www.ijarp.com ISSN 2456-9992 Page: 01-13

International Journal Advanced Research Publications

Review Article

Volume: 02
Issue: 01

GIRMITIYA TO ROOTED COMMUNITY: JOURNEY OF THE INDIAN DIASPORA IN MAURITIUS

***Tushar Jauhari**

(Research Scholar) Department of Western History, University of Lucknow.

Article Received: 21 December 2025, Article Revised: 11 January 2026, Published on: 31 January 2026

***Corresponding Author: Tushar Jauhari**

(Research Scholar) Department of Western History, University of Lucknow.

DOI: https://doi-doi.org/101555/ijarp.8214

The narrative of the Indian diaspora in Mauritius exemplifies one of the most successful transformations in global migration history. Descendants of indentured laborers from India, who arrived primarily in the 19th century, now form the majority community on this island nation, constituting approximately 68% of the population of about 1.3 million.[1]

Mauritius, with no indigenous inhabitants, was successively settled by Europeans. The French developed sugar plantations using enslaved labor from Africa and Madagascar starting in 1715, while British rule from 1810 introduced the indentured system after the abolition of slavery in 1834.[2]

The first significant group of Indian laborers arrived on November 2, 1834, aboard the ship Atlas. Between 1834 and 1920, nearly 450,000 to 700,000 Indians reached Aapravasi Ghat in Port Louis, now a UNESCO World Heritage site symbolizing indentured migration.[3] Many stayed permanently, reshaping the island's demography and society. By the late 19th century, Indians outnumbered other groups, leading to their current majority status.

This journey from marginalized minority to dominant community involved overcoming exploitation, cultural adaptation, and political mobilization. Indo-Mauritians preserved elements of Indian heritage while contributing to Mauritius's multicultural identity, often called "Little India" or "Chhota Bharat."[4]

This article traces the indenture era, settlement processes, political rise, cultural preservation, economic impact, and contemporary dynamics, highlighting resilience and agency.

The indentured labor system emerged to replace enslaved workers after the 1833 British abolition of slavery, freeing around 65,000 people in Mauritius and creating a labor crisis on sugar estates.[5] Mauritius served as the primary destination, receiving the largest number of Indian indentured workers among British colonies.[6]

Laborers, mostly from Bihar, Uttar Pradesh (Bhojpuri speakers), Tamil Nadu, and Andhra Pradesh, were recruited with promises of prosperity but often deceived.[7] The voyage across the "kala pani" (black waters) lasted 6-8 weeks, with high mortality rates.[8]

At Aapravasi Ghat, immigrants faced registration and medical checks before assignment to plantations. Contracts lasted five years, promising wages, housing, and return passage, but conditions involved grueling work (12-14 hours daily), low pay, corporal punishment, and poor living standards.[9] Women, initially a minority (around 11-25%), faced additional exploitation.[10]

The system disrupted caste structures and imposed spiritual taboos for Hindus. Debt bondage extended many contracts.[11] Resistance included strikes and desertions, leading to reforms in the 1840s.[12]

Indenture ended around 1920, but its legacy persists in Mauritius's sugar economy and Indo-Mauritian society. Arrival Day (November 2) commemorates this history.[13]

Following the end of their indenture contracts, Indian immigrants faced a critical choice: exercise their right to a return passage to India or accept a plot of land in Mauritius and become permanent settlers. The majority, approximately two-thirds, chose to stay. This decision marked the transition from a transient labour force (girmitiyas) to a rooted community, initiating a complex process of cultural adaptation, economic struggle, and social reformation that laid the foundation for future political ascendancy.

The first generation who settled outside the plantation barracks were known as the Vieux Immigrés or "Old Immigrants." Their settlement pattern was dictated by availability and economics. They could not afford the prime, fertile lands held by the sugar estates. Instead, they occupied the interstices of the plantation economy rocky hillsides, flood-prone riverbanks, and less accessible plots in the island's interior, often referred to as the campagne (countryside). [14]

- **Timeline of Land Acquisition:**
  - 1853: Colonial Ordinance grants an indemnity of five pounds sterling or a plot of crown land in lieu of a return passage to India, a policy formalized in the 1856 Indian Immigration Act. This is the legal catalyst for permanent settlement.
  - 1860s-1880s: The first major wave of settlement. Ex-indentured labourers used their savings to purchase or claim small plots. Villages like Triolet, Cottage, Lalmatie, and Dagotière begin to take shape, often named after the original estate or a geographical feature.

- 1870s-1890s: The growth of the metayer (sharecropper) system, where Indians farmed cane on estate land for a share of the profit, creating a semi-dependent peasantry. As historian Marina Carter notes, this system was a double-edged sword:
- "The metayage system… enabled the ex-indentured to achieve a measure of independence from direct wage labour, but it also tied them inextricably to the sugar economy and the planters' fortunes." [15]

A compelling case study is the village of Triolet, which grew to become one of the longest village stretches in Mauritius. Initially a settlement of freed slaves (affranchis), it was rapidly populated by Indian immigrants from the 1860s onward. They established small-scale sugarcane farms, vegetable gardens (légumes), and later, shops and artisanal workshops. The 1872 Maheswarnath Shiv Shakti Temple, one of the oldest in Mauritius, was built here, signalling both community consolidation and the public assertion of Hindu identity. Its construction, funded by small contributions from labourers and traders, exemplifies the collective effort that underpinned community formation.

Life in the campagne was arduous. Housing evolved from the flimsy lacazes of the plantation to simple wooden or wattle-and-daub structures with thatched vacoa (pandanus) roofs. The family unit became the central economic cell, with women playing crucial roles not only in domestic work and child-rearing but also in market gardening, livestock rearing, and petty trade.

The social world of the immigrants was in flux. The rigid caste hierarchies of India were difficult to maintain in the new environment. As anthropologist Oddvar Hollup's research in rural Mauritius demonstrates, "The disintegration of caste… was a direct consequence of the indenture experience. On the plantations, Brahmins and Chamars (an 'untouchable' caste) lived in the same barracks, worked side by side, and faced the same oppression." While caste endogamy and certain ritual practices persisted, the social order was fundamentally flattened, giving rise to a more egalitarian, though still patriarchal, community structure.

This period also saw intense internal cultural debates and reform movements. The Arya Samaj, a Hindu reformist sect from North India, arrived in Mauritius in the early 1900s. It challenged "superstitious" practices, idol worship, and the authority of traditional Brahmins, advocating for a return to the Vedas, women's education, and the abandonment of caste. [16] This created fissures within the Hindu community between Sanatanists (traditionalists) and Arya Samajists. A notable case is the activist Pandit Sahadeo, who, influenced by the

Arya Samaj, traveled from village to village conducting fiery lectures and shastrarthas (theological debates), establishing schools, and mobilizing the rural Hindu populace towards a more assertive and "purified" identity. As one colonial observer quoted by S. Deerpalsingh noted, "The Arya Samaj preacher is a force to be reckoned with in the campagne; he is the educator and the politician for the illiterate labourer."

Community cohesion was forged through newly established institutions. The most visible were religious structures.

- Temples and Mosques: The construction of a mandir or masjid was a communal project that bound settlers together. The Shri Siva Subramanya Thirukovil in Triolet (consecrated 1899) and the Jummah Mosque in Port Louis (built 1850s, expanded by the Gujarati merchant community) stand as architectural testaments to this era. They were not just places of worship but also community centres, schools, and sites for resolving disputes. [17]
- The Batika (Hindu School): Parallel to Christian missionary schools, the Hindu community began establishing batikas. These were often simple structures attached to a temple, where a pandit or literate community member taught children basic Hindi (in Devanagari or Kaithi script), arithmetic, and religious texts. The batika was crucial for cultural preservation. Patrick Eisenlohr, in Little India, argues that these schools became "key sites for the production of an ethnolinguistic identity… linking language and religious practice in a project of cultural conservation against the pressures of Creolization."
- Cultural Associations: Organizations like the Hindu Maha Sabha (founded 1912) and the Hindi Pracharini Sabha emerged to coordinate religious festivals, promote Hindi education, and represent community interests to the colonial government. The annual Maha Shivaratri pilgrimage to Grand Bassin, which began as a small gathering in the 1890s, was institutionalized by these groups into a massive national event, symbolizing the sacred geography of the diaspora.

While tied to sugarcane, the Indian settlement also developed a proto-diversified economy. The campagne became a hub for:

- Market Gardening: Cultivation of tomatoes, potatoes, eggplants, and pulses for sale in urban markets.
- Artisanship: Blacksmiths, carpenters, tailors, and basket-weavers served local needs.
- Petty Commerce: Small shops (boutiks) selling dry goods, kerosene, and cloth emerged, often run by women or retired labourers.

This created a resilient, if poor, village economy. The "Indian village" model a dense network of kinship ties, shared religious practice, and mixed agro-commercial activity became the social bedrock of the diaspora. It was in these villages that a distinct Mauritian Bhojpuri dialect solidified, incorporating Creole, French, and English loanwords, and where syncretic cultural forms, like the Sega Tipik with Bhojpuri lyrics, sometimes emerged. [18]

In conclusion, the period of settlement and community formation was a crucible. Out of the dislocation of indenture, the Indian diaspora consciously constructed a new world in the campagne. Through the collective purchase of land, the building of institutions, and the vigorous debate over their own identity, they transformed from a scattered labour force into a cohesive, rooted, and increasingly self-aware community. This provided the demographic concentration, social networks, and cultural confidence necessary for the political struggles that would define the 20th century. They were no longer coolies of the plantation but habitants of their own villages, laying the indispensable groundwork for their journey from a minority labour class to a majority nation-builders.

Political awakening began in the early 20th century, influenced by leaders like Manilal Doctor and Gandhi's 1901 visit.[20]

- 1901: A young Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, en route to India from South Africa, spends two weeks in Mauritius. He addresses the Indian community, urging unity, education, and political self-respect. While not an immediate catalyst, this visit planted a seed. As historian Burton Benedict notes, "Gandhi's brief stopover… provided a distant but potent symbol of Indian nationalism that would later be invoked by Mauritian leaders." [19]
- 1907-1911: Manilal Doctor's Radical Agitation. Sent by Gandhi in 1907, the fiery Gujarati barrister Manilal Doctor became the spark for organized political consciousness. He founded the newspaper The Hindustani and the Mauritius Indian Congress. He championed labour rights and attacked the indentured system. In a 1909 editorial, he wrote: "The time has come for the children of India in this colony to awake from their lethargy… You are not hewers of wood and drawers of water; you are British subjects with rights."[20] His activism led to his deportation in 1911, but he had ignited a lasting political flame.
- 1930s-1940s: The Franchise Struggle. The educated Indo-Mauritian elite, including Dr. Laurent R. Ramlallah and Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, focused on the fundamental issue of voting rights. They framed it as a moral and imperial duty. In a 1935 petition to the Colonial Office, Ramgoolam argued, "A vast majority of the permanent population is

denied any share in the government of the country… This is incompatible with the professed principles of British justice." The struggle was met with fierce resistance from the Franco-Creole elite, who feared the loss of privilege.

- 1948: The Constitutional Revolution. The 1947 London Constitutional Conference was a decisive turning point. The British, influenced by post-war decolonization winds and the strength of the Labour Party's delegation, agreed to significant reforms. Universal adult suffrage based on literacy was introduced in 1948. This single act transformed the political landscape overnight. Adele Simmons writes: "The 1948 election was a revolution. The Indian population, particularly rural Hindus, formed an overwhelming majority of the new electorate. Political power had shifted irreversibly." [21]

The 1965 London Conference & the Road to Independence

The conference to decide Mauritius's constitutional future was a tense, high-stakes drama. The Labour Party coalition (Labour, IFB, CAM) demanded full independence. The opposition PMSD, led by Gaetan Duval, campaigned for integration with Britain to avoid, as they claimed, "Hindu domination."

- Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam's Strategy: Ramgoolam presented a vision of a peaceful, multi-ethnic democracy within the Commonwealth. He assured protection for minority rights and promised an inclusive government. Key to his argument was economic viability, leveraging plans for diversification beyond sugar.
- The British Calculation: As Larry Bowman details, "The UK was persuaded by Ramgoolam's moderate stance and by the stark demographic reality. Maintaining control over a colony where over two-thirds of the population demanded independence was untenable." Furthermore, the strategic value of the island had diminished with the loss of the Suez Canal route.
- The Outcome: The British government decided in favour of independence, setting the date for March 1968. The 1967 elections became a referendum on this decision, which the pro-independence coalition won. This case study highlights how the Indo-Mauritian political leadership successfully navigated both colonial negotiations and fierce internal opposition to achieve sovereignty.

  Since independence, political power has predominantly resided with leaders of Indian origin, but the dynamics have evolved significantly.
- The Ramgoolam Era (1968-1982): Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam served as Prime Minister for 14 years, establishing a model of c**onsociationa**l politics power-sharing

among ethnic elites. His cabinets always included Creole and Muslim ministers. His rule solidified state support for Indo-Mauritian culture but was later criticized for economic stagnation and authoritarian tendencies.

- The 1982 Upheaval: The landmark victory of the MMM/MSM alliance, which won all 60 seats, ended Labour's monopoly. It proved that the Indian-descended electorate would vote based on economic grievance and charisma (Anerood Jugnauth) as much as ethnic loyalty. Henry Srebrnik observes: "The 1982 election shattered the myth of a monolithic Hindu vote. It introduced a new volatility and the possibility of cross-ethnic alliances based on ideology." [22]
- The Jugnauth Presidencies and Rotating Premiership: Sir Anerood Jugnauth, as Finance Minister and later Prime Minister, engineered the "Mauritian Miracle," diversifying the economy into textiles, tourism, and financial services. The most symbolic moment in power-sharing came with the 2000-2005 MSM/MMM coalition agreement. As per the pact, Jugnauth (Hindu) served as Prime Minister for three years before handing over to Paul Bérenger (Franco-Mauritian) in 2003. Sheila Bunwaree notes this was "a historic, if ultimately fraught, experiment intended to demonstrate that ultimate executive power in Mauritius was not the exclusive patrimony of the Hindu majority." [23]

Indo-Mauritians have shaped Mauritian culture, with Hinduism practiced by about 48% of the population.[24] Festivals, cuisine (e.g., dholl puri), and Bollywood influences blend with local elements.[25]

Hinduism, practiced by about 48% of the population, is the island's major religion and a profound cultural force. Its practice is distinctly Mauritian.

The Maha Shivaratri Pilgrimage to Grand Bassin. What began in the late 19th century with a few devotees recognizing the crater lake's resemblance to the Ganges has become the largest Hindu pilgrimage outside India. Over 500,000 people annually walk for days to the site, now named Ganga Talao. Patrick Eisenlohr, in his study of Mauritian Hinduism, states: "Grand Bassin is not merely a replica of a Hindu tirtha (pilgrimage site). It is a powerful symbol of territorializing the sacred, of making the Mauritian landscape intrinsically Hindu. The pilgrimage is a performative act of belonging that links geography, faith, and national identity." The state fully supports it, declaring it a public holiday and providing infrastructure, illustrating the fusion of majority culture with public policy.

Language, Cuisine, and Popular Culture

- Language: While Creole (Kreol) is the universal vernacular, ancestral languages like Bhojpuri, Hindi, Tamil, and Urdu are preserved through music, films, and religious instruction. This creates a unique multilingual reality. As Thomas Hylland Eriksen puts it: "The average Hindu Mauritian may pray in Sanskrit, watch Bollywood films in Hindi, converse with friends in Creole, read the newspaper in French, and conduct official business in English. This linguistic repertoire is a core part of their layered identity."
- Cuisine – The Case of Dholl Puri: This now-ubiquitous street food a thin, split-pea-filled flatbread served with curry epitomizes cultural syncretism. It originated as an adaptation of the dal-puri from Bihar, but its evolution into the national fast food, eaten by Mauritians of all backgrounds, tells a story of adaptation and adoption. It is a culinary symbol of how a diasporic staple was transformed in the new land and eventually claimed by the entire nation. Scholar Venni Krishnan notes it represents "the journey from the camp kitchens of indentured labourers to the bustling camions (food trucks) of modern Port Louis, a tasty testament to creolization."
- Bollywood and Music: Bollywood's influence is omnipresent, shaping fashion, music, and aesthetic values. However, it is locally reprocessed. The genre of Mauritian Sega music, originally of African origin, has been profoundly influenced by Indian film music, giving rise to a sub-genre sometimes called "Sega Bollywood" or "Modern Sega," which uses Indian melodic structures and instruments like the tabla. This fusion demonstrates a two-way cultural exchange, where the majority diaspora influences the national Creole culture, which in turn adapts and absorbs those influences. Laura Jeffery observes, "The soundscape of Mauritius is a perfect metaphor for its society: the driving rhythm of the African-origin ravanne drum seamlessly underpinning melodies and harmonies derived from Indian film music." [26]

The economic transformation of the Indo-Mauritian community from a bonded labour force to the dominant drivers of the national economy is a cornerstone of Mauritius's "miracle." This ascendancy progressed through distinct, overlapping phases: from small-scale planters, to industrial entrepreneurs, and finally to leaders in globalized finance and technology.

Timeline of Economic Ascendancy:

- 1834-1910: Indentured labourers, working for subsistence wages on sugar estates.

- 1910-1968: Due to the efforts of Manilal Doctor, the cruelty and inhumanity associated with the indenture system diluted. This period saw the rise of the petit planteur (small sugarcane farmer) and the entry into petty trade, teaching, and the lower civil service.
- 1970s: The establishment of the Export Processing Zone (EPZ) provides mass employment and creates the first generation of Indo-Mauritian factory managers and owners, particularly in textiles.
- 1980s-1990s: Aggressive economic diversification under Prime Minister Anerood Jugnauth opens opportunities in tourism, offshore banking, and financial services. Indo-Mauritian capital moves decisively into corporate ownership.
- 2000s-Present: Dominance in high-tech sectors (ICT, Business Process Outsourcing) and consolidation of control over major conglomerates, strengthening economic ties with India as a strategic partner.

The trajectory of the Mauritius Commercial Bank (MCB), now the island's largest financial institution, is symbolic. Founded in 1838 by Franco-Mauritian sugar barons, it was the epitome of colonial economic power. Post-Independence, through a gradual process of share acquisition and strategic leadership, it came under the control of Indo-Mauritian business interests, most notably the Jugnauth family. This mirrors the broader shift in the sugar industry itself. As historian William Storey notes, "After independence, the break-up of large estates and sales to Indian Mauritians… transformed the social landscape of the countryside. The former coolie was now, in many cases, the landlord." This was facilitated by government schemes and the exodus of some Franco-Mauritian capital. The Medine Sugar Estate, for example, while historically Franco-owned, now has significant local (including Indo-Mauritian) shareholder participation, reflecting a more indigenized capitalism.

Case Study 2: The EPZ and Entrepreneurial Birth

The Export Processing Zone (EPZ), established in 1970, was the catalyst for industrial entrepreneurship. It created a demand for local subcontractors and managers. Ciel Textile Ltd., founded by the Groupe des Deux Iles (GDI) which has strong Indo-Mauritian familial leadership, grew from an EPZ garment manufacturer into a diversified group with interests in textiles, finance, and renewable energy. Economist Arvind Subramanian highlights this link: "The success of the EPZ… created a class of indigenous entrepreneurs who learned by doing. Their skills in managing global supply chains… later proved invaluable in diversifying into services." Another example is Rising Sun Bakery, started by the Mohabeer family in the

1970s, which leveraged the growing urban workforce's needs to become a national food production conglomerate.

On the economic strategy: Deborah Brautigam writes, "Mauritius's leaders, particularly Sir Anerood Jugnauth, pursued a pragmatic, non-ideological development path. They used the EPZ to create jobs, then ploughed the proceeds into education and infrastructure, and finally leveraged their dual African and Indian heritage to build a services hub."

On the diaspora's role in bilateral ties: The India-Mauritius Double Taxation Avoidance Agreement (DTAA), first signed in 1983, is a keystone. Srebrnik observes, "The DTAA, often debated, made Port Louis a critical conduit for Indian-bound foreign investment. This was not an accident, but a function of deep interpersonal networks and a shared legal-cultural understanding nurtured by the diaspora's political dominance." The 2016 amendment to the DTAA, negotiated with diaspora leaders playing a key advisory role, demonstrates the community's ongoing central function in shaping economic diplomacy.

Achieving demographic, political, and economic pre-eminence has not rendered the Indo-Mauritian community immune to profound challenges. These exist at the societal, cultural, and environmental levels, testing the resilience of the multicultural model they now lead.

Despite constitutional safeguards and a power-sharing political culture, underlying tensions persist. The perception of a "Hindu ceiling" in both the public and private sectors fuels resentment among Creole communities. Sociologist Thomas Hylland Eriksen notes: "The shift from colonial hierarchy to democratic demography has not eliminated ethnic stratification. Creoles often feel excluded from the networks of economic patronage that are perceived to flow along ethnic lines, leading to periodic social explosions, as seen in the 1999 riots following the death of the popular Creole singer, Kaya."

The "Best Loser System" Debate. This constitutional mechanism, designed to ensure ethnic minority representation in Parliament, is a perpetual flashpoint. While it guarantees multi-ethnicity, it also legally enshrines communal categories. Scholar Sheila Bunwaree argues: "The Best Loser System is both the glue that holds the plural society together and the mirror that reflects its deepest divisions. Calls for its abolition by some Indo-Mauritian leaders are seen by minorities as a move toward majoritarian absolutism."

Globalization connects the diaspora to a vibrant, globalized Hindu culture but also threatens local linguistic and cultural specificity.

The Case of Bhojpuri and Bollywood. Mauritian Bhojpuri, the historic lingua franca of the indentured, is declining among the youth, replaced by Creole, French, and English. Simultaneously, satellite television and streaming services amplify the influence of Indian (particularly Hindi) pop culture. Patrick Eisenlohr's research finds: "The 'Hindi' now promoted in media and some religious contexts is a modern, standardized, pan-Indian version, distinct from the Mauritian Bhojpuri of the plantations. This creates a generational rift and reorients cultural aspirations towards a transnational, mediated India, sometimes at the expense of uniquely Mauritian syncretic traditions."

As an island nation, Mauritius faces severe threats from sea-level rise, coral bleaching, and intensified cyclones. The economic assets built by the diaspora are acutely vulnerable.

The 2020 Wakashio Oil Spill. The grounding of the bulk carrier off Mauritius's southeast coast, polluting pristine lagoons, was a national trauma. It highlighted the fragility of the tourism and fishing sectors, both employing many Indo-Mauritians. Environmental activist and poet Khal Torabully connects this to the diaspora's history: "Our ancestors crossed the kala pani (black waters) seeking survival. Now, the ocean we have lived alongside for generations is rising against us, demanding a new form of resilience. The environmental challenge is the next great chapter in our community's narrative of adaptation."[27]

To conclude we may say,the journey of the Indian diaspora in Mauritius is a 190-year epic of human resilience and adaptive triumph. It is a story that moves from the holds of the Atlas to the boardrooms of Port Louis's cyber-towers, from the camp to the Cabinet. The community's trajectory was not inevitable. It was forged through deliberate collective action: the fight for political rights (franchise, independence), the pursuit of cultural capital (education, institutional building), and the seizure of economic opportunity (from petit planteur to EPZ entrepreneur). As Burton Benedict concluded, "The Hindus of Mauritius… have used the ballot box to achieve peacefully what many majorities elsewhere have sought through violence."

REFERENCES

1. Allen, R. B., "Slaves, Freedmen, and Indentured Laborers in Colonial Mauritius",Cambridge University Press, Cambridge,1992, pp. 45–72.
2. Carter, M.," Servants, Sirdars and Settlers: Indians in Mauritius, 1834–1874". Oxford University Press, Delhi.1995, pp. 67–95.

3. Carter, M., & Ng Foong Kwong, J. "Forging the Rainbow: Labour Immigrants in British Mauritius". Alfran Co. Ltd., Mauritius, 1997, pp. 23–54.
4. Mishra, A. K., "Mauritius", National Book Trust, New Delhi, 2009, pp. 55–78.
5. Allen, op.cit, pp.167-172.
6. Carter, op.cit, pp. 67–95.
7. Mishra, A. K.,"*Indian Indentured Labourers in Mauritius"*. Studies in History, 2009,pp.229–251.
8. Tinker, H. "A New System of Slavery: The Export of Indian Labour Overseas 1830-1920". Oxford University Press. 1974, pp. 210–245.
9. Carter, op.cit, pp. 67–95.
10. Carter, M."Across the Kalapani: The Bihari Presence in Mauritius", Centre for Research on Indian Ocean Societies, London. 2000, pp. 41–68.
11. Allen, op.cit, pp. 45–72.
12. Carter, op.cit, pp. 67–95.
13. Durgahee, R. "The Indentured Archipelago: Experiences of Indian Labour in Mauritius and Fiji, 1871–1916", Cambridge University Press. 2022, pp. 101–134.
14. Carter, M., & Ng Foong Kwong, J. "Forging the Rainbow: Labour Immigrants in British Mauritius". Alfran Co. Ltd., Mauritius.1997, pp. 23–54.
15. Allen, R. B. op.cit, pp. 123–140.
16. Carter, op.cit, pp. 67–95.
17. Mishra, A. K., "Mauritius",National Book Trust, 2009.
18. Eisenlohr, P. "Little India: Diaspora, Belonging, and Multiculturalism in Mauritius", University of California Press, 2006, pp. 89–118.
19. Mathur, H. P. "Parliament in Mauritius". Editions de l'Océan Indien", 1991, (pp. 33, 155-160).
20. Houbert, J., " Mauritius: The politics of change",pp. 91-109. (p. 98).1983
21. Jeffery, L., & Rosario, M.,"The politics of Hindu nationalism in Mauritius". Asian Ethnicity, 2016, 17(3), pp.365-370).
22. North-Coombes, M.D., "The island of Mauritius: Studies in applied geography", Standard Printing Establishment,1937, pp. 45-50.
23. Ramgoolam, S. *Petition to the Right Honourable James Henry Thomas, Secretary of State for the Colonies* (Colonial Office Records, CO 167/890/12). The National Archives,

UK, 1935, November 12. Colonial Office and predecessors: Mauritius, Original Correspondence (CO 167) Accessed on 25.12.2025

24. Census data referenced in Allen (1999) and Mishra (2009).

25. Eisenlohr, op.cit, pp. 89–118.

26. The Hindustani. (1909, March 10). An appeal to the Indian subjects. The Hindustani, p. https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/ (Accessed on 23.09.2025)

27. Carter, M., & Ng Foong Kwong, J. "Forging the Rainbow: Labour Immigrants in British Mauritius". Alfran Co. Ltd., Mauritius.1997, pp. 23–54.