

# 2013

## ***SAARC PROJECT-FINAL REPORT;—ON “DIASPORIC CULTURE”, SAARC CULTURAL CENTRE SRILANKA***

**Dr M. Waseem Raja**

***[‘Assessing South Asian Diaspora during 20th Century; A case Study of Bhojpuri speaking people of Eastern India’]***

*Preamble; This is final report of the project awarded by the SAARC CULTURAL CENTRE COLOMBO, SRILANKA in which the desired results have been achieved as it was envisaged in the given theme. The Colonial period Bhojpuri Diaspora which had scattered across the globe have been worked out and brought at one place and several of its vistas of understandings have been developed, though consequences of contemporary globalization on diaspora communities, have led to various confusions but only historical legacy has made the study easier. Citing a few instances of transnational networking among the diaspora communities, the project analyses the nature and functioning of such networks among the Indian immigrants in the previous British, French and Dutch colonies where either they were sent or they themselves had opted on their own, after difficulties in the homeland due to bad economic conditions, wars or due to certain other compulsions imposed on them as apparatuses of colonialism were in full swing during 19th century India. The Indians were sent to work on the growing plantation industries and mining as they were badly needed there. So whether compulsion or choiceable migrations to those far off lands, thus comes into play and Diaspora shapes up.*

***Assessing South Asian Diaspora during 20<sup>th</sup> Century; A case Study of Bhojpuri speaking people of Eastern India'***

**DR. M WASEEM RAJA  
SR. ASST.PROFESSOR IN HISTORY  
CENTRE OF ADVANCED STUDY  
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY,  
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,  
ALIGARH, U.P, INDIA, 202002**

**FINAL PROJECT REPORT**

**Preamble;** *This is final report of the project awarded by the SAARC CULTURAL CENTRE COLOMBO, SRILANKA in which the desired results have been achieved as it was envisaged in the given theme. The Colonial period Bhojpuri Diaspora which had scattered across the globe have been worked out and brought at one place and several of its visatas of understandings have been developed, though consequences of contemporary globalization on diaspora communities, have led to various confusions but only histoprical legacy has made the study easier. Citing a few instances of transnational networking among the diaspora communities, the project analyses the nature and functioning of such networks among the Indian immigrants in the previous British, French and Dutch colonies where either they were sent or they themselves had opted on their own after difficulties in the homeland due to bad economic condition, wars or due to certain other compulsions imposed on them as apparatuses of colonialism were in full swing during 19<sup>th</sup> century India. The Indians were sent to work on the growing plantation industries and mining as they were badly needed there. So whether compulsion or choiceable migrations to those far off lands, thus comes into play and Diapora shapes up.*

**Acknowledgment;** *For the present work, I would not fail in expressing my deepest sense of thanks and gratitude to the persons associated with the SAARC Cultural Centre, the formemost being the honourable Director, SAARC Cultural Centre, Colombo, GLW Samarasinghe, Deputy Director Sanjay Garg(Research), Deputy Director(Programme), Saundarie David, Program officers Nirekha D' silva, and others. Apart from them the expert panelists/ Referees whose valuable suggestions have enriched this Final project report, I feel indebted to their ideas and expertise in the field. I found valuable suggestions of the panel for Mid-term Review committee and their ideas and suggestions especially of Prof. Singharaja, have been incorporated in this work and I personally feel their valuable suggestions have improved my understanding of the problem with the outcome. I am thankful for my this work staffs of NAI, New Delhi, staffs of Maulana Azad Libray, Aligarh Muslim University, NMML, New Delhi for providing me help in retreaving materials needed for this purpose. I am thankful to the Cartographic Division of CAS, Department of History, AMU, Aligarh, for drawing maps of Bhjpuri diaspora around the globe and Bhojpuri belt in East India.*

*Assessing South Asian Diaspora during 20<sup>th</sup> Century; A case Study of Bhojpuri speaking people of Eastern India'*

- CONTENTS;

PART I

- DEFINING DIASPORA; MIGRATION/ MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE

PART II

- LOCATING THE REGION IN THE 'HOME COUNTRY' FROM WHERE SUCH MIGRATION TOOK PLACE;

PART III

- THE 'IMAGINED LAND' OR LAND OF HOPES; PROFILING OF THE EVOLVING OF BHOJPURI DAISPORA IN FAR OFF LANDS...

PART IV

- EAST INDIAN BHOJPURI DIALECT AND ITS DIASPORIC CONNECT

PART V

- FLOATING BOARDS, DEPOTS, VESSELS/ CARRIERS, COLONIAL EMIGRATION LAWS AND THE FINAL OUTLETS

PART VI

- STUDY IN PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE MIGRANTS; DISEASE, DEATHS, AND LUNATIC RETURNEES

- PART VII

- CONCLUSION
- APPENDIX
- SOURCES
- PICTORIAL PLATES
- MAPS

## PREFACE

With aims and objectives set in this project to unravel those hidden avenues of understanding and unmasking various perspectives on 'Bhojpiuri Diaspora of 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> centuries' the project focuses on Diasporic connect also with the homeland. It applies various traditional/empirical tools vis a-vis modern research tools/applications for unearthing those hidden vistas of understanding on the theme. The focus has been on knowing the pattern of migration during 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> century British India when large helping hands were required for the growing plantation industries and mines, in those far off places like Caribbean islands, Pacific islands, the African East Coast and at various other places for the British, French and Dutch colonies. Migrations had happened in successive flocks and due to the long distance those places were situated large Indian populace could have no option adopt those islands as their 'Home Away from original Home' and in this regard 'Eastern Indian People with Bhojpuri dialect, a subvert of *devanagari* (*Hindi root*) form has been taken as a targeted group of this study. Under the colonial rule, India's population provided the British Empire with a ready source of cheap and mobile labourers. Many Indians agreed to become indentured labourers to escape the widespread poverty and famine during the 19<sup>th</sup> century India. Some travelled alone, others brought their families to settle in the colonies they worked in.

The demand for Indian indentured labourers increased dramatically after the **abolition of slavery in 1834**. They were sent, sometimes in large numbers, to plantation colonies producing high value crops such as sugar in African coasts and the Caribbeans.

**KEYWORDS;** Creoles, Indian Diaspora, Globalization. Transnational Networks, Indian Global Organizations. South Africa, indenture system, *kangani*, *Bhojpuri*, Linguistic anthropology, nationalism, language ideology, language and community, multilingualism, Indian diaspora *Virha Bidessia*, *Chautal*

## **PART I**

### **DEFINING DIASPORA; MIGRATION/ MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE**

#### **Defining Diaspora; Migration/ movement of people**

*Overseas South Asian communities have different historical trajectories because they have developed in widely divergent historical contexts in many parts of the world. It is the fragmented nature of these contexts and experiences that complicates the use of 'the South Asian diaspora' as a transparent category.*

PETER VAN DER VEER (1995: 1)<sup>1</sup>

Migration, a fundamentally essential component of Global Social change, is a phenomenon that has been taking place for thousands of years and continues all over the world. It happens when people can no longer sustain themselves within their own environments. They migrate to places where resources are more easily available. In earlier periods people had migrated from one place to another in search of food, shelter, and safety from natural disasters, persecutions and forcible eviction by any rival dominant group from their original habitat.

The trend of migration changed from time to time in historical period over the centuries. Over the ages, this has been a common thread irrespective of nationality or ethnicity, whether it is Jewish, Italian, British, German, Chinese, or Indian immigration, during the last two centuries we find somewhat similar trend in such cases, either migration due to their own choice or forcible one. With the dawn of European colonial era during 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries, people either were forced by the colonial masters to migrate for satisfying the demands of their plantation industries or they were driven to go out of their homes due to economic hardship at home, to an unknown destinations which they had never seen or experienced initially. In our times, people tend to migrate in search for better career opportunities and better quality of life. Migrants not only take with them their skills and expertise to their new locales, but also their culture, living styles and collective memories.

This inter and multi-disciplinary project seeks to explore the British Colonial era experiences of Diasporas – communities who had conceived of themselves as a national, ethnic, linguistic or other form of cultural and political construction of collective membership living outside of their ‘home lands.’ The complex concept of Diaspora is such as if it appears to be far from being definitional. Despite problems and limitations in terminology, this notion may be defined with issues attached to it for a more complete understanding. Such a term which may have its roots in Greek, is used customarily to apply to a historical phenomenon that has now passed to a period that usually supposes that diasporans are those who are settled forever in a country other than the one in which they were born and thus this term loses its dimension of irreversibility and of exile.

#### **Queering and Problematising Diaspora; Setting Limits**

In order to increase our understanding of Diasporas and their impact on both the receiving countries and their respective homes left behind, key issues have been addressed in this project. In addition to that the project addresses the questions: Do Diasporas have got continuity? How did they evolve? What is the footprint or limit of Diaspora? Has language been a potential denominator for identifying problems of Diaspora? Those fundamental questions will lead us to reach to our goal of developing the thesis, it is hoped. What are the ‘limits’ of diaspora? What is its ‘footprint’? What are the inter-generational issues that cause Diasporas to evolve over time, to move towards or away from assimilation in then mainstream culture of the present home? How and why do Diasporas redefine themselves? In what ways does ‘Diasporic identity’ perform a gate-keeping function that includes but also

---

1. Peter van der Veer (eds.), *Nation and Migration: The Politics of Space in the South Asian Diaspora*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1995.

excludes? How are Diasporic identities contested? What are some of the ways to identity and define the subject in changing political boundaries where cultural interactions are amplified? What are the processes of social formation and reformation of Diasporas? What are the circumstances that give Diasporas a window of opportunity to redefine their social position in both the place of origin and the current place of residence? How do we 'problematise' or critique diaspora?

### **The Evolution of the Critical Language of Diaspora**

This topic is related to the previous one but focuses more specifically on the discipline of diaspora studies itself. What new 'cross-ethnoscapes' and 'cross-ideoscapes' are emerging and what new methods can be used to theorise the web of forces that influences Diasporas? Rogers Brubaker postulates the current phenomenon of a diaspora 'diaspora' or an increasing dispersal of the concept and the ways that diaspora is epitomized, assumed, and theorised.<sup>2</sup> Stéphane Dufoix discusses the need to "go beyond 'diaspora' in the same way that Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper have shown it is useful to go beyond 'identity'".<sup>3</sup> What is the current state of diaspora studies and what is the trajectory of its evolution? How does globalisation affect the ways in which we understand diaspora? In what ways are the realities of contemporary Diasporas posing challenges to the critical language of the discipline?

**Definitions;** Contemporary globalization has revolutionized the very thought of space and time, shrinking the both to an unbelievable scale. The massive growth in the technologies of communication and transport during the latter decades of 20<sup>th</sup> century has miniaturized the globe, simplifying real time interactions among people poles apart and mobility at an unbelievable speed. Under the conditions of contemporary globalization, Diasporas have a distinct edge in the promotion of their culture and economy, engaging their communities dispersed worldwide besides the scope it offers to renegotiate with the ancestral / motherland." However, some of the immigrant communities accept the term and the conceptualization to acknowledge the country of their or their ancestor's origin while the others consider it politically incorrect to highlight this relationship. There are still others who consider the word 'diaspora' valorized, deducing the placing of the 'motherland' or 'ancestor land' by relegating them to the 'periphery'. Despite the resistance in some such quarters, the 'diaspora' term and the concept is here to stay, in its popular interpretation than its narrower backgrounds from the Jewish experience. The application of the word 'diaspora' in broader sense has been interestingly noted by Jain (2010:4-5) in the 1993 edition of the New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary for the first time, which mentions that the term also refers to 'the situation of people living outside their traditional homeland'.<sup>4</sup> For the reasons best known to them, the government of India preferred to call the newly established executive body the 'Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs', though the Parliamentary Committee which enquired into the conditions of Indian immigrants in various countries was 'The High level Committee on the Indian Diaspora'. However, the only document that we have today dealing exhaustively with the presence and conditions of Indian Diaspora, scattered around the globe under varied circumstances, is the Report of the High Level Committee on the Indian Diaspora.<sup>5</sup>

### **Colonial Indian Government and formation of Diaspora**

In the context of Indian dominion the British policy makers were not letting any stone unturned as far as its usages in terms of its exploitation of her resources, men and material were concerned. Despite severe criticism of its policies from various quarters it continued with its high handedness and exploitation. In view of the increased area of Indian dominion the commercial policies were changed. The English statesmanship of the 18<sup>th</sup> c had been "Inadequate to the task of imperial government, if a

2. Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 28. No. 1, January, 2005, Pp-1-9

3. Stéphane Dufoix, *Diaspora*, Berkeley: University of California P, 2008. 108, also see, Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question, Theory, Knowledge, History*, 2005, Brubaker R. 2005. *The 'diaspora' diaspora*, *Ethn. Racial Stud.* 28(1):1-19

4. Quoted in Jain Ravindra K 2010: 4, *Diaspora Trans-Nation and Nation: Reflection From India*, *Sociological Bulletin* 59, 1, 3-21.

5. A mines of information can be had from this site but it is better only for modern diasporic estimates etc, <http://indiandiaspora.nic.in/>

commercial policy had proved all unworthy substitute for an imperial policy, the 19<sup>th</sup> century witnessed an enhanced sense of responsibility, a broader and deeper concept of duty, brought to bear on the multiple problem of widening dominion.<sup>6</sup>

The government policy on dislocation or shift of population to far off territories for purely commercial gain was to succeed as they had visualized deeper economic problems with the local populace and found mass of starving souls. The picture of India governed by the British East India Company during 19<sup>th</sup> c economically, was poor and backward: three-fifths of the people peasants working on the land, relatively few towns, few and bad roads. Country districts were isolated from one another, and cut off from the outside world. The first population census was not to be taken until 1872, showing then a total of 206,162,360; but between the mid-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, with the establishment of peaceful conditions-amongst a people used to war, population increased rapidly, especially in the south. Production, with the limited means of transport, was mainly for local consumption. Recurrent droughts meant starvation on a frightening scale.

To natural calamities, and traditional fragmentation of family holdings to an excessive degree, were added changes in production following in the train of British rule. In the eighteenth century India had supplied cotton goods on a large scale to Europe, but now she was losing her position as a manufacturing country, and becoming instead a consumer of British goods. The textile industries were the first to collapse before competition. Weavers and other workers were left without employment, and had no alternative but to fall back on the land. The land did not welcome them; enough people were already on it. Artisans therefore became just landless labourers on the look-out for a job. There was one advantage one option open to these landless unemployed; the possibilities of emigration to British colonies. Indians had actually left their home country from the early-days of the eighteenth century, crossing to Burma from the over-populated east coast of India, the Coromandel Coast and Orissa, and from the Ganges valley. Though it appears that such movements were numerically unimportant, and only seasonal in nature, until the annexation to the East India Company in 1852 of the Irrawaddy delta and territory to the north. Indian emigration to Burma had no marked economic or political consequences before 1852; in 1838 there were only nineteen British Indians in Rangoon.<sup>7</sup> The movement of Indians on a large scale and over long distances, as with most Asiatic emigration,<sup>8</sup> was a phenomenon novel to the nineteenth century. It had to wait upon previous settlement of European colonies, and investment of British capital in tropical plantation agriculture. With only unskilled labour to sell, Asiatic coolies were forced to move into areas where there was a skilled white managerial group to direct them, and where their, docility and capacity for labouring in a tropical climate were welcome.

After the abolition of slavery in British colonies in 1833-34, the eager demand for labour led to the commencement of emigration from India to the West Indies and Mauritius. Emigration, as the movement of free individuals with the intention of effecting a lasting change of residence, had by 1831 so far been recognized a national question by the Imperial Government. During the 1830's the Colonial Reformers were busy with projects of emigration to South Australia and New Zealand. Formal sanction was given to their doctrines in 'January 1840 by the establishment of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission.'<sup>9</sup> Thereafter, for many years, all movements of population within the British Empire were directed by Thomas Frederick Elliot and his colleagues. Elliot, from the time of his appointment as Secretary to the Commission of 1831, had had long years of association with emigration schemes. In the Colonial Office, after the dismissal of the Commission, he had been the particular responsibility for emigration

---

6. Cumpston, IM; *Indian Overseas*, In *British Territories (1834-1854)*, Oxford University Press, Geoffrey Cumberledge, 1953.

7. Thompson and Garratt, *History of British Rule in India*, Volume 2, pp. 317-20.

8. Ramsay Muir, *The Making of British India, 1756-1858*. Described in a Series of Dispatches, Treaties, Statutes and Other Documents, Selected and Edited, with Introductions and Notes, pp. 284-5,

9. Fred Harvey Hitchins, *Colonial Land and Emigration Commission: Index to the First Seven General Reports of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, 1840 to 1847 and to the Instructions to the Commissioners from the Secretary of State and also, James Jupp(edi.) The Australian People: An Encyclopaedia of the Nation, Its People and their origins*. Cambridge; New York; Oakleigh, Vic: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

correspondence and business. He had become Agent-General for Emigration in 1837.<sup>10</sup> When the constitution of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission relieved the Colonial Office of much responsibility and correspondence, Elliot's appointment as one of the three Commissioners was recognition of the value of his previous services.

The head of the West Indian division of the Colonial Office was Henry Taylor.<sup>11</sup> His penetrating expositions of West Indian government were weighted on the side of democracy against oligarchy, and supported the upholding of Crown supremacy while giving time for political education of the coloured majority which he believed must ultimately rule.

In the early years after emancipation, the Colonial Office controlled the vast body of correspondence regarding Indian emigration flowing on one side from the colonies and, after 1840, the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission, and on the other from East India House, whence the Court of Directors consulted their supervisory body, the Board of Control, and kept in touch with their Governor-General and Council in India. Systematic emigration and colonization were very much in "the air in the 1830's and 40s. At the outset there was no intention on the *coolie's* part of effecting a lasting change of residence; all official authorities concerned expected and provided for his return to India. It can best be described as short-term industrial immigration) and was undertaken for plantation labour in that 'sugar bowl of Europe' the West Indies, and their upstart rival Mauritius.

By 1834, when the need for labour reinforcements was increased by the abolition of slavery) the West Indies were past the peak of their wealth and once impressive political power. Professor Ragatz traces the decline and fall of the sugar planters—formerly the conspicuously rich men of Great Britain—from the mid-1700's.<sup>12</sup> Abolition and emancipation were only contributing factors to a slow decline. He 'believes that by 1750 all the old West Indian colonies had passed the golden age of immense returns from slight effort. The nineteenth century witnessed a decline elsewhere than in estate management and profits. High offices were held by men of low calibre, little education, and callous abilities; legislatures, courts; and administrations failing to function properly, the machinery of representative government actually breaking down. In conditions of decline the West Indies were facing increasing pressure of competition. The threat of East Indian sugar had been successfully staved off for many decades, but was at last challenging the West Indian market. Competition with the old colonies began from Trinidad after its acquisition in 1802, from Mauritius, captured from France in 1810 and British Guiana, ceded to England in 1814. The slave-holding colonies of Cuba and Brazil were competing with the foreign market" of the West Indies. In 1816 the West India interest at its own request was granted a preferential duty on sugar, but in 1825 Parliament equalized the duties on Mauritian sugar, and in 1836 on East Indian sugar. Adverse customs duties laid by other colonial powers, seeking to encourage tropical agriculture in their own "overseas possessions markedly decreased the demand for British produce. Two Parliamentary Committees of Inquiry into West Indian distress were appointed in 1831 and 1831-2. The destruction of slavery was, therefore, resolved on when" West Indian fortunes were at very low ebb. That led to beginning of a thought on Indian helping hand and thus formation of Indian Diaspora in the Caribbean and elsewhere, a Bhojpuri Diaspora, People of East Indian origin to make headway to change the history of those far off lands, demography and future of those island nations.

### **A study in Indentured Servitude/Neo-Slavery or Asian Slavery; how that happened?**

- 
10. Elliot's became Britain's agent General for and in 1838 a member of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission the body charged with regulating emigration throughout the empire. He then became Assistant under Secretary for the colonies in 1847 and worked tirelessly to strengthen the Passenger's Act, which eventually happened in 1855. See, 1837 Elliot, Thomas Frederick, Sir, 1808-1880, *The Canadian controversy: its origin, nature, and merits*. Longman, Orme, Brown, Green & Longmans London:, 1838.
  11. Sir Henry Taylor (1800-1886), was appointed clerk in the *Colonial Office*, 1824, later chief of its *West Indian division*. See, Stanley L. Engerman, *The Terms of Labor: Slavery, Serfdom, and Free Labor* & Frederick Cooper edited by *Beyond Slavery: Explorations of Race, Labor, and Citizenship* in ...University of North Carolina Press.
  12. Professor Ragatz, L. J, *The Fall of the Planter's Class in the British Caribbean*, 1763-1833, New York, 1928, p.288.



Although Indentured Servitude most markedly appeared during the 17<sup>th</sup> century as a means for facilitating transatlantic migration and providing labor in England's early American colonies, indentured servitude has showed itself in many forms during its long history. Indentured servants were individuals who bargained away their labor for a period of four to seven years in exchange for passage to the New World. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, indentured servants made up the bulk of English immigrants to the Chesapeake colonies and were central to the development of the tobacco economy.<sup>13</sup> Large numbers of indentured servants could also be found in the English West Indian colonies, but they were replaced by enslaved African laborers by the end of the century as cash-crop agriculture (particularly sugar) and plantation slavery steadily minimized the overall demographic and economic importance of indentured servitude as a labor system. South Asian migration during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was largely comprised of indentured labourers sent to British colonies after the 1833 abolition of slavery. Mauritian Sugar planters looked for additional labour long before slavery was abolished. In 1839, the year apprentices were freed, an Immigration Committee was formed and Government sought permission to recruit labourers from Madagascar and East Africa. The Queen of Madagascar, Queen Ranavalona I and the Imam of Muscat were contacted. Malagasy labourers were also recruited from the West Coast. Ship arrival registers indicate that they were of Antanosy, Antamboly, Tamboly, Saklava or Betsimisaraka origin.<sup>14</sup> Between 1839 and 1843, 3,215 Malagasies were indentured to employers in Mauritius. The term of their engagement was between 1 and 2 years. Many either deserted or chose to return to Madagascar. Many Comorians were also recruited. 223 labourers arrived on 25 January 1841 on board the Donna Carmelita.<sup>15</sup> They were employed by British planters Chapman, West, Hunter on Mount Estate. On 14 November 1843, 125 more labourers arrived on the Samson. South Asian diaspora in national contexts as diverse as Mauritius, South Africa, Guyana, Fiji and other places.

Thus emerges four principal locations on the globe where Indians appeared as diasporic lot. There are four particular areas where large numbers of Indians were re-settled and where the Indians later formed a clearly recognisable ethnic minority in their respective host countries.

1) **East Africa, especially Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania**, where many Indians from the west of their country (Gujarat and Panjab) moved when this area was British East Africa. This continued an existing tradition of contacts across the Arabian Sea and was not necessarily connected with the abolition of slavery. Large numbers of Indians also moved to the **islands Mauritius and Réunion** in the Indian Ocean.<sup>16</sup>

2) **South Africa** which received indentured servants from India between 1860 and 1911 who worked on the plantations in Natal (now Kwa-Zulu Natal). Many of these Indians were Bhojpuri from the north-west of India or Tamil from the far south.

3) **Fiji** where Indians were moved in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century for plantation work and where they came to form the leading social group after independence in 1970, a fact which led to considerable tension with the native Fijians of Polynesian stock.

4) **Trinidad and Tobago** experienced an influx of tens of thousands of Indians during the nineteenth century. Some Indians came directly from India but many are the descendants of indentured labourers from other Caribbean islands. These originally worked on the sugar plantations and then on the newer plantations which produced cacao, the basis for cocoa and chocolate. The Indians of Trinidad and Tobago

13. Randolph Vigne, Charles Littleton, (edit.), *From Strangers to Citizens: The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland and in Colonial America, 1550-1750*, Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Sussex Academic Press Oregon. See Also, Lois Green Carr; *Colonial Chesapeake Society*, Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, ISBN 978-0-8078-4343-7, 1991, University of North Carolina Press, 1988.

14. See for details, S. Deepalsingh, *Labour immigrants in Mauritius: a pictorial recollection*, Mahatma Gandhi Institute, 2001 (Mauritius) Mahatma Gandhi Institute, 2001, ISBN, 9990339325, 9789990339321 also, Edgar Sanderson, *Africa in the Nineteenth Century*, BiblioBazaar, 1179044150, 2011.

15. Ibid ;

16. Jean Hubert, Mauritius, *A Sea Food Hub*, In, Dennis Rumley, Sanjay Chaturvedi, Vijay Sakhuja (Edited), *Fisheries Exploitation in the Indian Ocean: Threats and Opportunities*, Institute of South East Asian Studies, 2009, p.196.

are mainly from the Hindi belt in the central north of the country and are ethnically Hindustanis (Bhojpuri).

In all of the extra-territorial areas where Indians settled they formed with time a flourishing middle class. This happened in East and South Africa, in Fiji and in the Caribbean. Varieties arose in the new locations which represent mixtures of local forms of English with input from Indic and/or Dravidian languages of India.

Regardless, indentured servitude continued to be an important institution in the Atlantic world through the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>17</sup> Debates persist about the general characteristics of early indentured servants, but they were certainly primarily younger English men in search of new opportunities for wealth and advancement that were unavailable to them at home. Some people achieved this goal, but many more either died before their contract expired or were unable to rise above a relatively moderate status in the colonies. Britain abolished slavery in 1833, and other colonial powers such as France, the Netherlands, and Portugal followed suit. Without the labor of African slaves, their colonies then desperately needed manpower to work the sugar and rubber plantations. To meet that demand, the British established the system of “Indentured Labor Migration” from the Indian subcontinent.

In 1834, Britain began exporting bonded Indian labor to Mauritius. The Dutch and French replicated the British system and also exported Indian workers to their colonies. In just a decade, this small-scale migration became a mass movement to provide cheap labor to British and other European colonies. Conditions of absolute poverty in many parts of India, in addition to the prospect of gaining wealth overseas, motivated Indians to sell themselves and become bonded laborers. The conditions on these journeys were extremely difficult. Mortality was high on British, Dutch and French boats from the sub-continent to these colonies; the rates of mortality were not much better than on the slaver boats that brought black Africans to the plantations of the Southern United States.

Workers for plantations in Mauritius, Suriname, Trinidad and Fiji arrived mainly from the present-day states of Bihar and UP. In Guyana and East Africa, laborers originated primarily from Punjab and Gujarat. Given the proximity of Tamil Nadu to French possessions in India like Pondicherry, the workers in most French colonies, such as Guadeloupe, Martinique, and La Reunion, were Tamils. The majority of these migrants were males. The ruthless indenture system lasted until World War I.

In response to severe international criticism, Britain abolished the indenture system in 1916. By that time, more than **1.5 million Indians** had been shipped to colonies in the Caribbean, Africa, and Asia, a whooping numbers of Indians displaced. However, during roughly the same period, another form of labor migration developed.<sup>18</sup>

**Table No. 1**

***First Year of Emigration of Indentured Labourers from India to Host Country***

Mauritius	1834
Australia	1837
British Guiana	1844/45
Jamaica and Trinidad	1844/45
Natal (South Africa)	1860
Surinam	1873
Fiji	1879

17. Laurence, K. O., *A Question of Labour: Indentured Immigration into Trinidad and British Guiana*, New York, 1994.

18. Ashok Rao, *The Indian Diaspora - Past, Present, and Future* <http://www.fairobserver.com/article/indian-diaspora-past-present-and-future-part-ii>

**Source:** De Klerk, 1953. C.J.M.(1953). *De immigratie der Hindostanen in Suriname*. Amsterdam: Urbi et Orbi.

### **Liberated Africans indentured Indians;<sup>19</sup>**

The term 'coolie' is of disputed origins: some believe it derives from an aboriginal tribe in the Gujarat region of India, and others believe it comes from the Tamil word 'kuli', meaning 'payment for occasional menial work'. The labourers were mostly young, active, able-bodied people used to demanding labour, but they were often ignorant of the places they agreed to go to or the challenges they were going to face. Before 1840 a large proportion of the labourers were so-called 'Hill coolies', aboriginal people from the plains of the Ganges. Later many others signed indentured labour contracts, including Hindus, Brahmins, high castes, agriculturists, artisans, Mussulmans, low castes (untouchables) and Christians.

Over 41,000 Bengali labourers were sent to Mauritius in 1834, but the Indian government forbidden 'coolie' shipments in **1838** because there were reports of cruelty and abuse. In 1842 the British Prime Minister Robert Peel directed the Indian government to re-open these lines of emigration under proper safeguards. A Protector of Emigrants was appointed to ensure that the labourers had adequate space, food, water and ventilation on the journey. Emigration to Jamaica, British Guiana and Trinidad was legalised in 1844. Emigration to Grenada and St Lucia was legalised in 1856 and 1858 respectively. The last indentured labourers went to the West Indies in 1916. Repatriation continued for many years after the time limit. The last ship carrying returning emigrants left the West Indies for India in 1954.

Experience of employers with the various ethnic groups of immigrations and preferences expressed by planters, suspension of various ports of emigration between 1844 and 1850 were some of the other factors which compelled agents to tap one source of labour rather than another. Geoghegan, for instance, expressed the reasons why 'hill coolies' were sought:"

*The earliest recruiting grounds for the colonies were in the so-called 'hill coolies' or 'adivasi' areas of Bihar and Chota Nagpore, but the proportion of tribals in overseas migration had declined as a result of heavy mortality."*

Bihar became a large labour supply region by the mid-19th century. Bihar became a large labour supply region by the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century as a result of the severe socio-economic upheavals provoked by the British policies such as the revenue and land settlements, heavy taxation and the Money lenders Regulation Act. Conditions worsened with harvest failures due to droughts and famine which forced the population to resort to emigration. Labourers were sought from the specific regions of North Western provinces, Oudh and Central Bengal.

In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, most indentured servants were of English origin and migrated to the Chesapeake and West Indies. Of the 120,000 emigrants to the Chesapeake during this era, roughly 90,000 arrived as bound laborers. Another 50,000 to 75,000 white indentured servants went to the islands, although these numbers included many Irish servants, political prisoners, and convict laborers. A few indentured servants, or *engagés*, appeared in the French colonies, but the institution was much more common in the British colonies. Indentured servitude did eventually become much more diverse, particularly during the 18th century when increasing numbers of German redemptioners arrived and an increasing percentage of people chose to locate themselves in non-plantation zones, especially Pennsylvania.<sup>20</sup> Perhaps 150,000 non-English migrants arrived as servants during the late colonial period. After the American Revolution, however, the system virtually disappeared in the United States. In the West Indies, however, indentured servitude revived in many places after the abolition of slavery in the 1830s and 1840s. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, large numbers of Indian and Chinese migrant laborers were bound into servitude to perform tasks once the responsibility of enslaved Africans. Scholars disagree about whether or not this new system was simply a new form of slavery. Regardless, as late as the first

---

19. Fryer, P., *Black People in the British Empire*, Pluto Calssics, London and Colorado, 1988.

20. John A Grigg and Peter C. Mancall (Ed.), *British Colonial America; People and Perspective*, ABC Clio, Chap. II, Pp.34-35 and also [http://www.archive.org/stream/redemptionersind00geis/redemptionersind00geis\\_djvu.txt](http://www.archive.org/stream/redemptionersind00geis/redemptionersind00geis_djvu.txt)

decades of the 20th century, unfree laborers—effectively the descendants of the mass of indentured servants who first appeared nearly four hundred years earlier—could still be found toiling in subjugation in the old plantation zones of North America and the Caribbean.

Indentured servitude is often equally well treated in scholarly articles as it is in book-length studies. Salinger 1997 and Tomlins 2001 are good examples of brief essays that provide readers with a good introduction to the topic. The essays that appear in Emmer 1986 and Menard 2001 are exceptionally useful and provide an overview of the key issues and debates. Galenson 1981 is still the authoritative monograph on the subject and is important for its economic perspective. Smith 1971 is old but still valuable for its narrative treatment and attention to legal matters. More recently, Morgan 2001 is a nice survey that considers indentured servitude in comparison with slavery, although it does not cover the Caribbean. Allen 1994-1997 and Jordan and Walsh 2008 are good examples of more polemical studies inclined to emphasize the degree to which indentured servitude was often just another system of slavery.

### **Highlights of Indentured Servitude / Neo-Slavery or Asian Slavery;**

- Although it most famously appeared during the 17<sup>th</sup> century as a means for facilitating transatlantic migration<sup>21</sup> and providing labor in England's early American colonies, indentured servitude has manifested itself in many forms during its long history. Indentured servants were individuals who bargained away their labor for a period of four to seven years in exchange for passage to the New World.
- In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, indentured servants made up the mass of English immigrants to the Chesapeake colonies and were central to the development of the tobacco economy. Large numbers of indentured servants could also be found in the English West Indian colonies, but they were replaced by enslaved African laborers by the end of the century as cash-crop agriculture (particularly sugar) and plantation slavery gradually minimized the overall demographic and economic importance of indentured servitude as a labor system.
- Regardless, indentured servitude continued to be an important institution in the Atlantic world through the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Debates persist about the general characteristics of early indentured servants, but they were certainly primarily younger English men in search of new opportunities for wealth and advancement that were unavailable to them at home. Some people achieved this goal, but many more either died before their contract expired or were unable to rise above a relatively moderate status in the colonies. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, most indentured servants were of English origin and migrated to the Chesapeake and West Indies.
- Of the 120,000 emigrants to the Chesapeake during this era, roughly 90,000 arrived as bound laborers. Another 50,000 to 75,000 white indentured servants went to the islands, although these numbers included many Irish servants, political prisoners, and convict laborers. A few indentured servants, or *engagés*, appeared in the French colonies, but the institution was much more common in the British colonies. Indentured servitude did eventually become much more diverse, particularly during the 18<sup>th</sup> century when increasing numbers of German redemptioners arrived and an increasing percentage of people chose to locate themselves in nonplantation zones, especially Pennsylvania. Perhaps 150,000 non-English migrants arrived as servants during the late colonial period. After the American Revolution, however, the system virtually disappeared in the United States.
- In the West Indies, however, indentured servitude revived in many places after the abolition of slavery in the 1830s and 1840s. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, large numbers of Indian and Chinese migrant laborers were bound into servitude to perform tasks once the responsibility of enslaved Africans. Scholars disagree about whether or not this new system was simply a new form of slavery. Regardless, as late as the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, unfree laborers—effectively the descendants of the mass of indentured servants who first appeared nearly four hundred years

---

21. Paul S. Boyer (Ed.); *The Enduring Vision: A History of the American People*, Volume I: To 1877, Wadsworth Cengage learning, Boston, USA, 2009, P.56.

earlier—could still be found toiling in subjugation in the old plantation zones of North America and the Caribbean.

- Indentured servitude is often equally well treated in scholarly articles as it is in book-length studies. Salinger 1997 and Tomlins 2001 are good examples of brief essays that provide readers with a good introduction to the topic.<sup>22</sup> The essays that appear in Emmer 1986 and Menard 2001 are exceptionally useful and provide an overview of the key issues and debates.<sup>23</sup> Galenson 1981 is still the authoritative monograph on the subject and is important for its economic perspective.<sup>24</sup> Smith 1971 is old but still valuable for its narrative treatment and attention to legal matters.<sup>25</sup> More recently, Morgan 2001 is a nice survey that considers indentured servitude in comparison with slavery, although it does not cover the Caribbean.<sup>26</sup> Allen 1994–1997 and Jordan and Walsh 2008 are good examples of more polemical studies inclined to emphasize the degree to which indentured servitude was often just another system of slavery.<sup>27</sup>

### **How Indians (Bhojpuri Diaspora) behave on foreign land;**

A Diaspora is also characterized by the role played by a collective memory. This collective memory retains the historical facts that precipitated the dispersion or scattering, as well as the cultural heritage of the homeland, and is often religious in nature. The Indian diaspora fulfills all the conditions required of a Diaspora. Let us examine those requirements in detail:

1. Indian Diaspora maintain Family Traditions of origin, but also are gradually subject to social, cultural and political integration into the host nation.
2. It is acutely aware of Indian (and regional) origins, but don't go much further than a sympathetic curiosity about them. However, our personal identity is significantly affected by that awareness.
3. It takes an active interest in the general fate of India, and in important events in India.
4. We perpetuate significant aspects of our Indian culture like language, tradition and religion: i.e.
  - a) Most of them speak Hindi, as well as our mother tongues like Bhojpuri, Telugu, Gujarati, etc.
  - b) India Diaspora maintains Tradition for Weddings, Upananyanams, Cremations etc. The Muslims follow their own Rituals so on so forth and perform religious duties respectively like Hinduism, Sikhism, Islam, and other India based religions.
5. India Diaspora maintained regular communications with family and friends in India from the very beginning.
6. They continued to send remittances back home on a regular basis.
7. The Indian Diaspora fostered good relations with local communities wherever they were settled.<sup>28</sup>

---

22. See, Cathy Matson (Ed.), *The Economy of Early America Historical Perspectives and New Directions*, Paperback ISBN: 978-0-271-02765-4 Co-publisher: the Library Company of Philadelphia, also, Salinger Sharon V, *Labour Market and opportunity, early indenture Servitude in Early America, Labour History, Vol 38, PP3-2, 1997, Pp. 311-338*, Christopher Tomlins, "Reconsidering Indentured Servitude: European Migration and the Early American Labor force, 1600-1775, *Labour History*, 42, (2001).

23. Emmer PC, (Ed.), *Colonialism and Migration: Migration Labour Before and after Slavery*. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Mimus NijhgrT Publishers, 1986. And, Russell R. Menard, *Migrants, Servants and Slaves: Unfree Labor in Colonial British America*, Publisher Ashgate, the University of Michigan ISBN 0860788385, 9780860788386, 2001.

24. Galenson, David W., *White Servitude in Colonial America: An Economic Analysis*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

25. Smith, Abbot Emerson, *Colonists in Bondage: White Servitude and Convict Labor in America, 1607–1776*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1971.

26. Morgan, Kenneth. *Slavery and Servitude in Colonial North America: A Short History*. New York University Press, 2001.

27. Allen, Theodore W. *The Invention of the White Race*. 2 vols. London: Verso, 1994–1997. And, Jordan, Don, & Michael Walsh, *White Cargo: The Forgotten History of Britain's White Slaves in America*, New York University Press, 2008.

28. The Indian Diaspora - Past, Present, and Future" by Ashok Rao <https://www.tie.org/article/indian-diaspora-past-present-and-future-ashok-rao>

## **PART II**

**LOCATING THE REGION IN THE ‘HOME COUNTRY’ FROM WHERE SUCH  
MIGRATION TOOK PLACE?**

## **PART II**

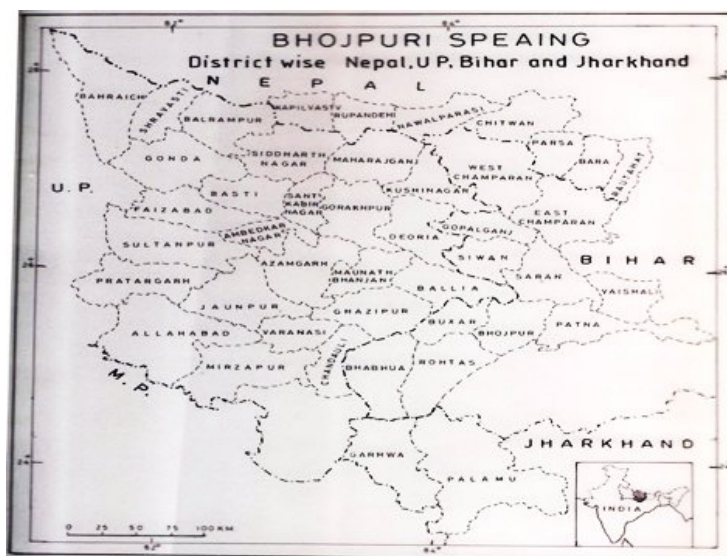
### **LOCATING THE REGION IN THE ‘HOME COUNTRY’ FROM WHERE SUCH MIGRATION TOOK PLACE;**

#### **Region of Origin and focal point ‘Bhojpuri Diaspora’ located;**

Migrations of Indians had taken place from various nooks and corner of the vast Indian sub-continent but in this research only the Bhojpuri Speaking lot from Eastern India has been the ‘target group’ as they were termed ‘Indentured laborers’ from Eastern India.<sup>29</sup> So area specific study has been tried and efforts had been made to locate that area, maps were drawn of the specified region of their migration (See attached specific maps related to Bhojpuri belt). In this regard it has been observed that part of present Indian States of UP, Bihar and part of Nepal could be the focal point of study of a mass migration.<sup>30</sup>

In this regard the first and foremost task was to locate the region of the ‘Bhojpuri Diaspora’. From Indian State of Uttar Pradesh (part of Purvanchal,<sup>31</sup> part of Awadh region of Uttar Pradesh) and Bihar, what makes geographic region of Eastern India. But Bhojpuri region is spread to other parts of India also generally Baghelkhand region of Madhya Pradesh is also included. It has been predominantly agrarian vast land and had been under the landlord system during and the pre-British times, with vast population without actually owing even an acre of land or so. So free-hand labourers or farm labourers were in abundance in that particular locality. The modern era amenities and developmental works though have impacted the landscape to some extent in present times but by and large the vast open field remains the same for centuries.<sup>32</sup>

Map 1. showing Bhojpuri homeland;



29. Thomas R. Metcalf, *Imperial Connections: India in the Indian Ocean Arena, 1860-1920*, Volume 4, The California world History library, University of California Press, 2008. East India (Indentured Labour): Report to the Government of India on the Conditions of Indian Immigrants in Four British Colonies and Surinam, Part 2, East India (Indentured Labour): [Great Britain. Parliament. Papers by command) Cd. 7744, 7745, India. Commerce and Industry Dept, Contributor Chimman Lal Published by H.M. Stationery Office, 1915, Original from University of Minnesota.
30. See, For Bhojpuri language and its related aspects, K. Moti Gokulsing, Wimal Dissanayake, *Routledge Handbook of Indian Cinemas*, Publisher, Routledge Chapman & Hall, 2013.
31. Purvanchal comprises of three divisions – Awadhi region in the West, Bhojpuri region in the East and the Baghelkhand region in the south.
32. There were primarily two reasons behind migration under the Colonial Rule. The first was the poor condition that prevailed at that time in India because of the killing of the Indian village and cottage industry resulting in extreme poverty and unemployment. The West, on the other hand, was getting affluent because of industrial development. Second, all colonial masters found Indians skillful, hardworking and useful, as a result of which the British, the French, the Dutch, and the Portuguese all took Indian skilled labour for development of plantations and agricultural economies of their territories.

Going by details of Purvanchal (Bhojpuri speaking expanse) which is a geographic region of Eastern India and comprises the eastern end of Uttar Pradesh and has contiguity with Bihar and Nepal. It is bounded by Nepal to the north, Bihar state to the east, Baghelkhand region of Madhya Pradesh state to the South, and the Awadh region of Uttar Pradesh to the West<sup>33</sup> ---generally recognized with three divisions – Awadhi region in the west, Bhojpuri region in the east and the Baghelkhand region in the south.

The Bhojpuri belt stretches from the Himalaya Basin up to the Sarguja District in Chhattisgarh, the newly created state split from Madhya Pradesh. Covering some 129,500 km<sup>2</sup>, it differs slightly every ten kilometres. In Bihar, Bhojpuri is used in the districts of Arrah, Buxar, Chapra, Shahabad, Sharan, Champaran and Mazafarpur as well as in the villages around Patna, its capital. In Jharkhand, the new state extracted from Bihar, the belt stretches up to Ranchi. The names of districts which are Bhojpuri dominated includes Ghazipur, Azamgarh, Mau, Ballia, Gorakhpur, Deoria, Kushinagar, Maharajganj, Basti, Sant Kabir Nagar, Siddharth Nagar, Allahabad, Kaushambi, Fatehpur, Pratapgarh, Sant Ravidas Nagar-Bhadohi, Mirzapur, Sonbhadra, Varanasi, Jaunpur, Chandauli. In eastern UP, it covers such districts as Azamgarh, Ballia, Ghazipur, Mau, Deoria, Padrauna, Gorakhpur, Jaunpur, Mirzapur, Sonbhadra and Faizabad as well as the large holy city of Varanasi. Avadhi and Magadhi are two congenial sister dialects of Bhojpuri. In Varanasi, Ayodhya, Gaya, Champaran and Mithila it is Bhojpuri influenced by Awadhi that is commonly spoken which is known as Magadhi.<sup>34</sup> A mixture of Bhojpuri and Magadhi prevails not only in Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh's current capital, (famous for its culture and Urdu) but also Faizabad and Jaunpur. The zone ABCD (Arrah, Ballia, Chapra and Deoria) is the most renowned Bhojpuri speaking region or the heart of the Diaspora we are discussing.<sup>35</sup>

#### **Patterns of migration in Colonial India---Voluntary or Forced one?**

South Asian migration during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was largely comprised of indentured labourers sent to British colonies after the **1834 abolition of slavery**. Mauritian Sugar planters looked for additional labour long before slavery was abolished. In this regard it has been observed that as the Bhojpuri speaking region was predominantly agrarian so they had plenty of laborers to spare for, as agricultural laborers were not engaged round the year in that part of India. The other pertinent reason of their migration appears to be handiwork of the mechanism developed by the colonial masters. (See Attached Maps locating Bhojpuri Region and emerging Diaspora out of it Map 1). showing Bhojpuri homeland). Labour migration was not a new phenomenon in India, but under British rule it assumed a variety of new shapes and forms with increased scale of migration. Earlier migrants often proceeded from village to village individually or in bands to assist in harvesting or other agricultural operations in traditional farming patterns. It is also understood that in the mid of 19<sup>th</sup> century India passed through difficult phase of uprising and the East India Company had caused long drawn battles with the local princes for their supremacy forcing people to opt out of the regions. Warfare<sup>36</sup> threw up much larger bodies of people willing to migrate further in search of work. There repression and famine which followed the Santhal insurrection of 1855 generated one such large-scale movement of population, as also did British suppression of the Indian uprising of 1857. The trends clearly demonstrated the magnitude of emigration from British India in the period 1855-65<sup>37</sup> as is clear from the statistic. In this regard the insights provided by Kingsley David regarding pre- and post-1857 migration from India.<sup>38</sup>

33. See for information on Indian States of UP, Bihar, and part of Nepal origin of Bhojpuri diaspora. Lipi Ghosh, Ramkrishna Chatterjee, *Indian diaspora in Asian and Pacific regions: culture, people, interactions*, Rawat Publications, 2004, P.55.

34. It was into Awadhi that Tulsidas (1532-1623) translated the original Ramayana, calling it *Ramcharitmanas*. See, James G. Lochtefeld, *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Hinduism: N-Z*, The Rosen Publishing Group, 2002. Pp.557-559

35. Chit Geerjanand Dukhira, Mauritius and local government management, All India Institute of Local Self-Government, 1992 P.18

36. 19th Century India presented gloomy picture as fragmentation of the Mighty Mughal Empire had brought chaotic scene but for British Consolidation taking place and thus populations were willing to do anything, migration or taking part in warfare etc.

37. Source: D. Northrup, *Indentured Labour in the Age of Imperialism, 1834-1922*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), p.66.

38. Davis, F (1968), *The Population of India and Pakistan*, New York: Russell, p.99



**TABLE No. 2 Estimated Total  
Migration from India for  
Selected Years (Around Mutiny  
year)**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of</i>
1836-40	188
1841-5	240
1846-50	247
1851-5	357
1856-60	618

**Table 2. David, F; Davis, F(1968), *The Population of India and Pakistan*, New York: Russell. p.99**

Not only the Rural labourers were left without any option but the hill or jungle tribals were also involved in such works. The effects of the Santhal insurrection were reflected initially in a flood of migrants, mostly Santhal, Oraon and Mundari labourers into the north of Bengal, where they helped in the clearance of jungle for fresh Tea saplings. From here they went on to the tea gardens in Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling, or migrated to destinations overseas. Later on famines, forest enclosures and population growth continually added to the ranks of migrants. The migration of nearly a million peasants from over-crowded lands in the east of Bengal to Assam during the first three decades of the twentieth century attested to the progressive exhaustion of the intensive margins of agriculture, a phenomenon particularly pronounced in the east of India, but also common elsewhere in the period 1860 to 1920.<sup>39</sup>

Although the eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh, eastern Madhya Pradesh and West Bihar constituted the largest and most chunk of labour migration in India, and it was from here a significant proportion of Calcutta's population was also resourced in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This involved a regular migration between the countryside and in the city, in which families at home in the village provided vital support. The manner in which this family economy worked was described as follows:

*Only a few members of a family migrate to the towns. The family itself remains domiciled in the homestead and the centre of family life is there, so that the women folk return to it to bear their children; the menfolk when age or disability comes to them, or when death causes a vacancy in the agricultural workers of the family.<sup>40</sup>*

Haraprasad Chattopadhyaya in his case study of internal migration in Bengal, argues however that it was occasional 'push' factors such as famine and the failure of crops that drove the majority of migrants from their villages in rural Bengal. Even then he states that migrants in eastern India often preferred to move to the nearest towns, rather than the major metropolises.<sup>41</sup> Only in times of serious crisis would these peasant migrants make their way as far as Calcutta - subsequently returning to their villages when forced back by their emotional attachment to the land'.<sup>42</sup>

In the longer term, however, a more permanent detachment from the land was sometimes

39. S.C. Bose, *Peasant Labour and Colonial Capital: rural Bengal since 1770*, New Cambridge, History of India, Vol. III.2, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), Pp. 26-8.

40. Royal Commission on Labour in India, Evidence, Bombay Presidency, (Calcutta: GOI, 1931), "Conditions of Industrial Workers", I, i, p. 8, cited in R. Chandavarkar, *The Origins of Industrial Capitalism in India*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

41. Haraprasad Chattopadhyaya, *Internal Migration in India: a case study of Bengal*, Calcutta: K.P. Bagchi, 1987.

42. For most of the rest of the time, Chattopadhyaya argues, the migrants to Calcutta derived from a elite strata of rural landlords and wealthy farmers, the class of 'idler-receivers' whom moved to the city by choice. Chattopadhyaya, *Internal Migration*, p. 26.

imposed by the pressures of population growth, fragmentation and subdivision of the land.<sup>43</sup> That forced many peasants to become habitual or long-term migrants as a means of earning the money to supplement their incomes and to settle their debts back home—a common feature in Chhattisgarh in Madhya Pradesh, as well as in some of the tribal areas of Central India. In Chhattisgarh, although landlessness was uncommon, according to a survey in 1929, 50% of the holdings were less than 5 acres, and the capital invested in cultivation was far too low to ensure an adequate return. Likewise in the Sadr subdivision of Ranchi district in Bihar, in 1911, one survey revealed that 80-94% of holdings amounted to less than 14 acres, and were thus insufficient to support an average family.<sup>44</sup>

As in Chhattisgarh, agriculture here was predominantly rain-fed, much of the cultivation taking place on inferior soils which were extremely vulnerable, and which could be neither double-cropped, nor sustain a single rice-crop for more than a few years without fallowing. Here the poverty of the cultivator was also the poverty of the labourer. Thus the average 4.5 member *kamia* household earned sufficient to provide only 41% of its annual grain requirements—forcing one or more members of the household to migrate in search of work every year.<sup>45</sup> The same situation prevailed in Bengal, where it was estimated that by 1930 less than a fifth of families of cultivators with secure rights to their holdings managed to remain free from debt, making migrant labour an indispensable resource for the majority of the agricultural population. Seasonal and permanent migration was thus a way of life for most of the small-holding cultivators, as well as the landless population of the poorest districts in Chhattisgarh, Bihar and Bengal, and one of the few means available for controlling the size of family units.

Other more permanent migrants in colonial India included the unemployed village weavers who confronted by the competition of mills and the consequent depression overtaking their profession, were driven to give up working with their handlooms and to seek employment at the mills. Other village artisans also sought work in the city, the easiest way out for the village craftsman being (as argued by the Royal Commission on Labour) 'to transfer his commitment to the rival which is supplanting him'.<sup>46</sup> India has a more than 2,000-year-long tradition of emigration. The following migratory flows can be distinguished:

#### *Emigration of high caste members*

In the first millennium CE, it was predominantly the members of high castes who emigrated, mainly for religious reasons, from India to Cochin-China, Cambodia, Burma, Borneo, Java, Sumatra and Ceylon. Many Sanskrit inscriptions, documents and edifices testify to the early presence of Indians in these countries.

#### *Emigration of indentured labourers*

A second massive wave of emigration from India started after the abolition of slavery in the British colonies in 1834. This time, mainly people from lower castes and classes migrated from India to European colonies. As indentured labourers ("contract coolies") they were to take up places on the plantations left by liberated African slaves.

43. See S. Bose, *Peasant Labour and Colonial Capital*, Rural Bengal since 1770, Volume 3 Cambridge University Press, Pp. 79-94.

44. Central Provinces Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee Report, 1929-  
30, 4 vols., Nagpur, 1930. The significance of this report is analyzed in C. Bates, 'Regional Dependence and Rural Development in Central India', (Cambridge Ph.D. thesis, 1984), chapter 7. ISBN: 1 900 795 13 2,  
See also C. Bates 'Regional Dependence and Rural Development: the pivotal role of migrant labour' in D. Ludden, *Agricultural Production and Indian History*, (New Delhi: O.U.P., 1994); and 'Tribal and indentured migrants in colonial India: modes of recruitment and forms of incorporation' (with Dr. M. Carter), in P. Robb (ed.), *Dalit Movements and the Meanings of Labour in India*, (New Delhi: O.U.P., 1993), Pp. 159-185

45. D. Schwerin, in D. Rothermund and D. C. Wadhwa (eds.), *Zamindars, Mines and Peasants: studies in the history of an Indian coalfield and its rural hinterland*, New Delhi: Manohar, 1978, p. 33.

46. Cited in Chattopadhyaya, *Internal Migration*. *Internal migration in India: a case study of Bengal*, Calcutta: K.P. Bagchi & Co., 1987. Study covers the period from the second half of 19th century to 1931.

*Migration from former British and Dutch colonies to European countries;*

The third wave of emigration evolved as a consequence of the process of decolonisation after the Second World War. Before and after India's independence, many Indians migrated to the UK. With the exception of a few small islands, the European colonies in the Caribbean islands and Guyana also became independent states in the second half of the twentieth century and many of their inhabitants, including East Indians, migrated to England and the Netherlands.<sup>47</sup>

**Table No. 3**

<b>The roots of Bhojpuri Diaspora</b>			
Bhojpuri language is spoken in the districts of <b>West Bihar</b> , <b>Eastern Uttar Pradesh</b> which is called <b>Purwanchal</b> and middle <i>terai</i> of Nepal apart from bhojpuri people scattered elsewhere (District wise )			
<b><u>Bihar</u></b>	<b><u>Uttar Pradesh</u></b>	<b><u>Nepal</u></b>	<b><u>Jharkhand</u></b>
Saran	Ballia	Rautahat	Palamu
Siwan	Varanasi	Bara	Garhwa
Gopalganj	Gorakhpur	Parsa	
East Champaran	Maharajganj district	Chitwan	
West Champaran	Ghazipur	Nawalparasi	
Vaishali	Mirzapur	Rupandehi	
Bhojpur	Mau	Kapilavastu	
Rohtas	Allahabad		
Buxar	Jaunpur		
Kaimur	Pratapgarh		
	Sultanpur		
	Faizabad		
	Basti		
	Gonda		
	Bahraich		

**Table 3; showing Bhojpuri belt:**

The predominance of such itinerant and semi-skilled workers account for the large mass of males in the migrant community, it is argued, as well as the extraordinary rate of growth in the population of Calcutta and other major industrial

47. Lotty Eldering, *The Bhojpuri Diaspora : A Rich Field for Comparative* , Acculturation Research, Psychology Developing Societies 2005 17: 237 DOI: 10.1177/097133360501700209 Pp, 241-242

centres in northern and central India, such as Ranchi, Nagpur and Cawnpore. Even as early as 1822, Calcutta was said to have a population of 200,000 with another 100,000 coming into the city for work every day from the surrounding neighborhood, but by the end of the century the city was growing at a rate in excess of 12,000 a year, bringing the population from 447,000 to 1,200,000 in the period from 1872 to 1931.<sup>48</sup>

Apart from these numbers, the mass of skills among the migrants also accounts for a high level of locational and occupational specialisation among the permanently settled workforce - particularly seen in Calcutta in the Burrabazar area, where each trading community monopolised a different street: the Gujaratis in Armenian Street, the Parsis and Punjabis in Dharamtalla Street, the Marwaris in Harrison Road, Cross Street, Chitpur, Canning and Clive Streets, the diamond-sellers in Munga Patti, and the pharmacists in Bonfield Lane. For these elites it is clear that migration to the city was a very conscious choice, but for the majority, historians are inclined to agree that so-called 'push factors' were of over-riding importance in encouraging them to move towards the city. It appears that the available accounts of the manner in which 'push' factors actually operated, however, are in general unsatisfactory.

To explain the arrival of poorer migrants in the cities, most historians have considered it sufficient merely to produce a catalogue of woes and misfortunes, the consequence of which are judged to be self-evident. Some, such as Lalita Chakravorty, have not even troubled to distinguish the socio-economic conditions of migrants, judging instead the ecology of the districts for which it has been the crucial determinant.<sup>49</sup> Because of her enthusiasm for a positivist, ecological explanation for the origins of migration, Chakravorty is notably forced to regard levels of surplus appropriation in agriculture as constant, and to exclude technical and institutional change from her analysis. These assumptions are so obviously invalid in respect to tribal areas that they have to be omitted from her study altogether, as are the large and growing population of 'part-time' proletarian and seasonal labourers, who up to the postulate of an 'agrarian proletarian equilibrium' in the nineteenth century.

Table No. 4

Population growth in Saran District, 1872-1961

Year	Population	Variation	Saran(%)	Bihar (%)
1872	2075527			
1881	2295001	+219474	+10.6	+15.6
1891	2464830	+169829	+7.4	+5.9
1901	2409365	-55465	-2.3	+0.2
1911	2289699	-119666	-5.0	+3.7
1921	2340222	+50523	+2.2	-0.7
1931	2486737	+146515	+6.2	+11.5
1941	2860537	+373800	+15.20	+12.2
1951	3155144	+294607	+10.3	+10.3

48. P. Marshall, *Bengal: the British Bridgehead*, New Cambridge History of India, vol. II.2, 160 & H. Chattopadhyay, *Internal Migration*, ch. V.

(Cambridge: C. U. P., 1987), p.

49. Lalita Chakravorty, 'Emergence of an Industrial Labour Force in a Dual Economy', *Indian Economic and Social History Review* [IESHR], 1975

<b>1961</b>	<b>3584918</b>	<b>429774</b>	<b>+30.6</b>	<b>+19.8</b>
-------------	----------------	---------------	--------------	--------------

Source: S.D. Prasad 1966 In Anand A. Yang, *The Limited Raj: agrarian relations in colonial India*, Saran district, 1793-1920, (New Delhi: O.U.P., 1989)

Most accounts have also failed adequately to explain the reasons why so many migrations were seasonal in nature: a phenomenon that should not be underestimated. Thus, Anand Yang calculates that in Saran district in Bihar alone between 80,000 and 200,000 of the total population were engaged in such activities - these 'seasonal' migrants representing a very significant proportion of the total population of Calcutta city in particular. (see in the Table No.4) Saran district was 'one of the greatest emigrating districts in Bengal', according to the census of 1891, a total of 364,000 of its population (or 15.4%) being enumerated in other districts of India in that year - Howrah and Calcutta (with a total of 13,750 migrants) being the third most important destination after Champaran and Muzaffarpur. A great many note even mentioned in these figures left the country completely: migrating initially to Calcutta, but then being recruited for employment overseas in either Mauritius, Guyana, Trinidad or Jamaica.<sup>50</sup> Yang argues that migration in Saran was nearly always voluntary. Coercion by rural landlords only resulted in 'desertions' from the land, or 'avoidance protest' as he calls it, the deserters normally returning soon after, if not to the same village then at least to a similar one very nearby.<sup>51</sup>

The usual explanation given for seasonal migration is under-employment in rural areas - the practice being for migrants to work away from their villages for one or two months, before going back again in order to cultivate their crops. Normally the labourers went to the cities in January, returned by the end of June, went again by the end of August or the beginning of September, and then returned home once more at the beginning of November. This seasonality of this labour movement is seen to be self-evidently a product of the type of crops grown and the fluctuating demand for labour within the village - the peak demand being at times of ploughing, sowing and harvesting. Such patterns are not immutable however. They are dependent, to begin with, on the sexual division of labour within the village (wedding being an operation given over largely to women), the use of labor-saving technology, and the choice of agricultural techniques - none of which need remain constant (notwithstanding given the limited availability of resources), and all of which are the product of conscious decision-making. As far as the sexual division of labour is concerned it is becoming clear that a major revolution was in fact occurring in the nineteenth century, not least because of the desertion of the fields by large numbers of female migrants, whilst the evidence for technological change in agriculture of one sort or another is also quite undeniable.<sup>52</sup>

50. See M.D. Carter, *Servants, Sirdars and Settlers and Voices from Indenture: experiences of Indian migrants in the British Empire*, (London: Leicester University Press, 1996).

51. Anand A. Yang; see *The Limited Raj: Agrarian Relations in Colonial India*, Saran District 1793-1920 (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989), Pp. chapter 9.

52. See G.K. Lieten, O. Neiwenhuys & L. Schenk-Sandbergen (eds.), *Women, Migrants and Tribals: survival strategies in Asia*, (New Delhi: Manohar 1989). Ultimately of course many women were forced into migration too, as is illustrated in this volume and in Dagmar Engels' 'The myth of the family unit: adivasi women in coal-mines and tea plantations in early 20th century Bengal' in P. Robb, *Dalit Movements*, pp. 225-244. On technological change and related changes in the social relations of production see S. Guha (ed.), *Growth, stagnation or decline? Agricultural Productivity in British India*, (New Delhi: O.U.P., 1992) and especially D. Ludden (ed.), *Agricultural Production and Indian History*. There is no doubt that in many other parts of the colonial world the role of women was changing dramatically. For colonial Africa see N. Hafkin & E. Bay (eds.) *Women in Africa*, (Stanford, 1976).



### **Part III**

**The ‘Imagined land’, or land of Hopes and Dreams; Profiling the evolution of Bhojpuri Diaspora in far off lands**

### Part III

#### **The 'Imagined land', land of Hopes and Dreams; profiling the evolution of Bhojpuri Diaspora in far off lands**

*For the 'sons of the soil', there could be liking, even respect; the 'noble savage' aura was sometimes painted around Malays, Burmese, Fijians. With the Creole blacks, there was an acknowledgement of a partially shared language and folk culture, in dance and music. But the Indians were almost always stigmatized as the dregs of their country: lowborn, even criminal. (Tinker 1974, p. 221)<sup>53</sup>*

### PART A

#### EAST INDIANS IN CARRIBEANS

#### **Trinidad and Tobago (The West Indies);**

The Diaspora evolved to maturity in far off lands, assimilated with the local culture some traditional practices continued, got mixed up with the other existing culture and thus we come across in the present scenario the very unique Diasporic identity. Here is a comparative analysis of the two offshoots of East Indian Diaspora which evolved in two different diverse locations far off from each other.

Trinidadians of non-Indian origin consider Indian culture of the migrants a subordinate, subservient cultural dependency of the by-and-large black West Indian society of Trinidad. This view has been common since colonial times, when British administrators would write off the substantial Indian community as "troublemakers", full stop.<sup>54</sup> Whatever the case may be Trinidad, unlike Mauritius, is dominated politically by blacks (coloured), culturally by North Americans of former New World culture, economically by local whites and off-whites as well as by foreign interests in the contemporary era. Unlike in Mauritius, where a majority are of Indian descent, whereas slightly over 40 per cent of the Trinidadian population would define themselves as 'Indo-Trinidadians'. A comparative analysis would guide us to find different emerging political contexts Mauritian one different from Trinidadian.<sup>55</sup>

The idea of Indianness in Trinidad - as Indo-Trinidadian cultural self-consciousness - evolved largely during the 1940s and 1950s during colonial period in 19<sup>th</sup> century the same was hardly there. The part played by modern Indian cinema and the dissemination of popular Indian music through mass media, have clearly been very important aspects of the emergent self-definition of Trinidadian-Indianness, confronting Indo-Trinidadians with images of India hitherto unknown. Since the early 1970s, a strong wave of Indian resurgence has spread, particularly among young, well-educated Indo-Trinidadians. With respect to actual notions and practices, however, it is clear that by and large, Indians in Trinidad are more creolised than those in Mauritius, notwithstanding current revitalisation of Hindu rites<sup>56</sup>. Many more are Christian than in Mauritius (although the majority are not), and many non-Christian Indians have Christian first names. Food taboos are dealt with in a more relaxed way, the loss of language is more complete; and Indian women are more "independent" (many tend to follow a Western pattern of careering) in Trinidad than in Mauritius. Caste is now of minor, if any, importance; A lost traditional social mind-set from the root. All of these (and other) radical changes in the culture and social organisation of the Indians in Trinidad need not imply that the Indian community has been more strongly assimilated in Trinidad than in Mauritius; in fact, if we look at this in a contrary way, it is evident that blacks in Mauritius and Trinidad alike have adopted a great deal of Indian practices and notions (to some

---

53. Tinker, Hugh (1974), *A New Form of Slavery: The Export of Indian Labour Overseas 1880-1920*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

54. Brereton, Bridget (1979), *Race Relations in Colonial Trinidad 1870-1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press Brereton, Bridget (1981), *A History of Modern Trinidad 1783--1962*. London: Heinemann.

55. Thomas Hylland Eriksen, Indians in New Worlds, Mauritius and Trinidad, *Social and Economic Studies*, no. 1, 1992

56. Vertovec, Steven (1990), *Religion and ethnic ideology: the Hindu youth movement in Trinidad*. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 13(2), pp. 225-249.



extent without being aware of it), without assimilating into the Indian ethnic group. At any rate, it is obvious that however creolized the Indo-Trinidadians may be culturally, the group enjoys a higher degree of political cohesiveness than the Indo-Mauritians<sup>57</sup>. Until very recently, there was but one party representing the bulk of Indo-Trinidadians. A different explanation would be that the Indo-Trinidadians are in general less politically active than both their Afro-Trinidadian and their Indo-Mauritian counterparts, largely because politics is seen as a black domain in Trinidad.

**Table No.5**  
**Years of Migration and Percentage of Indian Population**

Country	Year	Percentage
Reunion	1829	70
Mauritius	1834	50
Guyana	1838	48
Trinidad	1845	41
Jamaica	1845	35
Martinique	1854	23
Guadeloupe	1854	15
Grenada	1856	11
St.Lucia	1858	9
South Africa	1860	8
St. Vincent	1861	6
Surinam	1873	6
Fiji	1879	3
East Africa	1895	1.8
Seychelles	1899	1.7
Singapore	1895	70

**Source: Parekh, Bhikhu (1994:8)**

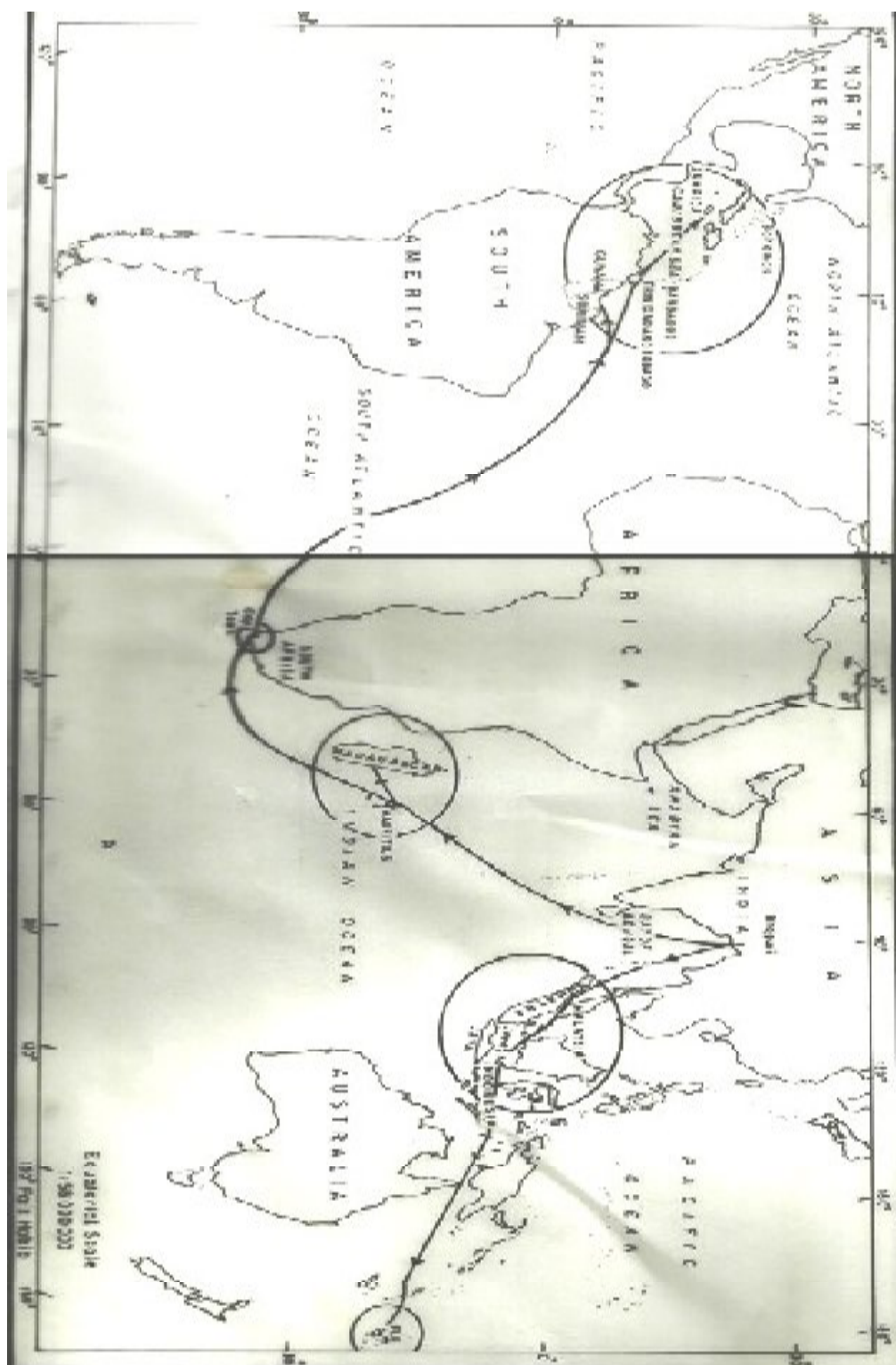
[http://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/1827/8/08\\_chapter2.pdf](http://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/1827/8/08_chapter2.pdf)

A noticeable difference from Mauritius is the comparative absence of Indians from the public service and politics. In Trinidad, the high-ranking public servant of Indian origin is still the exception and not the rule<sup>58</sup>; in Mauritius, the situation is certainly different. Despite the massive black political dominance, and despite the American cultural onslaught prevailing in Trinidad; and notwithstanding the very significant effects of these influences on the lifestyles of Indo-Trinidadians, it is beyond doubt that most Trinidadians of Indian origins tend to regard themselves as a kind of Indians. They are locally labelled East Indians, apparently in order to distinguish them from Amerindians (of whom there are, incidentally, virtually none in Trinidad).

57. Hintzen, Percy (1983) Bases of Elite Support for a Regime: Race, Ideology and Clientilism as Bases for Leaders in Guyana and Trinidad. *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 16, Pp. 363-391.

58. LaGuerre, John Gaffar (1989), *Dilemmas of the Diaspora*. Typescript, University of the West Indies at St Augustine.

# 19-20th CENTURY EAST INDIAN DIASPORA AROUND THE GLOBE



### **MAP 3: SHOWING BHOJPURI DIASPORA ACROSS GLOBE**

#### **SURINAM**

Beginning in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, French, Spanish, and English explorers visited the area. A century later, plantation colonies were established by the Dutch and English along the many rivers in the fertile Guiana plains. The earliest documented colony in Guiana was an English settlement named Marshall's Creek along the Suriname River.<sup>59</sup> Disputes arose between the Dutch and the English. In 1667, the Dutch decided to keep the nascent plantation colony of Suriname conquered from the English, resulting from the Treaty of Breda, 31 July 1667.

**Surinam** is bordered by French Guiana to the east, Guyana to the west, Brazil to the south and the Atlantic Ocean to the north, making it one of two countries, French Guiana the other, not to border any of the Spanish-speaking countries on the continent. Suriname was colonised by the English and the Dutch in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. In 1667 it was captured by the Dutch, who governed Suriname as Dutch Guiana until 1954. At that time it was designated as one of the constituent countries (Dutch: *landen*) of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, next to the Netherlands and the Netherlands Antilles (dissolved in 2010). On 25 November 1975, the country of Suriname left the Kingdom of the Netherlands to become independent. A member of CARICOM<sup>60</sup>, it is frequently considered a Caribbean country and has had frequent trade and cultural exchange with the Caribbean nations. At just under 165,000 km<sup>2</sup> (64,000 sq mi), Suriname is the smallest sovereign state in South America. (French Guiana, while less extensive and populous, is an overseas department of France.) Suriname has a population of approximately 560,000<sup>61</sup> most of whom live on the country's north coast, where the capital Paramaribo is located. The official language is Dutch. It is the only independent entity in the Americas where Dutch is spoken. The name *Suriname* may derive

---

59. Suriname", *The New Encyclopedia Britannica, Encyclopedia Britannica*, Volume 5. Edition 15, Encyclopedia Britannica, 2002, p. 547.

60. The Caribbean Community (CARICOM) is an organization of 15 Caribbean nations and dependencies. CARICOM's main purposes are to promote economic integration and cooperation among its members, to ensure that the benefits of integration are equitably shared, and to coordinate foreign policy.

61. Central Intelligence Agency (2013). "Suriname". *The World Factbook*.

from a Taino (Arawak-speaking) group called *Surinen*, who occupied the region before European arrival.<sup>62</sup>

English settlers, who founded the first European colony at Marshall's Creek<sup>63</sup> along the Suriname River, spelled the name as "Surinam". Taken over by the Dutch, it became part of a group of colonies known as Dutch Guiana. Surinam can still be found in English. A notable example is Suriname's national airline, Surinam Airways. The older English name is reflected in the English pronunciation, /sɪrɪnəm/ or /sɪrɪnəm/. In Dutch, the official language of Suriname, the pronunciation is [syriɪnəmə], with the main stress on the third syllable and a schwa terminal vowel.

Slavery was abolished by the Netherlands in Suriname in 1863, but the slaves in Suriname were not fully released until 1873, after a mandatory 10 year transition period during which time they were required to work on the plantations for minimal pay and without state-sanctioned discipline. As soon as they became truly free, the slaves largely abandoned the plantations where they had worked for several generations, in favour of the city, Paramaribo.

**Table 6; Showing Percentages of East Indians of the Total Population in Several British Colonies and Dutch Surinam around 1950** Source: De Klerk, 1953.

Mauritius	63.0
Fiji	47.0
British Guiana	44.3
Trinidad	35.1
Jamaica	2.1
Surinam	32.0

As a plantation colony, Suriname was still heavily dependent on manual labour, and to make up for the shortfall, the Dutch brought in contract labourers from the Dutch East Indies (modern Indonesia) and India (through an arrangement with the British). In addition, during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, small numbers of mostly men were brought in from China and the Middle East. Although Suriname's population remains relatively small, because of this history it is one of the most ethnically and culturally diverse countries in the world.<sup>64</sup>

Suriname is made up of several distinct ethnic groups.

- Amerindians, the original inhabitants of Suriname, form 3.7% of the population. The main groups being the Akuriyo, Arawak, Carib/Kaliña, Trio (Tiriyó), and Wayana. They live mainly in the districts of Paramaribo, Wanica, Maroni and Sipaliwini<sup>65</sup>
- Hindustani form the largest major group at 37% of the population. They are descendants of 19th-century contract workers from India. They are from the Indian states of Bihar and Eastern Uttar Pradesh, in Northern India, along the Nepali border.<sup>66</sup>
- The Surinamese Creoles form the middle group 31% of the population. They are the mixed descendants of West African slaves and Europeans (mostly Dutch).

62. Human Development Report 2010". United Nations. 2010.

63. Suriname", *The New Encyclopædia Britannica*, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Volume 5. Edition 15, Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2002, p. 547.

64. Streissguth, Tom (2009). *Suriname in Pictures*. Twenty-First Century Books, pp. 23

65. The Economist, *Pocket World in Figures*, 2008 Edition, London: Profile Books

66. Steven Vertovec, *The Hindu Diaspora: Comparative Patterns*, Global diasporas, Routledge, 2000

- The Javanese (descendants of contract workers from the former Dutch East Indies on the island of Java, Indonesia),<sup>67</sup> form 15% of the population, mainly in Nickerie, Saramacca, Wanica, Paramaribo and Commewijne
- Surinamese Maroons (descendants of escaped West African slaves) make up 10% and are divided into five main groups: Ndyuka (Aucans), Kwinti, Matawai, Saramaccans and Paramaccans.
- Chinese, about 14,000 are descendants of the earliest 19<sup>th</sup> -century contract workers. The 1990s and early 21st century saw renewed immigration on a large scale. In the year 2011 there were over 40,000 Chinese in Suriname, including legal and illegal migrant<sup>68</sup>
- Europeans, descendants of Dutch 19th-century immigrant farmers, Portuguese from Madeira and other European peoples. The descendants of Dutch immigrant farmers are known as "Boeroes" (derived from *boer*, the Dutch word for "farmer"). Most Boeroes left after independence in 1975.
- Jews, mainly descendants of Sephardic Jews, but also Ashkenazi Jews. In their history, Jodensavanne plays a major role. Many Jews are mixed with other populations.
- Lebanese, (primarily Maronites) from the town of Bsharri, Lebanon.

## **EAST INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA & SOUTH AFRICA**

**The advent of the Indo-Mauritians:** From the abolition of slavery in 1835 until the end of World War I, millions of Indians<sup>69</sup> were brought to other British colonies, particularly plantation colonies, under the system of indentureship which has been labelled "a new form of slavery" in Hugh Tinker's<sup>70</sup> oft-quoted phrase and which, whether a form of slavery proper or not, replaced the abandoned system of Negro slavery. The majority of these indentured labourers hailed from the north-eastern provinces of Bihar<sup>71</sup> and Uttar Pradesh and were speakers of Bhojpuri (a spoken language related to Hindi); substantial numbers also embarked from Madras, the main port of what is now Tamil Nadu in the south India.<sup>72</sup> The majority of the emigrants were Hindus; a large minority were Muslims and a smaller minority Christian.<sup>73</sup> Although the bulk of Indian immigrants to the colonies were field labourers, small proportions were artisans, traders and even Hindu pundits. Some, most of them South Indians, speakers of the Dravidian languages Tamil and Telegu, left India on their own whim, in order to further their careers as traders or artisans abroad.<sup>74</sup> In four of the colonies to which indentured Indian labourers were sent, are their

67. Joshua Project. "Joshua project.net"

68. Orang Jawa di Suriname (Javanese in Suriname), *kompasiana* (14 March 2011)

69. Pandit Lakshmi Narayan Chaturvedi (1879-1948), Ramtohol Chowbey's eldest son, stayed for about 23 years in Mauritius. Like his father, he engaged in performing rites and rituals for Mauritian families. He contributed articles to the paper *Sanatan Dharma* under the pen-name of Rasputj. In 1923, his first collection of poems entitled *Rasputj Kundaliyan* was published in India. He wrote in Urdu and Bhojpuri, besides Hindi and Sanskrit. His second work, *Shatabdi Saroj*, a collection of narrative poetry describing the Indo-Mauritian struggles, came out in Mauritius in 1935 for the Indians' arrival centenary when he also gave an address. The poet published in the *Jagriti* of 5 May 1943 a poem on "The Greatness of Gandhi," after his 21-day fast. According to Dr Moonishwurlall Chintamunnee, Mauritian writer, poet and previously Head of the Oriental Language Department at Mahatma Gandhi Institute in Mauritius, Chaturvedi was the first Hindi author whose works (poems and other writings) were published on Mauritius. Of his 15 works, only two came out in book form. A number of Mauritian Hindi poets, including Dr Brajendra Kumar Mungur Bhagat, of fame in Mauritius and India, were inspired by this learned personality of Ballia. In 1952, Dr Chintamunnee studied Sanskrit under the guidance of Pandit Lakshmi Narayan's brother, Pandit Surya Narayan Chaturvedi, then living at Petite Rivière, Mauritius.

70. Tinker, Hugh (1974), *A New Form of Slavery: The Export of Indian Labour Overseas 1880-1920*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (1974)

71. Sarita Boodhoo, *Mauritius Ki Bhojpuri Paramparaein*, Prabhat Prakashan New Delhi, India, 2007.

72. While the sugar planters managed to obtain a limited quantity of labour from Madeira, West Africa, the West Indies and Europe, it was not until 1845 that immigration from India resumed, this time with the aid of government funds. In that year, two ships transported 593 Indians from Calcutta while one ship brought 233 from Madras. A steady flow continued in 1846 when 4,019 arrived from Calcutta and Madras. In 1847 a total of 3,461 arrived and 3,545 came the following year. Odeen Ishmael, *Indian Immigration after 1845*.

73. Sundararajan, Saroja, *From Bondage to Deliverance – Indentured Labour in Mauritius and British Guiana*, Allied Publishers, New Delhi, 2006.

74. In other areas, such as East Africa and Britain, large proportions of Indian tradesmen are of Gujerati origins. See Allen (1983) for an analysis of Mauritius during indentureship; see Weller (1968) for an account of indentureship in Trinidad. Weller, Judith Ann (1968). *The East Indian Indenture in Trinidad*. Rio Piedras: University of Puerto Rico, Institute of Caribbean Studies.

numbers sufficiently substantial for them to vie for political power in the post-colonial era.<sup>75</sup> These four societies, all of them independent nation-states since the 1960s, are Fiji, Guyana, Trinidad & Tobago, and Mauritius. Mauritians of Indian origin constitute the only group of Indian emigrés who have continuously dominated politics in their new homeland since the electoral reforms introduced in many of these territories after World War II.<sup>76</sup> This is caused by several concurrent processes.<sup>77</sup>

### **Fiji:**

*“The overseer’s whip comes down upon her half naked back and legs, the child is struck also... both are crying. Barnicoat poured boiling water on the Poligardu’s genitals ...overseer bashed Naraine’s head over stones.....her face covered in blood”...* Haunting tales of torture, torments and tears in Fiji.....From cover page of the Book by Rajendra Prasad; Tears in Paradise<sup>78</sup>

Eighty-seven ships brought more than 60,000 labourers to Fiji and they started working in the cane fields and in other places which required manual labours. Fiji had been a major destination of indentured laborers in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. After its independence from the United Kingdom in 1970, more than 98 percent of the 300,000 Fiji-born ethnic Indians accepted Fijian citizenship but were still referred to as "Indians," a term that several Fijian constitutions uses. Not only in Fiji, but in many other countries like Mauritius, Surinam, British Guiana, Trinidad, the majority of *girmitya* migrants were from Bhojpuri districts. Therefore almost all the *Bidesia* folk songs, with little variations, are in Bhojpuri. In *girmitya* Diasporic countries, there is a common thread of pain that ran through their heritage and history. The picture which emerges goes against the grain of conventional wisdom about the *girmityas*. Contrary to the prevailing opinion, it shows that they were not invariably of low social origins but represented a fair cross-section of rural Indian population. It is suggested that the strata from which most of them originated were increasingly being subjected to unprecedented changes brought about by the British penetration of Indian agrarian society.

**The Table 7 (Fiji)**

Years	Calcutta		Madras	Bombay/Karachi		French Ports	
1856-61	14,533	66.50%	6,479	29.60%	860	66.50%	- -
1861-70	122,241	67.50%	56,356	31.10%	2,479	66.50%	- -
1870-79	142,793	78.40%	19,104	10.50%	-	-	20,269 11.10%
1880/1-89	97,975	76.00%	21,653	16.80%	-	-	9,351 7.20%
1891/2-1900/1	106,700	63.30%	28,550	16.90%	33,343	19.80%	- -
1907/8-1916/17	66,839	62.30%	32,369	30.20%	8,016	7.50%	- -

75. In several other countries which received Indian minorities during colonial rule, such as Kenya, Tanzania, Malaysia and South Africa, do these minorities wield considerable economic power?

76. See, Simmons 1983 Simmons, Adele Smith (1983) *Modern Mauritius: The Politics of Decolonization* Bloomington: Indiana University Press; Bowman 1990 Bowman, Larry B. (1990) *Mauritius: Democracy and Development in the Indian Ocean*. Boulder: Westview

77. In general, the East Indians were isolated in their communities on the sugar estates and many of them wanted to remove themselves from this seclusion. One of the ways open to them was to return to India after their period of indenture. (Actually there was a steady return to India until 1949 when the last batch of 311 left Guyana. Between 1843 and 1949, a total of 75,547 Indians left Guyana for India and they took with them over five million dollars in cash and jewellery).

78. Rajendra Prasad; Tears in Paradise: A Personal and Historical Journey, 1879-2004, Glade (2004).

The table below Given the steady influx of ships carrying indentured Indians to Fiji up until 1916, repatriate Indians generally boarded these same ships on their return voyage 10-15 days after arrival. Ports of Embarkation of Indian Indentured Emigrants

Migration offered one way of coping with these changes, the extent of which was reflected in the fact that a very large proportion of the girmitiyas had already left their homes before they were recruited for Fiji. Not only men but women, children and families also came and they, too, were a part of the uprooted mass. The important role that recruiters played cannot be denied, but it must be assessed in the context of the 'push' factors at work in Indian society. In short, this study attempts to demonstrate that Indian indentured migration was a more complex process than has

**TableNo. 8**

**Selected Castes and Their Numerical Strength in UP, 1891-1911**

Name	Contribution to		Numerical Strength in UP Society in					
	Inden. Emigrants to Fiji		1891		1901		1911	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Ahir	4,197	9.2	3,918,846	8.4	3,823,668	8	6,407,000	8.2
Brahman	1,686	3.7	4,719,882	10	4,706,332	9.9	4,659,738	9.9
Chamar	6,087	13.4	5,816,053	12	5,890,639	12.4	5,305,833	11.2
Kori	1,942	4.3	919,649	2	990,027	2.1	859,582	1.8
Kurmi	2,307	5.1	2,005,657	4.3	1,963,575	4.1	1,887,564	4
Pasi	999	2.2	1,219,311	2.6	1,239,282	2.6	1,311,220	2.8
Kshattriya	4,565	10	3,632,241	7.8	3,354,058	7	3,428,831	7.3
Khatri	1,182	2.6	45,099	0.1	49,518	0.1	41,764	0.1
Muslims	6,878	15.1	5,179,000	13	6,532,000	13.5	6,407,000	13.3

**Table 5; Showing caste formation , Source; Brij V. Lal (Ed.) by *Girmitiyas: The Origins of the Fiji Indians*, 1997 : Division of Pacific and Asian History, Research School of Pacific and Asian History, The Australian National University.**

sometimes been realized. Some 60,965 indentured labourers came to Fiji between 1879 when migration commenced and 1916 when it was finally stopped. Of these, 45,439 were from northern India, embarking at Calcutta. They form the subject of this study. The rest came from southern India after 1903 when recruitment was begun there. But it should be noted that much of the discussion on the north Indians applies in equal measure to those from the south, because the pattern of recruitment and the basic motivations for migrating were similar. It may be noted, too, that our discussion has relevance for many other Indian labour importing colonies, particularly the West Indies, which drew their supplies from the north.

**Reunion Island/ (Île de Bourbon);**

This wildly beautiful and rugged volcanic island (*with a very active volcano*), was uninhabited when discovered by the Portuguese in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. In 1643 it was claimed by the French. They named it Bourbon and established their first colony here in 1662. In the years that followed, slaves from Africa were imported to work the sugar plantations. The island was renamed Reunion in 1793, and it remained a French colony, except for a brief British occupation from 1810 to 1815. Over time, French

immigration, supplemented by influxes of Africans, Chinese, Malays, and Malabar Indians, gave the island its ethnic mix. The island's economy is dominated by the sugarcane industry, and its main exports include sugar, seafood, rum, and vanilla. Tourism, especially from Europe, is a significant economic factor.<sup>79</sup>

**Table NO. 9**

<b>East Indian Immigration Into the Caribbean upto 1917</b>	
Guyana	238909
Trinidad	143939
Guadeloupe	45 000 approx
Jamaica	36412
Surinam	34 304
Martinique	25 519
Si Lucia	4 354
Grenada	3 200
St. Vincent	2472

**Table 6; Showing migration Source; Majorie Braithwaite, Glean, *Caribbean: Our Land and People*, Heinemann International Literature & Textbooks, 1988.**

---

<sup>79</sup>Robert, Aldrich, *Greater France: A History of French Overseas Expansion*, Palgrave Macmillan, 1996



## PART B

### **Embedded Ethnicity, cultural milieu and language; East Indians' case in two different locations of Bhojpuri Diaspora (Mauritian & Trinidadian Model)**

There are many intriguing similarities and differences between the Creole island societies of the western Indian Ocean and Caribbean island societies. The study focuses on the ethnic situation of the Indian "diaspora" of Mauritius and Trinidad, as well as their relationship to nation-building in the two poly-ethnic societies. While the differences in political power are seen as significant in the comparison of the two island democracies, there are also important similarities between the two far off situated islands where Bhojpuri Diaspora constitute significantly.

- Poly-ethnic island-states; Trinidad & Tobago and Mauritius are poly-ethnic island-states with large population segments of Indian origin. The other major ethnic categories are in both societies of African descent. Brought to the islands during the British colonial indentureship scheme from ca. 1840 to ca. 1910, the Indians were in both societies though politically marginal but shared a long history of hardship as indentured labourers. There are both similarities and differences in the collective situation of Indians in Trinidad and Mauritius. Both of the societies are, nevertheless, remarkably peaceful at the inter-ethnic level. A comparison in the respective positions of Indians in the two nation-states, paying especial attention to the relationship between the wider socio-cultural contexts of daily life and national politics would give fair idea of the problem.<sup>80</sup>
- They "preserve their culture" and "reproduce their social institutions; A fair number of studies dealing with Mauritius and Trinidad describe the ways in which the descendants of Indian immigrants in these societies "preserve their culture" and "reproduce their social institutions". Two well-known anthropological monographs representative of this approach are Morton Klass's study of Trinidad<sup>81</sup> and Burton Benedict's study of Mauritius's both of which were based on village fieldwork in the late 1950s.<sup>82</sup> Notwithstanding their merits, this type of studies could be justly criticised for being one-sided and misleading in that they tend to neglect the very considerable interaction taking place between the descendants of Indians and members of other ethnic categories in the societies under investigation. This interaction, which has contributed to shaping the total socio-cultural environments in which Indians and non-Indians alike move, is constituted partly by inter-ethnic interfaces, partly by social contexts where ethnicity is irrelevant.
- Indian culture and social organisations are in crucial ways incompatible with the dominant culture; Other researchers, aware of the shortcomings of such mono-ethnic community studies, have emphasised the so-called poly-ethnic nature of societies such as Trinidad and Mauritius. This sociological school, where M.G. Smith and Lloyd Braithwaite are among the more prominent names, has implicitly and sometimes explicitly viewed the East Indians of Caribbean societies as ethnic minorities with typical minority problems. Some, among them Braithwaite (1975)<sup>83</sup>, define their most serious problem as being one of adaptation to the host society (which is, in the Caribbean, dominated by Afro-American and European culture), while Smith and others have taken the view that Indian culture and social organisation are in crucial ways incompatible

- 
80. For sociological and historical descriptions of the societies, see Braithwaite, Lloyd (1975 [1953]) *Social Stratification in Trinidad*. St Augustine: ISER; Brereton, Bridget (1979) *Race Relations in Colonial Trinidad 1870-1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press  
Brereton, Bridget (1981) *A History of Modern Trinidad 1783--1962*. London: Heinemann; Oxaal, Ivar (1968): *Black Intellectuals Came to Power. The Rise of Creole Nationalism in Trinidad and Tobago*. Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman; Ryan (1972) Ryan, Selwyn (1972) *Race and Nationalism in Trinidad and Tobago*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press for Trinidad; Bowman, Larry B. (1990) *Mauritius: Democracy and Development in the Indian Ocean*. Boulder: Westview; Arno, Toni & Claude Orian (1986) *L'Ile Maurice: Une Société Multiraciale*. Paris: L'Harmattan; Eriksen, Thomas H. (1990b) *Linguistic Diversity and the Quest for National Identity: The Case of Mauritius*. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 13(1), pp. 1-24, Allen, Richard (1983) *Creoles, Indian Immigrants and the Restructuring of Society and Economy in Mauritius, 1767-1885*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Illinois for Mauritius.
81. Klass, Morton (1961) *East Indians in Trinidad: A Study of Cultural Persistence*. New York: Columbia University Press.
82. Benedict, Burton (1961), *Indians in a Plural Society. A Report on Mauritius*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.
83. Braithwaite, Lloyd (1975 [1953]) *Social Stratification in Trinidad*. St Augustine: ISER Smith, M.G. (1965) *The Plural Society of the British West Indies*. Berkeley: California University Press.

with the dominant culture, and that conflict is bound to arise in any plural society, perhaps particularly in those recognising the rights of minorities and trying to treat its citizens equally.<sup>84</sup>

- Inter-ethnic contexts can never be reduced simply to either conflict or compromise. While Indian communities of the "diaspora"<sup>85</sup> are conditioned, culturally and socially, by the "host society", the influence exerted by Indians themselves on the societies in question is never negligible. It is possible to be a West Indian East Indian, as Naipaul (1973) once put it.<sup>86</sup>
- Indians in a poly-ethnic society outside of India cannot adequately be viewed simply as Indians. They are Indians embedded in a particular historical and socio-cultural context, and this fact is an inseparable part of their life - even those aspects of their life which pertain to their very Indianness. It also communicated that it is quite legitimate to be Indian, despite the fact, which every Trinidadian knows, that public Trinidad is strongly dominated by cultural symbols and emblems associated with black or Negro New World culture.
- The Indians of Trinidad, would not have been Indians in the way they are unless they had been forced to relate to black, brown, off-white and white creole culture, and vice versa. This holds for Mauritius too in situationally similar ways, but in different political and economic contexts.
- The people of Indian descent in Mauritius were more heterogeneous than those who settled in the New World. Already under French rule, in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, there were visible minorities of Indians in the capital Port-Louis; some of them menial labourers or dockers, others conducting business on varying scales.<sup>87</sup> Many of these immigrants, most of whom were Tamils or Indian Muslims, were creolised during the 19<sup>th</sup> century; that is, they converted to Christianity, lost their language and were absorbed into the emergent coloured middle-class. But a substantial proportion of these urban migrants have retained their identity as Indians up to this day, and this indicates that throughout the history of Mauritius, and up to this day, there has been an economically influential group of "respectable" citizens of Indian descent. Some of these families have exerted an influence comparable to that of the French planters - and like the planters, rich urban Muslims are fiercely endogamous and take great pride in their origins.
- The geographical location also works in the favour of Indians in Mauritius, compared to those settled in the New World. In the islands of the western Indian Ocean, which must in many other respects be regarded as similar to those of the Caribbean, a different set of cultural influences are at work. First, virtually all Mauritiens, Indians and blacks alike, speak a French-based creole language, and they tend to prefer French to English as a literary language (although many Indians nowadays prefer English, this preference being an aspect of their ethnic identity as Indians.<sup>88</sup> Secondly, Mauritius is too remote from America, geographically and (perhaps especially) culturally, to have taken part in the black self-consciousness movement<sup>89</sup>. The society as a whole is, in contrast with Trinidad, more Gallicised than Americanised. Thirdly, the gravitational pull from India is strongly felt in Mauritius: it possesses a much stronger Indian flavour than any society in the New World. India is sufficiently close for the reasonably affluent to send their sons there for wives or to become educated, and even Mauritiens of modest means can afford an once-in-a-lifetime pilgrimage to the land of their ancestors. The link between India and Mauritius has long been acknowledged.<sup>90</sup>

---

84. Smith 1965; see also Clarke 1986; Serbin 1987; see Eriksen 1991c, for a brief critique of this perspective.

86. Naipaul, V.S. (1973), *The Overcrowded Barracoon*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

87. St. Pierre 1983 [1773] St. Pierre, Bernardin de (1983 [1773]) *Voyage à L'Ile de France*. Paris: Maspéro.

88. See, Eriksen, Thomas H. (1990a [1988]), *Communicating Cultural Difference and Identity. Ethnicity and Nationalism in Mauritius*. Oslo: Occasional Papers in Social Anthropology.

89. Which was very influential in the Caribbean and the United States in the late 1960s and 1970s.

90. On his way from South Africa to India, Mahatma Gandhi, for example, visited Mauritius. Flights between Bombay and Mauritius are frequent, and the island receives, among other things, fresh supplies of the most recent Hindi movies regularly.

- The content of Mauritian Indianness; Compared with diaspora communities of Trinidad or Guyana, the Indian community of Mauritius has by and large been less creolised on the level of cultural notions and daily practices. The tika can still be seen on the foreheads of most Mauritian Hindu women, and even in the towns, most of the married Hindu women rub henna into the partition of their hair. Half of the many cinemas in Mauritius show exclusively Indian films with no subtitles, and unlike in Trinidad, blacks rarely make jokes about "Hindi movies". Bhojpuri is still spoken fairly widely in the north-eastern villages and is understood by many blacks living in these areas, although only elderly, female, rural Indo-Mauritians now tend to be monolingual in Bhojpuri. The variant of Bhojpuri spoken in Mauritius is closer to that spoken in Bihar than the Bhojpuri spoken in either Fiji, Guyana or Trinidad. The caste system still exists, although not as a hierarchy of corporate groups or occupational groups; rather as a "hierarchy of prestige labels valued at the upper end, devalued at the lower end and largely ignored in the middle".<sup>91</sup>
- Indo-Trinidadian culture as a "spice"; a subordinate, subservient cultural dependency of the by-and-large black West Indian society of Trinidad, common since colonial times, when British administrators would write off the substantial Indian community as "troublemakers", full stop as has been pointed out in the beginning of the chapter.<sup>92</sup> Their Indianness is, however, increasingly a distinctive New World Indianness; this point was once made by V.S. Naipaul when he conceded that his approach to the past of his grandfather has to be the approach of a stranger, and it is to some extent documented by Nevadomsky (1980, 1983) in his restudy of the village of "Amity", first studied by Klass (1961) twenty years earlier.<sup>93</sup> In the late fifties, when Klass carried out his fieldwork, women were not educated; most families were of the extended type and residence was usually patrilocal, and there were criteria relating to caste and religious merit defining the rank of an individual.
- The Indians of Trinidad emphatically remain self-professed Indians despite apparently dramatic changes in their culture and social organisation. However, their Indianness is a New World Indianness; it is a peculiar brand of Indianness which has grown out of the soil of Trinidad, where, for example, a taste for heavy rock music has become an auspicious sign of modern youthful Indianness. Additionally, it should be emphasised that the ethnicity displayed by Indo-Trinidadians in the context of modern national society is not necessarily incompatible with the requirements of the modern nation-state and commodity market. Seen as an aspect of a total societal formation, therefore, contemporary Indian ethnicity in Trinidad is of diminishing relevance for the organisation of national society. On the other hand, the cultural creolisation of Indo-Trinidadians need not mean the disappearance of Indians as an ethnic category. On the contrary, it may lead to a greater ethnic self-consciousness since processes of creolisation can be perceived as threats against Indianness.
- Ethnic stereotypes in Trinidad are also slightly different from those prevalent in Mauritius, although the resemblances are more striking. It is true that Indo-Trinidadians tend to regard blacks as disorganised, immoral and essentially lazy ("the African wants the government to do everything for him" is a common kind of statement); but the great emphasis placed on physical appearance in the West Indies has inspired a widespread Indian contempt for the "ugliness" of the blacks; this notion is virtually unknown in Mauritius.
- The frugality of Indians is regarded with suspicion by blacks in Mauritius and Trinidad alike, but in Trinidad, there is a tendency among some young, urban blacks to regard young urban Indians as a kind of jet-set of conspicuous consumers. This view, of course, does not conform to any widespread view held by Indians. It has been documented, however, that the average income of Indians, traditionally lower than that of the blacks, is now officially identical to the average

---

91. Benedict, Burton (1961), *Indians in a Plural Society. A Report on Mauritius*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, p. 36.

92. Brereton 1979.

93. Klass, Morton (1961), *East Indians in Trinidad: A Study of Cultural Persistence*. New York: Columbia University Press.

income of blacks<sup>94</sup>. Economically, Indians are collectively ascending, although more slowly than many urban blacks believe.

- Despite the emergence of growing fields of cross-ethnically shared meaning in both societies, ethnic differences remain strong, both at the level of representations and that of certain practices. Statistically, there are systematic differences between the groups in some respects (although not nearly as strong as commonly believed). Black households in Trinidad, particularly in the working class, tend to be unstable; the lives of many working class blacks are correspondingly loosely organised and prone to sudden changes with regards to marital status, jobs and place of residence. This contrasts with the typical Indian household, which is a stable social unit.
- The similarities between the two societies should not be exaggerated. Trinidad is locally perceived as a largely black society (for better or for worse, as the case may be), and unlike in Mauritius, several self-proclaimed spokesmen for the Indians argue that they suffer cultural domination. Policies acknowledging that Trinidad is truly a poly-cultural society, and thus something different from a modern cultural melting-pot, are conspicuously absent. National cultural symbols include the calypso, the carnival and the steelband, all of which are associated with the blacks. The Indian presence is all but ignored in national cultural life and in tourism propaganda materials. The aforementioned beer commercial, featuring an Indian classical singer, is so exceptional that it may serve as a reminder of the paucity of Indian cultural messages in the shared Trinidadian public space. Most of the creolisation of Trinidadians of Indian origin occurs without their being broadly aware of it happening; in aesthetic taste, dress, body language and the perceptions of relevant paths for professional or matrimonial careers. From a slightly different perspective, we may arrive at a theoretically more interesting conclusion in this comparative exercise.
- Although the differences are stressed, there are fundamental similarities, culturally and socially, between the blacks of Trinidad and Mauritius as well as between the Indians of Trinidad and Mauritius. In many respects, the similarities are more striking than the differences, and they include important aspects of social organisation and cultural values. Yet, the respective structural positions of these four categories of people in their national societies are different from what one might be inclined to expect. It is true that in both societies, Indians are more successful petty capitalists than are blacks, and it is also true that more blacks and coloureds than Indians work in the media. But if we look at national politics, and more importantly, at the monitoring of public discourse through the legal system, through mass media, the forging of international links and through various state cultural policies, it appears that the rôle of Indians in Mauritius is the opposite of that in Trinidad, and by the same token, the respective roles of blacks in the two societies are opposite. Indeed, the culturally defensive position of Trinidadian Indians, possessing many of the characteristics of minority groups, is similar to the position of blacks in Mauritius. Trinidad being, geographically and historically, a part of the New World, while Mauritius has always been located en route from Europe to India. In Mauritius, blacks are rarely accused of being communalists (ethnicist); this could be interpreted as an indication of their lack of leadership, or their lack of political power, or both. This crucial difference between the two societies shows the importance of distinguishing between what we may call the cultural and political contexts of ethnicity. At the level of social classification and ethnic stereotyping, Trinidad and Mauritius are very similar. At the level of ethnic politics, they are very different; both in the sense that the Indians have a variable relationship to the state, and in the sense that state policies tend to discourage, or at least ignore, cultural plurality in Trinidad. It is not too bold to conclude, therefore, that the potential for serious ethnic conflict involving discontented Indians is presently higher in Trinidad than in Mauritius.<sup>95</sup>

---

94. (Henry 1989 Henry, Ralph (1989), *Inequality in Plural Societies: An exploration. Social and Economic Studies*, vol. 38(2), pp. 69-110

95. Thomas Hylland Eriksen, *Indians in New Worlds: Mauritius and Trinidad; a comparative analysis, Social and Economic Studies*, no. 1, 1992

## **PART IV**

### **East Indian Bhojpuri dialect and its Diasporic connect**

## PART IV

### East Indian Bhojpuri dialect and its Diasporic connect

*Language is involved in processes of group identification in that it provides a focus for explicit discourses of identity and constitutes a field of less unambiguous practices for creating groupness. Drawing on examples from Mauritian diaspora, this study traces the ethnicization of Mauritian Bhojpuri as a "Hindu/Hindi language" through the hierarchization and incorporating of linguistic practices under larger language labels with ethno-national significance. Purist forms of Mauritian Bhojpuri that are locally perceived as "intermediate" registers between Hindi and Bhojpuri are used to represent Hindiasal languages spoken in Mauritius, and at the same time to link Mauritian Bhojpuri ideologically to Hindustani identity. This blurring of language boundaries serves the purpose of identifying the organic growth of a language on an alien soil over the centuries and finding admixture with local dialects and environments.*

*Bhojpuri*

*It was spoken by most people in the predominantly Indian villages and was firmly associated with sugarcane agriculture. Locally known as both motiya 'the coarse one' and kalkattiya, pointing to the Indian port of departure of most of its speakers, Bhojpuri was locally embedded in a double indexicality: On one hand it was evaluated as a rustic, unsophisticated medium of humble indentured laborers in the sugarcane fields; on the other, it pointed to a particular place of origin, a "homeland" in India.*

**Key Words;** Linguistic anthropology, nationalism, language ideology, language and community, multilingualism, Mauritius, Indian diaspora *Virha Bidessia, Chautal*

#### Homeland Bhojpuri and its expanse;

This idea is also to study the two centuries of development of language and literature in diaspora vis-a-vis admixture with local culture of the home country to the dream land. That cultural aspect has also been taken into account for understanding the flow of culture with the migrants and the emerging unique 'Bhojpuri Diasporic culture' across the board in far off imagined lands.

The targeted study of this project has been solely to know how East Indian Indenture people fared in those far off locations. They were people with mostly Bhojpuri dialect largely spoken in part of eastern India now is becoming part of various big and small island nations of the world where they had migrated.<sup>96</sup> According to P.C. Roy Chaudhury, special officer of the Gazetteers Revision Scheme, Patna the word *Bhojpuria* was first mentioned as a language in 1789.<sup>97</sup> In Mauritius before the term Bhojpuri became prevalent, the people who arrived from the port of Calcutta were known collectively as the *Calcuttias* and their language as *Calcuttia* or *mottia boli* to differentiate it from Hindi viewed as a refined '*bhasha*' and language of prestige and esteem. As of 1834, 75 Indian immigrants were introduced mostly from Bihar. By 1865, one third of the population of Mauritius was Indian, the majority coming from Bihar and Eastern Uttar Pradesh where the language originating from Bhojpur had spilled its borders to form a sizeable Bhojpuri belt spreading as far as Jaspur and Bilaspur down South.<sup>98</sup> By 1871, two thirds of the populations were of Indian origin, a proportion that has been more or less maintained till this day.

96. A poem on Pravasi by Shridharji Vatsalya published in *Chand*, January 1926, a poem on Pravasi women by Ramchandra Sharma published in *Chand*, January, 1926.

97. P.C. ROY Chaudhary, *Bihar District Gazetteers, Darbhanga*, Special Officer, Gazetteer Revision Section, Revenue Department, Bihar, Patna Printed by the Suptnd. Secretariat Press, Bihar, Patna, 1964, p.31&49.

98. Now in newly created State of Jharkhand.

Bhojpuri was successively preceded as a language by *Abbhraṇṣh*, Magadhi, Pali and Sanskrit. The Bhojpuri region is a cultural entity that transcends political borders. Bhojpuri has three dialects identified in the literature as

1. Standard Bhojpuri (also referred to as Southern Standard)
2. Northern Bhojpuri,
3. Western Bhojpuri

Southern Standard Bhojpuri covers the areas of Bhojpur, Rohtas, Saran, Bhabua, Buxar, Siwan, and Gopalganj in Bihar whereas Ballia and eastern Ghazipur in Uttar Pradesh. One may also come across a local name 'Chaparahiya' in Saran. Northern Bhojpuri covers the areas of Deoria, Gorakhpur and Basti in Uttar Pradesh and parts of Champaran in Bihar. Local names include 'Gorakhpuri' for the language in Deoria and eastern Gorakhpur, and 'Sarwariya' in western Gorakhpur and Basti. The variety spoken east of Gandak River between Gorakhpuri Bhojpuri and Maithili in Champaran has a local name Pachhimahwa. Northern Bhojpuri has Maithili influence. Western Bhojpuri includes the areas of Varanasi, Azamgarh, Ghazipur and Mirzapur in Uttar Pradesh 'Banarasi' is a local name for the Banaras Bhojpuri. There is a very popular general name "Purbi" or "Benarsi" for Western Bhojpuri. Although all dialects of Bhojpuri are quite similar, Western Bhojpuri can be easily recognised because it has "vaaste/bade" for the term "for", whereas other dialects have "khaatir" for it. However, it is being used before Hindi. The vocabulary of Hindi has been much influenced by it. Still popular, Bhojpuri even constitutes a distinct culture. While sketching the relationship between Standard Hindi and Bhojpuri, it is important to distinguish two uses of the category "Hindi": the first the way it will be used referring to modern Standard Hindi, the other more loosely functioning as a cover term for a chain of associated dialects stretching across Northern India, from Rajasthan in the west to Bihar in the east.<sup>99</sup> Standard Hindi, like Urdu, draws on varieties of Hindi (in the second sense), known as *kharīboṭī* of the western part of Uttar Pradesh, the area to the east and northeast of Delhi, whereas Bhojpuri forms part of the Bihar group at the eastern end of this chain of linguistic varieties. The relationship between Hindi and Bhojpuri, however, is not only one of near-opposite poles in a linguistic continuum stretching west to east across the Gangetic plain. It is also a matter of politics: attempts to standardize Bhojpuri have not been successful, and Standard Hindi has the status of a national language in India and is the official language of administration and education all the way from Rajasthan in the west through the Gangetic plain to the border with West Bengal, including the state of Bihar.

**Virha Bidessia, Chautal and Bhojpuri dialect** ; The Bhojpuri folk lore, legends, *lorikayan*, *jantsari*, *sorthi*, *barahmasa*, *poorvi*, *alha*, *pachra*, *kunvar bijai*, *nirgun*, *chaupai*, *kavita*, *chaubisa*, *bidesia* songs and literature of enormous size, all are part of the Bhojpuri ethos to which migrants had carried forward to those 'imagined lands' which they had adopted as their 'home away from home.' Sadly, *bidesia* folk culture, which is mainly an oral tradition, is in danger of disappearance nowadays. It is thus of overriding importance to collect, document, and analyse these traditions, as one could then develop the story of Bhojpuri overseas migration by relating the traditions to other archival and secondary sources. Notably, this folk tradition is popular not only in the homeland of the migrants, but also in their destinations like Mauritius, Suriname, Trinidad, Fiji, and the Netherlands, where the present generations in search of their cultural identity are trying to reconstruct the history of their ancestors. These oral folk traditions were an important component of the cultural baggage of those ancestors, which helped them recover from the pain caused by the separation from loved ones in their homeland. A study of these cultural traditions will not

99. Gumperz, John J., and Naim, C. M. 1960, *Formal and Informal Standards in the Hindi Regional Language, Area*. In *Linguistic Diversity in South Asia: Studies in Regional, Social, and Functional Variation*. Charles A. Ferguson and John Gumperz, eds. Pp. 92–118. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. Siegel 1988:2 Siegel, Jeff 1988 Introduction. In *Language Transplanted: The Development of Overseas Hindi*. Richard K. Barz and Jeff Siegel, eds. Pp. 1–19. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

only help present-day, non-resident Bhojpuris discover their roots, but it will also help them strengthen their common cultural heritage and folk traditions. The preservation of oral folk traditions in all cultures is important, as it preserves the intangible cultural heritage of humanity. The Daisporic pangs are expressed in the folk tradition of the people of the Bhojpuri region of India, and the following folk song clearly expresses the pain and suffering that they feel: *videsh* – referring to overseas migration – instead of *pardes* – referring to internal migration: *Bhave naahin mohe bhavanvan Ho Ram, videsh gavanvan* (I don't care for palaces, Hey Ram, my beloved has gone to a foreign land).

In 1884, Pandit Beni Madhav Ram, a resident of Kashi, composed a folk song in which the word *bidesia* was used for the first time to address a person who had departed: *Kahe mori sudhi bisaraye re bidesia Tarhpi tarhpi din rain gavayo re Kahe mose nehiya lagae re bidesia*. (Why did you make me lose my consciousness, O bidesia? I am suffering constantly day and night. Why did you lock your eyes with mine, O bidesia?)

### **Bhojpuri Insemination(*koiné*) in local Mauritian ethos and culture (A model);**

It prevails in North India, especially in chunks of undivided UP and Bihar from where most of the Indian migrants, Hindu and Muslim, went out across the world, including Mauritius.<sup>100</sup> Although Bhojpuri in Mauritius has always been associated with North Indians from Bihar and neighboring regions who left for Mauritius via the port of Calcutta, Mauritian Bhojpuri was also learned and used by many Mauritians of South Indian origin, from the Tamil- and Telugu-speaking lands. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century it became the dominant language of the Mauritian countryside, the lingua franca replacing other North Indian dialects.<sup>101</sup> The Indian currency, the *rupee* introduced in Mauritius in 1876 has dominated the Mauritian economic scene as “*rupia*” (Bhojpuri) and its units as “*anas*”. And other terms as *paisa* have entered Creole. Over time, Bhojpuri speakers interiorized the creole terms they borrowed which gave them a distinct Bhojpuri identity. Indeed, words like *latabwa* (table), *lacoujine* (la cuisine French for kitchen), *jalumette* (from allumette French for matches) are now common in Mauritian Bhojpuri. Similarly, bhojpuri gave many words and expressions to Creole. The expression in Creole “*caraille chaud*” (the *carahi* bhojpuri for cooking recipient is hot) means things are very bad. Words like *jalsa* (amusement), *nissa* (intoxication), and *paissa nai ba* or *pani nai ba* are commonly used in creole. Cultural transplantation from Bhojpuri has also added lustre to Creole. Terms such as “*difè dans lanka*” literally meaning there's fire in Lanka – that is “trouble is brewing” which has been taken from the Ramayana which is very popular in Mauritius. Bhojpuri is the only Indian language commonly spoken in Mauritius, a predominantly Mauritian Creole-speaking society in which two-thirds of the population of 1.2 million are of Indian origin. Mauritians of Indian background are diverse in terms of both religious identification and regional origin. Hindus alone comprise 52% of the total population; Muslims constitute 16%.<sup>102</sup> The vast majority of Indo-Mauritians are the descendants of indentured laborers who entered Mauritius between 1834 and 1919, replacing slave labor on sugar plantations after the abolition of slavery in the British Empire.<sup>103</sup> Varieties of Bhojpuri

100. Chit Dukhira ibid;

101. Gambhir, Surendra K. (1986). Mauritian Bhojpuri: An international perspective on historic and sociolinguistic processes. In Uttam Bissoondoyal & S.B.C. Servansing (eds.), *Indian labor immigration: Papers presented at the International Conference on Indian Labor Immigration (23–27 October 1984) held at the Mahatma Gandhi Institute*, 189–206. Moka, Mauritius: Mahatma Gandhi Institute.

102. Other ethnic groups are the Creoles (28%), who are Catholics and in their majority descendants of African slaves, the Sino-Mauritian community (less than 2%), and an even smaller but economically powerful Franco-Mauritian group. A small number of Indians converted to Catholicism in Mauritius, and some immigrant of Tamil background were already Christians when they arrived in Mauritius; their descendants are nowadays often considered members of the Creole community.

103. Tinker, Hugh (1974). *A new system of slavery: The export of Indian labor overseas 1830–1920*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Carter, Marina (1995). *Servants, sirdars, settlers: Indians in Mauritius 1834–1874*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.



were spoken by these Indian immigrants, and have long been recognized locally as a “language of Indians” in general. In recent years however, Hindu organizations that represent only a part of the Indian population have been involved in pro-Bhojpuri language activism intended to stop a language shift toward French-lexicon Mauritian Creole. Mauritians have increasingly shifted from considering Bhojpuri a common “Indian” language toward categorizing Bhojpuri as a “Hindu language,” thereby ideologically assigning authentic ownership of Bhojpuri only to the Hindu subgroup of the Indian community. At the same time, Hindus very frequently associate Mauritian Bhojpuri with Hindi. The promotion and spread of Hindi has been a Hindu nationalist cause in South Asia since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, and Hindi is also officially considered the “ancestral language” of Hindus in Mauritius. How has Bhojpuri become ethnicized? That is, how has an understanding of Mauritian Bhojpuri as a rural idiom of people of Indian origin been narrowed into the concept of an ethnic language of Hindus, who constitute only a part of the Indo-Mauritian population? To put the question in more general terms, precisely how does language become attached to ethnic values, and how is it made available as a means of ethno-national mobilization? “Mauritian Bhojpuri” is the label commonly assigned to the linguistic practices of most Indian immigrants who entered Mauritius as indentured laborers. Originating from present-day Bihar and eastern Uttar Pradesh in northern India, a majority of Indian migrants destined for the sugar plantations of colonial Mauritius appear to have been speakers of varieties of Bhojpuri.<sup>104</sup> In Mauritius they created a new composite kind of Bhojpuri, described as *koine* by linguists who have examined other destinations of indentured North Indian laborers.<sup>105</sup>

It was spoken by most people in the predominantly Indian villages and was firmly associated with sugarcane agriculture. Locally known as both *motiya* ‘the coarse one’ and *kalkattiya*, pointing to the Indian port of departure of most of its speakers, Bhojpuri was locally embedded in a double indexicality: On one hand it was evaluated as a rustic, unsophisticated medium of humble indentured laborers in the sugarcane fields; on the other, it pointed to a particular place of origin, a “homeland” in India. That is, Mauritian Bhojpuri, though seen as unquestionably “Indian,” became ideologically mapped onto more complex spatial distinctions. On one hand, it became associated with a rural/urban divide in Mauritius between an Indian-dominated countryside and towns in which Creoles were initially more numerous; on the other hand, Bhojpuri was taken as indicative of a North-South differentiation in India with respect to what were considered the North Indian origins of most of its speakers.

Ethno-religious divides among the population of Indian origin in Mauritius became increasingly pronounced in the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The most salient development was that “Indians” started to identify as either Hindus or Muslims by the middle of the century; they developed opposed political affiliations and were listed separately under these labels for the first time in the 1962 census, supplanting the previously used categories “Indian” or “Indo-

- 
104. Baker, Philip, & Ramnath, Amarnath (1985). *Mauritian Bhojpuri: An Indo-Aryan language spoken in a predominantly creoleophone society*. *Papers in pidgin and creole linguistics* No. 4/*Pacific Linguistics* A-72: 215–38 & P. Ramnath (1988). Recognizing Mauritian Bhojpuri. In Barz & Siegel, (Edit.) Pp. 41–68.
105. Barz, Richard K. (1980). The cultural significance of Hindi in Mauritius. *South Asia* n.s. 3: 1–13. & Siegel, Jeff (eds.) (1988). *Language transplanted. The development of overseas Hindi*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. 1988, Gambhir 1988 Gambhir, Surendra K. (1986). Mauritian Bhojpuri: An international perspective on historic and sociolinguistic processes. In Uttam Bissoondoyal & S. B. C. Servansing (eds.), *Indian labor immigration: Papers presented at the International Conference on Indian Labor Immigration (23–27 October 1984) held at the Mahatma Gandhi Institute*, 189–206. Moka, Mauritius: Mahatma Gandhi Institute. Mesthrie 1993, Mesthrie, Rajend (1993). *Koineization in the Bhojpuri-Hindi diaspora with special reference to South Africa*. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 99: 25–44.

Mauritian".<sup>106</sup> This distinction is now also enshrined in the constitution. Such ethno-religious divides, however, do not seem to have been relevant for distinguishing Bhojpuri speakers from speakers of other languages. Despite indicating forms of belonging to particular places in both India and Mauritius, religious ethnicity appears never to have come into play until fairly recently. Most Hindus and Muslims of North Indian background are known to have migrated to Mauritius from the present state of Bihar.<sup>107</sup> Hindu and Muslim families can often be traced back to the same districts<sup>108</sup> and know their ancestors as Bhojpuri speakers.

Mauritius is a predominantly Mauritian Creole-speaking society in which over two-thirds of the population is of Indian origin. Hindus alone comprise 52 percent of the total population, whereas Indian Muslims constitute 16 percent. The vast majority of Mauritians are the descendants of indentured laborers, who entered Mauritius between 1834 and 1915, replacing slave labor on sugar plantations after the abolition of slavery in the British Empire.<sup>109</sup> Other ethnic groups are the Creoles (28 percent), who are Catholics and mostly the descendants of African slaves, the Sino-Mauritian community (less than two percent), and an even smaller but economically powerful Franco-Mauritian group. Apart from Mauritian Creole, Bhojpuri, a North Indian language of the Bihar group, in its local Mauritian variety is also spoken among many Indo-Mauritians (roughly a quarter of the population) in a bilingual situation. Although English is the official state language and medium of education, it is primarily used as a written, bureaucratic medium and is rarely spoken. In many ways, French overshadows English in Mauritius, not just because of a small native-speaker group among Franco-Mauritians and upper-class Creoles, but because of its central position in the private-sector economy and the mass media, especially print.

In fact, it can be argued that modern Standard Hindi in its Sanskritized form is a direct product of the rise of nationalistic ideologies among elites concerned with defining a Hindu nation and the rewriting of the past in colonial India.<sup>110</sup> In Mauritius, Hindi/Bhojpuri is never used in everyday contexts and is often not well known by the people claiming it as their ancestral property. However, Hindi as an ancestral language is understood to be an emblem of Hindu group identity, which needs to be preserved and protected, regardless of the fact that most ancestors of the Indo-Mauritians were speakers of varieties of Bhojpuri. Indo-Mauritian ancestral languages, which are the mediating base of national and diasporic communities in Mauritius, are represented as providing a strong link to ancestors who left a homeland in India in order to settle in Mauritius.

### **Bhojpuri a Hindu's language?**

- In order to explain this dynamic, it is useful to go beyond the spatial and temporal boundaries of the pilgrim age and to focus on what might best be termed an ethnicization of Bhojpuri as a Hindu language. Bhojpuri, the only Indian vernacular language still used in Mauritius in a bilingual situation with the dominant Mauritian Creole, is subject to attempts at purification in which the boundaries between Standard Hindi and Mauritian Bhojpuri are blurred. This is particularly evident in linguistic practices in which otherwise frequently use

106. Bowman, Larry W. 1991. *Mauritius: Democracy and development in the Indian Ocean*. Boulder & San Francisco: Westview. Simmons, Adele Smith (1982). *Modern Mauritius: The politics of decolonization*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1982.

107. Carter & Deepalsingh (2000), Bihar, The Migratory State. In Across the Kalapani, Bihari Presence in Mauritius, ed. Marina Carter, Deepalsingh, Saloni, Port-Louis: Centre for Research on Indian Ocean Societies. 2000.

108. Deepalsingh, Saloni (2000) (eds.). *Across the Kalapani: The Bihari presence in Mauritius*. Port-Louis: Centre for Research on Indian Ocean Societies. 2000.

109. Carter 1995 Carter, Marina, ed. 1995, *Servants, Sirdars, Settlers: Indians in Mauritius 1834–1874*. Delhi: Oxford University Press. Tinker, Hugh 1974, *A New System of Slavery: The Export of Indian Labor Overseas 1830–1920*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

110. Dalmia, Vasudha, (1997), *The Nationalization of Hindu Traditions: Bharatendu Harishchandra and Nineteenth-Century Banaras*. Delhi: Oxford University Press; King 1994 King, Christopher R. 1994, *One Language, Two Scripts: The Hindi Movement in Nineteenth Century North India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

- dlexicalitemsofCreoleoriginaredeletedandreplacedbysanskritizedHindiitems.<sup>111</sup>
- OneoftheeffectsofsuchpracticesisnotjusttoethnicizeBhojpuri byrepresentinganIndianlanguagespoke  
nbybothruralMuslimsandHindusasHinduproperty,butalsotomakeancestralHindiconceptuallyaccess  
ibleaspartofeverydaylinguisticpractices.
  - Oneofthemostsalienteffectssuchperformanceshaveonlocalparticipantsisthat  
theydemonstrateablurringoflinguisticboundariesbetweenMauritianBhojpuriand  
Hindi. Thatis,theyaddapuristregisterinwhichmanyofthecommonCreolelexical  
itemsusedinMauritianBhojpuriare substituted byHindilexicalelements inthe  
locallinguisticrepertoire, allthewhileinterpreted bylocalspeakersasinstancesof  
Bhojpuri. ThisispossiblebecausetheyconsideraBhojpuriwithfewerwordsofCreole  
origintobe“pure”inthesense thatitshows, intheirview, lessinfluencefrom non- Indiansourcesand  
ismoreclearlylinkedtothe practiceofHindutraditions. Infact,  
severaloftheHindilexicalelements inthetranscripteitherrertoreligiousconcepts orareotherwise  
usedinanexplicitlyreligiouscontextssuchas*shirvaad*(‘blessing,’)*sahaita*(‘relief,’)*parampitaparamat  
ma*(‘supremefatherandsoul,’)*daya*(‘grace,mercy,’)*aasra*(‘reassurance,’).
  - The“hindiization”ofMauritianBhojpuri effectedhereisnotjustconfinedtothe  
levelofthelexicon. Therearealsogrammatical elementsofHindiwhicharecharacteristicofthispurist  
register,suchasdemonstrativepronouns intheobliquecase,  
whichMauritianBhojpurilacks(e.g.,*issamay*‘atthistime,’Line18;*isiliyeorisseliye* ‘therefore’).
  - Thepointthereisnottoarriveatasimplisticcategorization oflexicalitemsas  
eitherHindiorBhojpuri. Rather,theitemshighlightedintheexampleaboverepresent  
choicesthatstrikespeakersasuncommon, becauseinothercontextsCreoleitems  
wouldbepreferredintheirplace. Also, certainitems havephonologicalshapesthat  
makethemsoundHindi,suchasthesubstitutionof[s]by[ʃ]in*shirvaad*  
asopposedtoMauritianBhojpurias*irvaad*(‘blessing’),[ʃ]notbeingusedinordinaryMauritianBhojpuri

### Hindi (Bhojpuri),theAncestors,andthePilgrimage; Example of Home connect

Generally,Hindubodiesinvolvedintheorganization ofthepilgrimageandthe  
runningoftemplesatGrandBassin/Ganga Talao<sup>112</sup>seethepropagation ofHindias oneoftheirgoals. All such  
activities are also associated with homeland.  
ThereligioussignificanceofHindiinMauritiusisaffirmedatGrandBassin/Ganga  
Talaobythefactthatmostsermonsby*pandits*visitingfromIndiaaswellaslocalHindu priestsduring thefestival  
areinHindi. Astagewithrowsofseatswasbuiltinextto theMauritius  
EswarnathTemplein1998,onwhichlocalHindupanditsandswamis  
fromIndiadeliveredspeechesinHinditoanaudience.

Hindibhajanwereplayedinthetemplesandpanditsand*pujari*(‘worshipassistants’)  
instructedworshippingpilgrimsinHindi,whichstoodinsalientcontrasttotheconversationsinCreoleamongthep  
ilgrimsthemselves. Inaddition,suchemblematicuse ofHindiinthemidstofaCreole–  
speakingcrowdwasalsoevidentinslogansoften  
repeatedinspeechesandsermonssuchas*hind īrṣiōk ībhā ṣā hai*(‘Hindiisthelanguage  
oftheancientsages’). Thesecondlineofthesongisthe beginningoftheHindialphabet:

*sabhindū paṛohind ī*

AllHindusstudyHindi

*aa ī ī*

a,ā ī, ī

*yehdevtā ōk ībhā ṣā hai*

Thisisthelanguageofthegods

*yehrṣiōk ībhā ṣā hai*

Thisisthelanguageoftheancientsages

111. Eisenlohr2001

Eisenlohr,Patrick2001

*L a n g u a g e IdeologyandImaginationsof*

*IndiannessinMauritius*.Ph.D.thesis,DepartmentofAnthropology,UniversityofChicago.

112. A Diasporic symbolic identification with homeland as Ganga is one of the most powerful symbol in Indian Hindu ethos.

This also echoes the call of the writer Jay Narain Roy, a leading figure of the Hindi Pracharini Sabha (Society for the Propagation of Hindi) as well as a former member of the Legislative Council, that “learning and teaching our mother tongue is our first religious duty” (“*apnimā trbhā sā ko s ikhnā aurs ikhā nā hamā rā pratam dharmikkartavya hai*”)<sup>113</sup> Hindi then becomes a central part of a project of missionizing and religious purification, in which Hindu nationalists want to turn Indo-Mauritians into good Hindus in the diaspora.

The pilgrims also frequently and emblematically use Hindi in Devanagari script to indicate the name of their home village or town and the name of their community group or local religious association on the decorated *kanvar*, colorfully decorated structures of bamboo carried on the pilgrimage by members of local Hindu associations or temple committees to and from Grand Bassin/Ganga Talao. Brass vessels have traditionally been fixed to the ends of the bamboo poles of these structures in which sacred water from the lake is carried home to be offered in the shrines of the pilgrims’ villages. *Kanvar* often resembles the shape of Hindu temples, displaying images of Hindu deities or are representation of the sacred sound *aum*, while the pilgrims carrying them chant Hindi *bhajan* as they head to the mountain lake. This provides another instance of a presupposed indexical link between Hindi and Hindu religion in Mauritius.

Hindi in turn is depicted as the language of these ancestors in the school system, in discourses of Hindu activists, and in the context of the pilgrimage, despite the fact that few if any Indian immigrants had knowledge of Standard Hindi when they reached Mauritius. And Hindi is understood to be the link for Mauritian Hindus to the Hindu homeland in India, bestowed upon them by the immigrating ancestors leaving the Indian homeland in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The metaphor of the ancestor as the origin of tradition, understood as an ancestral culture is one of the binding essential qualities between the pilgrimage to Grand Bassin/Ganga Talao, Hindi the ancestral language, and the faraway Hindu homeland.<sup>114</sup> At the same time, the pilgrimage constitutes a propagation of Hindi as the language of the ancestors, whose heroic deeds in preserving Hindu traditions under the harsh circumstances of indenture on sugar plantations are remembered and celebrated in the Shivratna pilgrimage. The theme of ancestral qualities emerges as an overarching metaphor in the pilgrimage, connecting the Indian homeland of Mauritian Hindus as the place of origin of the ancestors, its local replication, and Hindi as the language of the ancestors, which continues to be cultivated and venerated by Hindus in Mauritius.

Thus, conclusively we trace Homeland Connect in the following facts;

- The cultivation of Hindi as the language of the ancestors in Mauritius is part of a larger process of establishing a Diasporic relationship to a homeland in India. This relationship is then naturalized by the presupposed and performative use of shared metaphors, which establish iconic relations of likeness between Hindi, the pilgrimage, and the homeland.
- Ideologies of Hindi as the ancestral language of Hindus contribute to the creation of concepts of community based on allegiance to an ancestral origin, which can be made present through religious performance and the voicing of an ancestral world in the cultivation of Hindi.
- The ideology of Hindi as an ancestral language also represents an indexical order of temporality in which the temporal and spatial disjuncture

113. Roy, Jaynarayan, (1970) *M a r i s a smē hind īka s ank s i p t i t i h ā s* (A concise history of Hindi in Mauritius). New Delhi: Sastā sahitya Mandal: 139).

114. For a more complete discussion of the deployment of shared metaphors, notably involving the Hindu Goddess in various forms, such as Ganga Mata and Sarasvati, in naturalizing the relationship between the Shivratna pilgrimage and the ancestral language Hindi see Eisenlohr, 2001.

between Mauritian Hindus and the world of their Indian immigrant ancestors is negotiated and momentarily minimized.

- The first Bhojpuri poet of oral tradition genre is Kabir whose *dohas* influenced the future literary works. Kabir (c. 1440 - c. 1518), thought to be active in India during the first half of the fifteenth century, was a religious mystic who spoke in poetic sayings that were passed down to his followers. Kabir was probably not literate. The sparse information about his life and work that has come down from his own time has been embellished by oral tradition and manipulated by religious groups with their own agenda, to a point where it is impossible to establish even such basic facts as the places and dates of Kabir's birth and death. Yet Kabir has exerted a strong hold on religious and literary imaginations in both in India in the Diaspora. Kabir composed in a pithy and earthy style, replete with surprise and inventive imageries. His poems resonate with praise for the true guru who reveals the divine through direct experience, and denounce more usual ways of attempting god-union such as chanting, austerities, etc. Kabir, being illiterate, expressed his poems orally in vernacular Hindi, borrowing from various dialects including Avadhi, Braj, and Bhojpuri.<sup>115</sup>

## **PART V**

### **FLOATING BOARDS, DEPOTS, VESSELS/ CARRIERS, COLONIAL EMIGRATION LAWS AND THE FINAL OUTLETS**

---

115. Scudiere, Todd. "Rare Literary Gems: The Works of Kabir and Premchand at CRL". *South Asian Studies*, Spring 2005 Vol. 24, Num. 3. Center for Research Libraries.

## PART V

### FLOATING BOARDS, DEPOTS, VESSELS/ CARRIERS, COLONIAL EMIGRATION LAWS AND THE FINAL OUTLETS

The Vessels used in transportation and the records of it, provides mines of information each detail tells how such a phenomenon had occurred? In the documents there are descriptions of the types of vessels with a particular name given to which was to embark upon long voyage with all details of its make and capacity etc. In this regard a comparative study in the aspects of overcrowding on the ships and what amenities they had onboard etc; had to be studied? The study would be of interest if those are done in compare to that of the transportation of Negroes to slave markets of Europe?

In the available records of the voyages there are descriptions of the types of vessels with a particular name given to which was to embark upon long voyage with all details of its make and capacity etc. In this regard a comparative study in the aspects of overcrowding on the ships and what amenities they had onboard etc; had to be studied? The study would be of interest if those are done in compare to that of the transportation of Negroes to slave markets of Europe? Maritime transportation in the nineteenth century underwent a rapid transformation.

**Table No.10 Showing details of the ships carrying indentured labourers**

<b>Name of Ship</b>	<b>Date of Arrival</b>	<b>Registered Numbers</b>	<b>Number of Arrivals</b>
Leonidas	May 15, 1879	1-463	463
Berar	June 29, 1882	464-887	424
Poonah	September 17, 1882	888-1364	477
Poonah	June 19, 1883	1365-1860	496
Bayard	August 20, 1883	1861-2354	494
Syria	May 14, 1884	2355-2792	438
Howrah	June 26, 1884	2793-3287	495
Pericles	July 3, 1884	3288-3748	461
SS Newnham	July 23, 1884	3749-4323	575
Main	April 30, 1885	4324-5048	725
Ganges	June 27, 1885	5049-5571	523
Boyne	April 26, 1886	5572-6108	537
Bruce	May 21, 1886	6109-6566	458
Hereford	April 24, 1888	6567-7105	539
Moy	May 3, 1889	7106-7782	677
Rhone	May 15, 1890	7783-8367	585
Allan Shaw	June 17, 1890	8368-8940	573
Danube	June 15, 1891	8941-9531	591
Jumna	June 27, 1891	9532-9978	447
British Peer	April 23, 1892	9979-10505	527
Avon	May 5, 1892	10506-11025	520
Hereford	June 15, 1892	11026-11504	479
Moy	April 14, 1893	11505-11971	467
Jumna	May 23, 1893	11972-12281	310

Ems	April 20, 1894	12282–12851	570
Hereford	June 28, 1894	12852–13362	511
SS Vadala	March 26, 1895	13363–14109	747
SS Virawa	April 26, 1895	14110–14786	677
Erne	April 24, 1896	14787–15343	557
Elbe	June 13, 1896	15344–15958	615
Rhone	May 11, 1897	15959–16611	653
Clyde	June 1, 1897	16612–17281	670
Moy	June 1, 1898	17282–17849	568
Avon	July 25, 1899	17850–18316	467
Ganges	September 3, 1899	18317–18780	464
Ganges	June 21, 1900	18781–19334	554
Elbe	July 26, 1900	19335–19938	604
Arno	July 23, 1900	19939–20565	627
Rhine	August 30, 1900	20566–21056	491
SS Fazilka	March 28, 1901	21057–21860	804
SS Fultala	May 12, 1901	21861–22669	809
SS Fazilka	June 18, 1901	22670–23445	776
SS Virawa	April 26, 1902	23446–24163	718
SS Fazilka	June 20, 1902	24164–25003	840
Mersey	June 13, 1903	25004–25588	585
Elbe	August 5, 1903	25589–26178	590
Arno	September 4, 1903	26179–26812	634
Arno	May 3, 1904	26813–27443	631
Ems	July 30, 1904	27444–27969	526
SS Fultala	April 10, 1905	27970–28796	827
SS Virawa	July 17, 1905	28797–29411	615
SS Wardha	July 28, 1905	29412–30303	892
SS Fultala	August 17, 1905	30304–31093	790
SS Fazilka	April 17, 1906	31094–31974	881
SS Fultala	April 28, 1906	31975–32775	801
SS Wardha	June 28, 1906	32776–33609	834
SS Fazilka	January 28, 1907	33610–34484	875
SS Virawa	March 23, 1907	34485–35243	759
SS Fazilka	April 25, 1907	35244–36039	796
SS Sangola	March 18, 1908	36040–37171	1132
SS Sangola	June 6, 1908	37172–38257	1086
SS Sangola	February 1, 1909	38258–39409	1152
SS Sangola	April 21, 1909	39410–40076	667
SS Sangola	March 7, 1910	40077–41002	926
SS Santhia	April 22, 1910	41003–42023	1021

SS Sangola	June 5, 1910	42024–42892	869
SS Santhia	July 8, 1910	42893–43922	1030
SS Mutlah	May 22, 1911	43923–44756	834
SS Sutlej	June 25, 1911	44757–45606	850
SS Ganges	July 22, 1911	45607–46466	860
SS Mutlah	August 18, 1911	46467–47329	863
SS Sutlej	October 4, 1911	47330–48140	811
SS Sutlej	April 27, 1912	48141–48997	857
SS Indus	June 8, 1912	48998–49801	804
SS Ganges	July 18, 1912	49802–50644	843
SS Ganges	November 8, 1912	50645–51490	846
SS Ganges	February 21, 1913	51491–52261	771
SS Sutlej	April 11, 1913	52262–53069	808
SS Ganges	May 29, 1913	53070–53917	848
SS Ganges	September 9, 1913	53918–54701	784
SS Chenab	March 24, 1914	54702–55556	855
SS Chenab	June 16, 1914	55557–56273	717
SS Mutlah	May 7, 1915	56274–57125	852
SS Ganges	June 21, 1915	57126–57971	846
SS Mutlah	August 1, 1915	57972–58783	812
SS Chenab	September 1, 1916	58784–59665	882
SS Sutlej	November 11, 1916	59666–60553	888
SS Chenab	March 24, 1914	54702–55556	855
SS Chenab	June 16, 1914	55557–56273	717
SS Mutlah	May 7, 1915	56274–57125	852
SS Ganges	June 21, 1915	57126–57971	846
SS Mutlah	August 1, 1915	57972–58783	812
SS Chenab	September 1, 1916	58784–59665	882
SS Sutlej	November 11, 1916	59666–60553	888

**Source;** See two books written by Shamshu Deen for an almost complete list of ships that brought Indians to the West Indies (specifically Trinidad) See, Shamshu Deen, *Solving East Indian Roots in Trinidad* 1994, Printed and Bound by H.E.M. Enterprises Ltd. ISBN 976-8136-25-1:- Lineages and Linkages, solving Trinidad Roots in India

The number, size, and speed of oceangoing vessels expanded and these changes, along with the growth of government regulation, transformed the conditions of passenger travel. While ocean voyages in this era may seem far removed from the conditions of intercontinental transport in the late twentieth century. They were equally distant from the conditions endured by overseas migrants, whether slave or free, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>116</sup>

### **The laws of migrations;**

116. Though David Eltis, *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade*, New York Oxford University Press, 1987, p. 136, has pointed out that coach passengers in jumbo jets have no more room than did most nineteenth-century steerage passengers.



Many left India in indenture to various colonies. A number went out, mainly from South India, according to the kangani/Mack system, a different labour contract, to Malaysia, Burma (now Myanmar), Singapore and Ceylon (Sri Lanka). Many went on their own, if not out of confusion, while others were forced or coaxed by the hired recruiters. Indian migrant free, traders and craftsmen, went abroad, mostly to Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and South Africa, in the 1920 s. After World War II (1939-1945), Indian professionals, technocrats, businessmen and skilled or semi-skilled workers left for Europe, North America and the Gulf countries. Later, many disembarked in Australia and New Zealand.

#### *To Mauritius 1834*

On 9 September 1834, J.G. C. Artbutnot, representing the Mauritius-based Hunter, Artbutnot and Co, signed an agreement in Calcutta (Kolkata) to bring labourers. Thus arrived 36 dangurs (tribals or hill coolies), all illiterate men, on a five-year contract to work on its sugar estate. Their expedition marked the start of systematic indenture.

#### *First Laws for Emigration*

The first colonial law, in force on 1 June 1838, for the migration of Indian labourers from the Presidency of Bengal, governed the (a) contracts of migrants, masters of vessels and agents; (b) labourers' acceptance to migrate and return free passages; (c) control by the superintendent of police; (d) five-year agreement; (e) the fixed wages, paid regularly; and (f) labourers' grant of free lodging, medical assistance and other facilities.

The next law (of 1855) allowed migration from Calcutta, Madras and Bombay to the two British colonies, Saint Lucia and Grenada, with better conditions for the migrants' voyage and work. Migration after the 1857 Mutiny/First Indian War of Independence, which put an end to the English East India Company's rule, continued. The 26 April 1860 Act made Saint Vincent another such destination. Natal, in South Africa, was included, in 1860, for the indentured. Another law of 1860 extended it to Saint Kitts. Moreover, the 1862 Act enabled a similar labour movement to the Seychelles, then a dependency of British Mauritius.

#### *Other Laws for Departure 1860s-1908*

Between 1860 and 1877, various new laws governed the Indian labourers' migration to French colonies. Those of Chandernagore and Pondicherry could embark from a British or French harbour in India. Not less than 31 sections focused their conditions of voyage and work. The projected length of voyage was thus stipulated: (a) Calcutta- Reunion : ten weeks (April-October) and eight weeks (November-March); (b) Madras-Reunion : seven weeks (April-October) and five weeks (November-March); (c) Bombay-Reunion: five weeks (April-September) and six weeks (October-March); (d) Calcutta-Guadeloupe and its dependencies: 20 weeks; (e) Madras/Bombay-Guadeloupe: 19 weeks; (f) Calcutta-French Guyana : 26 weeks; and (g) Madras and Bombay to French Guyana - 19 weeks. An Act of 1863 allowed a shipment of Indian labourers to the Danish Saint Croix.

The 1871 Indian Emigration Act covered the whole of British India, consolidating the laws for the labourers' migration. The receiving colonies were now listed together: (a) British - Mauritius, Jamaica, British Guyana, Trinidad, St Lucia, St Vincent, Natal, St Kitts and the Seychelles, (b) French - Reunion, Martinique, Guyana and Guadeloupe and (c) St Croix (Danish). Ceylon, regarded as part of British India, was not included.

The 1877 law enabled the departure from Madras to the huge, British Straits Settlements, having Singapore as capital. In 1883 was enacted the longest such statute, proclaimed in 1886. Four Indians had participated in the deliberations of Viceroy Lord Ripon-chaired 18-member Council - the first time Indian legislators had their say on indenture.

The 1908 law was intended "to consolidate the enactments relating to the emigration of natives of India." Karachi, after Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, became a departing port. The countries, to which Indian workers could go, now also included the Netherlands and Denmark's colonies. The 1922 Act provided for unskilled workers to migrate from Nagapatnam, Tuticorin and Dhanuskodi, besides Karachi,

Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. It also applied to artisans, clerks and shop assistants, as well as those working for/in exhibitions, entertainment, restaurants, tea-houses, other places of public resort, or domestic service.<sup>117</sup>

One major change was the great increase in the size of sailing ships. By the middle of the century increased use of iron fastenings permitted vessels to grow far beyond the limits formerly set by the size of available timbers. Their average size increased steadily thereafter, culminating in the construction of all-iron hulls at the end of the century.<sup>118</sup> Though promoted mostly by the rising volume of cargo shipments, these changes had tremendous implications for passenger travel. African slaves in the first half of the century had been crammed onto ships averaging under 200 tons. In the early 1850s European migrants were crossing the Atlantic on vessels averaging 450 tons. Ships carrying Chinese migrants to the British West Indies from 1852 to 1873 averaged 870 tons and those transporting Indian indentured laborers to that destination from crossing the Atlantic on vessels averaging 450 tons. Ships carrying Chinese migrants to the British West Indies from 1852 to 1873 averaged 870 tons and those transporting Indian indentured laborers to that destination from 1858 to 1873 had a mean size of 968 tons. The smallest ship from India in that period measured 435 tons, the largest 2,017 tons.<sup>119</sup>

The table below provides details of the 87 voyages made by the 40 ships that brought **Indian Indentured Labourers to Fiji**. Of these ships, 27 were sailing ships and 13 were steam ships.

\*\*\*\*\*

---

117. Chit Dukhira, *Indians Across the Globe*, Article paru dans [Le Mauricien](#) | 26 octobre, 2012.

118. Gerald S. Graham, "The Ascendancy of the Sailing Ship, 1850-85," *Economic History Review* 9 (1956J: 74-88; Joel Mokyr, *The Lever of Riches: Technological Creativity and Economic Progress*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1990, Pp. 129-30.

119. In comparison, ships carrying slaves from western Africa to the Americas in the period 1790 to 1830 averaged between 150 and 200 tons, whereas those carrying slaves from southeast Africa to Cuba after 1850 averaged about 470 tons; Ellis, *Economic Growth*, p. 128. Vessels carrying Chinese to Latin America averaged somewhat smaller than those to the British West Indies because of the use of a number of undersized vessels in the latter years of the trade to Cuba.

**PART VI**  
**STUDY IN PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE MIGRANTS; DISEASE, DEATHS, AND**  
**LUNATIC RETURNEES**

## **Part VI**

### **Study in Psychological aspects of the migrants; Disease, deaths, and lunatic returnees**

Its Psychoanalytical part of the study of Bhojpuri diaspora during Colonial Period. Right from the beginning of Indian civilization despite a long vast coastal periphery in one third part of the country, religious injunctions were not very encouraging one in regard to crossing of seas particularly in Hindu mythologies. Indians were not very good at high seas and they always restricted them to the plains. Despite circumscribed adventurism of Indians from time to time Indians also crossed over to other countries and settled there thus constituting diaspora. But it was not until 19<sup>th</sup> century when colonialism led to the spurt of migrations and creation of number of Diasporic pockets around the globe. Migrations had led to the broken homes, emotional hangovers, and psychological trauma to both sides---the departing souls as well as those who could wait for unknown period for their uncertain return. It just could be imagined in our times that how people mostly illiterate and knew nothing except menial works, had been literally crossing over 'seven seas' and then finding their destinations with all difficulties for earning bread for their loved ones who could wait for months and years for the paltry earning they would send from the 'imagined land' or land of hopes. In this study the difficulty was off course to find out how much it involved their choices as far as migration was concerned or was it forcible one as evidential circumstances suggest more towards the forced migration as the handiwork of Colonial masters? Some records suggests as if the British had restarted the old Slave Trade of the previous centuries in the form of trade in Indentured Labor. Therefore it is a new study in a new era of a new form of 'slave trade' in Indentured laborers from Eastern India- A Bhojpuri speaking belt.

While going through the details of what happened to the kind of migration taking place during 19<sup>th</sup> Century we come across various human problems facing the laborers going abroad, out of India to a place never known, never seen or never had the feeling of the climatic condition of the same. That was Real test of their endurance of all sorts, be it emotional, psychological, homesickness and survival in altogether different locales, very different from theirs from where they had originally come from. They had to face all such hardships of climatic change, diseases on high seas, schizophrenia, emotional hangovers etc. There are reports of the occurrences of deaths of the weak and sick laborers on voyages which occurred unusually high in numbers in the way to the imagined lands or among the returnees. The disposal of the dead bodies of the same need more than incisive look into the matter, as some times the reports occur of just throwing down those bodies into the open sea by the ship officials ---a controversial act of theirs.<sup>120</sup> What had been done to their dead bodies is to be part of the further researches? We find descriptions of the shipwrecks, which led to large number of casualties and some of them who had survived had horrifying tales of survivals. Such incidents had left telling effects on the morale of the laborers who were supposed to embark for other destinations. Reported cases of suicides in each district of the Colony of Mauritius, 1876 and other such psychological problems we find in scores.

There was large increase in numbers of lunatics among the migrant laborers due to their inadaptability in such an odd conditions, different from their locales, food habits, and from socio-cultural moorings. It's very human that if someone is taken out from their original fold forcefully or wrongfully and put to confinement they would definitely show some unusual behaviors. Migration is usually considered an economic phenomenon, but it also creates a cultural phenomenon in both the homeland and the land of destination. For the Bhojpuri people, this migration was first and foremost a heavy emotional loss. Many relationships were torn apart – wives torn from husbands, sisters torn from brothers, fathers from their old-age support, and mothers from the 'apples of their eyes'. All were leaving for foreign shores and there was no way to hold them back. The social, economic, political, and historical

---

120. This period of intensive use of Indian labour took place during British rule, with many brutal episodes and a long struggle by the indentured for respect.

manifestations of colonial imperialism were drawing them to this migration, which was more of a forced migration for the Bhojpuris.

This economic compulsion is expressed in the folk tradition of the people of the Bhojpuri region of India, and the following folk song clearly expresses the pain and suffering that they felt. The same was happening with other migrant laborers from India. The folk lore, legends, *virha* songs, *bidesia* songs and literature of enormous size has been the part of the study which the migrants had carried to those imagined lands which could become their home away from home. The idea is also to study the two centuries of development of language and literature in diaspora. That cultural aspect has also been taken into account for understanding the flow of culture with the migrants. Mostly in Bhojpuri dialect largely spoken in part of eastern India now is becoming part of various big and small island nations of the world where they had migrated.

### Repatriation

Repatriation was one way of reducing the emotional suffering to those who could not sustain or survive on foreign soil. Repatriation was one way forward where colonial masters on the report by planters would push for the return of those unsuitable labourers who werenot adjusting to the new set up, it came as relief to them. In general, the East Indians were isolated in their communities on the sugar estates and many of them wanted to remove themselves from this seclusion. One of the ways open to them was to return to India after their period of indenture. Actually there was a steady return to India until 1949 when the last batch of 311 left Guyana. Between 1843 and 1949, a total of 75,547 Indians left Guyana for India and they took with them over five million dollars in cash and jewellery. According to Clause 10 of each labourer's Indenture Agreement "after ten years continuous residence every Emigrant who was above the age of twelve on introduction to the Colony and who during that period has completed an industrial residence of five years, shall be entitled to a free-return passage if he claims it within two years after the completion of the ten years' continuous residence". If the Emigrant was under twelve years of age when he was introduced into the colony, he will be entitled to a free return passage if he claims it before he reaches 24 years of age and fulfils the other conditions as to residence. A child of an Emigrant born within the colony will be entitled to a free return passage until he reaches the age of twelve, and must be accompanied on the voyage by his parents or guardian. Due to the high cost involved in returning after only 5 years of servitude, of the indentured immigrants returning to India, most left Fiji under the free-return passage option 10-12 years after arrival. As the first ship carrying indentured Indians to Fiji "the Leonidas" arrived in 1879, the first ship to take Indians back "the British Peer" set sail just over 12 years after in 1892.

**REPARIATION Table No. 11**

Year Departure	Name of the Ships	Returnees From to India
May 1843	Louisa Baille	From British Guiana
May 1843	Water Witch	From British Guiana
1867	Ganges	From St. Lucia
1868	Lincelles	From St. Lucia
1871	Harkaway	From St. Lucia
1883	Jumna	From St. Lucia
1888	Moy	From St. Lucia
1889	Rhone	From St. Lucia
1890	Hereford	From St. Lucia
Aug 1892	Jumna	From St. Lucia

Sept 1894	British Peer	From St. Lucia
-----------	--------------	----------------

The total number of repatriates under the Fiji indenture system is recorded as 39,261, while the number of arrivals is said to have been 60,553. As a proportion this works ought to be 64.8% which appears quite high. However, this figure includes children born in Fiji so the actual percentage is significantly lower. After 1951 return voyages by ship ceased and arrangements were made for flights from Sydney to Bombay, the first of which departed in July 1955. Ship charter were however organised for Fiji to Sydney leg of the journey.<sup>121</sup>

---

<sup>121</sup>See two books written by Shamsu Deen for an almost complete list of ships that brought Indians to the West Indies (specifically Trinidad) See, Shamsu Deen: *Solving East Indian Roots in Trinidad* 1994, Printed and Bound by H.E.M. Enterprises Ltd. ISBN 976-8136-25-1:

----- Lineages and Linkages, solving Trinidad Roots in India

## PART VII

### CONCLUSION

The Indian diaspora constitutes an integral part of the socio-economic, political and cultural life in the Caribbean, in East African southern coast as well as in the Pacific Ocean. Having stemmed from the dreadful policies and ambitious designs of British colonialism, Indians in the Caribbean have shared the suffering in a variety of ways since the beginning of their arrival on the islands.<sup>122</sup> The first generation was not only the victim of poverty and inhuman treatment meted out to them at every level, but also of getting uprooted from their soil in the most devastating manner that has ever been witnessed in the history of the Indian diaspora. However, since the middle of twentieth century, Indo-Caribbeans have come to play a much more active role in the mainstream cultural, commercial, and political life of their adopted countries.<sup>123</sup>

- Pushing more than half a million Indians to the Caribbean as indentured labourers with absolutely false hopes and promises was the worst sort of violation of human rights and dignity by the British colonial masters.<sup>124</sup> Thousands of Indians who strongly protested against the British rule during the first War of Independence in 1857 also came to the Caribbean to escape persecution. Steven Vertovec (1992) has been very frank in admitting that various immigration schemes were tried by the colonial authorities, including the importation of workers from Madeira, continental Europe, West Africa and China. Yet none of the groups fulfilled the needs of planters, either due to costs of recruitment and transport, unreliability of work, or a simple inability to survive in a tropical climate. From 1834, planters in Mauritius were relatively successful in importing contract labourers from India and their model soon spread to sugar plantations around the world. The pervasive framework of British colonial administration provided the infrastructure that was needed both in India and overseas, to create what was deemed 'a new system of slavery.'<sup>125</sup> Indian indentured emigration to the Caribbean was a product of uneven world capitalist development<sup>126</sup>. Given the costs of recruitment and transportation (often underwritten by local governments of the colonies dominated by sugar planters), indentured Indian migration was quickly accepted by local plantocracies as the most beneficial (profitable) solution to the post-indentured period.<sup>2</sup>
- The procedure to recruit Indians was fairly straightforward but involved a hierarchy of emigration officials in India and in the Caribbean. In India, the British government of India appointed Protectors of Emigration in most regions and districts to monitor and manage the system efficiently and effectively. The respective Caribbean colonial government appointed emigration agents, medical officers on the ground and on the transporting ships. The emigration agents then employed provincial and district subagents, licensed recruiters and local judges to supervise the judicial aspects of the recruitment. In the Caribbean, each colonial government had an Immigration Department headed by a chief officer (called different names, Protector of Immigrants, Agent-General of Immigrants or Immigrant Agent-General). The chief immigration officer was assisted by other sub-immigration officers such as inspectors, clerks and interpreters. The Immigration Department was responsible for the distribution of Indians and the function of the indenture system.<sup>127</sup>

---

<sup>122</sup> Steven Vertovec, *The Hindu Diaspora: Comparative Patterns*, Global diasporas, Routledge, 2000 p.2

<sup>123</sup> Manuel, Peter (1997/1998), 'Music, Identity, and Images of India in the Indo-Caribbean Diaspora', *AsianMusic*, vol. 29, no. 1, pp. 17-35

<sup>124</sup> Vertovec, Steven (1992), *Hindu Trinidad: Religion Ethnicity and Socio- Economic Change*, London: Macmillan.

— — — (1995), 'Indian Indentured Migration to the Caribbean', in *The Cambridge Survey of World Migration*, Ed, Robin Cohen, Cambridge: CUP, pp. 57—62. P.3.

<sup>125</sup> Tinker, Hugh (1974). *A new system of slavery: The export of Indian labor overseas 1830—1920*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

<sup>126</sup> Lommarsh Roopnarine, *Indo-Caribbean Indenture: Resistance and Accommodation, 1838-1920*, (Mona, Jamiaca, University of the West Indies Press, 2007) p. 114.

<sup>127</sup> Lommarsh Roopnarine, *Indo-Caribbean Indenture: Resistance and Accommodation, 1838-1920*, Mona, Jamiaca, University of the West Indies Press, 2007) p.114.

- Importation of Indian *coolie*<sup>128</sup> came to be regarded as the economic salvation of a number of sugar producing colonies, British or others.<sup>129</sup> Even though their arrival was considered economically fortunate, that was not the end of their problems, that continued to plague them generation after generation. Their new environment was predominantly Eurocentric, with traces of African values. The first batch of indentured labourers arrived in British Guyana on 5 May 1838 on two ships, the *SS Hesperus* and the *SS Whitby*. However, the migration was stopped for seven years and resumed with a batch of indentured labourer to Trinidad on 30<sup>th</sup> May 1845 aboard the *Path al Razak* (Ramnarine 1998/1999). By the end of the nineteenth century, changing conditions in the Caribbean colonies, nationalist opposition in India and reformist governments in Europe put an end to the indentured contracts (Eltis 2002: 205).<sup>130</sup> Although the system of importing indentured labourers from the Indian subcontinent was abolished in 1920, by this time approximately 1, 43,900 Indians were already brought to Trinidad (Niranjana 1998;Klass 1991), primarily to serve a specific tenure and then be free after completing their obligations, which in most cases were agricultural. The last boat of indentured servants from India arrived in the Caribbean in 1917 (Vertovec 1992). By the time the indenture system ended officially, most workers had left the estates and settled near them in small, dispersed village communities. (Khan 1994: <sup>131</sup> Morton Klass (1961) offers a good account of the social organization of the villages of the East Indian in Trinidad.<sup>132</sup>
- The majority of Indians who came to the Caribbean under different colonial governments (French, British and Dutch) originated from north India, primarily eastern Uttar Pradesh and western Bihar, with lesser numbers from south India, i.e.Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu (Mahabir 2008). Although many of them returned to India after the abolition of the indentured labourer system, the majority remained in the Caribbean, and their descendants now constitute the largest ethnic groups in Trinidad, Guyana, and Surinam, outnumbering their Afro-Caribbean compatriots, and accounting for about 20 per cent of the English-speaking West Indian population as a whole<sup>133</sup>. The backgrounds of Indian immigrants to the Caribbean were rather diverse. N.Jayaram has provided the statistical details about the religious and caste backgrounds of Indian immigrants, drawing information from various sources: Of the 91,691 emigrants, 78,772 (85.9%) were Hindus; 12,851 (14.0%) were Muslims; and 68 (0.1%) were Christians. Of the 78,772 Hindu emigrants, 13,242 (16.8%) were of'Brahman castes'; 5,988 (7.6%) were of ' Artisan castes'; 27,680 (35.1%) were of 'Agricultural castes'; and 31,862 (40.5%) were of 'Low castes'... since the emigrants held several identities (regional, linguistic, occupational, etc., besides caste and sub-caste), all passing for caste, guessing which particular identity an indentured labourer invoked at the time of his or her recruitment is difficult.<sup>134</sup>
- Apart from the caste and religious differences, there was also a consistent major disparity between the number of men and women contracted as indentured labourers. The scarcity of Indian women in the British Caribbean was to have a profound impact on the indentured immigrant Indian community and on the status and role of women in Indian-Caribbean society.<sup>135</sup> According to

128A historical term for manual labourers from Asia, particularly China and India, in nineteenth century and early twentieth century (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Coolie>).

129The Indians were the preferred choice of the planters in Caribbean, as one of the planters in British Guyana said, 'Give me my heart's desire in Coolies and I will make you million hogsheads of sugar without stirring the colony' (Bronkhrust Bronkhrust, H.V.P. (1883), *The Colony of British Guiana and its Labouring Population* London.1883: 98).

130Eltis, David (2002), *Coerced and Free Migration: Global Perspectives*, Chicago: Stanford University Press.

131Khan, Aisha (1994), "'Juthaa in Trimdad: Food, Pollution, and Hierarchy in a Caribbean Diaspora Community', *American Ethnologist*, vol. 21, no. 2, Pp. 245-69.

132Klass, Morton (1961), *East Indians in Trinidad*, New York: Columbia University Press. (1991), *Singing with Sai Baba: The Politics of Revitalization in Trinidad*, Oxford; Westview Press.

133Manuel, Peter (1997/1998), 'Music, Identity, and Images of India in the Indo-Caribbean Diaspora', *Asian Music*, vol. 29, no. 1, pp. 17-35

134N. Jayaram, Yogesh Atal (ed.) *The Indian Diaspora: Dynamics of Migration*, SAGE Publications, Incorporated, 2004

135Ramnarine, Tina K. (1998/1999), 'Historical Representations, Performance Spaces, and Kinship Themes in Indian-Caribbean Popular Song Texts', *Asian Music*, vol. 30, no.1, pp. 1-33



Rhoda Reddock<sup>136</sup> the required ratio of women to men changed at least six times from 1857 to 1879.<sup>137</sup> It was only in later years of the indentured period that more women were recruited from India. There are several push factors that caused such a large number of Indians to decide to leave for the Caribbean thousands of miles away from their homeland.<sup>7</sup>

- With no respect for their socio-religious norms and pattern of family life and traditions, these Indian labourers were initially housed in the barracks vacated by the West African slaves, in the aftermath of Emancipation in the 1860s of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Sometimes labourers were allowed to cultivate a small patch of land or keep a cow or pig; but despite this and the rationing of food, vitamin deficiency plagued the estates, as did malaria and hookworm<sup>138</sup> (Vertovec 1995: 60). Indo-Caribbeans felt unprecedentedly isolated and, in many cases, even more consciously committed to maintaining their cultural heritage (Manuel 1997/1998: 18). Women played an important role in continuing to keep the cultural traditions of the homeland alive.
- Just as women in India sing wedding songs that are central to folksong, traditions, Indian women in the Caribbean are seen as the preservers of tradition with regard to the music and dance of wedding rituals in particular. A common view is that it is due to women maintaining these Indian traditions that enabled a popular genre like *chutney song* to develop.<sup>139</sup>
- J.C.Jha has very rightly observed:  
The Indian immigrants would have been quite familiar with the old Indian institution of extended family. However, there were several factors in the indenture days militating against a good family life. First the method of recruitment was faulty; the recruiters wanted to earn money and gave a false picture of the conditions of the country to which the Indians were emigrating and therefore many left their family behind. The women in any case were not willing to emigrate in large numbers. Some adventurous people also left India for a distant land to start a family afresh. It was only in later years of the indenture period that steps were taken to recruit whole families and sometimes from the same area. Even then the privacy of a normal family life was gone in depots and later in boats. Moreover, the dwelling conditions in the barracks were bad the immigrants were thrown together without any consideration for privacy. Naturally enough, there were conflicts and sex crimes. Also Muslim marriages before 1930s and Hindu marriages before 1946 were not recognized by Trinidad and Tobago law.<sup>140</sup>
- The majority of Indian immigrants who settled in the Caribbean after the end of indentured contracts have permanently changed the cultural mixture of these societies.<sup>141</sup> After their arrival contact with Africans did not take place in an atmosphere of mutual goodwill. Although the Indians did not meet with any hostile reception, there was extreme timidity and no overwhelming displays of friendship on either sides. Very rarely did the Africans—the so-called natives at that time—behave spontaneously. The remarkable absence of conflict between the two could be attributed to the fact that initially both the races were not concerned to defend the personal claims to land and property. On first making contact with Indians the Africans generally refrained from aggressive behaviour but so long as the indentureship lasted the Africans did despise the Indians. The two did not mix, they lived in uneasy but non-violent co-existence (Brereton).<sup>142</sup> According to Bates (1912: 83), both had a

---

136Reddock, Rhoda (1994), *Women, Labour and Politics in Trinidad and Tobago*, London: Zed Press. Brian Meeks, Folke Lindahl *New Caribbean Thought: A Reader*, Published by University of the West Indies Press

138Vertovec, Steven—(1995), 'Indian Indentured Migration to the Caribbean', in *The Cambridge Survey of World Migration*, ed, Robin Cohen, Cambridge: CUP, pp. 57-62.

139Rammarine, Tina K. (1998/1999), 'Historical Representations, Performance Spaces, and Kinship Themes in Indian-Caribbean Popular Song Texts', *Asian Music*, vol. 30, no.1, pp. 1-33.

140Jha J.C. (1985), 'The Indian Heritage in Trinidad', in *Calcutta to Caroni: The East Indians, in Trinidad*, ed. John La Guerre, St. Augustine: University of the West Indies, Extra, Mural Studies Unit (1985: 20)

141Look Lai, Walton (1993), *Indentured Ijibor, Caribbean Sugar: Chinese and Indian Migrants to the British West Indies, 1838—1918*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1993.

142 The people of the modern Caribbean descend from men and women brought to the region mainly through coerced or semi-coerced migrations, notably the transatlantic trade in enslaved Africans, and the post-emancipation schemes of Asian indentured immigration.

comfortable sense of superiority, the Negro because he is free to loaf while the coolie is indentured for five years, the coolie because of his traditions of his ancient civilization and the pride of caste'.<sup>143</sup> Although mostly the Indians behaved peacefully at the beginning of their contacts with the African people, they had not relinquished their claim to superiority. After landing there they took care to maintain certain traditions and festivities of the homeland. This was also to indicate the superiority of their cultural heritage. The sources are too fragmentary to permit a generalization but gradually the language of expression and gesture could overcome cultural barriers. The reasons for transformation of contact into collision must often have been complex; they can seldom be reconstructed precisely from the Trinidad Indian accounts which are strongly partisan in such matters. However there were two main reasons for conflict: either the members of Afro-culture sensed a threat to their property and their accustomed way of life or they had ceased to respect and trust the Europeans. The entirely Indo-centric manner in which the Indians interpreted their encounters with other cultures is apparent from their failure to judge the consequences of their appearances or realize how fragile the trust of the natives to Africans was. In order to clarify this point let me provide a representative instance.<sup>144</sup>

- When Indian labourers were first brought to the West Indies the possibility that they might eventually become permanent settlers was scarcely envisaged. Return passages at the conclusion of their contacts were granted to them and it was expected that they would in fact return to their homeland in due course. The view that many could and would become part of the settled population developed only slowly. When it did, it was closely related to the appearance of an Indian peasantry whose land made its ties with Trinidad obvious just as the old slave-owning planters had been accustomed to allowing their slaves to cultivate provision grounds on the estate in their spare time, soon after the importation of Indian labour began, some estates which had wasteland available, as the great majority did, began to permit immigrant labourers even while under indenture, to cultivate such land as they could manage on their own account without endangering their estate work, and to pasture stock on estate lands. Many Indians were thus accustomed to grow food crops and roots of their later activity as market gardeners therefore go back to the early stages of indenture system. The development of a settled peasantry, however, came slowly and it was not until the 1870s that a significant number of Indians began to own land. After Emancipation the colonial governments, in deference to planters' desire to make it as difficult as possible for labourers to move away from the estates and achieve independence, had sought to inhibit the sale of crown lands.
- Diasporic identities are inherently unstable and complex entities, in which allegiances to contemporary and ancestral homelands are variously reconciled, weighted, or compartmentalized.<sup>145</sup> In terms of African-Indian relations Trinidad, for instance, Shalini Puri finds that the colonial constructions of 'Indian' and 'African' continue to inform the contemporary formations of the two groups' identities. She notes that it is: ... *one of the great ironies of decolonization in Trinidad that racial tensions have taken the form of horizontal hostility between blacks and Indians, rather than vertical hostility-directed by blacks and Indians together against the economically privileged French Creole elite. Despite an oppositional tradition which has attempted to unite Africans and Indians on the basis of class since the 1930s, hegemonic political discourses have consistently posed African and*

---

It has been historically a region of massive in-migration, from Africa, Europe, and Asia. But after the end of slavery in the British Caribbean in the 1830s movement within the wider region, and out of it to Central, South, and North America, and to Europe, became a key aspect of life for the people of these territories. As soon as they were free to leave their own islands, they did so in large numbers, and outmigration – to many different destinations, which shifted according to opportunities and changing circumstances – became part of the lived experience of many. See, Bridget Brereton. *Caribbean: English-speaking regional and external migration, 1830s–2000*, 1985: 30

143 Bates, L. (1912), *The Path of the Conquistadores: Trinidad and Venezuelan Guiana*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

144 Lawrence, K.O. (1985), 'Indians as permanent settlers in Trinidad', in *Calcutta to Caroni: The East Indians in Trinidad*, ed. John La Guerre, St. Augustine: University of the West Indies, Extra Mural Studies Unit, pp. 134-64

145 Peter Manuel, Music, Identity, and Images of India in the Indo-Caribbean Diaspora *Asian Music* Vol. 29, No. 1 (Autumn, 1997 - Winter, 1998), 1997/1998:17. Published by: University of Texas Press.

*Indian economic advancement in mutually exclusive terms. The logic of this competition has demanded the discursive production of clearly distinguishable races, along with a vocabulary of 'us' and 'them'. ... One of the striking features of this antagonism, between a racialised 'us' and 'them' is that it draws heavily on the terms of colonial racial discourse, which provides a resonant vocabulary through which Afro- and Indo-Trinidadians structure and express their relational antagonisms today.*

- The early days of settlement were very hard and Indians could not have survived without some kind of material and moral support extended by locals. The Indians were well aware of the cultural conditions that governed the transactions for acquiring land. They noticed that the so-called natives did not cultivate land so intensively, and the colonialists had the impression that the natives had more land than they could cope with. Lacking the concept of long-term ownership the natives had never entertained the notion that land could be handed over to people of alien origin. But in course of time when they saw Indians clearing bushes and transforming the landscape in exclusive zones they felt outraged but could not do anything as exclusiveness was now vanishing fast thanks to People's National Movement (PNM) governments free housing schemes which has penetrated deeply into such areas like penal colonies, etc. Interestingly, by being shipped overseas the Africans were severed from their cultural roots more thoroughly than in any known case of international migration. Contrary to this, one finds that after being shipped abroad the Indians became more attached to their culture and religion and did everything to preserve it. It was widely held in the 1830s that Christian doctrines were to keep the indentured labourers and slaves humble and docile and also to legitimize the master's rule as a form of paternalistic guardianship. Though we need not decide whether this was true, yet the religious instruction pioneered by Presbyterians in the long run did not help them develop a genuine culture of their own. Initially, some Indians do seem to have accepted the Presbyterian religion-cultural ethos but they seem to be lost and starving for the Indian culture. In case of plantation economy their encounter did not result in the disappearance of traditional culture, for instance, the most impressive is the popularity of the *Ramayana* and Indian music in Trinidad.<sup>8</sup>
- In the Caribbean, too, a Hinduism emerged which was unitary and capable of being followed by Hindus originally drawn from a variety of geographically, linguistically, and caste differentiated traditions. Some of the important lowest common denominators which brought Hindus together in the Caribbean were recognition of a limited pantheon of Sanskritic deities (including Vishnu and his major incarnations as Rama and Krishna, Shiva, Durga, Lakshmi, Ganesha, and Hanuman), an emphasis on Vaishnava devotionism (bhakti) in ways significantly influenced by north Indian monastic orders such as Ramanandis (and even Ramdas), the wide popularity of Tulsidas' *Ramayana*, and a general acceptance of the ritual authority of Brahmans. For the Indian immigrants, arriving at common religious beliefs and practices represented the first step in the development of Hinduism as an ethnic religion in the Caribbean,<sup>146</sup> features of this antagonism between a racialised 'us' and 'them' is that it draws heavily on the terms of colonial racial discourse, which provides a resonant vocabulary through which Afro- and Indo-Trinidadians structure and express their relational antagonisms today.
- The early days of settlement were very hard and Indians could not have survived without some kind of material and moral support extended by locals. The Indians were well aware of the cultural conditions that governed the transactions for acquiring land. They noticed that the so-called natives did not cultivate land so intensively, and the colonialists had the impression that the natives had more land than they could cope with. Lacking the concept of long-term ownership the natives had never entertained the notion that land could be handed over to people of alien origin. But in course of time when they saw Indians clearing bushes and transforming the

---

146Veer, Peter and Steven Vertovec (1991). 'Brahmanism Abroad: On Caribbean Hinduism as an Ethnic Religion', *Ethnology*, vol. 30, no. 2, pp. 149-66. bice, Gloria (1982), 'East Indians and National Politics in the Caribbean', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 153-4

landscape in exclusive zones they felt outraged but could not do anything as exclusiveness was now vanishing fast. Interestingly, by being shipped overseas the Africans were severed from their cultural roots more thoroughly than in any known case of international migration. Contrary to this, one finds that after being shipped abroad the Indians became more attached to their culture and religion and did everything to preserve it. It was widely held in the 1830s that Christian doctrines were to keep the indentured labourers and slaves humble and docile and also to legitimize the master's rule as a form of paternalistic guardianship. Though we need not decide whether this was true, yet the religious instruction pioneered by Presbyterians in the long run did not help them develop a genuine culture of their own. Initially, some Indians do seem to have accepted the Presbyterian religion-cultural ethos but they seem to be lost and starving for the Indian culture. In case of plantation economy their encounter did not result in the disappearance of traditional culture, for instance, the most impressive is the popularity of the *Ramayana* and Indian music in Trinidad.

- In the Caribbean, too, a Hinduism emerged which was unitary and capable of being followed by Hindus originally drawn from a variety of geographically, linguistically, and caste differentiated traditions. Some of the important lowest common denominators which brought Hindus together in the Caribbean were recognition of a limited pantheon of Sanskritic deities (including Vishnu and his major incarnations as Rama and Krishna, Shiva, Durga, Lakshmi, Ganesha, and Hanuman), an emphasis on Vaishnava devotionism (bhakti) in ways significantly influenced by north Indian monastic orders such as Ramanandis (and even Ramdasis), the wide popularity of Tulsidas' *Ramayana*, and a general acceptance of the ritual authority of Brahmins. For the Indian immigrants, arriving at common religious beliefs and practices represented the first step in the development of Hinduism as an ethnic religion in the Caribbean,<sup>147</sup>
- Although forced labour and punitive actions formed the keynote of the early history of indenture it exacted other types of greater sacrifices from Indians. They were imperiled by the introduction and transmission of such previously known and unknown diseases as smallpox, tuberculosis and syphilis to which they were unable to build any resistance initially because of their lack of means to cure.
- In typically patriarchal set up homeland Bhojpuri culture (more particularly in Mirzapuri/ Benarasi Bhojpuri culture) where the women are ascribed value by their relationship to men and utter devotion to their godly husband comes into play. Women may only adorn themselves and partake in festivities when their husbands are alive and typically wear white and refrain from adornments after they are widowed. This is not the case in the Bhojpuri Diaspora as widows are allowed to remarry and continue to wear jewelry after they are widowed. All such are reflected in Kajri, lyrically, may then in fact be coded in the way that women sought patriarchal value in their villages. To be a woman whose husband is away is to be a woman vulnerable to the evils of the outside world. This is not the case in the Bhojpuri Diaspora as widows are allowed to remarry, continue to wear jewelry after they are widowed and continue to enjoy the socialisation and festivities.

### Limitations;

**Vast canvass, across globe;** The present theme provides vast canvass as the Diapsora in question is spread across the globe far away from each other, so divergent ideas and understanding come to us, sometimes difficult to handle and comprehend as far as lingual and cultural aspects are concerned.

---

147. Van derVeer, Peter (1995), *Nation and Migration: The Politics of Space in the South Asian Diaspora*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. : Veer, Peter and Steven Vertovec (1991). 'Brahmanism Abroad: On Caribbean Hinduism as an Ethnic Religion', *Ethnology*, vol. 30, no. 2, pp. 149-66. bice, Gloria (1982), 'East Indians and National Politics in the Caribbean', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 16-28. Peter van der Veer, *Nation and Migration: The Politics of Space in the South Asian Diaspora*.

In this study the effort has been made to bring those hidden vistas of understanding which are related with the aspect of Bhojpuri Diaspora but the canvas of study is never small it is ever expanding with various disciplines forming apart of it.

**Mixed up scenario, Colonial old diaspora visa vis age of globalization diaspora lead some of the problems never to be answered;**

The Colonial Era Diaspora have already travelled more than 150 years of journey in time span. The later waves of migrations have made it more difficult for a smooth analysis of linguistic, cultural, religious symbolism in Diasporic context so studies are required so that all should not be botched up affairs.

**Vast study in acculturation and lingual aspects are required;**

Acculturation is an important research aspect in regard to any Diaspora for cultural anthropologists, sociologists and psych-ologists. Research on acculturation has on average a very limited time scope, focusing on the “here and now”. Another shortcoming in current acculturation research is the lack of comparison between immigrant groups, particularly between those originating from the same country. Why the Bhojpuri diaspora provides a promising field for interdisciplinary comparative acculturation research is to be seen in terms its vast avenues for research as India has a long tradition of emigration and . In the first millennium CE pre-dominantly members of high castes migrated to East Asia mainly for religious reasons. A second substantial migratory flow from India, particularly from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar (the Bhojpuri region) started after the abolition of slavery in the British colonies in 1834. Indians migrating as indentured labourers from the Bhojpuri region to the West Indies, British Guiana and Dutch Surinam has similar socio-economic and cultural backgrounds. Many east Indians migrated to England and the Netherlands when the West Indies and Guianas became independent states after the Second World War.

I conclude with remarks that despite multitudes of problems, pros-and cons the researches on such Diaspora as Bhojpuri mass overseas offers so many valid avenues of researches but keeping in mind the limitation, constraint and difficulties in gathering plausible data from across the global arena is going to be extremely challengeable even though we find there are people who have extensively worked on the aspect but problems still remains and lopsided approach will not answer the ever demanding questions.

*Therefore it is hoped that Bhojpuri diaspora could again be visited and revisited for an enthralling and stimulating academic discourse.*

\*\*\*\*\*

## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX I

#### SOURCES

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY & REFERENCES

##### ARCHIVAL MATERIALS

##### **NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA, NEW DELHI;**

##### **SOURCES BEING WORKED OUT FOR INFORMATIONS PERTAINING TO EMIGRATION FROM Eastern India (Bhojpuri belt) to far off lands**

**Source materials;** So far in this study efforts have been made to locate the massive and voluminous size of documents, literatures, pictorial depictions related to the theme taken for the research in various repositories which were visited by the undersigned. Undoubtedly, the biggest collection of documents on the theme comes from the records of **British India at National Archives of India** which had already been accessed and work had been started there for quite some time.

The documents requires more time to study and analysis of the same as starting from the period of 1871 we find monthly basis yearly collections up to around 1920 with subject of migration falling under **Department of Revenue and Agriculture (British Govt. Of India)** though from time to time the subject falling with other designated departments like **Revenue and Commerce, Industries** etc. There are large numbers of individual works of the contemporary scholars which deal with the present theme, are being looked into, apart from Journals, newspapers and similar other materials related to the theme have formed the part of my ongoing study on theme of the project.

The records at The National Archives are mainly concerned with how governments generally administered different indentured labour systems. They contain very little personal information about the labourers themselves.

The largest sources of records about Indian indentured labourers are:

- Colonial Office correspondence
- Foreign Office correspondence

Whilst these papers may contain sample records on how the labourers were contracted, transported, and employed, they do not hold information on how local administrations managed labourers on a day-to-day basis.

The archives of former colonies may hold records relating to the local management of Indian indentured labourers. They be contacted directly for information about surviving records.

##### **Births, marriages and deaths at sea (1891-1972)**

As Indian indentured labourers were British colonial citizens, the Registrar General of Shipping and Seamen recorded their births, marriages and deaths. If an indentured labourer gave birth to a child on board a ship, the records give the child's name, but the parent is simply listed as 'coolie'.

##### **Foreign Office records**

Many Indian indentured labourers were sent to work for the colonies of foreign countries, such as the Netherlands, Spain, Portugal and France. You can find some records relating to this by searching for keywords in our catalogue within the Foreign Office (FO) department.

##### **Colonial Office original correspondence;**

Use the original correspondence for the relevant colony to find details of the indentured labour system. The correspondence consists of letters coming into London from the colonies. For example:

- Mauritius in CO 167

- British Guiana in CO 111
- West Indies in CO 318
- Trinidad in CO 295
- Jamaica in CO 137
- Fiji in CO 83
- Cape Colony (in South Africa) in CO 48, Natal in CO 179
- St Christopher (St Kitts) in CO 239
- Windward Islands in CO 321
- Grenada in CO 101

National Archives files; Pertaining to Indentured migration, formation of Diaspora and the homeland connect all are gleaned from such files which have been consulted and utilised.

- The subject of Emigration (Indentured Laborers) has been dealt in the **Ministry of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations.**
- **Emigration Branch** 1879 to 1888, 1888 to 1905.
- **Home Department Public Branch** till 1871.
- **Home Revenue Agriculture –Emigration Branch 1879 to 1881.**
- Emigration came under **the Revenue and Agriculture in 1881.**
- Revenue and Agriculture department-Emigration Branch 1881 to 1905.
- **Commerce and Industry Department-Emigration Branch 1905 to 1920.**
- in 1920 portion of **Emigration Branch transfer to Commerce Department to Foreign and Political Department**(General, External, and Territorial)
- **Revenue and Agriculture Department-Emigration Branch 1921 to 1923.** From August to November 1921 the relating to **inter-Provincial Migration** continued to deal with Commerce department when it was transferred to **Industry Department re-designated as Industry and Laborer department**
- In 1923, Education Health, and Land Department. **Oversees Branch 1923 to 1932, Land and Oversees Branch 1932 to 1938 then Oversees Section from 1930.**

#### **Varieties of Subject heads had been dealt in the files which has been examined by the Undersigned**

1. File dealing with morality report of Coolies Ex-ship (Alm with Castle )
2. File related to Condition of Indian Emigration at Granada 1870 to August 1871 Proceeding August 19 number 2 and 3. The file deals with the total number of Indian Emigrants to 1714, soul in Granada .a few of them emancipated from plantation Laborer to have rented lands on the Upper Pearl State, and further in 1870, no Indian were Imported only 65 natural increased also there was decreased in number as only two Migration to Trinidad Island, and death of 14 Indians. There are also some reports of Crime and offence.
3. File dealing with Coolies Imported in 1886, by the Ship countess of Ripon on 24 January 1866, completed there Industry of 5, Years of 260 only 217 are there.
4. File related to Indians residing on various Island Male, Female ratio Adult Children, Infants on St George, St Andrew, St Patrice, St Mark, St Jukes, and other Island.
5. File related to condition of Indian Emigrants at Granada August 19, 1871.
6. File related to recruitment Indian Coolies for various British and French Colonies and also request had been made to Anglo-Indian Migration to go to French Colonies.
7. File related to the Emigration of Indian Coolies to various British French Colonies, Emigration Board the 26 October 1871.
8. File related to January 1872, Proceeding number 7 and 8,
9. File related to the cases of Destitution and Beggary –during investigation it was found that some agent at Calcutta Emigration office used to supply Laborers not very fit for Emigration and some of

them were being duped by the agent of not giving the full amount of their contractual salary leading to increased problem and Destitution.

10. Files related to cases of 1867, to 1870, and also it mentions cases of two to three Ships one named Colombo another Neva and also the floating Boat Demarara –case of one wuzzir Ali who died at Glasgow and another one is Khuder who is begging in North England.
11. Files related to condition of Indian Migrants to the Mauritius September 1872, proceeding number 13 to 26, dealing with various issues related to condition of Indians Laborers in Mauritius.
12. Files related to Vagrancy dealing with the report of Mr. Beyts the chairman of the committee 1869, in 1869, 30824, were arrested for vagrancy and put into depot.
13. Files related to Regulations. Related to various issues of Migration cases of Job men and in regard to permit to work.
14. Files related to conditions of Indian Laborers in West Indian colonies, issues related to Emigration 16 December 1871, and also cases related to Mauritius.
15. Files related to Trinidad 14 August 1873.
16. Files related to cases of treatment of Indian Coolies in the Island of Porbon the French control and the Dutch Colonies.
17. There was a report of cases of Iron chaining the patient in hospital and keeping them in bad condition.

**Files pertaining to emigrations and exhibits (pictorial, artists impressions and various other literary works) in National Archives of India**  
**(Migration of indentured labors to Mauritius, Trinidad Tobago, Surinam, Fiji)**

### **Part-I**

#### **National Archives of India Exhibits**

##### **From Motherland to a Land of Hope—From Girmitya to Government(The same was exhibited during the Parvasi bharat diwas)**

- Act Isle-de-France, 20 September 1715
- Extract from the agreement between Dutch and East India Company regarding transfer of prisoners of wars from Mauritius to Bengal, 12 June 1794
- Application made by the Government of Mauritius to bring the notice of Government of Bengal regarding Introduction of Indian Labourers in Mauritius, 29 June 1836
- Letter inviting the attention of the Supreme Government on the Indian Labourers immigration to the colony of Mauritius, 22 April 1837
- Proceeding of the Medical Board reporting on the state of health of the crew and passengers going to Mauritius, 29 March 1837
- Mauritius and Dependencies Ordinances No. 2, along with a Memorandum of Government Savings Bank, 1842
- Memorandum regarding the length of passage for the sailing of vessel from Bombay to Mauritius, 1842
- Memorandum of wages paid to Indian Labourers in a district of Mauritius, 1842
- Act no. XV regulating the emigration of the Native Inhabitants to the Island of Mauritius, 1842
- A statement of arrival of Indian emigrants given to Police by Employers after expiry of 5 year engagement along with the statement of births of Indians, 1834- 1842
- Letter from the Emigration Agent regarding construction of berths on the Ship for the Emigrants, 9 March 1843
- Emigration Agent Certificate, Calcutta, 19 June 1843



- Regulations to be observed on board a vessel conveying emigrant labour from Madras to Mauritius, 1843
- Letter from Captain John Reddire, Protector of Emigrants at Calcutta forwarding a bond executed by commander of ship **Lahore** who had applied for license to convey emigrants to Mauritius, 25 July 1850
- Rates of wages of different classes of labourers after their first contract of service in the colony, 27 November 1858
- An Advertisement on the ban of slavery in Bundelkhand area, 27 November 1862
- Portrait of Ramma, June, 1863
- Beach of Madras, 1867
- Old Immigrants Ticket, 23 April 1869
- Marriage Certificate, 1869
- Annual return of emigrants to Mauritius for the year 1871-72
- Portrait of Pilly Pydamah, immigrant from Madras, July 1872
- Fascimile copy of the permit to engage work and discharge of immigrants, 1872-74
- Statement showing the period for which written contracts of service were entered into the each district of Mauritius during 1877
- Letter from Acting Protector of Immigrants to the colonial Secretary submitting the report of Indian emigrants embarked to Mauritius, 4 April 1878
- A Sketch of a vessel showing the plan of deck and its ventilation
- Letter from Lord Dufferin to Secretary of State of India conveying the approval for the commission of the word fixed domicile amending the Mauritius Labour Ordinance, 6 November 1888
- A page from the Register of Emigrants recruited from the district Banaras for the colony of Mauritius, 1894
- Speech of Gandhiji in Mauritius, The Standard, 15 November 1901
- A statement of districts from which the emigrants were drawn (1901-11)
- The correspondence on the engagement of female emigrants as indenture labour for service in Mauritius, 18 April 1902
- A sample Cover page of the trilingual service condition agreement issued by British Authorities for Indian workers as emigrants to Natal, 1903
- Cover page of **Blue Book** for the colony of Mauritius alongwith the statement on saving banks and return of railways, canal, roads, telegraph and telephones, 1920
- Notification issued in the Gazette of India stating that emigration to Mauritius for the purpose of unskilled work shall be lawful for a period of one year, 14 May 1923
- A pamphlet Emigrants required to work on the sugar plantation and Government work in Mauritius Island, 11 March 1923
- Cover page of Pravasi issue of Chand edited by Banarasi Das Chaturvedi, January 1926
- An express letter from Secretary of State for India to Viceroy, Home Department enquiring whether a trained European Police Officer or retired Indian Police Officer can be considered for the post of Inspector of Police in Mauritius, 16 March 1932
- A note by Under Secretary of State, Colonial Office on the proposed change in the currency system of Mauritius and the observation of Government of India, 1933

## **Part-II**

### **Saga of Struggles, hardships and untold miseries:**

1. Letter from Joint Secretary, Government of Bengal to the Secretary to the Government of India forwarding the report of enquiry into emigration to West Indies and Mauritius, 6 August 1861.
2. Return of suicide committed in the Island of Mauritius from 1 January 1861- 31 December 1870

3. Act no. VIII of 1847 relating to lawful emigration of labourers from the Port of Madras to Mauritius, 1847
4. Statement showing mortalities among coolies in depot and during voyage for the period 1869-1872.
5. Extract from Report on Coolie emigration from India, 1 July 1874
6. A letter from Dr. A.R Barraut to the Protector of Immigrants Mauritius intimating about the various diseases observed in the Immigrants, 1 February 1876
7. Statement showing the number of Suicides in each district of the Colony of Mauritius, 1876
8. Return of death on sugar estate in the district of Sawains and Grand Port, 1877
9. A statement regarding the complaints preferred by Indian immigrants against their Employers, 1877
10. Letter from Inspector General of Police, lower province to Secretary to the Government of Bengal, forwarding his opinion on the increase of immigrants in Mauritius, 21 April 1881
11. Letter from Lord Rippon to the Secretary of State India stating that Government of Madras and Government of Bengal has no objection on the proposal for reduction of women **proportion** 40 to 33 for every 100 males, 11 November 1884
12. Statement of the emigrants returned by **S.SWarora** from Mauritius to Madras, on 23 April 1893
13. A letter from the Protector of Emigrants, Madras reporting on the existence of Plague in Mauritius, 1900
14. Letter from Dr.C. Banks, Protector of emigrants, Calcutta to Secretary to Government of Bengal conveying the proposal of Dr. Stuart Oliver, Surgeon Superintendent regarding supply of sarees and blankets to the women during voyage to Fiji and Mauritius, 5 August 191
15. Article by Annie Besant published in **Maryada** on condition of Pravasi Bhartiya, 20 March 1923
16. A poem on **Pravasi** by Shridharji Vatsalya published in **Chand**, January 1926
17. A poem on Pravasi women by Ramchandra Sharma published in **Chand**, January, 1926
18. Extract from the report of the Protector of immigrants highlighting cases of suicides among Indian population, 1930 Extract on wages and cost of living from the Annual Report of the protector of immigrants, 1936
19. Newspaper clipping of the **Statesman** on difficulty of Indian traders in Calcutta, 11 November 1939
20. A Ghazal in Gujarati by Shri Brijmohan Verma entitled '*Hindustan ke hein*' published in Pravasi issue of **Navchetan**

### Part-III

#### Lure of the Roots

- Subscription raised in Mauritius for the sufferers of the Mutiny in India, 1858.
- Khidarpore Dock Yard, Calcutta, 1860.
- Message to Pravasi brothers from Mohandas Gandhi published in the Pravasi Issue of **Chand** edited by Pt. Banarasi Das Chaturvedi, January 1926.
- An article by Smt. Bhagvanti Devi on Pravasi Bhartiya published in **Chand**, January 1926
- A painting by Smt. Pratima Devi entitled 'Pravasi Ki Pratiksha Mein' published in **Vishal Bharat**, January 1930.
- Cover page of Pravasi issue of **Navchetan** a Gujarati publication January 1930
- De-coding the past- A newspaper clipping on eagerness of a Mauritian national tracing his ancestral family in Orissa, 24 May 2009.
- Hon'ble Minister Vaylar Ravi, **M.O.I.A** alongwith the delegates of Indian diaspora on the occasion of installation of Kolkata Memorial commemorative plaque, 11 June 2011.
- Site of the Commemorative plaque at Khidarpore Depot Clock Tower, 14, Garden Reach, Kolkata, 11 January 2011
- Kolkata Memorial as seen from river Hooghly- 11 January 2011.
- Mahatma Gandhi and Kasturba Gandhi, 1914.

- The cover page of Pravasi Sansar special issue on Mauritius, July-Sept 2008.
- Global Organisation of People of Indian Origin dedicated to the cause of Indian Diaspora.
- Indiroots: An NGO dedicated to assist new generation in search of their ancestral roots in India

## **Part-IV**

### **Partners in Progress**

- Bio-Data of Shri Dharam Yash Dev in connection with his appointment to the post of Commissioner for the Government of India in Mauritius and a note on his assets by the President of India, 16 February 1948
- Instructions for High Commissioner for the Government of India in Mauritius regarding his role in building the strong relationship with Mauritius, 1949
- A letter from Jayanarain Roy M.L.C. of Mauritius relating to the issues concerning India and Mauritius, 14 January 1950
- Extract from the fortnightly report from the Commissioner for the Government of India to the Ministry of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, giving details about the good crop of sugar and import of jute bags from India, 1948
- A report on the Celebration of 59<sup>th</sup> Birthday of India's Prime Minister Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, 1948
- A bill to be enacted by the Governor of Mauritius to extend certain privileges to foreign consular officers, 1948.
- Letter from Avtar Singh, High Commissioner of India informing about Gandhi Centenary programme in Mauritius, 19 September 1968.
- A Press Clipping from La Vie Catholique Port Louis, on Gandhi Centenary Celebration in various countries, 1 December 1968.
- News Paper Clipping from newspaper Advance Port Louis reporting on Gandhi Centenary Essay Competition organised by High Commissioner of India, 17 January 1969.
- Cartoons on Mahatma Gandhi Published in – Newspaper Advance, Port Louis, 1969.
- Gandhi Centenary Celebrations programme published in Advance, 10 June 1969.
- Mauritius Stamps on Gandhiji.
- The Ambassador of Mauritius called on the Vice-President, Shri B.D Jathi in New Delhi on 7 April 1976.
- H.E Sir V. Ringadoo, Finance Minister of Mauritius called on the Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, Sh. P.N Haksar in New Delhi on July 28 1976.
- Sir Veerasamy Ringadoo, Minister for Finance of Mauritius, visited Escorts LTD., in Faridabad on 29 July 1976.
- The Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi being received by Sir Seewoosagar Ramgoolam, on her arrival at Port Louis on 8 October 1976.
- The Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi being conferred an honorary degree by the Mauritius University on 10 October 1976.
- The Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi arrived in Seychelles Island on 17 October 1976.
- The Foreign Minister of Mauritius, Mr. Murlidas Dullo speaking at the Ministerial Meeting of the coordinating Bureau of the Non-aligned countries at Vigyan Bhawan, New Delhi on 18 April 1986.
- The Deputy Prime Minister of Mauritius, Hon'ble Sir Salian Boolell briefing press members in New Delhi on 27 February 1987.
- The President, Sh. R. Venkataraman greeting the Chief Justice of Mauritius, Sir Cassam Moolar, during his visit in New Delhi on 2 December 1987. The High Commissioner of Mauritius in India, Mr. Anund Priyaj Neewoor (Centre) is also seen.

## **Caribbean Records and its usefulness in studying the Diasporic trends;**

### **MEMORY OF THE WORLD REGISTER**

#### **Records of the Indian Indentured Labourers**

**(Fiji, Guyana, Suriname, Trinidad and Tobago)**

*Ref N° 2010-35*

#### **PART A – ESSENTIAL INFORMATION**

##### **1. SUMMARY**

“Indian Indentured Labourers” records to be inscribed in the International Register of Memory of the World Programme and that gives mines of information for those who want to ork on the same. The Indian Indentured immigration was first accounted for in the 1830s and over a period of roughly 100 years 1,194,957 Indians were relocated to 19 colonies. These records are the only documents for ancestral and lineage research for the numerous descendants of those Indian Labourers. At the peak of colonialism in the early 19th century, slavery was finally abolished, however colonial administrators were hard-pressed to find alternative cheap labour from the Indian sub-continent to meet the burgeoning cost of maintaining their empires particularly the Colony’s vast sugar plantations. The recruitment process was often hasty and unorthodox targeting the populous of poverty stricken Indian provinces some landless and affected by food shortages and unemployment due in part to the commercialization of the Indian economy generated by British economic policies. Given the circumstance many were easily lured and deceived about the work on offer, they were hustled aboard the waiting ships, unprepared for the long and arduous fourmonthsea journey.

The arrival of large groups of Indian labourers in the receiving colonies had immense repercussions, many of which are still being felt today. This mass movement of labour was meticulously recorded by former colonial powers and stored in the archives of many receivingcolonies around the world. As a result, the documents relating to the Indian Indentured Labourers dispersed all over the world offer a unique perspective of colonialism as a majorphenomenon in the unfurling of world history. The loss of such records would deprive humanity of the enduring knowledge of the legacy ofindentured labour against the backdrop of Colonialism and the concept of “Empire” which areso vigorously debated in learning institutions the world over. The study of history is the studyof humanity, and to lose such an important documentary heritage would be to lose an Irreplaceable part of our humanity.

The Indian Diaspora to these island nations had an enormous impact on the local economy, the politics and the socio-cultural make up of the colonies. The Indentured descendants have gone on to create new livelihoods and expanded their horizons beyond the colonies some taking their place in the world as renowned sportsmen, politicians, dignitaries and professionals. Their stories are compelling and demand the equal attention of the international community through the preservation and accessibility of their documentary heritage.

The records are available at;

- a) The National Archives of Fiji
- b) The National Archives of Guyana
- c) The National Archives of Surinam
- d) The National Archives of Trinidad & Tobago

##### **2. Relationship to the documentary heritage nominated**

The above institutions are the official custodians of the records of the Indian Indentured

Email: leekimc@moi.gov.tt

### **3. IDENTITY AND DESCRIPTION OF THE DOCUMENTARY HERITAGE**

Fiji (1879 – 1962)

Guyana (1838 – 1917)

Suriname (1853 – 1946)

Trinidad & Tobago (1851 – 1917)

### **3. Description**

These records are in secure storage in the nominating institutions. In terms of bibliography references, these are a few of the many renowned scholars & historian who have extensively worked with the nominated documents

### **4. JUSTIFICATION/ Authenticity;**

These records are official records, generated in compliance with several laws and regulations concerning immigration, and their authenticity is verified by the National Archives of Fiji, of Suriname, and of Trinidad & Tobago who are the relevant custodial institutions. These documents have been used by many renowned scholars in the reconstruction of the history of these former colonies and in the exploration of issues surrounding Indentured Labour.

#### **4.1 World significance, uniqueness and irreplaceability**

The records of the Indian Indentured Labourers or *girmityas* (contracted labourers) are of world significance in documenting a period of movement which was initiated and managed by the machinery of colonialism. They constitute a body of documentation which details personal information of a mass of people who were contracted as cheap indentured labourers. The personal information contained within the records is the only source for genealogy search for the descendants of *girmityas* worldwide. The descendants of the *girmityas* have become an integral part of the former colonies that received them; the records pertaining to their forebears are of irreplaceable social, cultural, and historical significance. These records capture a unique migration history of Indian communities around the world. They offer researchers a distinctive opportunity to study the effects of a different migration support on network establishment and studies of the caste system, and the effects of indenture on migrant and indigenous populations. They support inquiry of universally relevant questions of social inequality, gender inequality, racism, crime, and social injustices, in colonial and post colonial societies. They comprise the most detailed record extant of the strategy of the indentureship system and the colonial powers and its consequences for the human rights of the labourers and most importantly, these records are unique and irreplaceable, as originals and the only authentic documentation available. Their deterioration or loss would leave a void in the memory of many former colonies, and erode the sense of belonging of many of descendants of the original labourers.

#### **4.2 Criteria**

##### **(a) Time**

The records in question are work products, reflecting the underpinning philosophies and priorities prevalent at the time of their creation. Their thorough nature and near completeness makes them an extremely valuable resource and a testament which will continue to be relevant; connecting and enlightening people all over the world well into the future.

##### **(b) Place**

These official records provide a tangible connection between India and the former colonies which received Indentured Labourers. Equally as important is that the records provide an indelible connection between descendants of those labourers and the former colonies they now call home. In fact, the practice of engaging indentured labour from India was a genesis of the “Diaspora,” which has taken members of the Indian race to all corners of the globe, where they have had an immediate and lasting impact on the growth and development of their new homes.

##### **(c) People**

As the most detailed record of the strategy of the indentureship system these documents contain important personal details which provide an immensely important source of information for the descendants of the Indentured Labourers and researchers concerned with humanities and development issues. These records hold considerable social and historical value, and are among the most requested and used documents in the National Archives of former colonies which received Indentured Labour.

#### **4.4. *Rarity***

The documentations are originals and therefore rare. Their authenticity remains unchallenged, and is frankly un-contestable. These collections are the only existing evidence that records the origins of the indentured labourers from the vast districts of India where they were contracted from. They are the original documentation of Indenture relating to the former colonies, and are the only extant records available, making them extremely rare.

##### **a) Integrity**

The collections as a whole are comprised of primary source materials in their original state. They therefore remain accessible for research purposes. The records are largely complete and legible in their original form and have not been altered; some minimal tears have not affected the value or access to the collection. Bindings of the majority of bound documents are original; the few that have been changed are due to professional remedial conservation carried out to protect their integrity.

#### **4.5. *CONSULTATION***

The nominating organisation has had consistent and productive consultations with the Fiji MOW Committee, partner organisations National Archives of Guyana, Surinam, and the National Archives of Trinidad and Tobago, as well as seventeen (17) other former colonies that have expressed their support and are exploring the possibility joining this nomination once they are prepared. Constructive dialogue has also taken place with UNESCO Samoa, and with scholars who have done extensive research using these records.

### **PART B SUBSIDIARY INFORMATION**

#### **8. *ASSESSMENT OF RISK***

The collection is exposed to a number of risks. The threat to the collection lies in the demand for its research potential that can place it at risk. Excessive handling of these original documents can result in damage to the object; as such the institution is embarking on digitization both as a preventative conservation measure as well as providing greater access to the public. There is also the risk of loss through theft if records are left with researchers unsupervised. Another risk is power outages which impacts environmental conditions i.e. Air conditioning and de-humidifiers' go offline.

\*\*\*\*\*

## BIBLIOGRAPHY& REFERENCES

1. 1. Allen, Richard (1983), *Creoles, Indian Immigrants and the Restructuring of Society and Economy in Mauritius, 1767-1885*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Illinois for Mauritius.
2. Allen, Theodore W. *The Invention of the White Race*. 2 vols. London: Verso, 1994–1997.
3. Anand A. Yang, *The Limited Raj: Agrarian Relations in Colonial India, Saran District 1793-1920* Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989.
4. Baker, Philip, & Ramnah, Amarnath (1985). Mauritian Bhojpuri: An Indo-Aryan language spoken in a predominantly creolophone society. *Papers in Pidgin and Creole linguistics* No. 4 / *Pacific Linguistics* A-72:215–38 &
5. Barz, Richard K. (1980). The cultural significance of Hindi in Mauritius. *South Asia* n.s. 3:1–13. & Siegel, Jeff (eds.) (1988). *Language transplanted. The development of overseas Hindi*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
6. Bates, L. (1912), *The Path of the Conquistadores: Trinidad and Venezuelan Guiana*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
7. Benedict, Burton (1961), *Indians in a Plural Society. A Report on Mauritius*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.
8. Bowman, Larry W. (1991). *Mauritius: Democracy and development in the Indian Ocean*. Boulder & San Francisco: Westview.
9. Braithwaite, Lloyd (1975 [1953]) *Social Stratification in Trinidad*. St Augustine: ISER.
10. Brereton, Bridget (1979) *Race Relations in Colonial Trinidad 1870-1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
11. Brian Meeks, Folke Lindahl *New Caribbean Thought: A Reader*, Published by University of the West Indies Press
12. Bronkhrust Bronkhrust, H.VP. (1883), *The Colony of British Guiana and its Labouring Population*, London.1883: 98.
13. Brubaker, Rogers (2003) 'The return of assimilation? Changing perspectives on immigration and its sequels in France, Germany, and the US', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 24, No. 4: 531-548.
14. C. Bates, 'Regional Dependence and Rural Development in Central India', (Cambridge Ph.D. thesis. 1984), chapter 7.
15. Carter & Deerpalsingh (2000), *Bihar, The Migratory State. In Across the Kalapani, Bihari Presence in Mauritius*, ed. Marina Carter, Deerpalsingh, Saloni, Port-Louis: Centre for Research on Indian Ocean Societies.2000.
16. Carter, Marina (1995). *Servants, sirdars, settlers: Indians in Mauritius 1834–1874*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
17. Cathy Matson(Ed. ),*The Economy of Early America Historical Perspectives and New Directions*, Co-publisher: the Library Company of Philadelphia
18. Central Intelligence Agency (2013). "Suriname". *The World Factbook*.
19. Chattopadhyaya, *Internal Migration. Internal migration in India: a case study of Bengal*, Calcutta: K.P. Bagchi & Co., 1987.
20. Chit Dukhira , Indians Across the Globe, Article paru dans *Le Mauricien* | 26 Octobre, 2012.

21. Chit Geerjanand Dukhira, Mauritius and local government management, All India Institute of Local Self-Government, 1992.
22. Christopher Tomlins, *Reconsidering Indentured Servitude: European Migration and the Early American Labor force, 1600-1775*, *Labour History*, 42, (2001).
23. Cumpston, IM, *Indian Overseas, In British Territories (1834-1854)*, Oxford University Press, Geoffrey Cumberledge, 1953.
24. D. Ludden, *Agricultural Production and Indian History*, (New Delhi: O.U.P., 1994
25. D. Northrup, *Indentured Labour in the Age of Imperialism, 1834-1922*, Cambridge: CUP, 1995.
26. D. Schwerin, in D. Rothermund and D.C. Wadhwa (eds.), *Zamindars, Mines and Peasants: Studies in the history of an Indian coalfield and its rural hinterland*, New Delhi: Manohar, 1978.
27. Dalmia, Vasudha, (1997), *The Nationalization of Hindu Traditions: Bharatendu Harishchandra and Nineteenth-Century Banaras*. Delhi: Oxford University Press;
28. David Eltis, *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade*, New York Oxford University Press, 1987.
29. Davis, F, *The Population of India and Pakistan*, New York: Russell. 1968.
30. East India (Indentured Labour): Report to the Government of India on the Conditions of Indian Immigrants in Four British Colonies and Surinam, Part 2, East India (Indentured Labour): [Great Britain. Parliament. Papers by command) Cd. 7744, 7745, India. Commerce and Industry Dept, Contributor Chimman Lal Published by H.M. Stationery Office, 1915, Original from University of Minnesota.
31. Edgar Sanderson, *Africa in the Nineteenth Century*, BiblioBazaar, 2011.
32. Edward John Thompson, & Geoffrey Theodore Garratt, *History of British Rule in India*, Volume 2. 1962
33. Eisenlohr Patrick 2001, Language Ideology and Imaginations of Indianness in Mauritius. Ph.D. thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago.
34. Elliot, Thomas Frederick, Sir, *The Canadian controversy: its origin, nature, and merits*. Longman, Orme, Brown, Green & Longmans London, 1838.
35. Eltis, David (2002), *Coerced and Free Migration: Global Perspectives*, Chicago: Stanford University Press.
36. Emmer PC, (Ed.), *Colonialism and Migration: Migration Labour Before and after Slavery*. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Maninus NijhgrT Publishers, 1986.
37. Eriksen, Thomas H. (1990a [1988]), *Communicating Cultural Difference and Identity. Ethnicity and Nationalism in Mauritius*. Oslo: Occasional Papers in Social Anthropology.
38. Eriksen, Thomas H. (1990b) Linguistic Diversity and the Quest for National Identity: The Case of Mauritius. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 13(1),
39. Fred Harvey Hitchins, *Colonial Land and Emigration Commission: Index to the First Seven General Reports of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, 1840 to 1847*.
40. Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question, Theory, Knowledge, History*, University of California Press, 2005.
41. Fryer, P., *Black People in the British Empire*, Pluto Classics, London and Colorado, 1988.
42. G.K. Lieten, O. Neiuwenhuys & L. Schenk-Sandebergen (eds.), *Women, Migrants and Tribals: survival strategies in Asia*, (New Delhi: Manohar 1989).
43. Galenson, David W., *White Servitude in Colonial America: An Economic Analysis*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
44. Gambhir, Surendra K. (1986). *Mauritian Bhojpuri: An international perspective on historic and sociolinguistic processes*. In Uttam Bissoondoyal & S.B.C. Servansing (eds.), *Indian labor im- migration: Papers presented at the International Conference on Indian Labor Immigration*



- (23–27 October 1984) held at the Mahatma Gandhi Institute, 189–206. Moka, Mauritius: Mahatma Gandhi Institute.
45. Gerald S. Graham, "The Ascendancy of the Sailing Ship, 1850–&5," *Economic History Review* 9 (1956J: 74-88;
  46. Gumperz, John J., and Naim, C. M. 1960, Formal and Informal Standards in the Hindi Regional Language, Area. In *Linguistic Diversity in South Asia: Studies in Regional, Social, and Functional Variation*.
  47. Haraprasad Chattopadhyaya, *Internal Migration in India: a case study of Bengal*, Calcutta: K.P. Bagchi, 1987.
  48. Henry, Ralph (1989), Inequality in Plural Societies: An exploration. *Social and Economic Studies*, vol. 38(2).
  49. Hintzen, Percy (1983) Bases of Elite Support for a Regime: Race, Ideology and Clientilism as Bases for Leaders in Guyana and Trinidad, *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 16, Pp. 363-391.
  50. Jain Ravindra K (2010), Diaspora Trans-Nation and Nation: Reflection from India, *Sociological Bulletin*, 59, 1, 3-21.
  51. James G. Lochtefeld, *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Hinduism: N-Z*, The Rosen Publishing Group, 2002.
  52. James Jupp (edi.), *The Australian People: An Encyclopaedia of the Nation, Its People and their origins*. Cambridge; New York; Oakleigh, Vic: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
  53. Jean Hubert , *Mauritius, A Sea Food Hub*, In, Dennis Rumley, Sanjay Chaturvedi, Vijay Sakhuja (Edited), *Fisheries Exploitation in the Indian Ocean: Threats and Opportunities*, Institute of South East Asian Studies, 2009.
  54. Jha J.C. (1985), 'The Indian Heritage in Trinidad', in Calcutta to Caroni: The East Indians, in Trinidad, ed. John La Guerre, St. Augustine: University of the West Indies, Extra, Mural Studies Unit(1985: 20)
  55. Joel Mokyr, *The Lever of Riches: Technological Creativity and Economic Progress*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.
  56. John A Grigg and Peter C. Mancall (Ed.), *British Colonial America; People and Perspective*, ABC Clio, Chap. II,
  57. Jordan, Don, & Michael Walsh, *White Cargo: The Forgotten History of Britain's White Slaves in America*, New York University Press, 2008.
  58. K. Moti Gokulsing, Wimal Dissanayake, *Routledge Handbook of Indian Cinemas*, Routledge Chapman & Hall, 2013.
  59. Khan, Aisha (1994), Juthaa inTrimdad: Food,Pollution,and Hierarchy in a Caribbean Diaspora Community', *American Ethnologist*, vol. 21, no. 2.
  60. King, Christopher R. (1994), *One Language, Two Scripts: The Hindi Movement in Nineteenth Century North India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
  61. Klass, Morton (1961), *East Indians in Trinidad*, New York: Columbia University Press. (1991).
  62. Klass, Morton (1961), *East Indians in Trinidad: A Study of Cultural Persistence*. New York: Columbia University Press.
  63. Klass, Morton (1961), *East Indians in Trinidad: A Study of Cultural Persistence*. New York: Columbia University Press.
  64. LaGuerre, John Gaffar (1989), *Dilemmas of the Diaspora*. Typescript, University of the West Indies at St Augustine.
  65. Lalita Chakravorty, 'Emergence of an Industrial Labour Force in a Dual Economy', *Indian Economic and Social History Review [IESHR]*, 1975
  66. Laurence, K. O., *A Question of Labour: Indentured Immigration into Trinidad and British Guiana*, New York, 1994.

67. Lawrence, K.O. (1985), *'Indians as permanent settlers in Trinidad', in Calcutta to Caroni; The East Indians in Trinidad*, ed. John La Guerre, St. Augustine: University of the West Indies, Extra Mural Studies Unit.
68. L'Ile Maurice: *Une Société Multiraciale*. Paris: L'Harmattan;
69. Lipi Ghosh, Ramkrishna Chatterjee, *Indian diaspora in Asian and Pacific regions: culture, people, interactions*, Rawat Publications, 2004.
70. Lois Green Carr; *Colonial Chesapeake Society*, Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, University of North Carolina Press, 1988.
71. Lomash Roopnarine, *Indo-Caribbean Indenture: Resistance and Accommodation, 1838-1920*, Mona, Jamiaca, University of the West Indies Press, 2007.
72. Look Lai, Walton (1993), *Indentured labor, Caribbean Sugar: Chinese and Indian Migrants to the British West Indies, 1838-1918*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1993.
73. M.D. Carter, *Servants, Sirdars and Settlers and Voices from Indenture: experiences of Indian migrants in the British Empire*, London: Leicester University Press, 1996.
74. Manuel, Peter (1997/1998), 'Music, Identity, and Images of India in the Indo-Caribbean Diaspora', *Asian Music*, vol. 29, no. 1.
75. Manuel, Peter (1997/1998), 'Music, Identity, and Images of India in the Indo-Caribbean Diaspora', *Asian Music*, vol. 29, no. 1, pp. 17-35
76. Mesthrie, Rajend (1993). Koineization in the Bhojpuri-Hindi diaspora with special reference to South Africa. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 99:25– 44.
77. Morgan, Kenneth, *Slavery and Servitude in Colonial North America: A Short History*. New York University Press, 2001.
78. N. Hafkin & E. Bay (eds.) *Women in Africa*, (Stanford, 1976).
79. N. Jayaram, Yogesh Atal (ed.) *The Indian Diaspora: Dynamics of Migration*, SAGE Publications, Incorporated, 2004.
80. Naipaul, V.S. (1973), *The Overcrowded Barracoon*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
81. Oxaal, Ivar (1968): *Black Intellectuals Came to Power. The Rise of Creole Nationalism in Trinidad and Tobago*. Cambridge, Mass.
82. P. Marshall, *Bengal: the British Bridgehead*, New Cambridge History of India, vol. II.2, (Cambridge: C.U.P., 1987),
83. P. Ramnath (1988). Recognizing Mauritian Bhojpuri. In Barz & Siegel, (Edit.) *Language in Society* 33, 59–80.
84. P. Robb (ed.), *Dalit Movements and the Meanings of Labour in India*, (New Delhi: O.U.P., 1993), Pp. 159-185
85. P.C. ROY Chaudhary, *Bihar District Gazetteers, Darbhanga, Special Officer, Gazetteer Revision Section, Revenue Department, Bihar, Patna*, Printed by the suptnd. Secreatariat Press, Bihar, Patna, 1964.
86. Paul S. Boyer (Ed.); *The Enduring Vision: A History of the American People*, Volume I: To 1877, Wadsworth Cengage learning, Boston, USA, 2009.
87. Peter van der Veer (eds.), *Nation and Migration: The Politics of Space in the South Asian Diaspora*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995.
88. Professor Ragatz, L. J, *The Fall of the Planter's Class in the British Caribbean, 1763-1833*, New York, 1928.
89. R. Chandavarkar, *The Origins of Industrial Capitalism in India*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
90. Rajendra Prasad; *Tears in Paradise: A Personal and Historical Journey, 1879-2004*, Glade (2004).
91. Ramnarine, Tina K. (1998/1999), 'Historical Representations, Performance Spaces, and Kinship Themes in Indian-Caribbean Popular Song Texts', *Asian Music*, vol. 30, no.1.

92. Ramsay Muir, *The Making of British India, 1756-1858*. Described in a Series of Dispatches, Treaties, Statutes and Other Documents, Selected and Edited, with Introductions and Notes.
93. Randolph Vigne, Charles Littleton, (edit.), *From Strangers to Citizens: The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland and in Colonial America, 1550-1750*, Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Sussex Academic Press Oregon.
94. Reddock, Rboda (1994), *Women, Labour and Politics in Trinidad and Tobago*, London: Zed Press.
95. Robert, Aldrich, *Greater France: A History of French Overseas Expansion*, Palgrave Macmillan, 1996
96. Roy, Jaynarayan, (1970) *Marisās meḥ hindī kaḥ sankṣipt itihāsa* (A concise history of Hindi in Mauritius). New Delhi: Sastāḥ sahitya Mandal: 139.
97. Russell R. Menard, *Migrants, Servants and Slaves: Unfree Labor in Colonial British America*, Publisher Ashgate, 2001.
98. S. Bose, *Peasant Labour and Colonial Capital*. Rural Bengal since 1770, Volume 3 Cambridge University Press, 1993.
99. S. Deerpalsingh, *Labour immigrants in Mauritius: a pictorial recollection*, Mahatma Gandhi Institute, (Mauritius) 2001.
100. S. Guha (ed.), *Growth, stagnation or decline? Agricultural Productivity in British India*, (New Delhi: O.U.P., 1992.
101. S.C. Bose, *Peasant Labour and Colonial Capital: rural Bengal since 1770*, New Cambridge, History of India, Vol. III.2, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
102. Salinger Sharon V, Labour Market and opportunity, early indenture Servitude in Early America, Labour History, Vol 38, 1997.
103. Sarita Boodhoo, *Mauritius Ki Bhojpuri Paramparaēin*, Prabhat Prakashan New Delhi, India, 2007.
104. Schenkman; Ryan (1972) Ryan, Selwyn (1972) *Race and Nationalism in Trinidad and Tobago*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press for Trinidad.
105. Scudiere, Todd. "Rare Literary Gems: The Works of Kabir and Premchand at CRL". *South Asian Studies*, Spring 2005 Vol. 24, Num. 3. Center for Research Libraries.
106. Shamsu Deen: *Solving East Indian Roots in Trindad* 1994, Printed and Bound by H.E.M. Enterprises Ltd.
107. Siegel, Jeff 1988, *Introduction*. In *Language Transplanted: The Development of Overseas Hindi*.
108. Simmons, Adele Smith (1982). *Modern Mauritius: The politics of decolonization*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1982.  
-----*Modern Mauritius: The Politics of Decolonization*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press; Bowman 1990.
109. Smith, Abbot Emerson, *Colonists in Bondage: White Servitude and Convict Labor in America, 1607–1776*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1971.
110. Smith, M.G. (1965), *The Plural Society of the British West Indies*. Berkeley: California University Press.
111. St. Pierre, Bernardin de (1983 [1773]) *Voyage à L'Ile de France*. Paris: Maspero.
112. Stanley L. Engerman, editor, *Terms of Labor: Slavery, Serfdom, and Free Labor*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999.
113. Stéphane Dufoix, *Diaspora*, Berkeley: University of California P, 2008. \
114. Steven Vertovec, *The Hindu Diaspora: Comparative Patterns, Global diasporas*, Routledge, 2000
115. Steven Vertovec, *The Hindu Diaspora: Comparative Patterns, Global diasporas*, Routledge, 2000.
116. Streissguth, Tom (2009). *Suriname in Pictures*. Twenty-First Century Books.

117. Sundararajan, Saroja, *From Bondage to Deliverance – Indentured Labour in Mauritius and British Guiana*, Allied Publishers, New Delhi, 2006.
118. Suriname", The New Encyclopedia Britannica, *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Volume 5. Edition 15, Encyclopedia Britannica, 2002.
119. *The Economist*, Pocket World in Figures, 2008 Edition, London: Profile Books
120. Thomas Hylland Eriksen, Indians in New Worlds, Mauritius and Trinidad, *Social and Economic Studies*, no. 1, 1992
121. Thomas Hylland Eriksen, Indians in New Worlds: Mauritius and Trinidad; a comparative analysis, *Social and Economic Studies*, no. 1, 1992
122. Thomas R. Metcalf, *Imperial Connections: India in the Indian Ocean Arena, 1860-1920*, Volume 4 , The California world History library, University of California Press, 2008.
123. Tinker, Hugh (1974), A New Form of Slavery: The Export of Indian Labour Overseas 1880-1920. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
124. Van derVeer, Peter (1995), *Nation and Migration: The Politics of Space in the South Asian Diaspora*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
125. Veer, Peter and Steven Vertovec (1991). 'Brahmanism Abroad: On Caribbean Hinduism as an Ethnic Religion', *Ethnology*, vol. 30, no. 2.
126. Vertovec, Steven (1990), Religion and ethnic ideology: the Hindu youth movement in Trinidad. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 13(2).
127. Vertovec, Steven (1992), *Hindu Trinidad: Religion Ethnicity and Socio- Economic Change*, London: Macmillan.  
-----'Indian Indentured Migration to the Caribbean', in *The Cambridge Survey of World Migration*, ed, Robin Cohen, Cambridge: CUP, pp. 57-62.
128. Waite, Gloria (1982), 'East Indians and National Politics in the Caribbean', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, vol. 2, no. 2.
129. Weller, Judith Ann (1968). *The East Indian Indenture in Trinidad*. Rio Piedras: University of Puerto Rico, Institute of Caribbean Studies.

## **Further Readings;**

### **More on Diaspora related works;**

1. Allen, Theodore W. *The Invention of the White Race*. 2 vols. London: Verso, 1994–1997.  
Good resource for the study of bound white laborers, with an emphasis on the slavlike status and oppressive social conditions that affected indentured servants. Somewhat polemical.
2. Emmer, P. C., ed. *Colonialism and Migration: Indentured Labour Before and After Slavery*. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff, 1986.  
Twelve essays dealing with the sweeping history of servant migration and labor, before and after slavery (from the 17th through 20th centuries). Perhaps dated, but a good resource for sweeping treatments of the issue.
3. Galenson, David W. *White Servitude in Colonial America: An Economic Analysis*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981.  
The most thorough economic and demographic analysis of indentured servitude. Emphasis is upon indentured servitude as a system with readily identifiable English origins.
4. Jordan, Don, and Michael Walsh. *White Cargo: The Forgotten History of Britain's White Slaves in America*. New York: New York University Press, 2008.  
Although not written by historians and somewhat strident in tone, this overview can be a useful resource if read in conjunction with more analytical and thoroughly contextualized works.
5. Menard, Russell R. *Migrants, Servants, and Slaves: Unfree Labor in Colonial British America*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2001.  
Author is among the most important quantitative scholars concerned with labor and migration. This work contains eleven previously published essays that appeared between 1973 and 1995. Concerned almost solely with British North America.
6. Morgan, Kenneth. *Slavery and Servitude in Colonial North America: A Short History*. New York: New York University Press, 2001.  
First half of the book appropriately devotes as much attention to indentured servitude and other forms of bound labor as racial slavery in British North America. Good bibliographic essay.
7. Salinger, Sharon. "Labor, Markets, and Opportunity: Indentured Servitude in Early America." *Labor History* 38 (1997): 311–338.  
A very useful survey of the main conclusions scholars have reached concerning the patterns and characteristics of indentured servitude, as well as a consideration of the lingering disagreements.
8. Smith, Abbot Emerson. *Colonists in Bondage: White Servitude and Convict Labor in America, 1607–1776*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1971.  
An unflattering portrait of servants themselves but still a useful overview of the acquisition of servants and the roles they played in the colonies. First published in 1947 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press). Equally detailed treatment of the convict labor system.
9. Tomlins, Christopher. "Reconsidering Indentured Servitude: European Migration and the Early American Labor Force, 1600–1775." *Labor History* 42.1 (2001): 5–43.  
Revises downward earlier estimates for the total number of indentured servants in the American colonies and argues that the institution may not have been as important as many other scholars have argued.



## **APPENDIX II**

### **PICTORIAL PLATES DATA, CHART ETC; INFO ON BHOJPURI DIASPORA**

# CHARTER PARTY.

Contract.

1. This Charter Party of affreightment, made this 184 , by and between "Party of the first part," as Secretary to and on behalf of Her Majesty's Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners of the one part, and of [hereinafter referred to as the "Party of the second Part,"] for and on behalf of the owners of the Ship

day of [Month] 184 [Year]

[hereinafter referred to as the

WITNESSETH, that for the considerations hereinafter mentioned, they the said Parties hereto of the first and second parts respectively, do hereby mutually covenant and agree with each other that they will severally observe, perform, fulfil, do, and keep, all and singular, the terms, agreements, stipulations, things, and conditions herein contained on their parts respectively to be observed, done, and performed.

Number of Emigrants.

2. The said Party of the first part, hereby engages, that in case the said ship be placed at the disposal of the Government Emigration Agent at [hereinafter referred to as the "Port of Embarkation"] between the and the for the conveyance of emigrants to there shall be put on board such ship and paid for the full complement of emigrants which by the law in force in India the Ship shall be qualified to carry, or if a smaller number be put on board, that payment shall notwithstanding be made for the full complement, Provided always, that in either case in respect of any emigrants who may die during the voyage, the amount of their passage money shall be deducted from the whole amount payable under this agreement.

Penalty, if Contract not carried out.

3. And the said party of the first part further engages, that if from any unforeseen cause, the Government Emigration Agent aforesaid shall be unable to supply the said ship with emigrants, and to employ her as intended by this Charter Party, then the said party of the first part, shall forfeit to the said party of the second part, a sum of two pounds ten shillings per register ton of the said ship, and the present contract shall be in all other respects void. Provided always, that if the said Ship does not arrive at the Port of Embarkation within the period mentioned in clause 2, it shall be optional with the Government Emigration Agent to employ her or not, accordingly as he may find that his other arrangements will admit, without the said party of the first part being liable to any penalty or damages whatsoever for not employing the said Ship.

Ships to go to India and be offered to the Emigration Agent.

4. In consideration whereof, the said party of the second part hereby engages that the said Ship shall proceed to India, and make all due despatch on her voyage, and that after the discharge there of any Cargo or Emigrants that may be on board she shall not proceed in search of any other employment, but shall with the least possible delay be placed at the disposal of the Government Emigration Agent at the Port in India above named for the conveyance of Emigrants, and that in case of default in any of the said particulars the said Party of the second part shall forfeit and pay to the said Commissioners the sum of Two pounds ten shillings per register ton of the said ship, as liquidated damages, to be recovered with full costs of suit.

Ships to be Seaworthy and properly manned.

5. And the said Party of the second part further agrees that during the continuance of this Charter Party the said Ship shall at all times be tight, staunch, strong, and substantial, both above water and below, and in all respects seaworthy, and properly and efficiently manned.

Fittings.

6. That before any Emigrants are put on board under this Contract the said Ship shall, at the proper costs and charges of the said Party of the second part, be fitted in the between-decks with proper bed-places for the accommodation of the Emigrants to the satisfaction of the said Government Agent at , and shall also be fitted and furnished with proper masts, sails, yards, rigging, anchors, cables (two of chain), ropes, cords, apparel, and all other furniture fit and needful for the intended service, and shall also have a life-buoy, long-boat, two cutters, and a jolly-boat, a sufficient number of properly-fitted scuttles in each side, and such deck-light ventilators as may be required; suitable privies and also a separate hospital for males and females, head-pump, with sufficient tarpaulins, awnings, a windsail for each hatchway, and scuttle butts; and shall also at all times be furnished with sufficient scrapers, brooms, swabs, sand and stones for dry rubbing, swing stores, and whatever else may be necessary for the cleanliness of the Ship and the comfort and safety of the Emigrants.

Emigrants to have use of Deck.

7. That the whole of the space fore and aft between the decks shall be appropriated and given up to the sole and entire use of the Emigrants, and that the upper deck, excepting the space occupied by the spare spars and long-boat, shall be kept quite clear for their use.

Victualling and Medicines, &c.

8. That in case any Emigrants shall be embarked in the said Ship under this Contract, there shall be on board provisions and stores for their use during the voyage of a quality to be approved by the Government Emigration Agent at the Port, and equal in quantity to Twenty weeks' consumption, if proceeding from Calcutta, and Nineteen if proceeding from Madras, calculated according to the annexed, or any other not more expensive scale to be settled by such Government Emigration Agent, for the numbers that may be embarked; and also a supply of Medicines and Medical Comforts according to the annexed, or such other not more expensive list as may be determined on by the Government Emigration Agent as aforesaid. The Medical Comforts to be issued at the discretion of the Surgeon, whether for the sick, or to preserve health.

Water.

9. That the Water shall be of the best quality that can be obtained, and be approved by the Government Emigration Agent, and shall be put in sweet and substantial casks properly charred, and constructed of staves of at least one inch in thickness for the ground tier, and not less than three-quarters of an inch for the remainder.

Surgeon.

10. That there shall be provided at the charge of the said Party of the second part a duly qualified Surgeon, to be approved by the said Commissioners or by the Government Emigration Agent at the Port of Embarkation to take Medical charge of the Emigrants during the voyage.

Good treatment of the Emigrants.

11. That the said Emigrants shall be treated with kindness by the Master, and all the Officers and the Crew of the said Ship; and that the Master shall on all occasions, when practicable, attend to any suggestions of the Surgeon calculated to promote the health, comfort, or well-being of the Emigrants; and, further, that the Emigrants shall on no occasion be called on to do any manner of work on board the Vessel other than cleaning their own berths between decks, or receiving at the hatchways in the between-decks fresh water, and provisions and fuel; and that on the occasions of cleaning their berths they shall on no account be placed to draw water from the sea on the gunwale, in the chains, or in any situation which shall endanger their falling overboard.



# DIETARY SCALE FOR EMIGRANTS FROM INDIA TO THE WEST INDIES.

The following is to be the Scale for one Adult. Women to receive the same as Men; Children between One and Twelve to receive one-half. No ration for Infants under One year.

Rice	28	ozs.
Dholl	4	"
Ghee	1	"
Salt	1 1/4	"
Turmeric	1	"
Onions	1	"
Tobacco	1	"
Chillies	1/2	"
Tamarind	2	"
Firewood	4	lbs.
Salt Fish	4	ozs.
Water	1/2	gallon per day.

Dry Provisions for bad weather when the usual Provisions cannot be cooked.

Choorah (Avil)	1	seer, or 2 lbs.
Bhootgram (Cuddalay)	1/2	seer, or 1/2 lb.
Sugar	1	cuttack, or 2 ozs.

Eighteen days' stock of dry Provisions to be laid in for the voyage.

## LIST OF MEDICINES AND MEDICAL COMFORTS.

Supply for any number of Emigrants, from 50 to 100. The quantities to be increased for any additional number beyond 100, at the rate of half these quantities per 100.

	lbs.	ozs.
Acacia Gum	16	6
Acetate of Lead	3	8
Adhesive Plaster	1	4
Alumen	6	8
Antimonial Powder	2	8
Aromatic Spirit of Ammonia	8	8
Blistering Ointment	1	8
Blue Pill	4	8
Carbonate of Ammonia	3	8
Camphor	6	8
Cerate (simple)	1	8
Chloride of Lime	4	8
Calomel	6	8
Castor Oil	4	8
Compound Tincture of Camphor	8	8
Dover's Powder	3	8
Epsom Salts	2	8
Extract of Colocynth	3	8
Ginger Powder	6	8
Jalap ditto	4	8
Ipecacuan ditto	3	8
Nitrate of Silver	1/2	8
Opium	3	8
Oil of Peppermint	1/2	8

ACT No. XXI. OF 1844.

unto annexed, provided always that every such Agent shall make the inquiries specified in such Schedule in an open Court or public office to which all persons shall have admission.

2dly. That all the directions contained in the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th Articles of the said Schedule for ensuring the health and safety of Passengers have been duly complied with.

3dly. That (in addition to the directions contained in the said Schedule) such rules have been complied with as the Governor General in Council shall from time to time frame touching the medical attendance and medical stores and the proper clothing to be provided, the species of provisions suited to native habits, the number of women that should accompany the Emigrants, or other matters.

VIII. And it is hereby enacted, that the probable lengths of the voyages to Jamaica, British Guiana and Trinidad from the Ports aforesaid respectively shall for the purposes of this Act be deemed to be

For the Port of Calcutta twenty weeks;

For the Port of Madras nineteen weeks;

For the Port of Bombay nineteen weeks;

and that no Ship or Vessel carrying Emigrant laborers to Jamaica, British Guiana or Trinidad shall sail from Calcutta, Madras or Bombay, at any other time than between the 30th day of any September and the 1st of March next thereafter ensuing.

IX. And it is hereby enacted, that before any Ship or Vessel shall  
be



HILL COOLIES LANDING AT THE MAURITIUS.

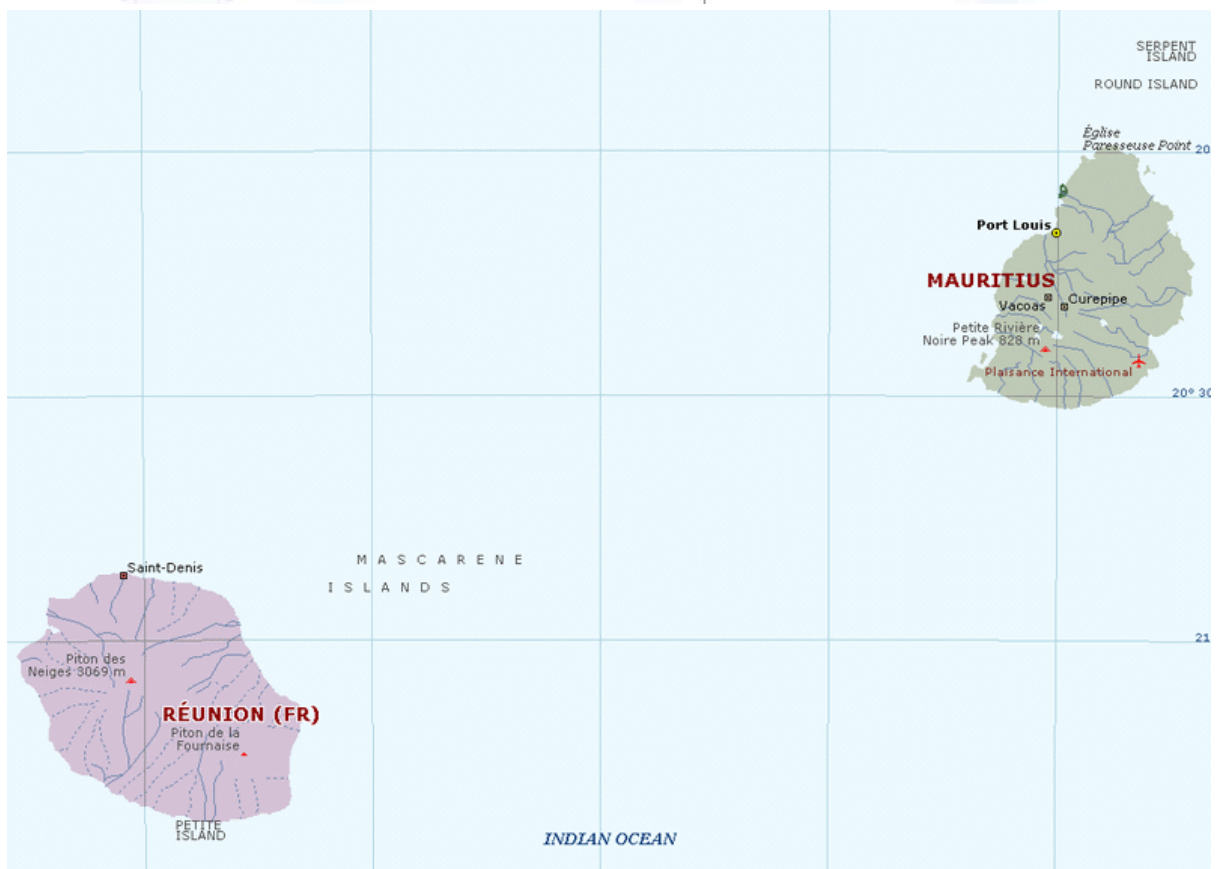
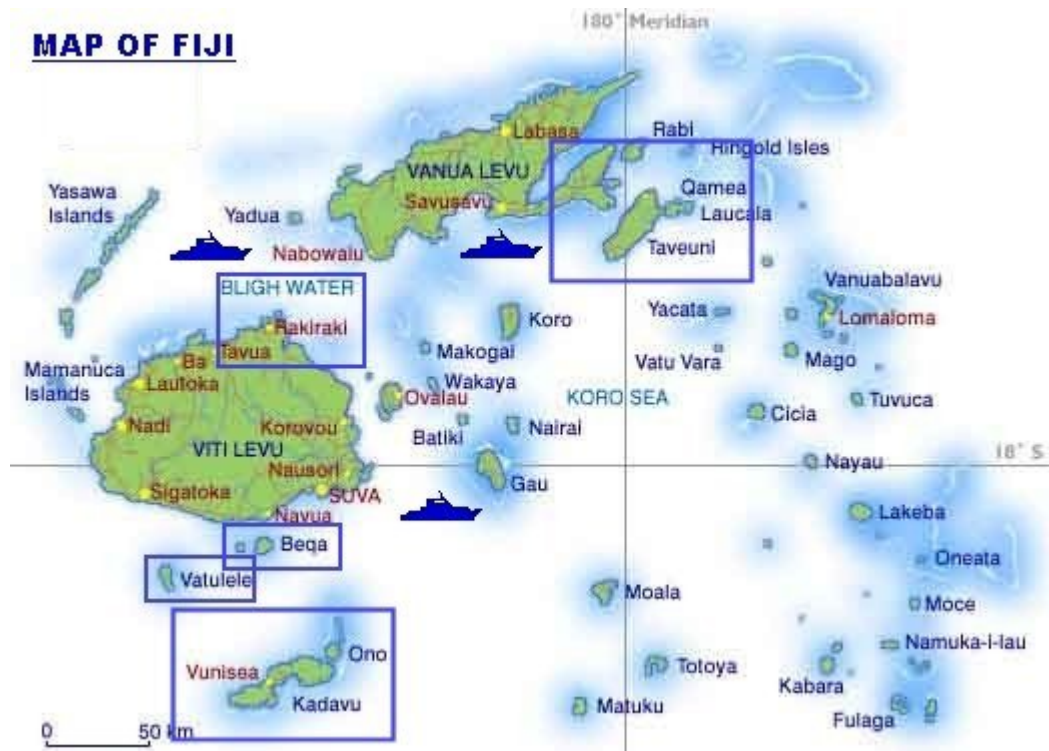
The subject of the article which precedes this engraving, makes it not inappropriate that we should here introduce an illustration of another of those forms of human grievance, which closely, in our humble opinion, approximate to the crimes that are perpetrated by the slave-trade itself. Here are groups of that particular class of labourers which, in the East Indies, are termed hill coolies—inveigled from their native clime and home, and imported for the pur-

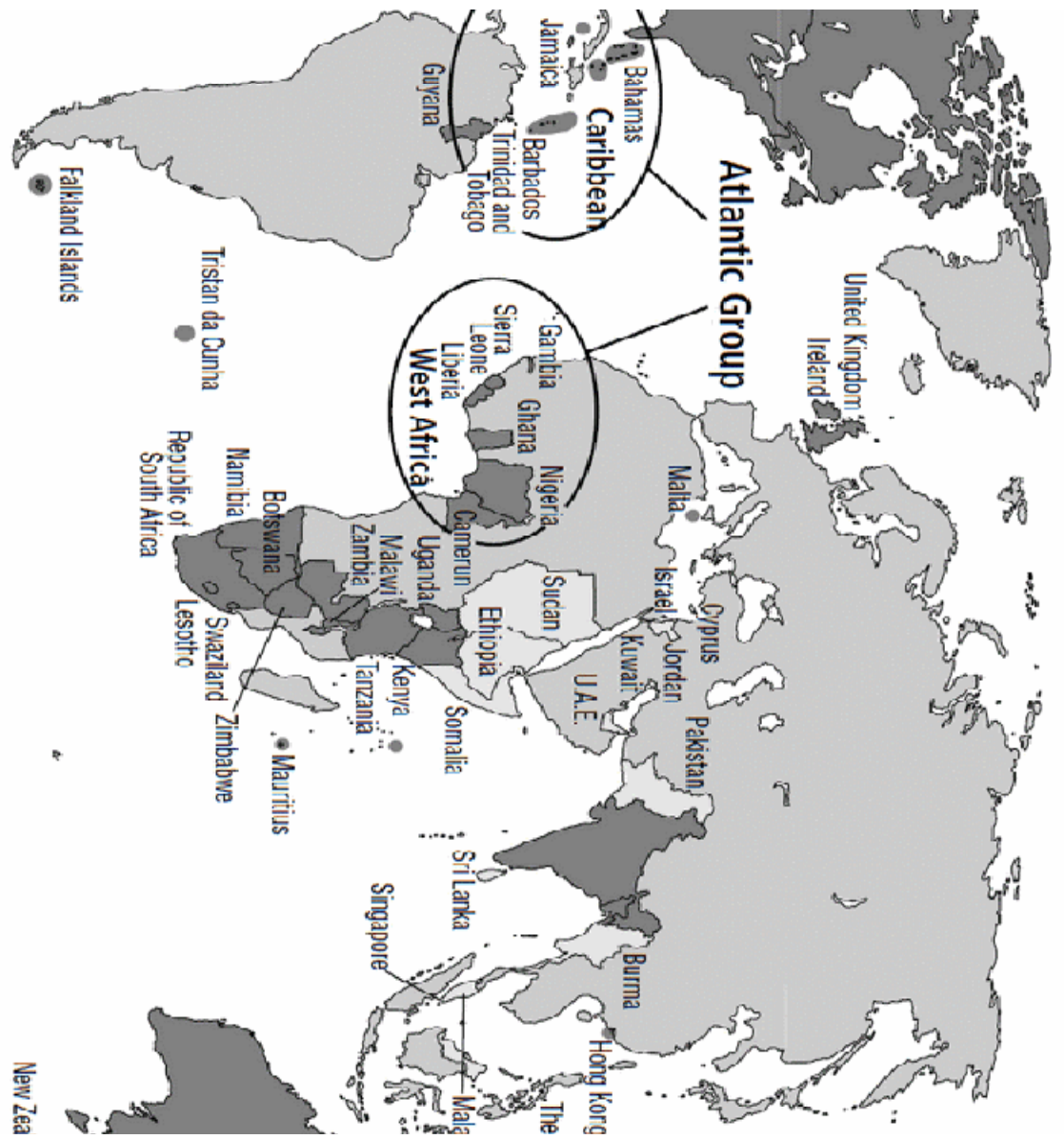
pose of working out is a species of slave labour the ends of gain of the planters and merchants of the Mauritius. There is every reason to believe, moreover, that when seduced into the strange land they are not treated with even ordinary humanity; and owing to the state, or rather suspension, of the laws having reference to their condition in the colony, they have open to them no means of redress. They are in fact the objects of a traffic, which is in its spirit as iniquitous



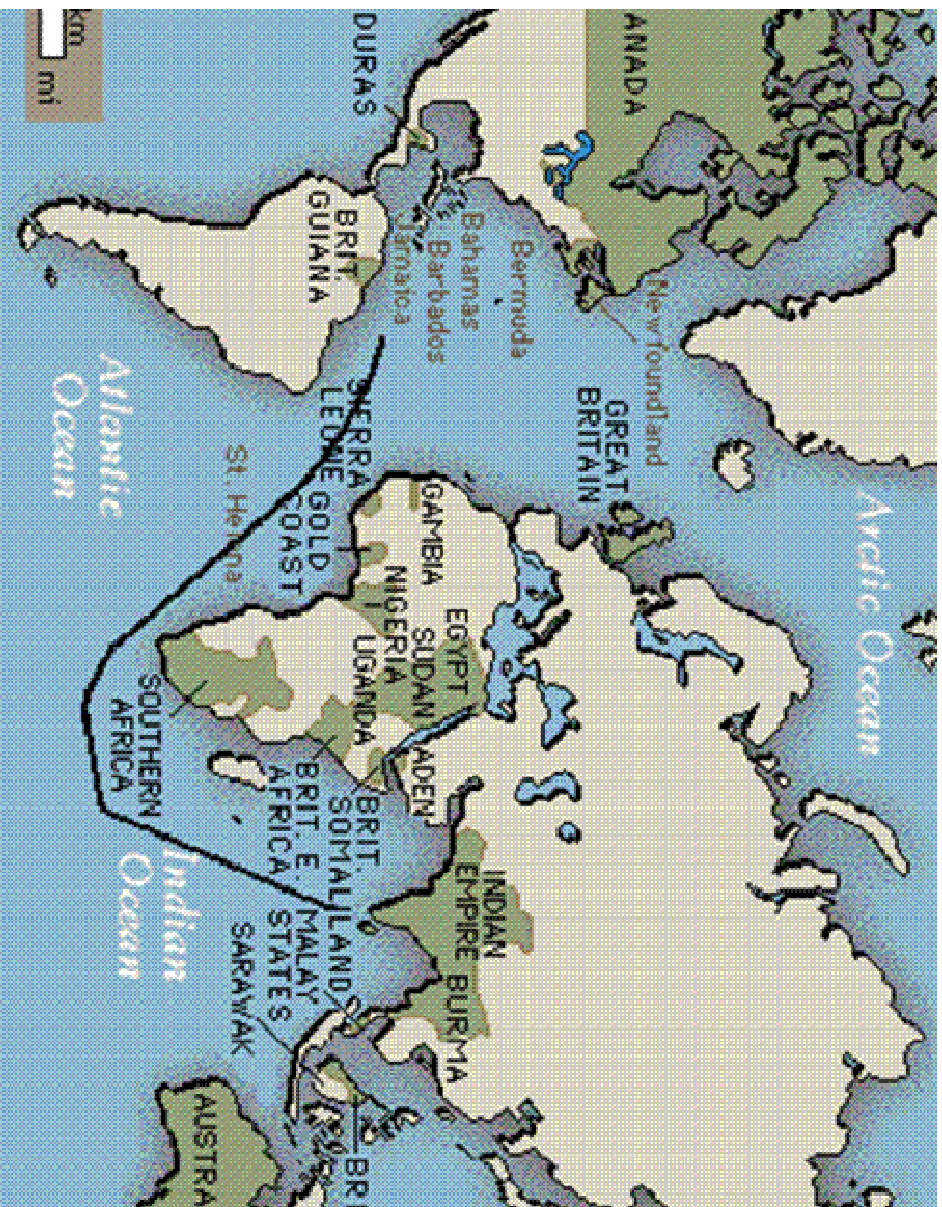


## MAP OF FIJI





abolition of slavery in the British Empire in 1834, many people transported to other areas to overcome labour shortages. This has happened in Africa, on the Fiji Islands and in the Caribbean, e.g. on Trinidad and Tobago. This accounts for the South Asians in the present-day Caribbean.

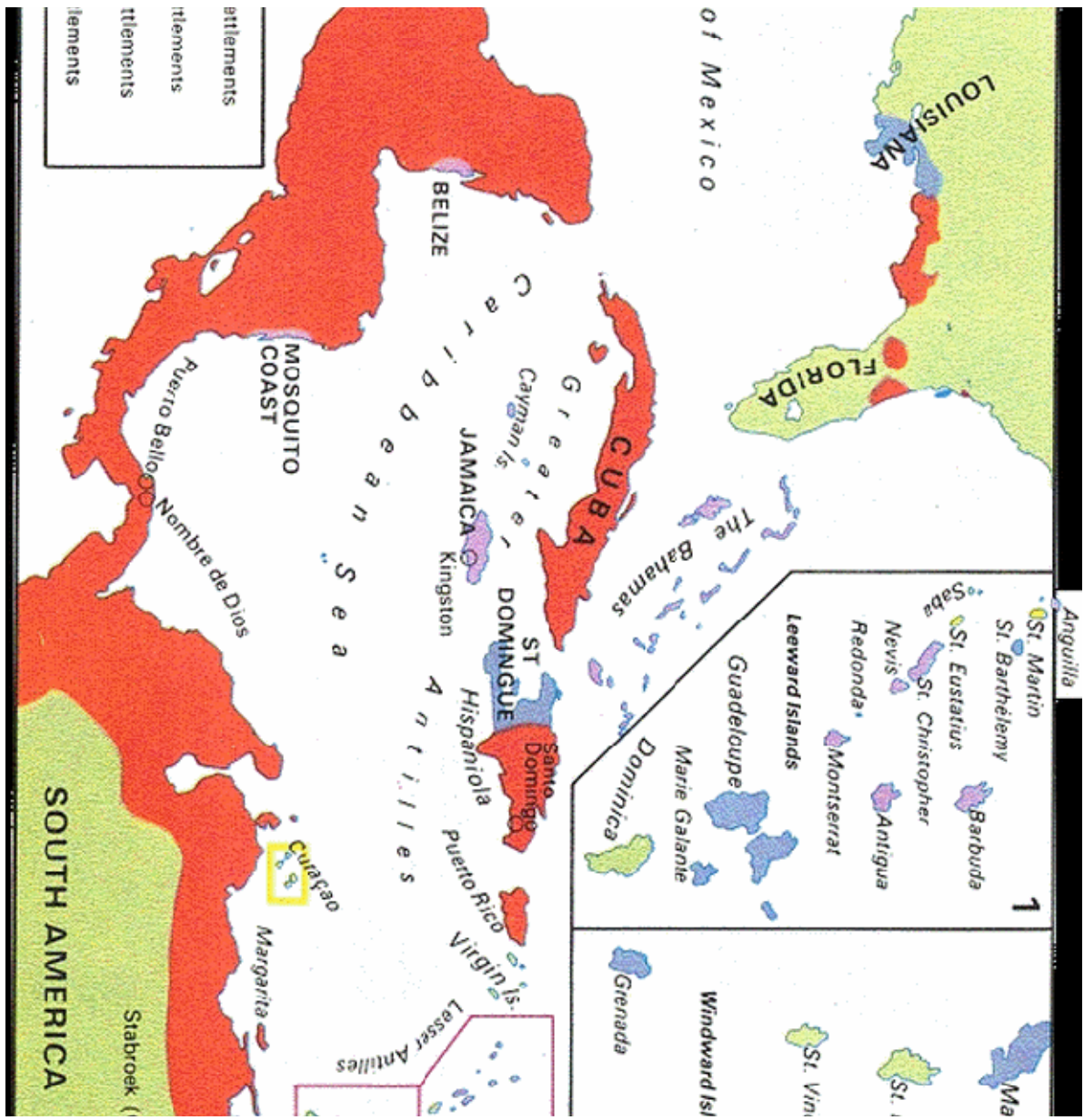


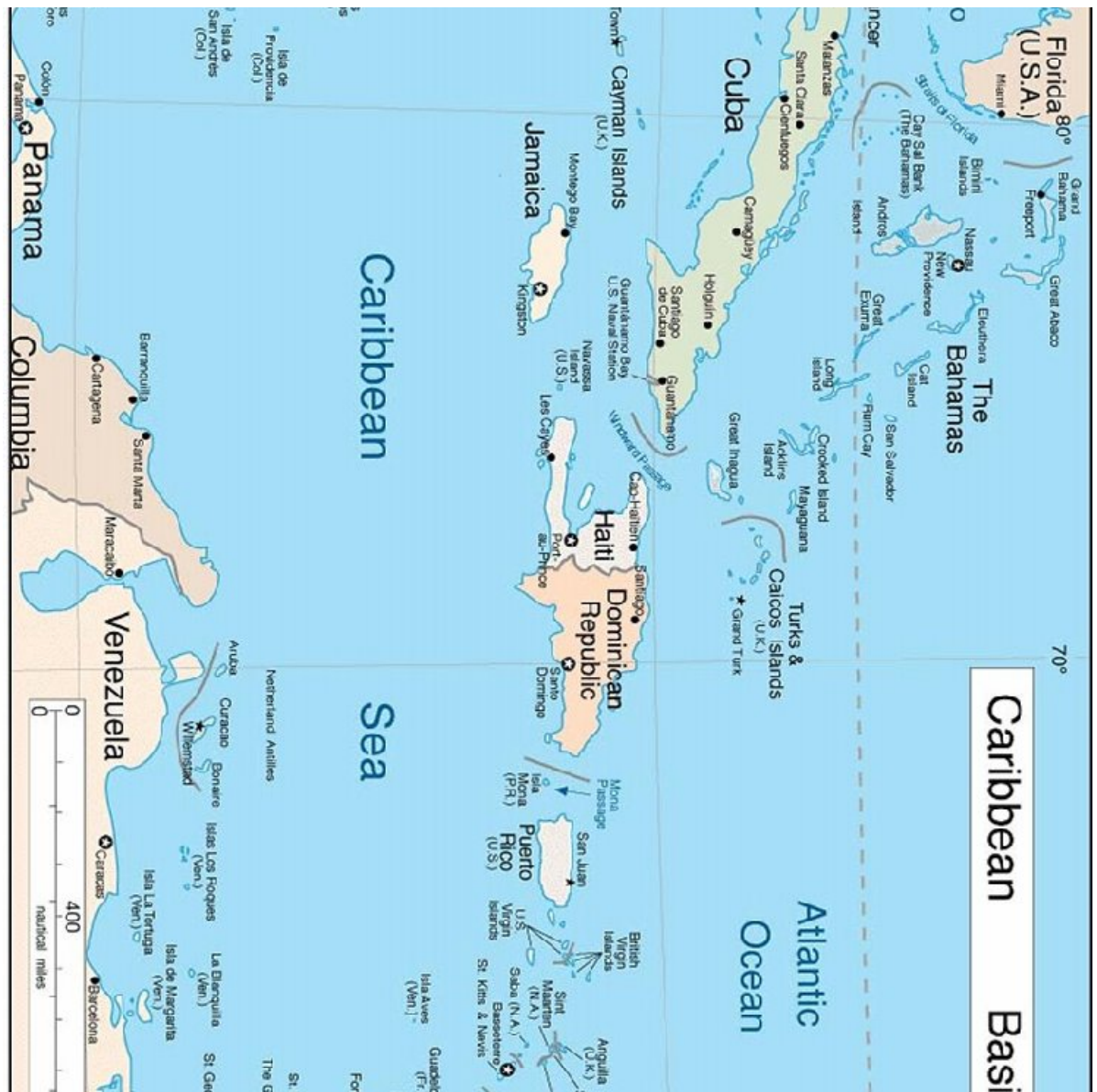












**Specimen, Emigration Passes of the Calcutta embarked migrants;** The Pass is the only document that contains comprehensive data on the demographic character of the indentured labourers. The Pass contains the migrant's depot number, sex, name, caste, father's name, age, district of origin and registration, besides the certification of the authorities in India about mental and physical fitness for manual labour in Fiji, and 'willingness to proceed to work for hire'. The Passes were sent to Fiji in the custody of the Surgeon Superintendent of the ship. After inspection and copying of important data about the migrants onto other relevant documents, the Passes were collated alphabetically by ship and deposited with the Department of Labour. Subsequently they were transferred to the National Archives of Fiji where a full set of 60,965 of the originals is available in some 240 large folios. The National Library of Australia has a copy of all the Passes on microfilm and these were used in my research



## **The Indenture Agreement**

### **THE GIRMIT – IN LEGAL TERMS**

A Form of Agreement for Intending Emigrants.

(In force in Madras in 1912)

1. *Period of Service-Five Years from the Date of Arrival in the Colony.*
2. *Nature of labour-Work in connection with the Cultivation of the soil or the manufacture of the produce on any plantation.*
3. *Number of days on which the Emigrant is required to labour in each Week-Everyday, excepting Sundays and authorized holidays.*
4. *Number of hours in every day during which he is required to labour without extra remuneration-Nine hours on each of five consecutive days in every week commencing with the Monday of each week, and five hours on the Saturday of each week.*
5. *Monthly or Daily Wages and Task-Work Rates-When employed at time-work every adult male Emigrant above the age of fifteen years will be paid not less than one shilling, which is at present equivalent to twelve annas and every adult female Emigrant above that age not less than nine pence, which is at present equivalent to nine annas, for every working day of nine hours; children below that age will receive wages proportionate to the amount of work done.*
6. *When employed at task or ticca-work every adult male Emigrant above the age of fifteen years will be paid not less than one shilling, and every adult female Emigrant above that age not less than nine pence for every task which shall be performed.*
7. *The law is that a man's task shall be as much as ordinary able-bodied adult male Emigrant can do in six hours' steady work, and that a woman's task shall be three-fourths of a man's task. An employer is not bound to allot, nor is an Emigrant bound to perform more than one task in each day, but by mutual agreement such extra work may be allotted, performed and paid for.*
8. *Wages are paid weekly on the Saturday of each week.*
9. *Conditions as to return passage-Emigrants may return to India at their own expense after completing five years' industrial residence in the Colony.*
10. *After ten years' continuous residence every Emigrant who was above the age of twelve on introduction to the Colony and who during that period has completed an industrial residence of five years, shall be entitled to a free-return passage if he claims it within two years after the completion of the ten years' continuous residence. If the Emigrant was under twelve years of age when he was introduced into the colony, he will be entitled to a free return passage if he claims it before he reaches 24 years of age and fulfils the other conditions as to residence. A child of an Emigrant born within the colony will be entitled to a free return passage until he reaches the age of twelve, and must be accompanied on the voyage by his parents or guardian.*
11. *Other Conditions-Emigrants will receive rations from their employers during the first six months after their arrival on the plantation according to the scale prescribed by the government of Fiji at a daily cost of four pence, which is at present equivalent to four annas, for each person of twelve years of age and upwards.*
12. *Every child between five and twelve years of age will receive approximately half rations free of cost, and every child, five years of age and under, nine chattacks of milk daily free of cost, during the first year after their arrival.*
13. *Suitable dwelling will be assigned to Emigrants under indenture free of rent and will be kept in good repair by the employers. When Emigrants under indenture are ill they will be provided with Hospital accommodation, Medical attendance, Medicines, Medical comforts and Food free of charge.*
14. *An Emigrant who has a wife still living is not allowed to marry another wife in the Colony unless his marriage with his first wife shall have been legally dissolved; but if he is married to more than one*

wife in his country he can take them all with him to the Colony and they will then be legally registered and acknowledged as his wives.

(Also in Tamil and Telgu)

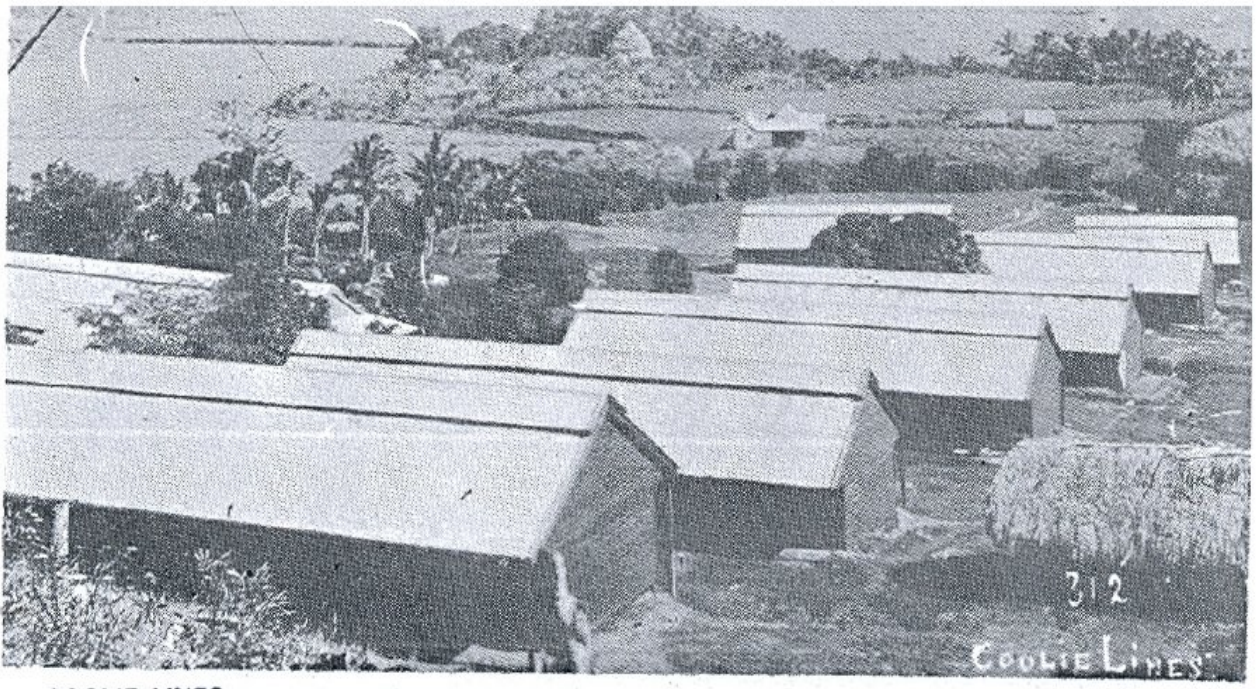
***I Agree to accept the person named on the face of this form as an emigrant on the above conditions.***

***In my presence***

***Date.....191***

***Registering Officer***  
***Agency***

***Recruiter for Fiji Government Emigration***



[Coolie Lines for *Girmitiyas* in Fiji. Picture courtesy of National Archives of Fiji]



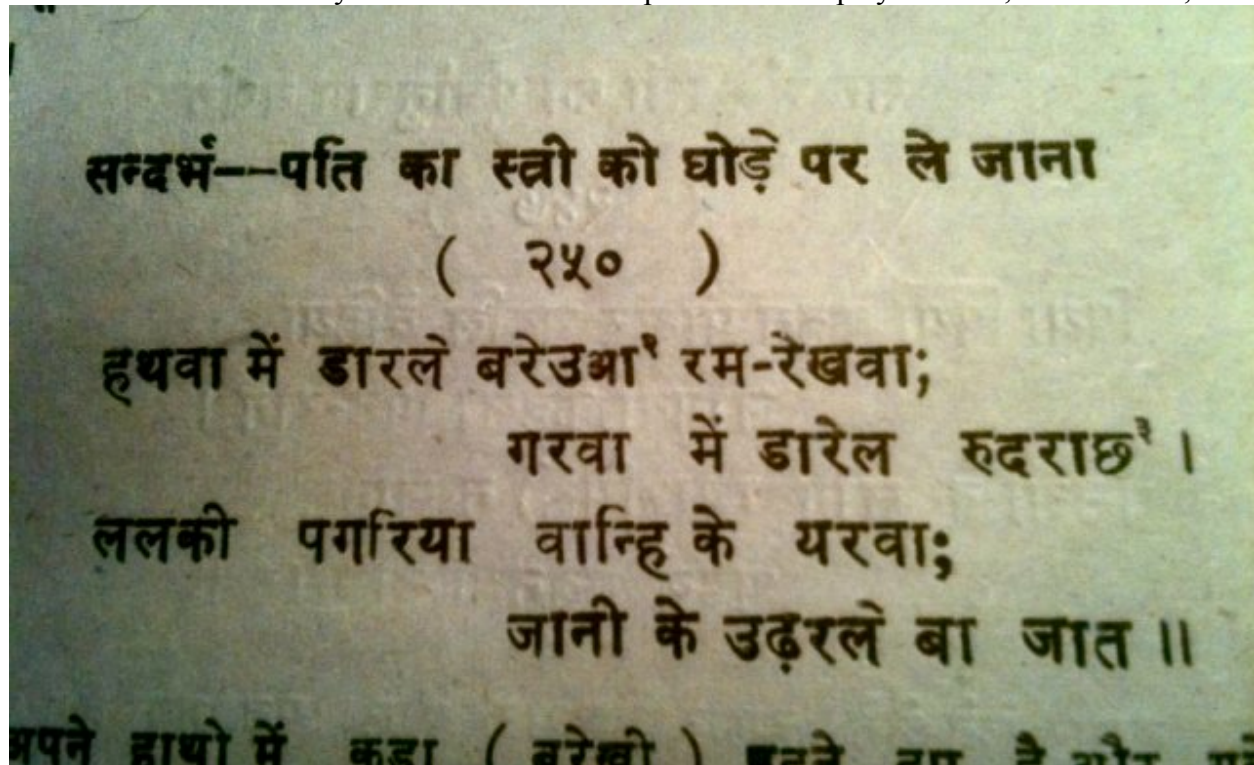


[Indian Lady dressed with jewellery in the early Girit era in Fiji.  
Picture courtesy of National Archives of Fiji]



Biraha is a folk song associated with the Ahir castes. The Ahiri castes include the Yaduvanshi, the Nandvanshi and the Gwalvanshi, who trace their ancestry back to the king Yayati. Kin to Lord Krishna, the cow herders left their titles and took their cows into the forests to await the coming of Vishnu, according to religious myth. Krishna is said to be a Yaduvanshi. In the Bhojpuri belt the Ahirs began the practice of singing the biraha. The name biraha has two possible etymologies. The first from “birah” meaning separation, or the second from “vir/bir” meaning brave. Incidentally this is my Aja’s jati and according to my familial legends, he would perform this style of singing through all hours of the night. (He was Gwalvanshi–Chandravanshi).

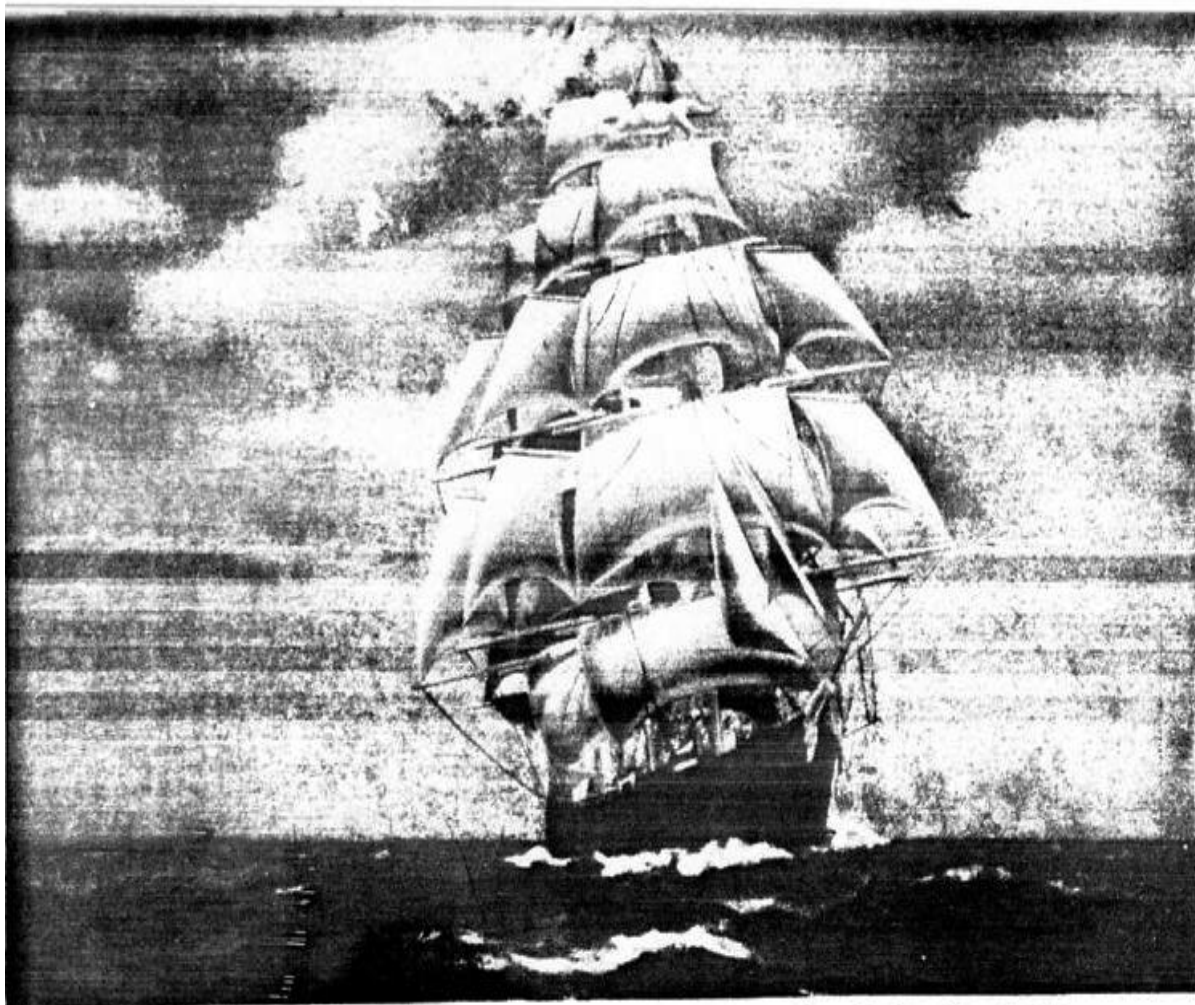
I have been fortunate enough to hear this being sung both in India and in Guyanese contexts. In Varanasi the biraha is performed as a highly charged political tool used by the Ahirs to challenge and subvert caste-ist practices. For example, I have heard a biraha called “Hanuman Ki Shadi” which discusses the rape of the woman that Hanuman decided to take as a wife, by Hanuman himself. This subverts the mainstream belief as indicated in Tulsidas’ Shri Ramcharitmanas that Hanuman in fact never got married, deciding to live as a brahmacharya (reduced heavily a word you can substitute is chaste devotee) for his entire life. This was told through narration and song with a main speaker/singer who is echoed and heckled by his musical accompanists who play dholak, harmonium, and majira.



In *na mash me bone* I translate one of my Aji’s birahas that I am assuming my Aja must have known as my Aji’s caste identity differed from my Aja’s. I offer it below as an excerpt as well as one that I translate from *Bhojpuri Lok Git Bhag 1* by Krishnadeva Upadhyaya, a collection of Bhojpuri songs written in Bhojpuri and Hindi. This is an effort to exemplify the political nature of the biraha in Ahiri reckoning. Both translation use the Ramayan narrative to tell the story of a lonely Sita. The wife of Ram, she endures exile with him only to be kidnapped by the Lanka-king Ravan. After Ram heroically rescues her, he takes her back to Ayodhya where he abandons his pregnant wife to live in the forest as there is no way for him to “prove” she has been faithful to him (sexually) while she was imprisoned in Vatika forest. Here the biraha really cooks, using language that at first seems prayerful but then shifts and displays its sharp edges.



Indians at Surinam with Bhokpuri Dance song ..



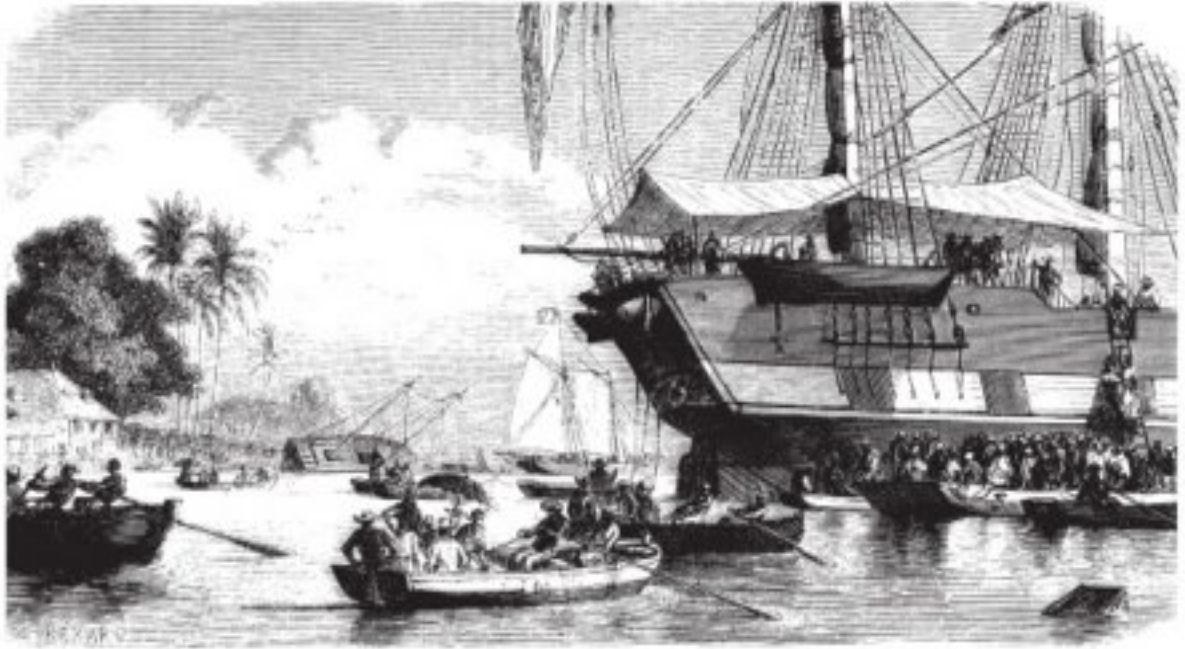
An Artist's conception of the 'Fatel Rozack' which arrived in Port-of-Spain harbour, May 30, 1845.



Hereunder are the names of the Indians who arrived on board the "Fateel Kozack." These particulars have been obtained from official records in the possession of the Trinidad Government.

NAME	MALES	AGE	NAME	MALES	AGE	NAME	MALES	AGE
1 Bhuruth	"	20	72 Lantoo	"	25	143 Doolce	"	24
2 Sookra	"	15	73 Sonatun	"	36	144 Jurum Singh	"	27
3 Dookhee	"	22	74 Furreed	"	32	145 Sonatum	"	27
4 Halladthur	"	18	75 Sobrooghun	"	20	146 Cundroo	"	25
5 Anhatch	"	24	76 Jahul	"	28	147 Ramsing	"	20
6 Chowdry	"	18	77 Moice	"	25	148 Goorah	"	23
7 Bundhoo	"	19	78 Emambocus	"	36	149 Bhooyreeh	"	23
8 Panchoo	"	16	79 Faize Buxo	"	30	150 Deepoo	"	19
9 Potem	"	23	80 Madar Buxo	"	28	151 Nundo	"	20
10 Gopaul	"	30	81 Nemchand	"	30	152 Mohun Sing	"	26
11 Curmun	"	27	82 Jogoo	"	14	153 Gopaul	"	25
12 Sunbir	"	21	83 Taccoor Sing	"	14	154 Soma	"	25
13 Muntce	"	27	84 Nanhoo	"	16	155 Bhangree	"	26
14 Mohun	"	18	85 Deersun	"	18	156 Busurma	"	18
15 Burnauth	"	27	86 Bundhoo	"	20	157 Sohrya	"	19
16 Anhach	"	20	87 Ramnath	"	23	158 Asson	"	32
17 Sooniah	"	25	88 Calcecharan	"	20	159 Omruddee	"	18
18 Bhaden	"	27	89 Sonatun	"	30	160 Beersing	"	20
19 Minia	"	"	90 Seeodeen	"	25	161 Bhowanipersad	"	25
20 Munsaram	"	30	91 Nyak	"	30	162 Kawal	"	23
21 Purmessur	"	28	92 Golab	"	27	163 Rampal	"	27
22 Gungaram	"	24	93 Nundoo	"	17	164 Randayal	"	25
23 Siloram	"	22	94 Aliar	"	—	165 Greeharee	"	26
24 Pithoe	"	18	95 Jaunkee	"	24	166 Untram	"	26
25 Dahee Singh	"	16	96 Bhekharry	"	30	167 Bhooyron	"	30
26 Sukroo	"	28	97 Ruchparr	"	40	168 Nemchand	"	38
27 Koopehand	"	33	98 Ramsaran	"	21	169 Gooroodayal	"	14
28 Dhumaram	"	30	99 Ramdhun	"	18	170 Bahadoor	"	14
29 Jeebun	"	25	100 Rughoobungss	"	31	171 Nadhon	"	24
30 Lodhan	"	25	101 Dookhoo	"	30	172 Aunatch	FEMALES	20
31 Unhora	"	24	102 Chumroo	"	28	173 Bhooseya	"	18
32 Denma	"	18	103 Baharry	"	25	174 Guranes	"	26
33 Bolakee	"	25	104 Taka	"	32	175 Gunteeya	"	19
34 Auheeluck	"	26	105 Bhola	"	30	176 Gowree	"	25
35 Khadoo	"	31	106 Bhooyroo	"	28	177 Aublokheeya	"	20
36 Julloo	"	—	107 Rutheeya	"	25	178 Deepa	"	"
37 Bheekarry	"	18	108 Gopaul	"	24	179 Mohoorun	"	16
38 Toolaram	"	22	109 Nundoo	"	18	180 Bulleeya	"	33
39 Tulokee	"	18	110 Ropun	"	21	181 Mandoo	"	16
40 Bajoonath	"	36	111 Ramjeehun	"	30	182 Sookooanroo	"	18
41 Foolchand	"	32	112 Ajoodhia	"	30	183 Bhookhu	"	20
42 Lakhoo	"	18	113 Neerown	"	28	184 Etwareeya	"	32
43 Neemy	"	17	114 Nobin	"	21	185 Rudum	"	30
44 Takoordayal	"	21	115 Ruttoo	"	32	186 Toya	"	20
45 Boodhay	"	24	116 Fatur	"	21	187 Samareeya	"	20
46 Bahadoor	"	28	117 Ghunsem	"	30	188 Sookooawaroo	"	20
47 Sookun	"	25	118 Maghoowa	"	20	189 Ghowlee	"	40
48 Aunon	"	22	119 Meetoo	"	25	190 Seeklia	"	25
49 Seedam	"	17	120 Ramdihal	"	24	191 Maunkee	"	22
50 Aunand	"	16	121 Teeluckdharry	"	20	192 Dossy	"	24
51 Nunkoo	"	25	122 Greedharry	"	19	193 Bahadoor (Children)	MALES	9
52 Beharee	"	19	123 Seedayal	"	16	194 Muma	"	8
53 Sookur	"	18	124 Gunga	"	23	195 Goonoo	"	5
54 Sarooek	"	36	125 Anjaeb	"	30	196 Bolakee	"	9
55 Buttoo	"	22	126 Lullet	"	28	197 Hardutt	"	9
56 Lofur	"	30	127 Pedaruth	"	24	198 Bhandoo	"	9
57 Gooroocharm	"	30	128 Bhowaney	"	27	199 Rajnauth	"	9
58 Boodhee	"	19	129 Boodhun	"	24	200 Bodeel	"	9
59 Mohun	"	31	130 Gopaul	"	35	201 Chotooya	"	9
60 Khadun	"	19	131 Choin	"	20	202 Jaipaul	"	7
61 Ramcharm	"	24	132 Doolar	"	20	203 Jhurry	"	9
62 Chabooree	"	28	133 Comul	"	17	204 Gunnes	"	7
63 Nundoo	"	30	134 Mungur	"	32	205 Golamina	"	6
64 Abeeluck	"	19	135 Ubhoun	"	25	206 Somodha	"	9
65 Lattoo	"	16	136 Poorah	"	27	207 Maighun	"	9
66 Gunnes	"	24	137 Bundhoo	"	27	208 Amree (Children)	FEMALES	6
67 Doorjun	"	28	138 Dookhun	"	32	209 Faizan	"	4
68 Neemy	"	30	139 Rughoo	"	38	210 Mungree	"	8
69 Kistoe	"	28	140 Soomar	"	38	211 Aucklee	"	6
70 Causmollee Khan	"	32	141 Nunkoo	"	26	212 Jhalowa	"	5
71 Gondoury	"	18	142 Bhola	"	20	213 Dhonee	"	6

# Immigrants landing at Guadeloupe



Immigrants landing at Guadeloupe

**This Indenture** Witnesseth, That  
*Henry Mayer* in consideration of *Six-  
 pence* paid by *Abraham Kestant* of *Bucks*  
*County* for his Passage from *Rotterdam*

---

as well for other good causes, he *Henry Mayer*  
 hath bound and put him self, and by these Presents doth bind and put him self  
 Servant to the said *Abraham Kestant* *from the Day of the date hereof, for and*  
*during the full Term of Three Years* *from thence*  
 next ensuing. During all which Term, the said Servant *his* *Master* his  
 Executors, or Assigns, faithfully shall serve, and that honestly, and obediently in  
 all Things, as a good and dutiful Servant ought to do. AND the said *Abraham*  
*Kestant* his *Executors and Assigns*, during the said  
 Term, shall feed and provide for the said *Henry Mayer* *with*  
 sufficient Meat, Drink, *Apparrell* *Walking and Lodging, and*  
 at the Expiration of the said Term the said *Henry*  
*Mayer* *shall be made free and Recieve from the*  
*said Abraham Kestant two Suits of Apparrell one*  
*whereof he be now*  
 AND for the true Performance hereof, both the said Parties bind themselves firmly  
 unto each other by these Presents. In Witness whereof they have hereunto inter-  
 changedly set their Hands and Seals. Dated the *twentieth* *Day of*  
*September* *in the twelfth* *Year of His Majesty's Reign.*  
*Anno Domini 1734*

Signed and Delivered in  
 the Presence of *us*  
*Henry Lottin*  
*Pick Johnson*

*Henry Mayer*  
*Germanstown*  
 This above was  
 Duly executed by Mutual  
 Consent of both Parties before  
*Me Vine Jackson*

Specimen; Indentured Certificate

as with the other good people of the said Colony of New York  
 have bound and put their hands and by these Presents put their hands and  
 signed to the said Abraham Kestant a  
 Tutor, the said Abraham Kestant from the Day of the Date hereof, for and  
 during the full Term of Three Years from the date  
 next ensuing. During all which Term, the said Servant Abraham Kestant  
 Tutor, or Assign, shall serve, and due loyalty, and obedience to  
 all Things, as a good and dutiful Servant ought to do. AND the said Abraham Kestant  
 Tutor, or Assign, during the said  
 Term, shall feed and provide for the said Henry Meyer a  
 sufficient Meat, Drink, Apparel, Washing and Lodging, and  
 at the Expiration of the said Term the said Henry Meyer  
 shall be made free and receive from the  
 said Abraham Kestant two Suits of Apparel one  
 whereof he is now in possession  
 AND for the true Performance hereof, both the said Parties bind themselves jointly  
 unto each other by these Presents. In Witness whereof they have hereunto inter-  
 posed their Hands and Seals, Dated the Twenty Ninth Day of  
September in the Twelfth Year of His Majesty's Reign.  
Amos Daniel 1718  
 Signed and Delivered in  
 the Presence of us  
Henry Kestant Henry Meyer  
Michael Johnson German Loren  
 This above was  
 duly executed by Mutual

Indenture contract signed with an X by Henry Meyer in  
 1738

\*\*\*\*\*The End\*\*\*\*\*