

Indian Convicts in Mauritius, 1815-53

Clare Anderson

School of Historical Studies

University of Leicester (UK)

Convict transportation from India to Mauritius

A little known but important aspect of the early British administration of Mauritius was the establishment of a penal settlement on the island, for the reception of convicts from India. After the British took control of Ile de France in 1815, the first Governor – Robert Townsend Farquhar – was faced with a serious problem. The slave trade had been abolished across the British Empire in 1807, there was no indigenous population to exploit, and the island needed labour to stimulate the continuing expansion of sugar cane cultivation. Previously, Farquhar had been Lieutenant-Governor of Penang (also called Prince of Wales Island) in S.E. Asia. Penang had taken advantage of Indian convict labour since 1790, with transported offenders put to work on public projects and in private enterprise. With this in mind, shortly after he assumed office in Mauritius, Farquhar contacted the Bengal authorities and requested a supply of Indian convicts. The authorities granted his request and, subsequently, transported almost a thousand Bengal Presidency felons to the island (table 1).

By the 1820s, the East India Company decided to send Bengal convicts to its new penal settlements in Malacca and Singapore, rather than the far away colony of Mauritius. Governor Farquhar thus turned to Madras and Bombay for help, requesting petty offender convicts only. The Madras authorities could not guarantee this, but the Bombay authorities were more forthcoming, and promised to send all convicts sentenced to transportation during the following year. There were few shipping links between the two ports – Bombay and Port Louis - at this time, and it often took months for sentences to be executed. Bombay convicts were thus transported in fits and starts as opportunities arose, with ships carrying wildly variable contingents. Nevertheless, between 1826 and 1836, almost five hundred Bombay convicts were sent (table 2).

The British authorities believed that transportation across the *kala pani* (black waters) to an unknown land would result in loss of caste. Therefore it was a useful punishment because Indians feared it even more than death. Invariably, the issue was

rather more complex than the British thought. Though large numbers of the convicts were caste Hindus, many were low caste. A large proportion of them were also *adivasi* tribals or Muslims. Some convicts undoubtedly did fear transportation on caste grounds, but many more did not. Nevertheless, the notion of the *kala pani* has remained remarkably enduring. It was later used to describe the experiences of the half million indentured immigrants sent to the island after 1834.

Farquhar wanted skilled convicts, convicts who could be employed as masons, carpenters and smiths on public works. He required young, fit men. He did not want the elderly or infirm, as they were a burden on the colonial treasury - the government had to lodge, clothe and feed them, without any return from their labour. The Bombay authorities decided where convicts were to be sent, in contrast to Bengal, where convicts were transported as demand arose in the penal settlements. It seems that the Bombay authorities made efforts to pick young men, and Bombay convicts were generally younger than those from Bengal (table 3).

However, contrary to Mauritian demands for petty offenders only, the Bombay authorities took the opportunity that transportation presented to get shot of serious offenders. Most of the Bombay convicts had been convicted of murder, and a sizeable proportion of offences against property involving violence. Bengal convicts were more likely to have been sentenced for highway or gang robbery, not murder. Some Bombay men were even sent as pirates; others as ‘thugs’, offenders who the British believed engaged in ritual strangulation and robbery as an offering to the goddess Kali. That the convicts were a motley crew of murderers, gang robbers and thieves reflected the fact that transportation was only awarded as a punishment for the most serious crimes. Felons convicted of petty theft and other such offences usually ended up with a prison sentence, not transportation overseas. Mauritius was grateful for their labour, however, and there were few complaints (table 4).

Although the Mauritian authorities had initially objected to receiving convicts sentenced to a term of transportation, and only wanted life convicts who would be more likely to settle on the island, as labour shortages became more pronounced they soon changed their minds. After transportation from Bengal ceased, and only limited numbers of convicts arrived from Bombay, their desire for convict labour power overrode their reservations, and the island also accepted Bombay convicts convicted for a term – of seven or fourteen years. These men were free to return to the presidency once their time had expired.

The number of convicts shipped to the island was small in comparison to the later influx of almost half a million indentured labourers – about 1500 convicts in total – but their demographic and economic impact should not be underestimated. At the time the transportation of Indian convicts began, the population of the island was largely composed of slaves and free creoles. The first census of 1826 recorded a total population of just 86,000. Thus convicts were, from the outset of the transportation system, a highly visible community. When convicts were first shipped to Mauritius, there were even ideas that they could become permanent settlers. Early on Farquhar suggested that convicts' wives and families come with them, in order to populate the island. The 1828 Commission of Eastern Enquiry – set up to investigate the illegal importation of slaves after the abolition of the trade in 1807 – recommended that each convict should be given a fixed term during which he would perform public works, following which his family could migrate from India. In practice, these ideas were never implemented, and because they were not employed on public works women were seen as a burden on the colony.

In one extraordinary case, the Bengal government transported an Anglo-Indian woman called Maria Davis to the island with her eleven-year-old daughter Emma. They arrived in 1828. The Mauritian government at first refused to accept them, but eventually agreed to take them on the condition that they were kept separate from the other convicts. Davis had beaten her servant to death whilst in a drunken stupor and had been sentenced to hang by the Calcutta Supreme Court; her sentence was later commuted to life transportation to Mauritius. She was clearly an embarrassment to the Mauritian authorities, and they tried to prove that her sentence was illegal. As the Bengal authorities proved, it was not, and Maria and her daughter stayed. A convenient solution, for the British at least, came when they both fell ill with tuberculosis soon afterwards. Both women died in 1830.

Only six other female convicts were transported in total – one from Bengal, one from Ceylon (a handful of convicts arrived from there) and four from Bombay. None were expected to work and we know little about them, other than that some of them struck up relationships with other convicts or indentured labourers and had children. A few convicts were also transported, and they were lodged separately from the Indian convicts in Powder Mills. This is where the Kandyan political prisoners were kept. One Singalese woman had a child with one of the Kandyan prisoners.

The Grand River convict camp

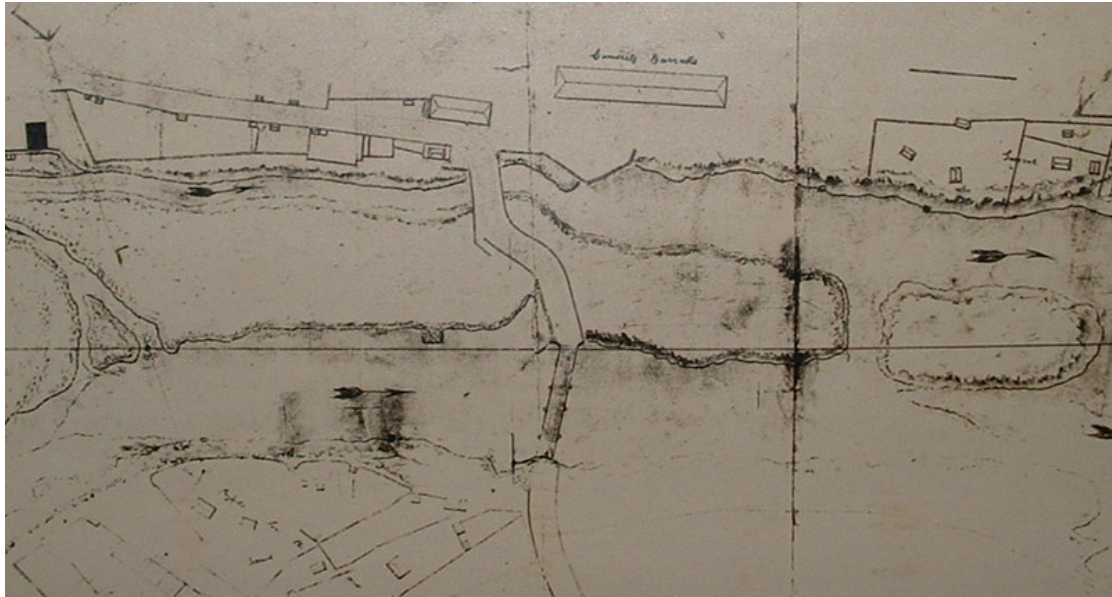
When they first arrived at the end of 1815, the convicts were lodged temporarily on one of the floors of the old civil hospital at Grand River. This building later became a place for youth offenders ('borstal'), and can still be seen on the left hand side of the main road from Port Louis to Coromandel. The hospital had been closed in 1787 and had been little used since. During the Napoleonic Wars, the French administration had used it for the imprisonment of prisoners of war, most notably Matthew Flinders' compatriots during the first decade of the nineteenth century.

Grand River hospital (Froberville)



Shortly after their arrival the convicts were transferred from the civil hospital to the old *Camp des Cipayes* (Indian Soldier Camp), across the road on the way to Pointe-aux-Sables. This was probably an old military post that had lodged soldier (sepoy) prisoners who had been taken prisoner in India or on board British ships under the administration of General Decaen. In 1810, two hundred of these soldiers requested employment and became part of the French defence of Ile de France.

Ulliac, Plan of Grand River North West (1834) (National Archives of Mauritius)



The Convict Barracks can be seen at the top of the plan.

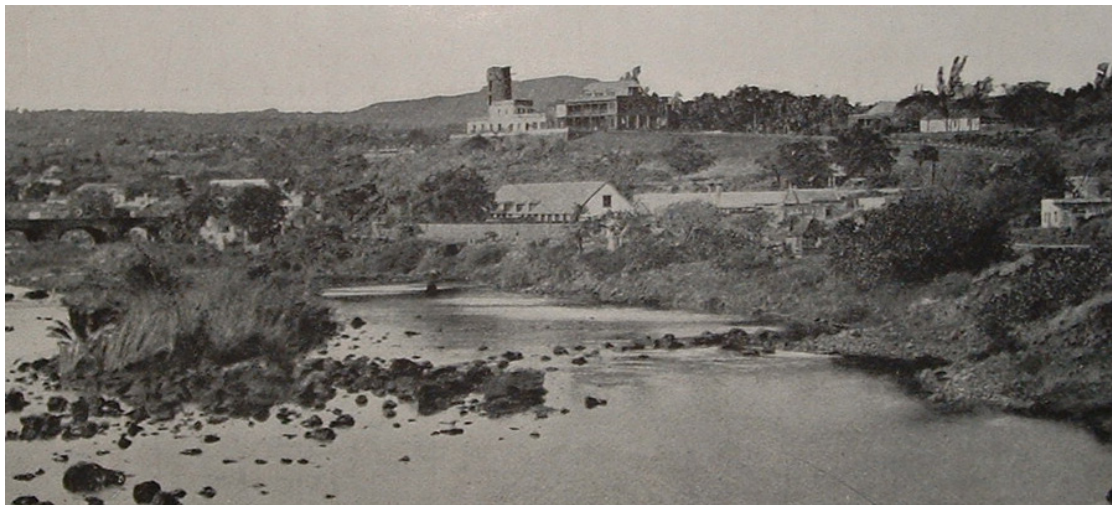
The *Camp des Cipayes* eventually became the Convict Department headquarters. Although less than a dozen of the Indian criminals transported to Mauritius were soldiers themselves, contemporaries commonly described them as ‘sepoys’ rather than ‘convicts’. This can perhaps be explained by this choice of site, though undoubtedly it was advantageous for the convicts themselves to be thought of as military men rather than hardened criminals. It was certainly common at the time for common labourers to wear cast-off soldiers’ uniforms, and this no doubt consolidated the image.

‘Grand Rivière’, in T. Bradshaw, *Views in the Mauritius* (1852)



Bradshaw noted that the buildings below on the right comprised numerous convict ‘bungalows’.

Old view of Grand River village, date unknown (Froberville)



As more convict ships arrived, the military barracks at Grand River quickly became very overcrowded. Convicts were packed in like beans in a can. It was not long before the two-storied building, designed to hold two hundred men, housed triple that number. Six hundred convicts were crammed in. Each had no more than a four and a half inch wide space to sleep in. During the first few years of convict transportation to Mauritius, mortality rates were relatively high – between seven and nine per cent. Such overcrowding undoubtedly contributed to this. Security was a

further concern. The inhabitants raised worries about the potential threat that this large body of dangerous criminals could pose, especially when confined in such a small space. Moreover, Grand River was not far from the island's commercial capital Port Louis. Some members of the Mauritian Council went as far as to suggest that the convicts should be sent back to Bengal. It was eventually decided, however, that the convicts would be divided into working parties and sent out to work on the district roads, where their labour was much needed.

Initially, the Convict Department divided the convicts into three working parties. When Port Louis was partly destroyed by fire in 1816, two hundred were set to clearing and rebuilding the city. One of their most important achievements was to prepare the ground for the new bazaar. In 1818, the department further divided them into nine district parties. Subsequently, male convicts worked on public works projects all over the island - clearing land, quarrying, stone breaking, and building and repairing roads and bridges. During the 1830s, convicts worked on the construction of the Citadel at Fort Adelaide, a project of vital importance to British security. There was also a convict working party in Port Louis itself, where convicts were housed in barracks at Trou Fanfaron. As convicts aged, dozens of them also found less physically strenuous employment as watchmen over government property, servants and post office couriers. Their local knowledge and understanding of Kreol made them far more useful than newly imported labourers from India, as administrators at the time recognized.

The expense of maintaining the Convict Department was at first met by the island's *marronage* fund. All slave owners were obliged to pay into this to meet the cost of recapturing slave deserters. In theory, slave owners were also supposed to give their slaves over to government for three days each per year. This was known as the *corvée*. In practice, this system was never strictly enforced. Farquhar threatened to do so if slave owners did not agree – in lieu of providing slaves to government – to assume financial responsibility for rationing and lodging the convicts in the districts. The development of the Mauritian infrastructure was of course crucial for the continued expansion of the sugar industry, and the slave owners readily agreed. In this way, the colonial government completely avoided paying the costs related to these convict workers.

Other than some elderly or infirm men, most convicts did not live permanently at Grand River, though their headquarters remained there. Instead, they were housed

in grass huts in temporary camps that they built themselves in the districts, coming back to headquarters between jobs. They had a remarkable degree of freedom that surprised people at the time, but this was necessary if they were to be worked in district parties. The convicts were a valuable labour force, vital for the development of Mauritian infrastructure. Indeed, when transportation to Mauritius was abolished in 1837, the inhabitants made continued complaints about the worsening condition of the roads. After the liberation of the convicts in 1853, right into the 1860s there were a great many calls for the reintroduction of convict transportation.

The convict system

After the convicts arrived in Mauritius, Governor Farquhar issued Proclamation 193 on convict management. This formed the Convict Department, a new department under the control of the police. It was charged with organizing the convicts. Captain Francis Rossi, who had been Farquhar's aide-de-camp was placed in charge. He was allocated a clerk and two peons. The department also employed ten soldiers as convict overseers. The headquarters of the Convict Department were placed in Grand River where the convicts were already barracked. It remained there until the last of the convicts were liberated in 1853.

At first glance, the convicts transported to the island might seem to have been little more than slaves. However, there were important differences between the two groups, particularly in the realm of punishment. Soldier overseers were given the right to punish convicts for petty offences. They could order up to fifty lashes, a considerable punishment. Floggings were to be administered in the presence of all convicts at the Grand River headquarters, or the convict's district working party. This would serve as a lesson and a reminder to all present. Convicts were also made subject to the laws of the colony. For minor offences, the Police Correctionelle dealt them with. However, could be tried before the Court of Assizes for more serious offences, including gang robbery, highway robbery and even murder. As convicts were already under sentence of transportation, the courts usually returned them to 'the discipline of their corps'. The department then decided how to deal with them, using fetters, the stocks or flogging as punishments. More serious offences resulted in retransportation (to Robben Island or Van Diemen's Land in Australia), or public execution.

This was not a very satisfactory arrangement and in several cases convicts

were, in effect, acquitted of serious crimes because their punishment did not deserve the extreme penalty of the law (hanging) and transportation was the second next most severe sentence. It was even suggested that convicts were playing this to their own advantage to commit crimes. When Ordinance Five was passed in 1835 in relation to the question of local prison discipline more generally, the suite of punishments available for transported convicts was widened.

Some convicts escaped hard labour; well-behaved men were employed as servants to British overseers, messengers or *commandeurs* over their fellow convicts. Others avoided the physical exertions and drudgery of road work as hospital attendants or departmental clerks. It has even been suggested that the prior existence of the Indian penal settlement in Mauritius influenced the later decision to import indentured Indians to work on the islands' plantations. The Commission of Enquiry, which published its report on labour conditions amongst indentured labourers in 1875, noted that the fact that the island previously had received Indian convicts made the Indian indentured labourer 'not the entire stranger he was in the West Indies and Demerara'.

Many visitors to Mauritius wrote about the convicts, generally viewing them in a sympathetic light. Charles Darwin stopped off in Mauritius during his famous voyage on the *Beagle*. He wrote: 'Before seeing these people I had no idea that the inhabitants of India were such noble looking men ... it is impossible to view them with the same eyes as our wretched convicts in New South Wales [a British penal colony in Australia].' Governor Lowry Cole's wife likened a group of convicts to a scene in *The Arabian Nights*. Observers generally agreed that the convicts were orderly and well behaved. The round-the-world traveller James Holman, on the other hand, wrote that they were 'most determined thieves'. 'They may', he continued, 'be considered to have a fish-hook attached to the end of every finger, stealing any thing that can either be converted into money, or turned to any use.' Unfortunately there are no surviving paintings or sketches of Indian convicts. These descriptions do help us to form some sort of image of them though.

Convicts in Mauritius had a unique status. Like slaves, they relied on the government for subsistence, and did not have control over their labour. However, convicts were also made subject to the laws of the colony. They could be tried before the colonial

courts for the same offences as the free population – the *Police Correctionnelle* for minor offences, and the *Cour d'Assises* for more serious ones. They also had full access to the islands' barristers, who often took up the legal challenges posed by their cases with surprising relish. As all convicts were already under sentence (of transportation), certain difficulties sometimes arose in finding additional punishments. Thanks to the rich collections of the National Archives of Mauritius, we are able to take ourselves back to the nineteenth-century penal settlement, and think about the meaning of the details these criminal proceedings contain. They tell us a great deal – not simply about crime and punishment – but also about everyday convict life, for the convicts were nothing if not a colourful addition to the Mauritian population.

In many ways, the history of convict transportation from India to Mauritius is also a history of convict resistance against the penal regime. Convicts refused to work, got into fights with each other – especially their *commandeurs* – and insulted or sometimes even attacked their British overseers, who were military men. They distilled and drank liquor, smoked marijuana, danced and sang. Neither were they slow to complain if they felt they were being ill-treated.

Faut que ce soit, que s'ils manquaient
 à leur promesse de les faire punir
 suivant toute la rigueur des lois. —
 Ils ont l'honneur d'être avec un
 profond respect,
 Monsieur,
 Vos très humbles et
 obéissants serviteurs
 [Signatures in French and Hindi]

Signed convict petition for release from jail (National Archives of Mauritius)

Not infrequently convicts escaped altogether – sometimes evading recapture for years on end. About five per cent of the convicts were unaccounted for at any one time. Bombay convicts found it particularly easy to go *maroon*, for they did not have the penal tattoos (*godna*) inscribed on the foreheads of Bengal transportees. These tattoos detailed each convict's name, crime and date of sentence and not surprisingly convicts in Mauritius attempted to remove or hide them with turbans. Because they did not have these *godna* marks, Bombay convicts found it easy to blend in with the island's free Indian communities. A few convicts were able to pass themselves off as indentured immigrants, holding forged immigrant tickets. Others made it back to India. In one case, a convict was discovered hiding in the Bombay presidency some twenty-five years after his escape from Mauritius.

Surely the most notorious convict of all was a man called Sheik Adam. He arrived in

Mauritius in 1834, promptly going on the run. He claimed that he had been punished by his overseer for no reason. Perhaps unable to provide for himself, he returned to Grand River about a month later, only to desert again at the end of 1837. He remained at large for two months, and attempts to bring him in again came to nothing. Whilst at large, Tulluck Chund, a convict who was working as a Post Office courier, was murdered. Suspicion immediately fell upon the absent Sheik Adam and a large reward - £20 - was offered for his arrest. Sheik Adam remained at large, and the reward was raised to £50. Sheik Adam was eventually arrested in June 1838, by the chief of the police detachment in Rivière du Rempart, who subsequently claimed the reward. Unaware of his convict status, Béchard had employed him as a servant. The chief of police lamented that planters 'ought to ascertain who persons really are before they take them into their service.' There was not enough evidence to try him for the murder of Tulluck Chund. In October, Sheik Adam deserted once again, when he robbed his British overseer. He was recaptured and returned to his working party, when he deserted again. And so it continued until his final escape in June 1840.

During June and July, several individuals made police reports claiming that they had been given cakes laced with poison, and after falling ill, they had been robbed of all their valuables. The first such case took place on 10 June, when a man named Zamor Catatum, living in Trou aux Biches in the north of the island, was found on the beach, delirious and eating sand. In his hut were two ex-apprentices (liberated slaves) - Pedre and Alexis - stark naked and apparently dead. Some linen, money, cooking pots and all of Zamor's chickens were missing. It seems that a man – thought to be Portuguese – had gone to his hut and cooked food for the men. Zamor died a few days later, his death attributed to the effects of either cannabis or *datura stramonium*.

A week later, a man named Pierre Louis reported that he had been given a cake by an Indian man on the Pamplémousses Road near Powder Mills. It was so disgusting that he was unable to eat it. He remarked upon the flavour, and the man offered him some wine which he drank. Shortly afterwards he had lost consciousness, and could not remember what had happened next. Picked up drunk, he woke up in police custody. The police knew nothing of his missing bag or of the Indian he had encountered. All his linen and two *piastres* had been stolen. Laurence Jeannot and Jean Francois had a similar story to tell. They stated that they were in a wagon on the way to Port Louis

when an Indian man stopped them and asked for a lift. Jean Francois agreed and the man offered them some wine from a bottle he was holding. Laurence refused, but Jean Francois accepted. The man then offered them some bananas followed by some small cakes, which they both ate. Shortly afterwards, Jean Francois began to feel ill and had to ask the stranger to take the reins of the wagon. Laurence felt the same symptoms, but less violently, and as they arrived at Ville Bague, she took Jean Francois to a friend who lived there. In the meantime, she realised that the Indian man had taken off with the wagon and all their personal effects. He had told her friend that he was going to get help, but her jewellery and cash were not seen again

The apprentices Marcelin and Theodore suffered the same fate. Between them, they lost a watch, a hat, two pairs of shoes, a small bag containing rice, two bundles of linen and two rings. Theodore had been going from Port Louis to Flacq with his wagon when he was joined by an Indian stranger. The men drank a bottle of wine together and eventually bumped into Theodore's friend Marcelin. Arriving at a liquor shop, the Indian stranger suggested another drink. After some hesitation the apprentices agreed, and at the stranger's suggestion, Marcelin even paid for the bottle! As the men continued on their way, the stranger took a cake from his pocket, broke it in half and offered it to the men. Shortly afterwards, both men began to feel dizzy. They went to get a drink from a stream nearby, and only then realized that the man had taken the opportunity to take off in Theodore's wagon with all their things.

The instigators of these crimes were not found until by chance an Indian man named Ichian was found wearing shoes and a pair of blue cloth trousers which were recognised as belonging to Zamor Catatun. Ichian claimed that he had bought the clothing in Port Louis. The police had their suspicions, and took him to Pedre, Zamor's friend. He recognized him as one of the men who had come to Zamor's hut the night that they were poisoned. He admitted that he had been there, but denied administering the poison. He took the police to Camp Malabar and pointed out a man he knew as either Sheik Abdoul or Adolphe. This man had just arrived from the Pamplémousses Road and was driving a wagon – that of the hapless Theodore. He was immediately arrested, and the goods he had with him were seized. It was then realised that Sheik Abdoul *alias* Adolphe was none other than the convict deserter Sheik Adam and that the goods in his possession belonged to Theodore and Marcelin,

whom he had robbed earlier that afternoon.

The game was up, and Sheik Adam admitted what he had done. The police took him to see Laurence. She recognised him as the ‘Indian stranger’ straight away, and punched him in the face. Theodore and Marcelin likewise knew him. He confessed that he had made the poisoned cakes, point out a plant commonly known as ‘devil’s flowers’ (*datura stramonium*) and the tree *decas arbustes*, stating that he sometimes used the seeds of its fruit to make poisoned cakes as well. He was brought before the Court of Assizes on a charge of poisoning and robbery. He was found guilty and sentenced to fourteen years’ transportation. He left for the Australian penal colony Van Diemen’s Land in 1842. The Mauritian authorities must have been relieved to get rid of him. After serving the usual period of probation, remarkably Sheik Adam became a *cook* to a police magistrate. He later married a female convict named Sarah Swift, using the name John Adam. His wife was a one time prostitute who had been transported from Liverpool for manslaughter, stating this offence: ‘stabbing with intent Elizabeth - with a pair of scissors (I was drunk at the time).’ Once in Van Diemen’s Land, Sarah Swift was frequently disciplined for petty theft, drunkenness and disturbing the peace. Sheik Adam’s conduct was exemplary, and he was never reprimanded. The couple disappear from the records in the 1860s. Sarah Swift’s sister wrote to the Australian authorities asking for news of her. She knew her sister had married Sheik (also by now known as John) Adam, but they had lost touch, probably when the couple sailed out of the colony and possibly back to Bombay – or even Mauritius itself. Certainly, ‘Sheik Adam’ is a known surname on the island, and most of the families are Catholics.

Less dramatic, but more socially enduring, were the efforts made by convicts to settle in Mauritius. Employed on public works across the island, they had plenty of opportunities to integrate into the social and economic fabric of Mauritian life. They made friends with slaves, ex-slaves and other communities, struck up relationships with women on the island, married them, had children, and learned how to speak Kreol. Convicts sentenced to a term of transportation (seven or fourteen years) were permitted to return to India once their sentence had expired. However, many decided to stay, remaining with their new Mauritian families and setting themselves up as tradesmen. Some became carpenters, others worked at their trade as jewellers. A few

were able to buy land. One man – Lathan – even became a medical practitioner, and several Mauritians vouched for the effectiveness of his treatments. The police were very suspicious of ex-convicts, and made frequent claims about their bad characters. Yet there is no real evidence that these time-expired men were more commonly in trouble with the police than any other community.

As the number of convicts fell (by 1847 there were just 376 left), the authorities began the process of liberating the remainder. After 1847 convicts who had served more than twenty years (i.e. Bengal convicts, who had all been transported for life) were liberated. All those who were over the age of sixty-five were set free on 1 January 1849. In 1852, the remaining convicts – about eighty Bombay men - petitioned for the extension of this clemency to all convicts. After two further petitions, the Bombay convicts had their request granted in April 1853.

The Bombay authorities sanctioned their release on the condition that they did not return to the Bombay presidency. Thus convicts from both Bengal and Bombay settled permanently on the island. One touching petition was presented to the governor by Hurry Bappoo in 1858. After his liberation, he had lived with an indentured labourer called Succool and had a child. ‘Honoured Sir’, he wrote, ‘it appears very odd indeed that I am a prisoner; and I have got a Girl about 5 yrs and four months old; her name is Luckchemee, as I am condemned until death to remain here, I wish to send the said Girl Luckchemee, to Bombay near my family, where she would be better off than here. The Protector of Immigrants desired me to pay £2-10– to take her to Bombay. Therefore Honoured Sir; I prostate myself at your clemency to throw an Eye of Sympathy on the poor child and to remit the passage money, and to send the Girl to her parents.’ Succool was entitled to a free passage, her daughter was not. The government agreed to waive the cost of his daughter’s passage. Who knows whether Hurry Bappoo, like so many of the convicts, ever saw his family again.

After their liberation, other convicts dreamt of going home themselves. Touching petitions still kept in the National Archives of Mauritius reveal convicts’ efforts to go back to India, often years after their liberation. Their petitions never met with success, though some convicts no doubt went home surreptitiously. After his liberation Annajee bin Garjee Jadov for instance managed to arrange his passage back to

Bombay through the Immigration Depot. When the mistake was discovered some ten years later, the Depot claimed it had been unaware of his ex-convict status. Another Bombay man – Balla bin Ramapa – was recaptured in the Bombay presidency claiming that all the convicts on the island had been freed. Unfortunately for him, the authorities did not believe him, and their scepticism was confirmed upon their application for information from Mauritius.

After the last convicts were liberated in 1853, the site of the Convict Headquarters remained empty for a decade. Then in 1864, the government decided to set up a Vagrant Depot in the same place, a rather belated attempt to cope with the growing number of vagrants on the island, who until then had been crammed into the island's already overcrowded prisons in Port Louis and the districts. The choice of site was no doubt influenced by the existence of easily adaptable buildings in which to house vagrants. It also continued the association of Grand River with incarceration for another twenty years.

Tables

1. Convict ships from Bengal, 1815-28

Vessel	Date of Departure	No. Embarked
<i>Lady Barlow</i>	10.9.1815	130
<i>Helen</i>	10.9.1815	106
<i>Charlotte</i>	25.9.1815d	15
<i>Po</i>	5.10.1815	40
<i>Susan</i>	20.10.1815	32
<i>Lady Sophia</i>	31.10.1815	40
<i>Greyhound</i>	11.11.1815	40
<i>Lady Elliott</i>	22.1.1816	40
<i>Lord Minto</i>	16.2.1816	40
<i>Union</i>	19.3.1816	16
<i>Po</i>	26.4.1816	12
<i>Swallow</i>	21.7.1816	27
<i>Union</i>	15.9.1816	14
<i>Jessie</i>	27.9.1816	25
<i>Greyhound</i>	16.12.1816	16
<i>Friendship</i>	8.1.1817	11
<i>Magnet</i>	12.2.1817	40
<i>Ceres</i>	28.2.1817	25
<i>Union</i>	21.4.1817	32
<i>John Bull</i>	15.6.1817	5
<i>Charlotte</i>	23.7.1817	40

<i>Ruby</i>	30.8.1817	38
<i>Union</i>	17.9.1817	26
<i>Magnet</i>	14.10.1817	24
<i>Friendship</i>	26.11.1817	36
<i>Anna Robertson</i>	27.1.1818	31
<i>Lord Amherst</i>	19.6.1828	40
<i>Reliance</i>	19.6.1828	39
TOTAL		981

2. Convict ships from Bombay, 1826-36

Vessel	Date of Departure	No. Embarked
<i>Constance</i>	4.11.1826	16
<i>Constance/Deux Charles</i>	21.11.1827	7
<i>Nerbudda</i>	20.11.1828	2
<i>Royal George</i>	n.d. 1829	4
<i>James and Thomas</i>	26.2.1830	27
<i>La Maly</i>	n.d. 1830	10
<i>La Navarine</i>	31.5.1831	30
<i>La Navarine</i>	10.3.1832	37
<i>Le Emmee</i>	n.d. 1832	7
<i>Deux Sophie</i>	n.d. 1832	18
<i>Elphinstone</i>	10.1.1833	32
<i>Le Balguerie</i>	5.6.1833	22
<i>Parkfield</i>	25.10.1833	29
<i>William</i>	13.12.1833	11
<i>Sarah</i>	24.6.1834	32
<i>Le Emmee</i>	7.10.1834	19
<i>Amelia Thompson</i>	23.4.1835	37
<i>Harriet</i>	n.d. 1835	18
<i>Le Emmee</i>	n.d. 1835	19
<i>Palmira</i>	14.4.1836	48
<i>Mahomodee</i>	n.d. 1836	9
TOTAL		534

n.d. - no exact date of departure recorded.

3. Comparative age distribution of Bengal and Bombay convicts

Age Group	Bengal convicts		Bombay convicts	
	No.	%	No.	%
< 21	59	6.3	7	5.2
21-30	211	22.5	59	44.0
31-40	408	43.4	46	34.3
41-50	237	25.2	16	11.9
51-60	21	2.2	4	3.0

61+	3	0.3	2	1.5
TOTAL	939	100	134	100

4. Crimes of Bengal and Bombay Convicts

Crimes	Bengal Convicts		Bombay Convicts	
	No.	%	No.	%
Burglary	26	2.8	0	0.0
Dacoity/gang robbery	295	31.8	38	17.8
Highway robbery	198	21.3	0	0.0
Murder	28	3.0	98	46.0
Piracy	0	0.0	7	3.3
Robbery	154	16.6	25	11.7
Robbery by open violence	179	19.3	0	0.0
Theft	29	3.1	29	13.6
Thuggee	0	0.0	11	5.2
Other	19	2.0	5	2.3
TOTAL	928	100	213	100

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About the author

Dr Clare Anderson is Senior Lecturer in the School of Historical Studies, University of Leicester, UK. She has published widely on convicts, prisoners and penal settlements in South and South East Asia and the Indian Ocean. She is the author of *Convicts in the Indian Ocean: transportation from South Asia to Mauritius, 1815-*

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