloureds in the Slave Societies of British Mauritius, the Cape Colony, and Jamaica, c.1770-1848* (B.A Hons thesis, History Department, University of Cape Town).

12. Satyendra Peerthum, *Voices from the Edge: The life histories and experiences of the liberated Africans in British Mauritius during the age of indenture with comparative perspective (1808-1943)*, (Master of Arts - Historical Studies) University of Mauritius, 2015)

13. Vijaya Teelock, *Bitter Sugar: Slavery and Emancipation in 19th Century Mauritius* (Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1994).