

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL FOR LEGAL RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS



Open Access, Refereed Journal Multi-Disciplinary
Peer Reviewed

www.ijlra.com

DISCLAIMER

No part of this publication may be reproduced or copied in any form by any means without prior written permission of Managing Editor of IJLRA. The views expressed in this publication are purely personal opinions of the authors and do not reflect the views of the Editorial Team of IJLRA.

Though every effort has been made to ensure that the information in Volume II Issue 7 is accurate and appropriately cited/referenced, neither the Editorial Board nor IJLRA shall be held liable or responsible in any manner what sever for any consequences for any action taken by anyone on the basis of information in the Journal.

Copyright © International Journal for Legal Research & Analysis

EDITORIALTEAM

EDITORS

Dr. Samrat Datta

Dr. Samrat Datta Seedling School of Law and Governance, Jaipur National University, Jaipur. Dr. Samrat Datta is currently associated with Seedling School of Law and Governance, Jaipur National University, Jaipur. Dr. Datta has completed his graduation i.e., B.A.LL.B. from Law College Dehradun, Hemvati Nandan Bahuguna Garhwal University, Srinagar, Uttarakhand. He is an alumnus of KIIT University, Bhubaneswar where he pursued his post-graduation (LL.M.) in Criminal Law and subsequently completed his Ph.D. in Police Law and Information Technology from the Pacific Academy of Higher Education and Research University, Udaipur in 2020. His area of interest and research is Criminal and Police Law. Dr. Datta has a teaching experience of 7 years in various law schools across North India and has held administrative positions like Academic Coordinator, Centre Superintendent for Examinations, Deputy Controller of Examinations, Member of the Proctorial Board



Dr. Namita Jain



Head & Associate Professor

School of Law, JECRC University, Jaipur Ph.D. (Commercial Law) LL.M., UGC-NET Post Graduation Diploma in Taxation law and Practice, Bachelor of Commerce.

Teaching Experience: 12 years, AWARDS AND RECOGNITION of Dr. Namita Jain are - ICF Global Excellence Award 2020 in the category of educationalist by I Can Foundation, India. India Women Empowerment Award in the category of "Emerging Excellence in Academics by Prime Time & Utkrish Bharat Foundation, New Delhi. (2020). Conferred in FL Book of Top 21 Record Holders in the category of education by Fashion Lifestyle Magazine, New Delhi. (2020). Certificate of Appreciation for organizing and managing the Professional Development Training Program on IPR in Collaboration with Trade Innovations Services, Jaipur on March 14th, 2019

Mrs.S.Kalpna

Assistant professor of Law

Mrs.S.Kalpna, presently Assistant professor of Law, VelTech Rangarajan Dr.Sagunthala R & D Institute of Science and Technology, Avadi. Formerly Assistant professor of Law,Vels University in the year 2019 to 2020, Worked as Guest Faculty, Chennai Dr.Ambedkar Law College, Pudupakkam. Published one book. Published 8Articles in various reputed Law Journals. Conducted 1Moot court competition and participated in nearly 80 National and International seminars and webinars conducted on various subjects of Law. Did ML in Criminal Law and Criminal Justice Administration.10 paper presentations in various National and International seminars. Attended more than 10 FDP programs. Ph.D. in Law pursuing.



Avinash Kumar



Avinash Kumar has completed his Ph.D. in International Investment Law from the Dept. of Law & Governance, Central University of South Bihar. His research work is on "International Investment Agreement and State's right to regulate Foreign Investment." He qualified UGC-NET and has been selected for the prestigious ICSSR Doctoral Fellowship. He is an alumnus of the Faculty of Law, University of Delhi. Formerly he has been elected as Students Union President of Law Centre-1, University of Delhi. Moreover, he completed his LL.M. from the University of Delhi (2014-16), dissertation on "Cross-border Merger & Acquisition"; LL.B. from the University of Delhi (2011-14), and B.A. (Hons.) from Maharaja Agrasen College, University of Delhi. He has also obtained P.G. Diploma in IPR from the Indian Society of International Law, New Delhi. He has qualified UGC – NET examination and has been awarded ICSSR – Doctoral Fellowship. He has published six-plus articles and presented 9 plus papers in national and international seminars/conferences. He participated in several workshops on research methodology and teaching and learning.

ABOUT US

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL FOR LEGAL RESEARCH & ANALYSIS ISSN- 2582-6433 is an Online Journal is Monthly, Peer Review, Academic Journal, Published online, that seeks to provide an interactive platform for the publication of Short Articles, Long Articles, Book Review, Case Comments, Research Papers, Essay in the field of Law & Multidisciplinary issue. Our aim is to upgrade the level of interaction and discourse about contemporary issues of law. We are eager to become a highly cited academic publication, through quality contributions from students, academics, professionals from the industry, the bar and the bench. INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL FOR LEGAL RESEARCH & ANALYSIS ISSN 2582-6433 welcomes contributions from all legal branches, as long as the work is original, unpublished and is in consonance with the submission guidelines.

A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY OF THE INDIAN INDENTURED LABOUR SYSTEM

AUTHORED BY - AYUSHI VARMA

Abstract

This paper traces the evolution of scholarship on the Indian indentured labour system from the nineteenth century to the present. Beginning with abolitionist critiques that framed indenture as “a new system of slavery,” it moves through mid-twentieth-century structural and economic interpretations, late-twentieth-century cultural and subaltern approaches, and twenty-first-century reappraisals that link indenture to law, race, and empire. The paper argues that while historiography has grown richer and more complex, it continues to overlook caste as a structuring force within indenture. This gap, particularly concerning Dalit experiences, limits current understandings of labour, identity, and freedom in the colonial world. Addressing this absence can reframe indenture as a transoceanic process that reproduced and reconfigured caste hierarchies within global capitalism.

Introduction

The movement of contract labourers across continents during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries formed one of the most significant episodes in the making of the modern world.¹ Emerging after the abolition of slavery, this system connected rural India to plantation colonies in the Caribbean, Africa, and the Pacific. Between 1831 and 1920, over a million Indians were sent overseas under contractual arrangements that promised wages, housing, and return passage.² Over the past two centuries, scholars have approached this phenomenon through shifting moral, political, and cultural lenses, with each generation reinterpreting the experience in light of new ideas about freedom, coercion, and identity.

¹ While Adam McKeown estimates that less than a tenth of India’s nineteenth- and early twentieth-century migration was conducted under formal indenture, his quantitative framing risks obscuring the system’s disproportionate social and historical impact. The contractual migrations, though numerically minor compared to the broader flows of voluntary or assisted mobility, reshaped colonial labour regimes and racial hierarchies across the British Empire, linking Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean in enduring ways. See Adam McKeown, “Global Migration, 1846–1940,” *Journal of World History* 15, no. 2 (June 2004): 155–189.

² David Northrup, *Indentured Labor in the Age of Imperialism, 1834–1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

This article traces how interpretations of this labour migration have evolved. It moves from early humanitarian accounts to mid-twentieth-century economic and sociological analyses, and finally to contemporary perspectives that foreground culture, gender, and law. Together, these interpretations reveal how historians have used the story of labour migration to question broader ideas about empire, morality, and modernity.

Early Writings: Abolitionist Concerns

The earliest writings on indentured labour emerged alongside the introduction of the system itself in the late 1830s. These early accounts were mostly written by missionaries, abolitionists, and members of the British Anti-Slavery Society. Their central concern was that the new ‘free’ labour system replacing slavery in the British colonies was, in reality, slavery in another form. Their reports established the moral vocabulary that would dominate early discussions of indenture. John Scoble’s *British Guiana: Facts! Facts! Facts!* (1840) was among the first major publications to condemn the system, which was based on his visit to plantations in British Guiana.³ William Garland Barrett (1859), Edward Jenkins (1870), and Joseph Beaumont (1871) expanded these critiques.⁴

These early abolitionist accounts were deeply moralistic, shaped by the rhetoric of humanitarian reform. However, these early humanitarian accounts also had limitations. They focused on moral outrage and legal comparison, often overlooking the social and economic contexts that produced the system. Their primary aim was advocacy rather than analysis, and as a result, they tended to simplify the complexities of colonial labour relations. Nevertheless, their work laid the foundation for the enduring question that would shape the historiography of indenture: was it a “new system of slavery” or a form of free labour within the empire?

Twentieth-Century Interpretations: From ‘New System of Slavery’ to Agency

In the years after independence, Indian scholars began to study labour migration with greater

³ John Scoble, *British Guiana: Facts! Facts! Facts!* (London: Johnson & Barrett Printers, 1840) in Ashutosh Kumar, *Coolies of the Empire: Indentured Indians in the Sugar Colonies, 1830–1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017)

⁴ Joseph Beaumont, *The New Slavery: An Account of the Indian and Chinese Emigrants in British Guiana*. (London, 1871); Edward Jenkins, *The Coolie: His Rights and Wrongs*. (New York: George Routledge and Sons, 1871); William Garland Barrett, *Corydon: Many Years a Resident in Jamaica and in British Guiana*. (London: Gray and Warren, 1859) in Kumar, *Coolies of the Empire*, pp. 1-4.

depth and distance. C. Kondapi's 1951 work was among the first to use official records to chart Indian migration over several centuries.⁵ He distinguished between ancient migrations driven by trade or religion and modern movements linked to poverty and colonial policy. Kondapi's tone was sympathetic to the migrants; he saw their story as one of endurance and adaptation under harsh conditions. His analysis framed the system as an economic arrangement that exploited the poor but also revealed their resilience.

By the 1960s, researchers began to explore the social and cultural aftermath of migration. Morton Klass's *East Indians in Trinidad* (1961) examined how descendants of these migrants maintained Indian traditions in a Caribbean setting. This was one of the first works to shift attention from the contract itself to the long-term social worlds that migrants built.⁶

Around the same time, K. L. Gillion's *Fiji's Indian Migrants* took a more institutional approach. He argued that the migration was not simply a private economic enterprise but a state-managed project rooted in imperial policy. Gillion viewed British rule as both the condition and the justification for the movement of Indian labourers. He revealed how colonial administrators portrayed the scheme as a humanitarian venture, even as it restricted freedom and deepened racial hierarchy. Yet Gillion also acknowledged that migration opened limited avenues of mobility for poor Indians. His balanced analysis recognised both exploitation and opportunity, a theme that would continue in later studies.⁷

Hugh Tinker's *A New System of Slavery: The Export of Indian Labour Overseas, 1830–1920* marked a turning point.⁸ Tinker's work became the cornerstone of the field, offering a sweeping account of indenture as an exploitative labour regime that replaced slavery with contractual bondage. Drawing on British colonial archives, Tinker argued that indenture shared all the hallmarks of slavery, restricted mobility, physical punishment, and social isolation, under the illusion of freedom. Tinker's moral framework linked indenture directly to the history of slavery, suggesting that the British Empire replaced one form of unfree labour with another.

⁵ C Kondapi, *Indians Overseas, 1838-1949* (New Delhi: Indian Council of World Affairs, Oxford University Press, 1951).

⁶ Morton Klass, *East Indians in Trinidad: A Study of Cultural Persistence* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961).

⁷ Kenneth L Gillion, *Fiji's Indian Migrants: A History to the End of Indenture in 1920* (Oxford University Press, 1962).

⁸ Hugh Tinker, *A New System of Slavery: The Export of Indian Labour Overseas 1830-1920* (London: Hansib Publishing Ltd, 1993). First published in 1974 by Oxford University Press for the Institute of Race Relations.

His phrase ‘a new system of slavery’ became the defining concept in indenture historiography for several decades.

Tinker’s thesis, however, provoked considerable debate. While some scholars supported his view of indenture as a system of coercion and exploitation, others began to question its rigidity. David Northrup’s *Indentured Labor in the Age of Imperialism, 1834–1920* sought to nuance the discussion by situating indenture within global patterns of nineteenth-century migration.⁹ Northrup argued that while plantation conditions often resembled slavery, the system as a whole also reflected broader trends of labour mobility and contractual work. He estimated that between 1831 and 1920, approximately 1.3 million Indians were transported to British, French, and Dutch colonies.

In the same decade, sociologists such as Chandra Jayawardena introduced new ways of understanding the social changes that migration produced.¹⁰ Jayawardena studied how caste, kinship, and religion were transformed in the plantation world. Jayawardena compared Indian communities across different colonies, showing that the extent of change depended on the structure of migration. Where individuals moved alone, as in the Caribbean and Fiji, traditional systems weakened; where families or groups migrated together, as in Ceylon, social continuity was stronger. His comparative framework allowed scholars to see labour migration as part of a larger sociology of adaptation rather than as a single moral or economic story.

By the 1980s, historians began to re-evaluate the system through new methods. Brij Lal’s *Girmitiyas* exemplified this shift.¹¹ Using emigration passes, Lal reconstructed the demographic and regional composition of Indian migrants to Fiji. His quantitative analysis challenged assumptions that migrants were drawn exclusively from the lowest castes. He found that the social composition of migrants mirrored rural India more broadly. Lal’s work also connected migration to the wider economic disruptions of British rule in India. Land revenue policies, commercialisation of agriculture, and indebtedness pushed rural populations toward migration. This reorientation from ‘recruiter deceit’ to ‘colonial restructuring’ marked an

⁹ David Northrup, *Indentured Labor in the Age of Imperialism, 1834–1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

¹⁰ Chandra Jayawardena, “Migration and Social Change: A Survey of Indian Communities Overseas,” *Geographical Review* 58, no. 3 (July 1968): 426–49.

¹¹ Brij V Lal, *Girmitoyas: The Origins of Fiji Indians* (Lautoka: Fiji Institute of Applied Sciences, 2004) First published in 1983 by *Journal of Pacific History*, Canberra.

important methodological change. It was Lal who, for the first time, discussed indentured women, showing that many migrated independently and came from diverse social backgrounds.

Walton Look Lai extended his analysis to the Caribbean. His *Indentured Labor, Caribbean Sugar* offered the first comprehensive comparative study of Asian migration to the British Caribbean by comparing Indian and Chinese migrations.¹² A major theme in Look Lai's work is the *public* character of the Indian migration scheme. Unlike the Chinese indenture, which was largely organised by private agents and speculative merchants, Indian migration was administered, subsidised, and monitored by the British colonial state. Look Lai also highlighted the regional diversity within the Caribbean. He showed that indentured labour became central to the sugar economies of Trinidad and British Guiana, but remained marginal in Jamaica and the smaller islands. These variations, he argued, reflected not only differences in labour demand but also the intersections of race, class, and the political economy of each colony. Importantly, Look Lai moved beyond the view of indenture as a temporary or transitional phase. He traced how, by the late nineteenth century, Indian labourers were increasingly seen by colonial authorities as potential settlers and smallholders rather than mere temporary workers. This shift transformed the demographic and cultural composition of the Caribbean, laying the foundations for the plural societies that emerged in the twentieth century. The descendants of these migrants became permanent communities that redefined local identities and challenged racial hierarchies within colonial society.

Marina Carter's studies on Mauritius—*Servants, Sirdars, and Settlers* and *Voices from Indenture* were pivotal in this regard.¹³ Through extensive archival study, Carter argued that indentured migrants were not passive victims but participants in shaping their destinies. Carter demonstrated that migration followed social and kinship networks and that migrants often maintained circular movement between India and the colonies. She reframed the system as a field of negotiation rather than unilateral oppression. While acknowledging coercion, she revealed how migrants built semi-autonomous communities, religious institutions, and smallholder economies. Her approach combined archival rigour with attention to migrant

¹² Walton Look Lai, *Indentured Labor, Caribbean Sugar: Chinese and Indian Migrants to the British West Indies, 1838-1918* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1993)

¹³ Marina Carter, *Servants, Sirdars and Settlers: Indians in Mauritius, 1834-1874* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995); Marina Carter, *Voices from Indenture: Experience of Indian Migrants in the British Empire* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1996).

subjectivity, laying the groundwork for cultural and subaltern perspectives.

Contemporary interpretations: Legal, Cultural, Global, and Ideological Dimensions

By the early twenty-first century, studies of indenture had begun to move decisively beyond the older oppositions of coercion and freedom, or victimhood and agency. Historians now examined how law, culture, and global mobility intersected to shape the lived realities and afterlives of indenture. This phase of scholarship broadened the field's analytical horizons by linking plantation labour to transnational migration, cultural adaptation, and the moral economies of empire.

Scholars such as Crispin Bates began to question the binary of coercion versus freedom that had long defined the debate.¹⁴ Crispin Bates was among those who argued that migration should be understood within a 'limited choice' framework. Poverty, debt, and social hierarchy constrained decisions, yet individuals still exercised agency within these limits. Migration, in this view, was neither entirely forced nor entirely voluntary, it was a response to structural pressures shaped by colonial economies.

As scholarly attention shifted toward the period after the end of indenture, Lomarsh Roopnarine turned to the continuing mobility of Indo-Caribbean communities after 1917.¹⁵ He traced their migration across three phases—indenture, inter-island relocation, and later movement to Europe and North America. Roopnarine argued that mobility itself became a symbol of liberation, representing both economic advancement and cultural persistence. By linking Indo-Caribbean migration to global networks of diaspora, Roopnarine repositioned these communities at the centre of transnational history. The descendants of the migrants were no longer seen as isolated remnants of the empire but as participants in global circuits of labour, culture, and identity.

Simultaneously, historians such as Radica Mahase, Maurits Hassankhan, and Ashwin Desai turned to the theme of resistance. Mahase's research on Trinidad revealed how labourers

¹⁴ Crispin Bates, *Coerced and Migrant Labourers in India: The Colonial Experience*, *Edinburgh Papers in South Asian Studies*, no. 13 (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 2000).

¹⁵ Lomarsh Roopnarine, "Indo-Caribbean Migration: From Periphery to Core," *Caribbean Quarterly* 49, no. 3 (September 2003): 30–60.

resisted domination through daily acts of defiance—absenteeism, slow work, and protest.¹⁶ Hassankhan applied similar ideas to Suriname, showing how covert resistance coexisted with open rebellion. These studies drew on subaltern history and gave voice to the labourers themselves.¹⁷

Ashwin Desai and Goolam Vahed's *Inside Indian Indenture: A South African Story, 1860–1914* integrated social history and personal narratives.¹⁸ They portrayed labourers as emotional, cultural, and moral agents who recreated kinship, religion, and community in new environments. Their emphasis on women's experiences and domestic life brought a neglected dimension of indenture to light. Migration not only exposed them to exploitation but also opened limited spaces for autonomy. By recovering individual voices, Desai and Vahed transformed the narrative from one of victimhood to one of struggle and self-making.

These studies collectively replaced the image of the indentured labourer as a silent victim with that of an adaptive and creative actor. They also marked a methodological shift toward microhistory, ethnography, and cultural history, demonstrating that the plantation was not only a site of exploitation but also one of cultural survival and reinvention.

Parallel developments occurred in legal and imperial historiography. Andrea Major's "*Hill Coolies*": *Indian Indentured Labour and the Colonial Imagination, 1836–38* revealed how debates about Indian labour in New South Wales prefigured the racial logic that would later underpin indenture.¹⁹ She showed that imperial officials constructed the 'hill coolie' as both a civilizable subject and a racialized other, thus justifying coercion in the name of improvement. Sascha Auerbach's *Of Rights and Riots* extended this analysis to the late nineteenth century, demonstrating how the colonial judiciary maintained order through structural violence.²⁰ His study of the 1872 Devonshire Castle massacre in British Guiana illustrated how legal authority

¹⁶ Radica Mahase, "'Plenty a Dem Run Away': Indian Indentured Resistance in Trinidad, 1870 to 1920," in *Resistance and Indian Indenture Experience: Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Maurits S. Hassankhan, Brij V. Lal, and Doug Munro (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers & Distributors, 2014), 183–198.

¹⁷ Maurits S. Hassankhan, "The Indian Indentured Experience in Suriname: Control, Accommodation and Resistance," in *Resistance and Indian Indenture Experience: Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Maurits S. Hassankhan, Brij V. Lal, and Doug Munro (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers & Distributors, 2014), 199–215.

¹⁸ Ashwin Desai and Goolam Vahed, *Inside Indian Indenture: A South African Story, 1860–1914* (South Africa: HSRC Press, 2010).

¹⁹ Andrea Major, "'Hill Coolies': Indian Indentured Labour and the Colonial Imagination, 1836–38," *South Asian Studies* 33, no. 1 (2017): 23–36, <https://doi.org/10.1080/02666030.2017.1300374>

²⁰ Sascha Auerbach, "Of Rights and Riots: Indenture and (Mis)Rule in the Late Nineteenth-Century British Caribbean," *English Historical Review* 137, no. 589 (December 2022): 1470–1502, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ehr/cead002>

both enforced and concealed coercion.

Rachel Sturman explored the legal and ideological dimensions of the system.²¹ She located it within the evolution of modern labour law. She argued that debates about “free” labour in the nineteenth-century empire helped shape later international frameworks, including those of the International Labour Organization.

Drawing on folk songs, letters, and oral traditions, Ashutosh Kumar reconstructed how migrants expressed suffering, hope, and belonging.²² He argued that the experience should not be viewed as a rupture but as a continuation of long-standing practices of labour mobility within India. Kumar also examined how nationalist discourses turned the figure of the migrant woman into a symbol of moral virtue, erasing the complexity of her actual experience. His analysis of gendered representation exposed how both colonial and nationalist narratives used women’s bodies as moral terrain. By bringing folk culture and oral memory into academic study, Kumar reconnected historical scholarship with the lived worlds of the migrants.

Jonathan Connolly’s *Worthy of Freedom: Indenture and Free Labor in the Era of Emancipation* reframes indenture as central to the intellectual and legal history of post-slavery freedom.²³ Connolly argues that indenture was not merely a labour system but a state project that redefined freedom itself. By tracing how imperial ideology transformed coercion into a moralised vision of progress, he shows that the system’s normalisation reflected the entanglement of race, law, and liberal political economy.

Conclusion

Over two centuries, the interpretation of this global labour migration has undergone a remarkable transformation. The earliest accounts condemned it as a moral scandal. Mid-century scholars examined its economic logic and social outcomes. Later historians and anthropologists explored how migrants recreated communities, redefined gender roles, and resisted domination. Recent studies have moved further, linking the phenomenon to global

²¹ Rachel Sturman, “Indian Indentured Labor and the History of International Rights Regimes,” *American Historical Review* 119, no. 5 (December 2014): 1439–1465.

²² Ashutosh Kumar, *Coolies of the Empire: Indentured Indians in the Sugar Colonies, 1830–1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017)

²³ Jonathan Connolly, *Worthy of Freedom: Indenture and Free Labor in the Era of Emancipation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2024).

histories of law, ideology, and rights.

The trajectory of this scholarship mirrors changing historical consciousness, from moral outrage to social explanation, from structural critique to cultural empathy. Each stage reflects the concerns of its time: nineteenth-century humanitarianism, postcolonial nationalism, late-twentieth-century social history, and twenty-first-century global and cultural analysis.

What remains constant is the central question that first animated the debate: how to understand human movement under constraint. The story of these migrants continues to remind us that freedom and coercion are not opposites but conditions negotiated within unequal worlds. The scholars who have traced their journeys have, in turn, expanded our understanding of empire, migration, and the enduring struggle for dignity within systems of power.

Yet, despite these major advances, one fundamental aspect of indenture remains insufficiently studied: caste, particularly the experience of Dalits and other marginalised groups. While scholars have acknowledged caste in passing, it has seldom been treated as a central analytical category. The field continues to treat the Indian indentured labourer as a homogenous figure, masking the social stratification that shaped recruitment, work hierarchies, and community formation.

Dalits made up a significant portion of the emigrant population from North India, yet their specific experiences of exclusion, stigma, and adaptation remain largely absent from the record. The erasure is partly archival, as the colonial state seldom recorded caste systematically and partly historiographical. Recovering Dalit perspectives can reveal how caste operated as a transoceanic structure of inequality that intersected with race and empire. It can also illuminate how lower-caste migrants used the mobility of indenture to renegotiate dignity, labour, and belonging in new social worlds.

Addressing this gap is essential not only to complete the social history of indenture but also to rethink the global history of caste. It allows us to ask how caste hierarchies were reconstituted under imperial capitalism, how Dalit migrants forged solidarities across ethnic and religious lines, and how their experiences challenge prevailing narratives of slavery and freedom.

Bibliography

- Barrett, William Garland. *Corydon: Many Years a Resident in Jamaica and in British Guiana*. London: Gray and Warren, 1859. Cited in Ashutosh Kumar, *Coolies of the Empire: Indentured Indians in the Sugar Colonies, 1830–1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 1–4.
- Bates, Crispin. *Coerced and Migrant Labourers in India: The Colonial Experience*. *Edinburgh Papers in South Asian Studies*, no. 13. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 2000.
- Beaumont, Joseph. *The New Slavery: An Account of the Indian and Chinese Emigrants in British Guiana*. London, 1871. Cited in Ashutosh Kumar, *Coolies of the Empire: Indentured Indians in the Sugar Colonies, 1830–1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 1–4.
- Carter, Marina. *Servants, Sirdars and Settlers: Indians in Mauritius, 1834–1874*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- . *Voices from Indenture: Experience of Indian Migrants in the British Empire*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1996.
- Connolly, Jonathan. *Worthy of Freedom: Indenture and Free Labor in the Era of Emancipation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2024.
- Desai, Ashwin, and Goolam Vahed. *Inside Indian Indenture: A South African Story, 1860–1914*. South Africa: HSRC Press, 2010.
- Gillion, Kenneth L. *Fiji's Indian Migrants: A History to the End of Indenture in 1920*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962.
- Hassankhan, Maurits S. “The Indian Indentured Experience in Suriname: Control, Accommodation and Resistance.” In *Resistance and Indian Indenture Experience: Comparative Perspectives*, edited by Maurits S. Hassankhan, Brij V. Lal, and Doug Munro, 199–215. New Delhi: Manohar Publishers & Distributors, 2014.
- Jayawardena, Chandra. “Migration and Social Change: A Survey of Indian Communities Overseas.” *Geographical Review* 58, no. 3 (July 1968): 426–49.
- Jenkins, Edward. *The Coolie: His Rights and Wrongs*. New York: George Routledge and Sons, 1871. Cited in Ashutosh Kumar, *Coolies of the Empire: Indentured Indians in the Sugar Colonies, 1830–1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 1–4.
- Klass, Morton. *East Indians in Trinidad: A Study of Cultural Persistence*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1961.
- Kondapi, C. *Indians Overseas, 1838–1949*. New Delhi: Indian Council of World Affairs, Oxford University Press, 1951.

- Kumar, Ashutosh. *Coolies of the Empire: Indentured Indians in the Sugar Colonies, 1830–1920*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.
- Lal, Brij V. *Girmitiyas: The Origins of the Fiji Indians*. Lautoka: Fiji Institute of Applied Sciences, 2004. First published in 1983 by *The Journal of Pacific History*, Canberra.
- Look Lai, Walton. *Indentured Labor, Caribbean Sugar: Chinese and Indian Migrants to the British West Indies, 1838–1918*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.
- Mahase, Radica. “‘Plenty a Dem Run Away’: Indian Indentured Resistance in Trinidad, 1870 to 1920.” In *Resistance and Indian Indenture Experience: Comparative Perspectives*, edited by Maurits S. Hassankhan, Brij V. Lal, and Doug Munro, 183–198. New Delhi: Manohar Publishers & Distributors, 2014.
- Major, Andrea. “‘Hill Coolies’: Indian Indentured Labour and the Colonial Imagination, 1836–38.” *South Asian Studies* 33, no. 1 (2017): 23–36. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02666030.2017.1300374>.
- Northrup, David. *Indentured Labor in the Age of Imperialism, 1834–1922*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Roopnarine, Lomarsh. “Indo-Caribbean Migration: From Periphery to Core.” *Caribbean Quarterly* 49, no. 3 (September 2003): 30–60.
- Scoble, John. *British Guiana: Facts! Facts! Facts!* London: Johnson & Barrett Printers, 1840. Cited in Ashutosh Kumar, *Coolies of the Empire: Indentured Indians in the Sugar Colonies, 1830–1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).
- Sturman, Rachel. “Indian Indentured Labor and the History of International Rights Regimes.” *American Historical Review* 119, no. 5 (December 2014): 1439–1465.
- Tinker, Hugh. *A New System of Slavery: The Export of Indian Labour Overseas, 1830–1920*. London: Hansib Publishing Ltd, 1993. First published in 1974 by Oxford University Press for the Institute of Race Relations.