



REVIEW ESSAY

Britain's Anglo-Indians: The Invisibility of Assimilation

Uther Charlton-Stevens

Rochelle Almeida. *Britain's Anglo-Indians: The Invisibility of Assimilation*. Lexington Books, 2017. 240 pages.

Rochelle Almeida's *Britain's Anglo-Indians: The Invisibility of Assimilation* (2017) is a landmark addition to the burgeoning field of Anglo-Indian studies. It makes a timely and essential contribution to our understanding of the postcolonial Anglo-Indian diaspora. Building on the prior path breaking work of Alison Blunt (2005), Almeida set herself perhaps the hardest task, of undertaking an in-depth study of – as her title suggests – the least visible (and most sparsely documented) of the three largest groups within what is now a global diaspora, namely those Anglo-Indians who migrated 'home' to the imperial metropole. Generations of Anglo-Indians, from the gradual formation of the group socially and politically, and though subject to various designations (both ascribed and self-asserted) and more or less comfortable with inclusion within a largely endogamous ethnic group, had identified themselves with Britain as home and as 'fatherland' to varying degrees, whether or not they had ever left India, the land of their birth.

Almeida's introduction furnishes an impressive overview and sets out her key thesis that Anglo-Indians who settled in the UK should be considered to have formed 'a hybrid sub-culture... [of] British Anglo-Indianness' developing along distinct lines from those who remained in India or migrated to other parts of the world, especially Australia and Canada (p. 15). This is an entirely persuasive and important thesis. However, Anglo-Indian culture and identity was multifaceted and not always fully

formulated upon arrival in the UK, having been highly contested amidst the history of late colonial India and during decolonisation and the decades which followed independence. We might further question whether, in addition to the individual and familial reasons for migration, there were generalised differences between those Anglo-Indians who opted to migrate to Britain as against other sub-groups within the broader diaspora.

In the first two chapters Almeida documents the Anglo-Indian 'mass exodus... to Great Britain' facilitated and policed by the British Nationality Act of 1948 (p. 21). Working with many of the main archival sources (housed at the National Archives at Kew and the British Library) on Anglo-Indian migration to the UK, she discusses the difficulties of obtaining documentary evidence to meet the formal requirements of British legislation for the registration of British statuses and the obtaining of British passports. More revealingly she analyses the way that colour prejudice against Anglo-Indian would-be-migrants factored into a process which was presented as being merely a question of law. She also recognises and dissects class, occupational and socioeconomic differences as a British measure of assessing the desirability of the individual would-be-migrants whose numbers British officialdom sought to restrict. Building on the prior work of Alison Blunt and Lionel Caplan (2001), Almeida highlights important points, such as the collusion of British, Indian and Pakistani passport authorities to frustrate Anglo-Indian attempts to obtain South Asian passports for emigration, where they were ineligible or unable to secure British travel documents (pp. 32-4). In the case of British government 'assisted passages' for emigrants she could not locate interviewees who corroborated the archival evidence of their use (to assist 'over 2,500 families'), perhaps as the result of being 'inhibited by pride', but her interview evidence furnishes Anglo-Indian voices on the processes and difficulties of migration which are largely missing from the colonial (and postcolonial) archive (pp. 34-5). One excellent and expressive example of this comes from:

an 83-year old former secretary from Perivale who had emigrated from Bhusaval in 1952 [who] said, "Considering how hostile the officials were to us and how difficult they made it to leave India and to settle in this country, you'd think we were a bunch of thugs rather than hard-working, morally upright Christian men and women who had served the Empire well and only wished to be rewarded for our loyalty." (pp. 22-3)

Brief discussion of the fate of Anglo-Indians seeking emigration from Pakistan, who had been redesignated as Anglo-Pakistanis, as well as the closely interrelated 'Anglo-Burmese' group whose members included ethnic Anglo-Indians who had earlier been redesignated as Anglo-Burmans at the time of Burmese constitutional separation from India in 1935, significantly strengthens Almeida's analysis. However, this could have been usefully extended to cover the so-called 'Dunbar Ruling' of 1949 which dramatically relaxed the documentary requirements for Anglo-Indians and Anglo-Burmans in Burma whose 'father or paternal grandfather [had been] born in British territory outside Burma', which was usually either British India or an Indian (Princely) State (National Archives, UK: R. Dunbar, Foreign Office, London, to R. Bowker, Rangoon, 13 October 1949, FO/643/140). It suggests that in the face of a credible threat to these groups from ethnonationalist Asian politicians, British consular officials, and even the usually unmovable Home Office, could be persuaded to take a more sympathetic approach. Nonetheless, Almeida is right to conclude that 'on the Indian sub-continent' itself, 'from 1954 onward, the British government no longer felt any obligation toward people of mixed-racial descent... and recurrently distanced themselves from any involvement with their desire to migrate' (p. 38).

Another facet of the Anglo-Indian experience, which Almeida foregrounds in chapter two, and which has been insufficiently recognised, is the psychological impact of Partition violence on Anglo-Indians. It seems to have been generally assumed that Anglo-Indians were neither principle targets nor direct victims of the deluge of communal killings which took place around the time of independence. Even under that assumption their reaction to observing such violence could have rationally been fears for their own future safety, a possibility which has hardly been explored by previous scholarship. The one notable exception is to be found in Dorothy McMenemy's article on 'The Curious Exclusion Of Anglo-Indians From Mass Slaughter During The Partition Of India', which upholds this general assumption, concluding, on the basis of thirty-eight interviews, that despite their proximity to the violence Anglo-Indians themselves remained 'physically untouched' (IJAIS, v. 9, no. 1, 2006). Nonetheless Almeida emphasises that, given the role of so many Anglo-Indian men driving the trains which were attacked with passengers being slaughtered so that 'ghost trains' would arrive at stations filled with dead bodies, and with so many families living in railway colonies, news of such:

brutal atrocities would have circulated widely in Anglo-Indian communities... [and] members of the community wondered when the tide of communal hatred would turn against them. Many lived in trepidation for when they, too, would be hunted down and eradicated. (p. 64)

Almeida's analysis of the resentment and 'animus' towards Anglo-Indians in their role as members of the Auxiliary Force buttressing colonial rule, and as strikebreakers through to the postcolonial railway and tramway services, is astute. Yet neither this nor the limited evidence she is able to present seem to go far enough to justify her assertion that 'some Anglo-Indians were as much victimized by the racial and communal conflict... as were their Hindu, Muslim and Sikh counterparts' (p. 14). Echoing McMenamin, she is able to cite at least one case of Anglo-Indians concealing their servants from a mob of another communal group intent on murder (p. 63), but another example of a young employee of the Calcutta Tramway Company whose fear of 'very aggressive' trade unionist co-workers becoming 'physically violent' is distinct from Partition itself (p. 67). Nonetheless, taken together, with some entirely plausible conjecture, Almeida succeeds in establishing her main point – that some Anglo-Indian emigrants should be analytically classed as refugees.

By structuring much of her analysis thematically in accordance with 'the Four Stages of Race-Relations developed first by Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess' Almeida achieves both coherence and theoretical rigour. Chapters three to six explore the British Anglo-Indian experience through the prism of each of these stages – competition, conflict, adjustment/accommodation, and assimilation/integration, respectively. Chapter three observes that 'most First Wave Anglo-Indian settlers began their lives in the UK as live-in guests of relatives, friends or former neighbors' (p. 74). Even though this usually proved a temporary 'stopgap arrangement', it mirrored the experience of British Pakistani migrants as observed by other scholars such as Shinder S. Thandi, resulting in chain migration and the creation of ethnic enclaves (or 'ghettos') (p.74).

Though Almeida gives fascinating examples of Anglo-Indians who settled outside of London, some in rural areas, it is clear from her account that the most notable 'Anglo-Indian pockets are still found mainly on the periphery of the city's M25 – the Ring Motorway that encircles Greater London' and in the 'in-between spaces that

comprise London suburbia', especially Wembley, Sudbery, Ealing, Acton, Perivale, Greenford, Norwood and Croydon (pp. 75-7). We are poignantly reminded of the disillusionment that Anglo-Indians arriving in Britain felt when their 'middle class domestic expectations' (p. 77) of superior accommodation and employment were met with the harsh realities of an unfamiliar cold climate, an insular and largely unfriendly host population, a colour bar to jobs equivalent to those they had or might have held in South Asia, and to finding reasonable accommodation even within what should have been possible with their limited financial means.

As in Blunt's earlier work we see the difficulties for women used to servants (p. 177), having to adjust not only to unaccustomed levels of domestic labour but often combining this with childcare and a greater propensity to work outside the home than most classes of local British women. This had been the case for Anglo-Indian women in India relative to both colonial British women and to the vast majority of Indian women of other communities. Usually arriving in Britain with 'advanced office management and secretarial skills' including 'competence in shorthand, typewriting and telephone operating', they sometimes rose from the 'typing pools... to managerial positions in prestigious companies' (p. 97). Some also did well in employment for local government. However, teachers found their Indian qualifications unrecognised, and reluctance to employ married women left those with husbands and children with few options beyond 'part-time factory positions' (p. 99).

Yet in Almeida's study we also learn more about the struggles of Anglo-Indian male migrants, whether as bachelors living in overcrowded shared accommodation under arrangements which she compares with that of contemporary Polish migrant workers in the UK, and as family men learning to do manual labour in the workplace and the home for the first time. Incidents of depression brought on by profound status loss, embarrassment and an unwillingness to share the realities of what they needed to do in work and home life to make ends meet with other Anglo-Indians in Britain, and to an even greater extent with friends and relatives back in India, were a shared (if variable) experience of Anglo-Indians of both genders. Despite arriving with respectable Indian qualifications, a high level of competence in English as their mother tongue, and having performed in skilled and managerial roles in South Asia, Anglo-Indian men arriving in Britain were fortunate to obtain employment in menial

roles, on the factory-floor, or in the most junior starting positions in the more familiar railway and transport services. The diligent few attended night schools and availed themselves of 'day release' from work to attend further education and training. Some did succeed in 'climb[ing] up the corporate ladder' or ascending into middle management, though this bred resentment among British colleagues and jealousy from fellow Anglo-Indians.

Discussions of conflict in chapter two largely centre on marital strategies, such as on the one hand the 'majority' view that endogamy (marriage within the group) would provide 'cultural affinity' for the couple, and on the other the desire of many Anglo-Indians to marry white Britons, an aim which was achieved only in a minority of cases (p. 111). There was, however, more continuity with the aspirations and hypergamous marriage strategies pursued by Anglo-Indians than Almeida seems to recognise. Anglo-Indian women, for example, in the late colonial period and during wartime service as nurses or in the WAC(I) came into contact with larger numbers of Allied servicemen, British and American, not inculcated in the socioracial hierarchy of, and socio-racial closure against, those of mixed descent under the Raj. It may be that interviewees were not entirely forthright about such ambitions when they failed. It is also possible that though Almeida interviews 'First Wave' Anglo-Indian emigrants, some of the older generation of these settlers had already passed on when she began her research. It should not be underestimated how much difference in cultural outlook would exist for every additional five year period lived as an adult under colonial rule. This point however, only emphasises the importance of Almeida's achievement in having conducted so many interviews during a crucial period with such a wide range of British Anglo-Indians whose testimonies and life stories might otherwise have been lost to us.

Almeida's extensive and skilful deployment of quotations from her interviewees is one of the main strengths of the work, helping her to achieve the often elusive goal of Anglo-Indians speaking for themselves, in their own voices, about their lived experience. From a historian's perspective however there is a drawback to this and to the predominantly postcolonial focus of her study, which is that, occasionally owing to understandable misconceptions of interviewees themselves, some inadvertent errors of fact as regards Anglo-Indian history have tended to creep in.

Misconceptions within a group about its own history are of course often interesting and intrinsically noteworthy in themselves for what they tell us about lived experience and the construction of identity and of the past as well as individual and collective memory. It is not surprising for example that one of her interviewees believed that the category of schools often referred to as Anglo-Indian schools prior to independence 'had been founded by the Anglo-Indians' (p. 55). In fact, with the exception of the Parental Academy set up by community leaders early in the 19th Century, almost all schools thus designated had been set up by British philanthropists, or colonial and religious-denominational authorities. Only one of the three Frank Anthony Public Schools had been established before this interviewee emigrated in 1962.

Nonetheless Almeida's impressively detailed and wide ranging interviews provide us with the most comprehensive picture to date of British Anglo-Indians. From them we learn of the difficulties British Anglo-Indians experienced in marriages of all kinds to partners from various ethnic backgrounds, and of generational divides that mirror those of other migrant communities in Britain, even though Anglo-Indians' culture was distinguished from other South Asians by a lack of arranged marriages and joint families. It is apparent that Anglo-Indian parents had to slowly adjust their expectations of parent-child relationships and levels of discipline as their second generation offspring grew up inculcated with British values of questioning authority that they derived from education and the attitudes of their classmates. With a majority of the community being Roman Catholic, the Church retained a significant influence on a group living through challenges and change, affecting attitudes, especially amongst the older generation, to issues like divorce. Almost all, however, ignored Catholic doctrine on family planning, and sought to limit the size of their families once in the UK (p. 128). We learn from her Conclusion that the Anglo-Indian social world of the dance (pp. 194-7), the Railway Institute and the whist drive, was replicated to some degree for older generations, whilst the younger British-born generation were more likely to connect to their parents through shared enthusiasm for sport and music, a vestige of Anglo-Indian educational institutions in India which had emphasised English 'Public School' attitudes of good sportsmanship and being an 'all rounder'. Almeida highlights the role of school alumni associations and 'old boys associations' as a major focal point of ongoing social connections within the

British Anglo-Indian community, in addition to Anglo-Indian associations set up in the postcolonial migration era, initially mainly for social purposes but taking on increasingly charitable roles towards the community back in India in more recent times (pp. 197-205).

Chapter five makes a more profound argument, signalled in the title of Almeida's book – that despite retaining facets of the culture they had brought with them, Anglo-Indians in Britain 'voluntarily... [made] the necessary adjustments to realign their cultural base [so] that they became Nowhere People – so invisible as to no longer be clearly identifiable and, therefore [were to be] consistently ignored in headcounts of the South Asian diaspora in the UK' (p. 141). This Almeida links to a further hybridising process which allowed 'the gradual effacement of their original Anglo-Indian sub-culture and the creation of another unique one that replaced it – British Anglo-Indianness' (p. 141). It might have been useful to further consider whether categories in the UK Census and in other public and private documentation were a significant hindrance, as they often omit mixed race peoples and categories in a variety of global settings, requiring individuals to evince higher degrees of self-motivation through writing in their own self-designation. In her conclusions as to what happened to Anglo-Indians in their adjustment to the UK Almeida's central argument is both persuasive and well expressed. However, it does tend to overestimate the fixity and full-formed nature of the Anglo-Indian sub-culture that arrived in the UK, and conversely to underestimate the degree of intellectual, ideological, behavioural and cultural continuity between pre-independence Anglo-Indians and the self-selecting group who migrated to Britain in the postcolonial decades.

The issue which goes to the core of her interpretation of the motives for Anglo-Indian migration, is to what extent Anglo-Indian identity had been fully developed and achieved unity within India prior to migration. Some of the attitudes of Anglo-Indians arriving in Britain, for example varying levels of identification with Britain and India, might more usefully be read back into the debates over reshaping the group's communal, political and cultural identity during the final stages of decolonisation and its aftermath. Many of Almeida's interviewees could be viewed as what might be termed 'unreconstructed' Anglo-Indians, who had not passed through a stage of nationalism only to disavow India, but rather had never accepted Frank Anthony's

communal nationalist formula or his project to foster greater levels of identification with India, and adhered instead to a more longstanding tradition of 'empire loyalism'. We might conjecture that Anglo-Indians holding such beliefs and persisting with this identity would be more likely to migrate to the imperial metropole, which they had always imagined as 'home'. Almeida does also find British Anglo-Indians who adhered to views that would put them in the opposite camp – of being Indian nationalists (see pp. 65-6, 162).

This is not to suggest that most group members were conscious of the debates taking place at the level of high politics, and Almeida is correct if she means to imply that most Anglo-Indians in South Asia had not engaged directly with Anglo-Indian political associations. However, political ideas have a tendency to filter down into popular discourse, and one atypical Anglo-Indian in her sample who self-identified as Indian by nationality and Anglo-Indian by ethnicity (p. 162) was unconsciously echoing the position of Frank Anthony who tried to persuade Anglo-Indians to embrace Indian nationality and to reject emigration. As Anglo-Indians who chose to emigrate did so a) when they had sufficient documentation and financial means, and b) for the variety of individual and familial reasons that Almeida skilfully sets out, would it not be appropriate to raise the broader question of whether, as a partly self-selecting sub-group, Anglo-Indians who opted to migrate to Britain were those who, in the context of debates within the group taking place in India, were least amenable to Anthony's Indian communal nationalist formula and were (generally) precisely those Anglo-Indians who most strongly adhered to a British orientation and even monarchism or (perhaps clandestine) 'empire loyalism'? Instead of presenting the group as internally divided over issues of identity Almeida's tone at times seems to assume too much cultural fixity and integrity as a communal group *ex ante* at the moment of migration against which she then measures the changes the group had to undergo in Britain. This has the effect of overemphasising the novelty of Anglo-Indian experience and adaptive strategies once in Britain, whilst underemphasising the degree of continuity with Anglo-Indian experience under colonial rule. However, this is an understandable difficulty in all ethnographic studies where there is a tendency, even when self-consciously resisted, to reify groups and to project their formation as coherent entities further back into history than is strictly warranted.

Nations too are often imagined this way, and the project of imagining a historical foundation for the group or the nation is much the same - entailing a process of myth-making and the formulation of narratives that imply a fundamental 'groupness' stretching back to the point of collective origin. A key problem we face in Anglo-Indian studies is that, if anything, the existence of mixed race collectivities and ethnic groups is underestimated in mainstream discourses which sought to silence assertions of a mixed race presence and identity, which was inconvenient to prevailing racial ideas as well as to binaries of coloniser and colonised. Almeida expresses well how the British host society, and its white working class in particular, were ignorant of and unprepared to meet the expression of both a hybrid group identity arising from British colonialism and Anglo-Indian assertions of kinship towards Britons, with sympathy, acceptance or even acknowledgement (p. 146). On the other hand nations, despite the avalanche of scholarship seeking to deconstruct romantic nationalism following Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* (1983), are overestimated as real and longstanding entities and collectivities in the wider society. Thus to subject the Anglo-Indian group to the same level of scepticism as to the duration and reality of its meaningful existence as for more well established and well known national and communal groups, is, in practice, to suggest that Anglo-Indians were less of a real 'community' than other communities in South Asia. The most accurate picture, for both Anglo-Indians and other communal groups (which if anything precede the nation as meaningful collectivities), is that their members often understood themselves to be part of the same social group and experienced a common and interconnected social existence even when separated across wide geographic spaces. That understanding nonetheless concedes that formulations of identity were rarely unitary or uncontested, and that a predominant endogamy could be combined with blurring and crossing of boundaries between different groups.

To reconcile these two coexistent realities is to see, in line with Andreas Wimmer's 'Ethnic Boundary Making' (2013) approach, the possibility that identities are not always malleable, fluid and situational, with porous boundaries, but nor are they essential, fixed, and bounded. They are most often amalgams of these seemingly contradictory sets of characteristics, existing on a spectrum between these two analytically polarised extremes. One subheading in chapter 5 is titled 'developing a "fluid" identity', where Almeida indicates how Anglo-Indians in Britain had to adapt by

presenting themselves as 'one thing amid their own people... and to become quite another thing amid the mainstream' (p. 147). This is an astute observation of a facet of migrant experience which is hardly confined to Anglo-Indians, being readily comparable with that of others, for example of Eastern European Jews in the United States, who faced the same choices presented by Almeida of attempted cultural integration into the mainstream through development of a parallel persona or greater cultural integrity through congregating together in one geographic area. In a sense any first or second generation migrant who speaks one language in the home and another in the public space is engaging in such cultural fluidity, and being an Anglophone group migrating to an English-speaking country such demands were, as Almeida suggests, less onerous in this respect, as indeed they were for broader Anglo-Indian cultural adaptation to Britain.

Chapter six brings to full fruition Almeida's concept of British Anglo-Indianness, revealing how Anglo-Indians imbibed, adapted to, and eventually internalised key facets of their British host society. Having initially suffered from deep homesickness, finding that the 'westernised' culture they prided themselves as possessing, and which had distinguished them from other Indian communities, was insufficiently western, they struggled with, in the words of 'a 55-year old banker from Thornton Heath':...a great culture shock. Even though we had always thought of ourselves in India as Westernized, I guess we were not Westernized enough! (p. 170).

Others described 'early bitter months' in which they 'put up a façade and went on with the lonely process of adjustment' (p. 171). Feeling themselves too poor to afford 'dreams of returning to India', one '72-year old retired mechanical engineer from Slough' opined that half of them 'would have turned tail and run straight back to India' if they could have afforded to. Such frankness is fascinating and corroborates Frank Anthony's claims that the Association was inundated with requests from Anglo-Indians in Britain for financial help to return to India, an assertion which might otherwise be judged to form part of his propaganda efforts to stem the tide of emigration from India. Almeida emphasises the group's experience of empty and silent suburban British streets as jarring against the bustle and noise of India, creating a profound sense of isolation. Almeida gives an interesting account of the vices into which many young Anglo-Indian men were drawn – principally drinking,

gambling and 'womanizing' (p. 174). Lack of immediate success and lives that failed to live up to their high expectations generated 'Feelings of despondency and desperation... [and] "shame"' at their lowly and constrained employment prospects (p. 173).

Part of their adjustment she argues, in the title of one sub-heading, was 'coming to grips with the dignity of labor' (p. 173) – this dovetails so closely with the pejorative arguments which began over the so-called 'Eurasian Problem' in late 19th Century India as to demand further comparative juxtaposition. 19th Century British philanthropists, whilst attributing the group's problems to supposed flaws of character inherent within themselves rather than their situation, constantly worried about the group's vices, profligacy, improvidence, aversion to manual labour, reliance on servants, and its misapprehension of its appropriate class status. Eurasians, as they were then referred to with pejorative and increasingly racialised undertones, were a group who ought to be trained to technical and mechanical jobs suitable for a yeoman working class, and were to be dissuaded from aping the lifestyles of colonial Britons, or aspiring to a middle class status or standard of life. In Britain, facing another similar yet distinct socioracial hierarchy they were again being pressed to accept a status among the working classes, even when some had held objectively 'white collar' managerial and professional positions back in India. Yet the picture that emerges is that whilst manual work in India was associated with lower castes (p. 171), in Britain there was a white working class, to which Anglo-Indians' own prejudices would be less loath to work alongside or even intermarry with. As mentioned earlier, Almeida recognises the desirability for many British Anglo-Indians of marrying white partners. In both the colonial setting and in postcolonial Britain whiteness was privileged and escape into whiteness for those Anglo-Indians of paler complexion (through racial passing) or more problematically and partially through intermarriage, was a realisable goal for a minority of Anglo-Indians.

Welding Almeida's evidence together more effectively with our best reconstruction of the mental world of late colonial Anglo-India would buttress her undoubted insights into the British Anglo-Indian experience. Much of what comes out most poignantly from Almeida's study implies a collective experience, identity and historical memory, which though rooted in a shared and contested past, diverges significantly from how

Anglo-Indians' understanding of self and of history have further developed in South Asia or Australia. This only strengthens the case for Almeida's concept of British Anglo-Indianness. What emerges most clearly is that the worldview of British Anglo-Indians upon arrival and through the evolution which she so effectively narrates, created a wholly differentiated sub-group within the broader Anglo-Indian diaspora, with its own distinctive constructions of self and of historical memory.

As Almeida argues, despite the earlier presence of Anglo-Indians and other South Asians in Britain (usually temporarily for education rather than settlement) during the colonial period, as a substantive group Anglo-Indians were 'the earliest pioneering immigrants who made Britain their home soon after India's Independence' (p. 212). Almeida also makes the case for Anglo-Indians constituting 'probably the first mixed-race people in the modern world... [who] paved the way, in a sense, for other communities of mixed-racial descent that followed in their wake' (p. 212). Certainly they were among the first to acquire a degree of political group consciousness manifested in multiple independent petitions to the East India Company state across the three 'Presidencies' and to the British Parliament in London around 1829-30. Therefore, in addition to its self-evident value to fellow South Asianists across a range of disciplines, Almeida's work should encourage scholars in the field of Mixed Race Studies, especially of comparable groups and individuals in the Americas and Caribbean, to take note of the Anglo-Indian experience both under colonialism and in Almeida's postcolonial study of their lives as trailblazing immigrants in Britain. This review has been far from comprehensive of a book which covers a wide range of arenas of life for British Anglo-Indians, based on a rich and varied body of interview evidence. Whilst these are skilfully woven into the analysis and narrative Almeida has constructed, the voices she has captured and presented leave the reader wanting more. It is also to be hoped that the vast corpus of invaluable and timely interviews she has conducted, as recordings and transcripts, will find a home in an oral history archive where they will be preserved for future generations of scholars, so that they can contribute to shaping the direction of much-needed debates in diasporic Anglo-Indian studies.

Uther Charlton-Stevens is a Professor at the Institute of Economy and Finance, Volgograd State University, and a Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society. Charlton-Stevens completed his doctorate in South Asian History, on Anglo-Indians in the late colonial period, at the University of Oxford, under the supervision of Judith Brown and Francis Robinson. His first book, *Anglo-Indians and Minority Politics in South Asia: Race, Boundary Making and Communal Nationalism* (2017), has just been published by Routledge, UK. Charlton-Stevens' paternal grandmother (1915-2006), a widowed Anglo-Indian teacher and WAC(I) officer, arrived in England in 1960 from Bangalore with Charlton-Stevens' father, then aged 12 and his teenage sister and brother. Unlike most Anglo-Indian teachers she managed to return to teaching in the UK at a Roman Catholic school, who retained her until she was 72, extending her position far beyond the official retirement age, until they were ordered to stop.

REFERENCES

- Anderson, Benedict. (1991). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Blunt, Alison. (2005). *Domicile and Diaspora: Anglo-Indian Women and the Spatial Politics of Home*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Caplan, Lionel. (2001). *Children of Colonialism: Anglo-Indians in a Post-Colonial World*. New York: Berg.
- McMenamin, Dorothy. (2006). "The Curious Exclusion Of Anglo-Indians From Mass Slaughter During The Partition Of India", *International Journal of Anglo-Indian Studies*, Vol. 9, no. 1.
- Wimmer, Andreas. (2013). *Ethnic Boundary Making: Institutions, Power, Networks*. Oxford University Press.