

TROMELIN

Island of forgotten slave

In November 1760, the ship named the *Utile*, property of the French East India Company, constructed and equipped in Bayonne, set sail for the fle de France (now Mauritius Island).

Shortly after arriving, the ship was sent to purchase supplies in Madagascar. Here, despite it being forbidden, the ship's captain, Jean Lafargue, purchased 160 Madagascan slaves.

As they were sailing back, the vessel ran aground on the *Île de Sable*, a tiny island hardly covering one square kilometre. After two months, the ship's crew sailed back to Madagascar on a makeshift craft constructed using elements of the wreckage, leaving behind 80 slaves, who had survived the shipwreck.

The crew promised to sail back to fetch them, but the promise was never kept. When, after 15 years of oblivion, the *Dauphine*, a corvette of the French Royal Navy commanded by Ensign Tromelin, finally came to rescue them, the only remaining survivors were seven women and an eight-month-old baby.

Marooned on this tiny desert island, a prison out at sea, for several years the survivors wrote a silent record of their distress. A team of historians and archaeologists has attempted to give voice to their story, adding a page to the history of the human race.

THE FRENCH EAST INDIA COMPANY



TOWARDS ANOTHER OCEAN



Model of the ship Bertin

Example of cargo and interior organisation of a 903-barrel flayt of the East India Company

Reconstruction by Jean Delouche in 1976, following original plans by Antaine Greignard.

TOWARDS ANOTHER OCEAN

During the Seven Years war, the French Royal Navy imposed a deckade on the ports along the Jefanic Coast, in jearticular Lorient, where the French East lader Company was based. Attempting to thwart British manoeurures, the Company armed some of its ships in other ports, which was the case of the Ulife, equipped in Bayonne.

On 17th November 1760, the fluyte cast of from Pasajes, sailing towards the Indian Ocean. Since the trading post of Gorée had been in the hands of the British for three years, the ship sailed directly towards the Cape Verde Islands. In early January, the ship crossed the equator halfway between Africa and South America. The journey of the Cape of Good Hope lasted approximately 0 days. The ship then sailed along the coast of southern Africa, maintaining its course to the east beyond Durshan. South of the Mascarene Islands, it veered north and finally approached the fice France from the south east. On 12th April 1541, the Utile anchored at Port Louis. The journey had last of 147 days and the crew deplored no human east furner.

View of the port of Bayonne
King Lusis XV entrusted Joseph Vernet with the task of
producing a certical plannings representing the main
perts of France. Since it was impossible to depict the port
Beyonne on a single painting, two were produced. The
ship portrayed on this picture is perhaps the UNV in the



FRAUD IN MADAGASCAR



Slave irons

The Otherwas not a slave ship, but a ship us for general transport of goods. Ohly a few shackles, aread at slocking the firsts of membrans of the crew in the ownt of gurnahment, were thus to be found on board the shore-shackles shown here, of unknown origin and manufacture, are one of the low remaining examples of those used in Round Certification of the control of the state of the share of t

The *Utile* was sent to Madagascar for supplies. When the shipped anchored at Foulpointe, Lafargue, the captain, contacted the local head of trading, from whom he purchased rice and cattle. Though not authorised to do so, he also secretly loaded almost 160 slaves.

loaded almost I ol staves.

The purchase of so many slaves would have implied large sums of money changing hands. The necessary amount – 25000 pounds – represented a considerable expense for Lafargue, whose monthly salary was 200 pounds. He must certainly have obtained the necessary funds from potential buyers, landowners settled in file de France,

sharing a proportion of the illegal trade with his officers. The total profit would have been between 25,000 and 30,000 pounds: a slave bought for 30 piasters could be sold for 70.

30 piasters could be sold for 70. He certainly had accomplices: the head of trading, first of all, but also military staff and officers on board the ship, who most probably also purchased salvaes, depending on their finances, as well as some administrators on the lie de France. It would have been impossible to unload so many slaves without the cooperation of a large number of persons, even though Lafargue intended to put them up for sale them on the island of Rodrigues.





THE SLAVE TRADE IN THE INDIAN OCEAN



Around the time of the shipwreck of the Utile (1761) the French East India Company intensified the slave trade in the Indian Ocean, mainly in the direction of the Mascareignes Islands (Bourbon, like de France and Rodrigues). Until the end of the 17th century, slaves were only unloaded on Bourbon Island when ships came to anchor off its coast.

The success of the coffee trade

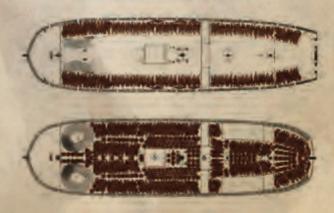
The development of the coffee crop as from 1715, followed by its subsequent success, encouraged by the governor Dumas 11727-17251, the diversification of the islands agriculture under La Bourdonnais 11725-17461, David 11748-17591 and Desforges-Boucher 11759-17671, then the colonisation of the Ille de France, all necessitated an increased workforce. The slave trade was set up to meet the need for a sufficient number of workers on the Ille de France and Bourbon. During the kers on the Ille de France and Bourbon. During the period, Landowners regularly purchased slaves: approximately 40,000 arrived on the Mascareignes Islands between 1725 and 1768.

Madagascans, Africans and Indians

A large proportion of the slaves brought to the Mascareignes Islands were Madagascans, reputedly tough and hard-working, and the shores of Madagascare were close by. Africans (Instally from the East Coast), appreciated for being strong and obedient, though more expensive, were the second most important group. As regards Indians, they made up an additional service workforce on the Islands. Property owners considered that Indians were not apt to work in the fields, but they were appreciate for work requiring precision rather than strength: production of artefacts, domestic work or workers employed "under contract".

Diagram of the deck of the Aurore During their vayage at sea, each of the slaves had not a very timele space. The slaves would be to to on ene side, enabling the slave-traders to pack in as many as possible. Depending on how a journey lawted, many would die as a result of the inhuman conditions.

Jean Southiet: Le Valoseau de 74 canons, Volume II, Ed. AMCRE 1983.



THE SHIPWRECK OF THE UTILE

The State of State of

After sailing out of Foulpointe, the *Utile* did not follow the normal route for the file de France. Largue intended to first of all unload the staves on the island of Rodrigues. To reach the island, the ship sailed further north than the usual routes, coming close to the *file de Sable*. Several factors can explain why the ship ran aground: use of a map of the Indian Ocean on which the position of the *file de Sable* was inexact, as well as an observation error. Lafargue actually had two may showing the island in different positions, but did not take any particular precautions, despite sailing into a dangerous zone at night-time.

The Utile ran aground on 31 st July at 10.30 at night, stranded on the coral reef. Once the cannons in the rear hold had been unloaded and the masts cut off, the ship drifted along the costs of the island. Battered by the swell, the ship lost its rudder and its hull started to break up: the framework fell apart and the decks collapsed. Those aboard who were good swimmers managed to reach the shore. The Madagascan slaves were trapped in the hold, the entrances having been nailed up for fear of a revolt. 18 sailers and almost 70 Madagascan slaves were of the managed to the contract of the managed that the sailers and almost 70 Madagascan slaves were decided to the contract of the managed to the contract of the







from history to archaeology

The discovery of a large number of archive documents shed light on the historical context, the equipping, the journey and the various circumstances leading to the shipwreck of the *Utile*. However, very little information concerning the years spent on the island by the Madagascan survivors is available, since only very few elements of correspondence evoking their life on the island have survived. Researchers quickly realised that in order to complete the picture, they would have to carry out archaeological diggings, both on land and under the sea. Despite the difficult access and the distance, four archaeological expeditions were successively organised.

In 2006, the first archaeological expedition focused on the undersea exploration of the wreck of the *Utile*, while on land, the oven built by the ship's crew before they left for Madagascar was unearthed. The members of the expedition also localised the first element of a construction on the highest point of the island.

During the second expedition, which took place in 2008, three constructions were dug up from the sand, one after another, indicating a living area marked by a large number of tools, as well as remains of fauna — essentially terns and turtles—consumed by the survivors. The remains of two human bodies were also exhumed.

The 2010 and 2013 expeditions confirmed the existence of about a dozen constructions, forming a real hamlet built around a central courtyard: a true living area was revealed.





stratigraphy



been sealed by a layer of white sand, brought in by the wind and the sea, and bears no trace of any human presence. Finally, the return of mankind in

the 1950s has left traces producing a darker layer, containing contemporary material

Existing ground

Dark brown sand

Period of occupation by meteorologists:

1953 till now

objects from the 18th-een (shoe buckle, bracelet, fragments of china, etc.), alongside 20th-century objects (iron and aluminic cans, glass bottles, etc.)

Natural deposits

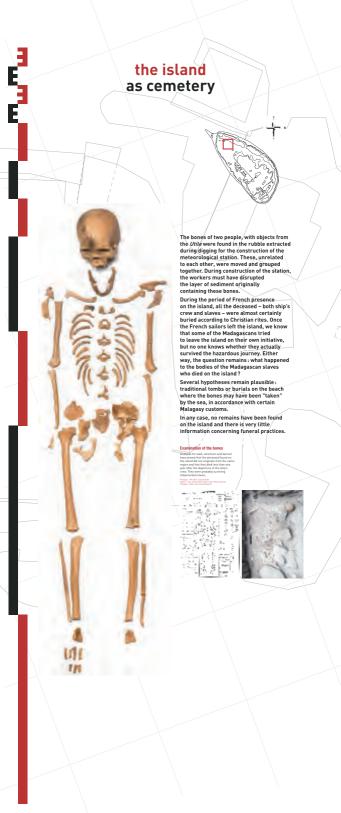
of beach sand: 1776-1953
Layers of white beach sand broug
in by the wind and the sea.

Period of occupation by the survivors: 1761-1776

Fine sand mixed with ashes, organic matter, remains of consumed fauna and archaeological objects

Ground dating before 1761

Blocks of coral [final depth of digging], with compacted and hardened white sand.









The diggings enabled the archaeologist to conclude that the main source of food for the survivors was the island's fauna, mainly terns and turtles. Fish, difficult to catch, as well as the very few plants growing on the island, were additional sources of food. Once caught, the animals were cut up, prepared and cooked, as were their eggs.

After the wreck, finding drinkable water was vital. The survivors found water 5 metres under the ground by digging a well on the lowest part of the island, on the southern side. The survivors had to draw the water from the well, which necessitated some kind of object to contain and carry it. Despite the research, the well could not be found. Thanks to flint lighters made of steel and wood salvaged from the *Utile*, the survivors had the use of fire until they were rescued.















According to written sources, the very first shelters on the island were tents made out of the sails from the 'Utife, but these did not resist tropical storms. The survivors then moved up from the shore to settle on the highest point of the island, at an altitude of 7 metres on the northern side. They constructed their shelters without using mortar. These were fairly narrow, but the walls week thick. As there was no wood or clay—the traditional materials used to build houses in Madagascar—the survivors had to use stone (here, coral blocks and sandstone from the beach).

As these constructions were regularly damaged by storms, the survivors had to modify their structure several times.

Grouped around a central space, these buildings dramatically broke away from the Malagasy tradition, whereby houses are individual and orientated according to the points of the compass. On Tromelin island, the Malagasy survivors had to adapt to the environment.

The plans of the constructions make it possible

The plans of the constructions make it possible to study the evolution of the houses ofer time and to understand how in Mailagary survivors organized their space: moving the livi sea, musing magnifuls, marranging and closing off space building a promeding with an armanging and closing off space building a promeding with an armanging and closing off space.



Roof hypoth

Houses and scenes of daily life imagined on the bar of the archaeological data. Selsain Sayoia, creator



the archaeological site (20

In a manner of each construction was very simbe very thick walls [between 1 and 1.5 m] serie buto resist storms. The upper sections were used used the meteorological station, thus destroying a protection information consumption the mod con-





FIFTEEN YEARS OF OBLIVION

➤ 1761
- SP July
Shipmonth of the Olds

➤ -27th September
Department of the Problem

- Il'Suptember
 Arrival of survivors of cr
 of the Util at Recipotane,
 Madagneer

 1763
 End of the Seven Years' \

for the II de Xide

1765

The idlands come under the surfacety of the french king

► 1769

•13º August
The French Exe ledus Company
is should down

► 1775

•August
Factors arrange by the skip
the State-of
► 1276

► 1276

these men and these women
these men and these women

1 August
Unsuccessful moore attempt

2 23 November
The Dopine sale for

The Doppins and he
the Re & Sale

- 38° November
The Couplins arrives in sight
of the Re & Sale

- 29° November
Reset of seven women
and one haly

- 14° December

and one haby

**14° December

Arrival of the Doplac

on the de France (core Macristo)

**-15° December



The survivoes' camp

Drawn by a member of the crew, this sketch-map
of the fix de Sabbishwas the elements
of the camp at the time the French survivors
sailed for Madagascar.

*Contented ablained of File of Francis or Adorra point of the contented of

Account of the shipwreck
A document giving an account of the shipwrec
and the crow's stay on the Island. A comment
in the margin, contradicting the report, reads;
they promised to fetch us, but so far nebody
has come."



Letter from Castellan addressed to the Secretary of State for the French Navy. The spat where the Oble ran agreand on the real is marked by the book of the ships ancher, whalls above the verse 20 routes or so from the shore. From Manda others. Eleven years after the shipwreck, Castellan de Vernet, still troubled by his broken promise, wrote to the Secretary of State responsible for the French Navy. Why wait so long? The directors of the East India Company, in a state of bankrupty after the Seven Vears' War, probably did not heed his requests. It was not until the islands came under the administration of the French king that the order to sail was finally given. Two years later, in 1775, a first ship was sent to the island. The life rait capsized and one of the sailors remained on the shore with the survivors. The following year, other aftempts were made, but all in vain. Despairing of ever being sawed, the sailor also constructed a raft, its sail made of woven birds' feathers. He cast off with three women and the three remaining men. They were never heard of again.

never heard of again. Four months later, on 28th November 1776, the corvette La Dauphine, under the command of Jacques-Marie Lanuguy de Tromelin, arrived within sight of the island. Seem women and an eight-month-old baby were rescued. When they arrived in Port Louis, the women were declared free. As they had been bought itlegally the administration did not consider them as slaves. The child was baptised and named Moyse [Moses].



EVOLUTION OF MENTALITIES





During the period immediately preceding the first abolition of slavery in 1791, the administration came under mounting criticism for leaving the survivors abandoned on the island.

on the island.

In 1773, in his work entitled Voyage at the lie de France (Voyage to the lie de France), the writer Bernardin de Saint Pierre, for example, did not dare publish his criticism of the French administration for taking its inhumane decision, and the text remained in the form of a manuscript. The abbot Pingrés criticised the fraudulent purchase of the slaves in general terms, without precisely mentioning the name of the ship, that of its captain or the fact that the slaves were abandoned on the island.

abandoned on the island.
Others, however, were already
starting to take a stand. As early
as 1770, the abbot Raynal wrote
his famous text: "Barbarians,
whom would you have believe
that a man may be the property
of a sovereign; a woman the
property of a husband; a Negro
the property of landowner?" 1781,
Condorcet, explicitly referring to
those shipwrecked on board the
Utile, declared "how far Europeans
generally are from considering
Africans as their brothers."

Africans as their brothers."

Finally, immediately preceding the 1791 Convention abolishing slavery in France, the abbot Rochon was able to declare: "Any man having an ounce of humanity will shudder when he hears that these miserable Africans have left been abandoned, with no attempt of rescue being made."



Following two and a half centuries of silence, archaeologists made it possible to give a tangible reality to the living conditions of the slaves left on the island.

The results of their research, presented in this exhibition, are a celebration of the tenacity and the intelligence of human beings.

The findings are clear proof that the survivors, cut off from their roots, sold as though they were mere objects, reduced to slavery and totally destitute of all belongings, refused to be reduced to nothing, but instead organised their society, struggling for survival and showing ingenuity and a capacity to adapt. They rose above their isolation, surviving in an extremely hostile environment and using the few resources available to construct a small society, thereby rebuilding the dignity and humanity that they had been denied. That is the central lesson to be learnt from their story. The life force, willpower and intelligence of the survivors demonstrate the absurdity of any claims of superiority of one group of human beings compared to others.

The shipwreck of the *Utile* will thus be a permanent milestone in the history of the Indian Ocean.

The island of Tromelin has now taken on a specific importance, being one of the few places of memory connected to slavery where the historical and archaeological contexts have been so closely studied. From now on, it will always be a place dedicated to the memory of slavery and the slave trade.



TROMELIN