



PAINTED WITH A NOSTALGIC BRUSH: PORTRAYALS OF SMALL TOWNS IN ANGLO-INDIAN DIASPORIC MEMORY

Rochelle Almeida

ABSTRACT

In this essay, the author examines literature (both fiction and non-fiction) that delineates small-town Anglo-Indian life in the pre-Independence era. Although the word 'authenticity' in post-colonial literary criticism has been subjected to contested debate, it serves the critic's purpose well in determining the accuracy with which the uniqueness of Anglo-Indian sub-culture has been recounted and preserved through the printed word. What emerges from such scrutiny is the fact that distance can lend both enchantment and disillusionment to the view. As departing Anglo-Indians became part of the global diaspora, their accounts of childhood and adolescent periods spent in railway townships and colonies were often rendered unreliable by the vagaries of memory that have contributed to the frequent occurrence of half-truth or exaggeration. Fortunately, because there still remain a few elderly Anglo-Indians among first-wave settlers in the UK, the author has been able to compare real-life reminiscences of small-town India with those depicted in literature in an attempt to authenticate shared experiences.

INTRODUCTION

In a lecture he delivered at Yale University in February 2002, the Indo-British novelist Salman Rushdie writes:

The way we see the world affects the world we see... Daily life in the real world is also an imagined life. The creatures of our imagination crawl out from our heads, cross the frontier between dream and reality, between shadow and act, and become actual. (2002, p. 375)

Rushdie might well have been speaking about the thousands of Anglo-Indians who left India in the years following Independence from the colonial yoke to settle in

Britain as part of South Asia's sizeable diaspora. Daily life, over the past sixty odd years, in their host country—their real world—has caused the creatures of imagination to crawl out of their heads and through the power of memory, to become actual. The imagined world conjured by memory resides in India's small towns into which they were born and from which immigration has caused them to remain exiled. Based on information I gleaned during interviews I conducted in Great Britain between 2008 and 2016 with immigrants, few Anglo-Indians comprising what I call the First Wave of mass migration, that is, those who emigrated to the UK under the terms and conditions of the British Nationality Act of 1948 and until the passing of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1962, ever returned physically to the land of their birth as their finances did not permit the journey.¹ Hence, most of them remained forcibly exiled until only recently—when retirement brought leisure and new prosperity. As the years passed, time and distance from their childhood homes, lent either enchantment or disillusionment to the view. Memory and imagination combined to create powerful images of a remembered reality that has remained static despite the havoc wrought in India in the name of progress by a rapidly increasing population and vigorous globalization. Hence, the India they had left behind has become in their minds slanted with inaccuracy. Like a particularly artistic photograph in which the photographer has used a hazy filter to create an appealing mistiness, so too the India of the diasporic Anglo-Indian imagination has attained a soft romantic blurriness that is, with some exceptions, insistently magical.

In an earlier essay entitled, 'Imaginary Homelands,' Salman Rushdie, on returning to his childhood home in Bombay after decades away as an immigrant in the UK, had written:

It may be that writers in my position, exiles or emigrants or expatriates, are haunted by some sense of loss, some urge to reclaim, to look back, even at the risk of being mutated into pillars of salt. But if we do look back, we must do so in the knowledge—which gives rise to profound uncertainties—that our physical alienation from India almost inevitably means that we will not be capable of reclaiming precisely the thing that was lost; that we will, in short, create fictions, not actual cities or villages, but invisible ones, imaginary homelands, Indias of the mind. (1992, p. 10)

This essay attempts to delineate Indias in the minds of immigrant Anglo-Indians—Indias that at this moment in history, seventy years after India's Independence, beg

to be re-examined. For the past couple of decades, these remembered Indias have emerged through the pens of writers seeking expression by way of varied literary *genres*—fiction, creative essays, autobiography, memoir. Riddled with contradiction, these created spaces bear the stamp of sentimental nostalgia for they throw light upon Anglo-Indian ‘lived’ experience in multiple Indias that have long receded into history. The contemporary nationalist narrative with its emphases on global economic progress and indigenous achievement leaves little room for a scrutiny of colonial lifestyles—the type remembered by the majority of First Wave Anglo-Indian settlers who made Britain their home in the immediate post-colonial decades. Within the current complex creative landscape that oscillates between a compulsion to record the economic horrors wrought by European colonization on the Indian sub-continent (as in Shashi Tharoor’s latest book, *An Era of Darkness* (2016, 2017)) and a desire to capture romanticized versions of colonial privilege through TV series such as *Indian Summers*, life in small Indian towns is being recreated and revived. But questions remain. How accurate are these literary versions of domestic history? Have writers achieved a sense of balance by presenting positive and negative aspects of life under the Raj? Why do versions of colonial Anglo-Indian sub-culture differ so enormously from one writer to the next? When viewed through the lens of sociology and cultural studies what aspects do such accounts have in common, if any? While it might be argued that literary manifestations of Anglo-Indian lifestyle and culture are flawed by being tinged with nostalgia, they remain valuable to scholars of Anglo-India.

For most First Wave Anglo-Indians who belong to the generation that came of age in the mid-twentieth century, the maternal home of their birth and early childhood were small Indian towns or, more specifically, Indian railway towns, where the majority of their fathers earned a livelihood. In her history of her community entitled *The Anglo-Indian Vision*, Australia-based Anglo-Indian writer Gloria Jean Moore, writes that for the Anglo-Indian in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, “the lure of the new railways was strong” (1986, p. 70). She goes on to write:

Millions of Indians of all classes took in their droves to the railway. It became the country’s lifeline in communications and transportation. Some men escaped the rigid discipline of authoritarian schools by joining the East Indian, Great Indian Peninsula, Bengal Nagpur and other railways. (1986, pp.71, 73)

In *The Anglo-Indians: A 500 Year History*, authors S. Muthiah and Harry MacLure, write: “Asansol, Bhusaval, Itarsi, Jamalpur (Jabalpur)², Perambur, Podanur, Trichinopoly, Waltair...they are all towns that for over a hundred years linked a community through an iconic association with what has been called ‘the lifeline of the Community’: the Railways” (2013, p. 77). But it was not just the railways that drew Anglo-Indian offspring seeking employment while growing up in India. Moore also states that, “In many Anglo-Indian families, a tradition of work passed on from father to son: in the railway, customs, telegraphs, police, army, on indigo plantations or tea estates...Factories and mills grew up around India, distilling liquor, making iron and steel, manufacturing cotton, wool and machinery” (1986, p. 72). Anglo-Indians tended to congregate in these towns in community pockets, similar to American ghettos where the term ‘ghetto’ is defined as “a section of a city...inhabited predominantly by members of an ethnic or other minority group...”³ Of these pockets that thrived in colonial (and, for a limited time, also in post-colonial) India, thanks to the activities of the community of mixed racial descent that inhabited them, Muthiah and MacLure write:

There were hundreds of these cities and large towns, small towns and places little better than villages all over pre-Independence India, in urban suburbs, parched terrain, on the edges of jungles, many of them far from the better amenities of life, but all home to what they called themselves, ‘The Railway People’, virtually a sub-community in the larger community that called itself Anglo-Indian. Many of them, gypsy-like, moved from place to place, but two things they had in common almost wherever they went: the Railway Colony they lived in, a little neatly-kept oasis away from the heat and dust, noise and bustle of India, and the Railway Institute in the Colony, where they made the noise, laughed and sang a lot, and made life happy and memorable for themselves. (2013, pp. 77-78)

In the towns that sprang up as a result of India’s expanding railway network and her fledgling Industrial Revolution achieved while still under the British Raj, Anglo-Indians clung tenaciously together creating a lively and very distinct sub-culture—a sub-culture that lingers in the community imagination as evident in active discourse on internet websites and literary narratives, both fictional and otherwise. Indeed, aspects of this colorful culture are recorded and remembered in innumerable essays and memoirs. New Jersey-based publisher Blair Williams’ series of anthologies such as *Voices on the Verandah* and *The Way We Were: Anglo-Indian Chronicles* were published precisely to record for posterity little-known elements of a fascinating

South Asian sub-culture that are likely to be lost when the generation that lived through it no longer exists.⁴ But how accurate are these literary depictions? How much artistic and creative license have their creators taken in fashioning these remembered spaces? It is through the personal reminiscences of Anglo-Indians who are still alive to tell their own stories that the authenticity of literary worlds might best be established.

In attempting to organize some of the common threads to be found in these reminiscences of small town Anglo-Indian life, one might classify them under the following broad sub-headings: (1) School Days, (2) Domestic Life, (3) Leisure and Entertainment.

An examination of each of these aspects of small-town Anglo-Indian life will show that they have been painted vividly—but always with a nostalgic brush. For, indeed, in accounts of their upbringing in cozy Indian hamlets as encountered today through the powerful force of memory, members of the Anglo-Indian diaspora in the UK, *émigrés* who might as well be in exile, seemed to have led charmed lives—at least as recounted through the flawed device of memory.

SCHOOL DAYS

According to reasons provided by Anglo-Indians I interviewed in the UK, boarding-school education was looked upon as a favorable option for children of mixed racial descent based in India's *mofussil* (rural) areas. Small towns could rarely offer a quality education and Railway parents, constantly under the threat of transfer to yet another semi-rural outpost, found practical wisdom in educating their children in Anglo-Indian boarding schools that offered both continuity of instruction and the stability of routine. For instance, Montford School in Yercaud, Tamil Nadu, was regarded as a "safe refuge" by the parents of a 56-year old Anglo-Indian lawyer based in London who hailed from Nagercoil in Tamil Nadu. That their son was bullied by his classmates and harassed by the Catholic clergy that ran the school (simply because he was of mixed racial descent) seems to have been of little consequence to his parents. The lawyer stated that his parents saw the trials of such an unfortunate childhood as admirable training ground for the challenges he would undoubtedly face, as a person of mixed racial descent, in later life. Reams have

been written about life in the typical Anglo-Indian schools that were founded to instill a British spirit through a curriculum based on western humanist liberal studies in order to produce a graduating class superbly schooled in the 3 Rs—Reading, (W)Riting and (A)Rithmetic.⁵ Such accounts, however, provide little information about whether or not students were also encouraged to develop critical thinking skills that would allow them to question authority or defy established colonial codes of conduct.

In the Introduction to her book-length memoir entitled *Under The Old School Topee*, the late British author Hazel Innes Craig states that much has already been written about the history of the famous Indian public schools such as Mayo College and the Doon School, “whereas the rich seam of information on boarding schools for the children of the Raj has scarcely been tapped” (1990, p. xi).⁶ Craig is correct. Although not an Anglo-Indian herself, but, to quote her, “the daughter of a former ‘imperialist’—if sweating it out for 25 years while working for...the Gramophone Company...marks my father as an imperialist!” (1990, p. xi) she spent the early part of her childhood under the Raj at schools in which Anglo-Indian classmates dominated. Her extensive memoir details, with minute precision, life in the 1940s for European and Anglo-Indian students in her school (Mount Hermon in Darjeeling) amid the misty tea gardens of West Bengal. It bears resemblance to memoirs produced by a few Anglo-Indians such as the late Owen Thorpe who have documented their school days in India with the same attention to detail.⁷

In chapters entitled, ‘Growing Up’, ‘Living there’, etc., Craig provides a substantive record of a scholastic lifestyle that was approved by India’s ruling British imperialists of the time and allowed to flourish with the tacit co-operation of those over whom they ruled. Pictures contained in her book evoke more nostalgia for an educational ethos that was characterized by the strict wearing of uniforms, not just by students, but indeed by faculty members whose black gowns are reminiscent of those worn even today by Oxbridge dons (1990, p. 112). Craig quotes an Anglo-Indian currently in Britain who recalls that,

We were controlled by bugle calls as well as bells. We were woken by the Reveille at 6 am, called to meals and to parade by the “Assembly” and ordered to bed by the “First Post” and the “Last Post”. “Lights Out” was the last call at 9.30 pm. (1990, p. 174)

A system of House loyalty and a multitude of student Prefects were firmly in place to ensure that discipline was maintained by students' peers even when adult supervisors were absent. To be selected, or elected, a Prefect was looked upon as a matter of honor and privilege. One has only to read the immensely popular Harry Potter novels by J.K. Rowling to discover that such elements of scholastic tradition were derived from Western concepts of 'clannishness' that bred loyalty and patriotism towards one's 'House'. Little did young Anglo-Indian students realize that through the guise of electing their own Prefects, they were being monitored by their own peers for detection of any insubordination that might have threatened the supreme authority of the school's managers. One detects a similarity between attitudes governing the scholastic curricula of colonial schools and Antonio Gramsci's argument that a system of indoctrination comprising the cultivation of complete subservience among the colonized could ensure supremacy and hegemonic control of the colonizer in the imperial realm.⁸

Although the bulk of her reminiscences are focused on Mount Hermon School in Darjeeling where Craig happened to be a boarder, and on St. Paul's School, also in Darjeeling, where her brother Geoffrey was placed, her book includes a great deal of material derived from the memories of Anglo-Indians now in the UK who studied at other such institutions. Indeed, in the process of writing her personal memoir, Craig did extensive research in an attempt to document similarities or differences that prevailed between conventions in her boarding-school and those of her peers in the UK. While her memoir might be perceived largely as an autobiography, it reaches beyond the particular to encompass the general. Interspersed through her narrative are comments from ex-students of Anglo-Indian institutions such as Dow Hill School, St. Michael's Diocesan Girls' School (the 'Dio'), Loreto Convent (Catholic) – all in Darjeeling – Caineville House School in Mussoorie, Wellesley Girls High School in Nainital, the Nazareth Convent School in Ooty, Loreto Convent in Shillong, Hebron School in Coonoor, Christ Church Girls' High School in Jubbulpore [sic], Lawrence Military School at Mount Abu, etc.. Through interviews with British and Anglo-Indian ex-students of these schools, Craig provides succinct accounts of school life, not all of which would be considered complimentary by today's standards or expectations. She attributes their development and success "to the Victorian muscular Christians,

the dedicated missionaries, the devoted *religiosi* and the courageous eccentrics of all nationalities with a passion for education..." (1990, p. xi).

Indeed, in the chapter 'Discipline and Punishment' Craig provides details of the kind of routine punishment meted out to miscreants—regular 'slippering' (being beaten with rubber-soled slippers) or canings, the writing of lines repeatedly, the wearing of 'sandwich boards' proclaiming one's sin, the fixing of pegs to one's tongue (presumably for speaking out of turn to a person in authority) while holding one's hands behind one's back and kneeling down to say prayers if one had wet one's bed at night (1990, pp. 166-167). And yet while Craig does describe these disciplinary measures as "positively archaic and at times sadistic" (1990, p. 166), nowhere in her tone does one find anger or resentment against the authorities that permitted such practices in Anglo-Indian schools. She perceived such 'punishment' as a sign of the times and seems to have accepted it as did most members of her generation.

No such attempt to whitewash harsh reality exists in the accounts of second generation Anglo-Indians in Britain whose creative writing reflects the recollections of their own parents who grew up in Indian small towns. In his novel *The Bloodstone Papers* (2007), second-generation Anglo-Indian British novelist Glen Duncan details the life of his parents in India's railway colonies in Bhusaval and Jubbalpore (sic) through his protagonists Ross Douglas Aloysius Monroe and wife Kate. Although cast in fictitious guise, Duncan who, unlike his siblings was born not in India but the UK, provides detailed information about prevalent Anglo-Indian lifestyle and culture in pre-Independent India based on memories of his First Wave immigrant Anglo-Indian parents. According to critic William Skidelsky in *The Guardian* (2009), Duncan "specialises in writing novels that can't easily be pigeon-holed." Duncan's own comment in an article he published in *The New York Times Magazine* (2007), throws telling light on the sources through which he derived information about Anglo-Indian sub-culture in pre-Independence India. He states: "...the mythic shadow under which I grew up was a narrative of flight and exile, the Indian glory of Those Days (moonlit dances, bootleg liquor, elephants, tigers, steam trains and servants) set against the English dreariness of These Days (miserable weather, poverty, lousy fresh fruit and consistent hostility from the natives)".

Yet there are contradictions between Duncan's father's real-life recollections of his growing years in India when positive memories that focused on dances and servants collided against negative fictional ones—of corporal punishment and degradation in schools run by the Catholic clergy. If Duncan's version of colonial Anglo-Indian life has been derived from his own parents' memories of India, the reader wonders how much of it is real and how much conjured by artistic license. Duncan writes about St. Aloysius School, for instance, where disciplinary measures were so harsh that they would be considered forms of cruel and unusual punishment in the United States today:

In his first weeks there he [Ross Munroe] saw pupils routinely bashed, clobbered, kicked, punched, belted and thrashed. Many of the masters were psychotic but the priests (English-speaking European Jesuits, one or two Indian Christians, a Goan) were artists of pain who'd had years to refine their cruelties. Canings were administered not on the spot but after swimming, with trunks and therefore backsides still sodden. Bedwetters were thrashed and made to walk about in the compound at breaktime wearing their soiled sheets over their heads like cowls. A boy who attempted to run away was captured, thrashed, and had his head shaved completely bald. (2007, p. 19)

One wonders whether this account is based entirely on Duncan's father's recollection of reality as relayed to his son or an exaggerated version created by Duncan in the pages of his novel in order to emphasize the manner in which harsh academic discipline impacted his protagonist, Ross Monroe. In Craig's account of such punishments, there is little attempt to editorialize. Her diction is softer as control is exerted over her choice of words. Duncan, on the other hand, does not sugar coat the pill. His choice of words reflects his indignation at the humiliation to which young, helpless boarders living far away from the protective custody of their own parents, were subjected. It must be noted that unlike Craig, Duncan did not witness or experience such physical abuse himself: he merely recounts, in fictional terms—albeit biographical fiction—what his own Anglo-Indian father who grew up in India probably conveyed to him. His anger against such draconian measures is derived from the inability of his generation to accept or tolerate any form of abuse by figures in authority upon their charges. Hence, while Duncan's tone (as omniscient narrator) reveals his lack of comprehension and unwillingness to excuse such treatment of Anglo-Indian students in mid-twentieth century Indian Christian schools, in the perceptions of the British writer Craig, who belongs to a generation ahead of

Duncan's, on the contrary, such measures are perceived as aberrations—occasional unpleasant blips in an otherwise idyllic existence.

While distance from the land of one's birth can color perspectives in positive ways, it might also distort reality. Duncan's father's memories of physical abuse in mid-twentieth century Indian schools (expressed through the protagonist Ross Monroe) might well be affected by the unvented anger he has carried over half a century against unlimited authority vested in Christian clergymen who ran such schools with little accountability. Desire to avenge the disciplinary misdoings of priests and teachers could have led him to exaggerate situations or blow up incidents beyond proportion when relaying them to his son. On the other hand, it is possible that the father's accounts conveyed to his son might have been milder than those portrayed by Duncan's narrative. As readers of Duncan's historical fiction today, we receive accounts that are, as it were, twice-removed, from the reality of occurrence—they are a father's memories of disciplinary measures meted out in Catholic boarding schools conveyed to a son whose creative license through the guise of fiction might have led to exaggeration in his narration. Perhaps this might account for the fact that some aspects of school life in India as depicted by Duncan might challenge our ability to suspend disbelief.

Punishments aside, we find detailed accounts of entertainment and amusement opportunities as they prevailed in such schools. Viewed through post-colonial lenses, such accounts provide lively possibilities for comparative discourse. In Craig's book, references to fetes and fun fairs held on the school's premises, monthly socials and tea outings to upscale restaurants, such as *Firpo's* in Calcutta, divert attention from the rigid disciplinary standards under which such schools operated. Not to mention mid-twentieth century conventions that kept girls pretty and coyly seductive in their rare encounters with the opposite sex. Craig states that "At Dow Hill the girls were encouraged to don their pretty dresses and put bows in their hair for the inter-school dances with the Victoria boys" (1990, p. 197). She continues: "We foxtrotted and waltzed, did the Lancers and Quadrilles to the music provided by good dance pianists (obliging souls) and looked forward to the refreshments served during the evening" (1990, p. 197). Craig's narrative does not contest the propagation and

perpetuation of gender stereotypes that such schools fostered through an insistence on pretty dresses, bows and ribbons for schoolgirls at mixed-sex dances.

Further gendered notions of appropriate forms of education as delineated for girls versus boys is revealed in accounts of Sports Day—a mainly masculine bastion of testosterone-fueled participation (although, in many schools, girls were also encouraged to participate in team sports). School Sports Day was the high point of the academic calendar year with teams competing fiercely to win coveted trophies. Indeed prowess on the playing field was fiercely encouraged and Anglo-Indian memoirs provide details of swimming, boxing, field hockey and rowing as sports through which the adage, “A strong mind in a healthy body,” was kept afloat. Duncan’s protagonist Ross Monroe is a boxing champion who makes it into the Indian Railways on the strength of his fists nurtured in St. Aloysius School in Bhusaval.

In his autobiography entitled *Paper Boats in the Monsoon*, the late Owen Thorpe who was born and raised in Madras and emigrated from Calcutta to London in 1970 at the age of 24, recalls the paramount importance of Sports Day at Stanes High School in Ootacamund, perceived as a fine testament to the physical prowess of Anglo-Indian sportsmen:

The big athletics meeting of the year was the annual Quadrangular Sports, in which four schools, Stanes, Montford School from Yercaud, and Vestry and Champion schools from Trichinopoly competed and took it in turn to host. The competition was intense... (2007, p. 60)

Within the same schools, Thorpe makes reference to javelin, shot put and discus champions, boxing matches and hockey pitches (2007, p. 61). For her part, Craig documents activities that were less physically demanding and slanted towards feminine participation such as regular picnics to Tiger Hill to see Mount Everest (1990, p. 189), visits to the cinema (1990, p. 188), trekking and camping with the school’s cadet corps (1990, p. 191). Pictures in her book of crew teams from St. Joseph’s College rowing on the Nainital Lake (1990, p. 192) could easily be misconstrued for crew practice sessions on the River Isis or Cherwell in Oxford or the Cam in Cambridge. Much as the British did in the walled cantonment areas of India where their homes were reproductions of their cottages back in the Home

Counties, so too in the schools they founded for their imperial offspring and for the mixed-race children they fathered on the Indian sub-continent, every attempt was made to reconstruct, in colonial margins, life as they had known it in the metropole. This tendency is evident in the nostalgic Anglo-Indian accounts to be found in multi-authored anthologies such as in CTR Publications' volume *The Way We Were* (edited by Deefholts, M and S. Deefholts, 2006). Many accounts by Anglo-Indians of school days in India, when penned by diasporic writers of mixed racial descent, present these schools as a boon and the education they received there as a matter of privilege. Few question imperialist notions of discipline as fostered on foreign soil or indeed their relevance today. Hill-station schools and even urban elitist ones in India nurtured in the traditions of British public schools like Eton and Harrow continue to put their students through march pasts and assemblies, inter-house contests and elocutions competitions—more than half a century after the departure of the Raj.

In fact, it is my observation that such conventions were transferred from hill-station boarding schools to convent-run day schools over the length and breadth of India. At my own alma mater, St. Agnes' High School in Clare Road, Byculla, in Bombay, marches past the Indian flag were an important feature of the annual school Sports Day at least up until the 1980s, as indeed, I daresay, even today. At daily assemblies meant for the communal recitation of Christian prayers and singing of hymns, we (students) filed in and out of assembly halls to the strict 'left-right-left' beat maintained by school captains and prefects and the blaring sounds of *Colonel Bogey March* on the PA system—the social and educational relevance of which always eluded me.

While based in London (until her recent death) where she looked back upon her years in a hill-station school populated mainly by Anglo-Indians, Craig clearly permitted nostalgia to color her remembrances of a romantic childhood. She ponders what might have happened had European imperialists never arrived on the Indian sub-continent and founded their institutions of primary and secondary learning: "The British public school would have remained where it started, at 'Home'" (1990, p. xi). She goes on to write:

Its attendant by-products of team spirit, character building, chapel going and games playing denied to thousands of Indians and

Pakistanis...But what might have happened to us and thousands of our fellows? Without those hill boarding schools, we could have become Kiplingesque evacuees,⁹ lonely, homesick and strangers to our parents. We consider ourselves lucky to have experienced a major part of our schooldays under the old school topee. (1990, pp. xi-xii)

Craig's question is easily answered. Seventy years of post-colonial rule in India underscores the argument that without Anglo-Indian schools that nurtured traditions of strict respect for authority without developing critical thinking skills, the British Raj might never have flourished. Had colonial administrators been deprived of the mainly Anglo-Indian work force that toiled in tandem with them, they would have been hard-pressed to maintain the sort of rigid control over their colonized subjects that persisted in keeping European imperialists on the Indian sub-continent.

DOMESTIC LIFE

Nowhere is Rushdie's observation of the power of memory to create 'Imaginary Homelands' more astute than in the lingering visions of a remembered 'home' in India as condensed in the minds of Britain's expatriate Anglo-Indians. The word 'home' here is being used in the sense of domestic space—the internal cocoon of protection offered by closest primary family members and the external space of quotidian exploration populated by one's secondary family: neighbors, maids, gardeners, washer men, etc., within which Anglo-Indians in India were raised. 'Home' here is not synonymous with Great Britain, which—as all scholars of Anglo-Indian Studies know well—was the customary usage of the term among Anglo-Indians up to Indian Independence.

The connotation of the word 'home' in this context is of domestic space as represented typically in lost Anglo-India by the 'colonies'—meaning protected residential enclaves within which Anglo-Indians congregated among their own kith and kin during the colonial era. It is this remembered milieu that has suffered distortion as a result of time and distance. Rushdie writes: "It may be that when the Indian writer who writes from outside India tries to reflect that [former] world, he is obliged to deal in broken mirrors, some of whose fragments have been irretrievably lost" (1992, p. 11). This broken glass, suggests Rushdie, is the mirror of nostalgia and the loss felt is acute for all expatriates—not necessarily for writers alone.

Muthiah and MacLure quote the well-known Anglo-Indian travel writer Colleen Gantzer who states that, “The Railway colony was a ‘colony’ in every way. It was a protected outpost of a unique civilization dedicated to just one aim: to keep those great puffing monsters moving efficiently, uninterruptedly, swiftly...” (2013, p. 88). Muthiah also notes that Anglo-Indians with Railway-men fathers were raised typically “in neat little houses in well-maintained railway colonies set a little apart from the town at railway junctions and terminuses spread throughout pre-Independence India” (2013, p. 83). The thought of living in apartments was repugnant to Anglo-Indians who equated social privilege with the idea of living in ‘bungalows’. A 77-year old retired mechanical engineer who left India at the age of 17 in 1953 and who is currently based in Slough in Greater London informed me that the Anglo-Indians of Jubbulpore, where his Railway-man father had his last posting, differentiated themselves from the Indians around them by their possession or lack of domestic trappings. He said:

They didn’t believe in having any luxuries, meaning that they lived frugally. They didn’t have servants. We did. They didn’t have gardens. We did. We were used to living in bungalows. They had pokey little tenements. That’s why they were very eager to work for us. We did not just give them jobs, but spacious servants’ quarters, better than anything they could normally afford.

For the UK’s First Wave of Anglo-Indian expatriates who, according to the interviews I carried out in the UK, found themselves unpleasantly shocked by the dingy accommodations available to them in the late 1940s and into the 1950s and 60s around London’s suburbs, memories of domestic life in India took on shades of magical allure. Interviewees in my field-surveys in the UK, spoke longingly of “sprawling bungalows” in moffusil ‘colonies’ and affectionately of “armies of servants”. Pictures of small-towns as they emerged through the lenses of an ageing population in Great Britain that made the transition to cramped bed-sitters and the challenges of undertaking domestic chores for the first time are colored with fond details of doting retainers who wept buckets at their departure from India. When faced with the harsh realities of racism in the 1940s and 1950s in the British work place where they were forced to encounter status loss as they slid down the corporate ladder moving from their envied white-collar positions in India to the blue collar working class/labor force in Britain, they tried to retrieve their falling status by

proudly informing their white co-workers: “We employed servants in India”. Caught in the nexus of race, skin color and class that was at the heart of Empire and served to derail the ambitions of newly-arrived Anglo-Indians in Britain, many took refuge in a remembered past in India where mixed racial descent, pale skins and easily-available jobs in British-run institutions had coalesced to leave their elevated social status uncontested.

For multitudes of Anglo-Indians, re-location to the UK meant severe dislocation—primarily of their inherited notions of racial superiority that, in small Indian towns, had garnered for them the respect and obedience of a number of retainers that formed their daily domestic retinue. Published memoirs present accounts of households populated by Muslim *khansamas* (cooks), Hindu bearers who waited at table upon the occupants of a home, *ayahs* who worked as nannies to look after children, *hamals* (housekeepers), plus *malis* (or gardeners) who took care of outdoor spaces and watered gardens or compounds twice a day to keep dust under control. There was domestic staff to do the sweeping and swabbing of floors, *dhobis* (washermen) to do weekly loads of laundry, *istriwalas* to undertake loads of ironing and untouchable *jamadarnis* who came in to wash bathrooms and clean toilets. Faced with the sudden tasks of keeping their own dreary bedsitters or ‘two-up, two-down’ terraced homes (row houses) in London’s suburbs clean, Anglo-Indian women balked and retreated into a world of the past in which they had lived like queens.

Indeed, according to accounts in recent memoirs, battalions of faithful domestic retainers were treated like members of the Anglo-Indian families that employed them. Although strict rules of class conduct in India (derived, undoubtedly, from lingering conventions based on caste distinctions and the conventions of British hierarchy) drew boundaries that did not permit them to sit at the same table to consume meals with their employers, they shared a curious intimacy with the children of the households who had practically grown up on their laps. One of the great paradoxes of being bred in small-town Anglo-India was that money was frequently tight, budgets were strictly controlled and housewives became expert home economists as they juggled expenses to match their husbands’ poor Railway pay packets—even occasionally being led into debt. But they never lacked for domestic help as low labor costs in India enabled the employment of loyal personnel

upon whose servitude they could rely unquestioningly at a time when honesty, cleanliness and dependability were cherished values among India's domestic work force. If one goes by the opinions expressed by housewives and professional women in India today, it is difficult, if not impossible, to find such values in the contemporary domestic workforce where loyalty is rare and where laziness and shoddiness in the quality of work produced tends to be the norm. Furthermore, Indian newspapers frequently carry accounts of physical assaults and murders committed by domestic hirelings—a matter that has made their vetting by the police not just desirable but necessary. The taking of such precautionary measure by Anglo-Indian employers was unheard of in colonial India.

Needless to say, long distances, absences from India and lack of funds that until very recently prevented their return on vacation to the small towns in which they were raised, has meant that many First Wave Anglo-Indians are oblivious to vast transformations that have occurred in a post-colonial India that is competing fiercely with other BRICS¹⁰ nations to attain economic self-sufficiency and global relevance. Large-scale neglect of those colonies is a combined result of uncontrolled population expansion that can no longer place personnel in bungalows, poor maintenance of government-owned properties, a general sense of malaise and seeming lack of pride in domestic environments among contemporary low-income tenants. The degeneration of lower middle-class Anglo-Indian accommodations such as Bow Barracks in Calcutta and other such localities that they once knew intimately means that the immigrant Anglo-Indian collective memory clings to an ethos that has almost entirely drifted away into history. My informal conversations with Anglo-Indians *emigres* from Australia who had returned to Calcutta for the international reunion in 2014 indicated that they had used participation as an excuse to survey their fondly-remembered past environments. To say that they were sadly disillusioned by what they saw would be to put it mildly. Many stated that they would return to their settler abodes with tales of shocking degeneration of standards of living among India's urban poor even while noting that India's wealthy are leaving their counterparts in the West far behind in their newly-acquired wealth. They stated that they would urge those Anglo-Indian immigrants who had never returned to India to refrain from going back to see the decay of a warmly-recalled lifestyle and to cling instead to memories that remain untarnished by the harsh realities of modernist development.

Based in the UK, almost a half century after they left India, as noted during interviews, immigrant Anglo-Indians continue to wax nostalgic about the small towns of their Indian childhood. A lifetime of 'Council' jobs has left most of them with modest pensions that enable them to take the occasional cruise to the Caribbean, spend a night out at the theater or in a Michelin-starred restaurant and even splurge on a complete refurbishment of a tiny upstairs bathroom or tinier kitchen. But, paradoxically, it still does not accord them the luxury of a cleaning woman "to do" twice weekly or a gardener to mow the lawn or someone to take out the rubbish. According to a retired security guard from Norwood that I had interviewed, "Having had servants that worked for paltry wages in India, Anglo-Indians cannot bring themselves to pay for the high cost of domestic help in the UK. They would rather do their work themselves and save the money to go on a cruise." Thus, they hold on to memories of wide open spaces in traffic-free Indian residential zones from which the only sounds that emanated were the cooing of pigeons or the BB-guns that hobbyists shot at them for a night's supper, lovingly prepared by an expert Indian servant out in the open on an Indian wood fire.

In their domestic reminiscences then, printed accounts of Anglo-Indian life in small towns conflict and contradict current reality. Since the price of housing has skyrocketed, since menial laborers are neither plentiful nor are their services procured cheaply, and since standards of civic cleanliness and municipal responsibility have deteriorated, idyllic accounts of colonial-era Anglo-Indian households seem to have gone with the wind. While they form a valuable and important narrative of a traditional sub-cultural way of being, changes wrought by economic development in India have rendered them merely quaint recollections of a time that has long passed.

LEISURE AND ENTERTAINMENT

Almost every Anglo-Indian who grew up in the small Railway towns of India speaks in affectionate terms of the central role played by the 'Institute' in his or her life. It is ironic that institutions that were founded in the late 1800s in India for the mechanical and technical education of Indians in order to facilitate their employment on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway evolved into the locus of competitive and

recreational activity for generations of Anglo-Indians—the Railway Institutes—that became an essential facet of employees' leisure hours (Muthiah and MacLure, 2013, p. 76).

The Indian Railways Institute of Mechanical and Electrical Engineering based in Jamalpur in the Munger district of Bihar, the oldest and largest of the kind, was founded in 1888 as a technical school attached to the Railway Locomotive Workshop of the East Indian Railways. By 1905, this technical school started an Apprentice Mechanics Scheme for Anglo-Indians¹¹ with the aim of absorbing them as employees in the national railway network. Hence, most Anglo-Indians who worked on the rail lines had graduated through training imparted by such apprentice schemes. Although they did not receive formal university education in engineering, immigrant Anglo-Indians who made Britain their home, consider themselves to be as good, if not better, than fully-fledged university-educated engineers such as those produced today by the prestigious Indian Institutes of Technology all over India. Indeed, they claim that their training was superior because it was not based on book knowledge alone but included a practical understanding of machines as the locomotive workshops offered hands-on education on a daily basis under the tutelage of experienced senior personnel. Even today, they pride themselves on the skills they developed in those training grounds as apprentices.

It was perhaps inevitable that engineering training that involved long hours of manual skills-acquisition would also become the breeding ground for sporting and relaxation activity. Recreational facilities offered by Institutes included table tennis, field hockey, squash, basketball and swimming. Along the length and breadth of India's rail network, cricket, badminton, billiards, bridge and carrom were also offered. As the children of Railway-men were raised in colonies where, as employees, they were allocated residential quarters, children developed a fiercely competitive spirit that culminated in regular matches and tournaments involving tremendous organization that made inter-railway and inter-Institute competition thrive.

Thus, within the larger residential enclaves themselves, "there may have been areas separated by hierarchy—Running staff, Loco shed personnel, Traffic, and all the Junior grades—but the Institute was for everyone and a dance at it was when

everyone let his hair down” (Muthiah and MacLure, 2013, p. 83). Innumerable Railway Institutes (also known as Gymkhanas) or Anglo-Indian clubs in India, could be as large as the one in Jabalpore (sic) or as small as those in lesser junctions such as Villupuram (Muthiah and MacLure, 2013, p. 85). They claim that there were over 800 of them and over 30 railway holiday houses located all over India (2013, p. 85) as free passages on Indian rail networks provided railway personnel opportunities for travel and vacationing in government-owned properties. The Jabalpore Institute with 1000 Anglo-Indians using it in its heyday had a cinema theater, a six-lane swimming pool, four tennis courts, two billiard rooms, a bowling lawn and the ubiquitous large hall for dances. Housie [bingo] sessions and cards, as well as catering facilities and a bar were also commonplace. Even the most modest Institute could boast a large hall and furniture, a pool table, a bar, a snacks counter and of course, a piano (Muthiah and MacLure, 2013, p. 85).

The presence of the piano was a prop that for many scholars today is a ‘dead giveaway’ as it instantly alluded to the long-abiding love for Western music and dance that is integral to the community. In her poem entitled “May I Have the Pleasure?” in the anthology *Voices on the Verandah*, Daphne Ruth Clarke writes:

A slogan once coined by the merest chance,
 “Beat two tin-pots together, Anglo-Indians will dance,”
 Was used in jest often, perhaps to show
 The envy of those who weren’t on the floor.

(Deefholts, M. and Sylvia W. Staubs, 2004, p. 139)

Indeed Muthiah and MacLure state that camaraderie ruled during such leisure events as the May Queen Ball, the Easter Parade or Christmas Dance and the grand New Year’s Eve Ball, “despite the occasional fisticuffs or rumbles over a romance that broke hierarchical lines...” (2013, p. 86).

So renowned were the Institutes and their variety of entertainment offerings that the British novelist born and based for a good part of his life in India, Rudyard Kipling, once wrote:

Best and prettiest of the many good pretty things in Jamalpur (Jabalpore) is the Institute on a Saturday when the Volunteer band is playing and the tennis courts are full and the babydom of Jamalpur—fat, sturdy children—frolic around the bandstand. The people dance...they act, they play billiards, they study their newspapers, they play cards, everything, etc. They flirt in a sumptuous building and in hot

weather, the gallant apprentice ducks his friends in the swimming baths. Decidedly the railway folk make their lives pleasant.¹² (As quoted by Muthiah and MacLure, 2013, p. 86)

Anglo-Indian journalist Colleen Gantzer adds, “The Institute was the center of their (Anglo-Indians’) relaxing hours. The men to play billiards or tennis, the women to sit and gossip while the children played around them” (As quoted by Muthiah and MacLure, 2013, p. 86). The Institute was also the center of family life for children always tagged along and were reared on the entertainment to be found in its premises. Note that although her post-colonial eye takes in the nostalgic world of the Institute that is long past, Gantzer does not think it necessary to comment upon gendered distinctions that separated masculine and feminine activity within its spatial confines—while males showed off their physical prowess on the courts, females, it would seem, did little more than gossip. Indeed Gantzer’s observation might well be challenged as sexist for female interviewees in the UK revealed that their love for sports like field hockey and athletics and their prowess on the playing field that they carried with them to the UK as settlers were reared within the competitive environment of Institute sports ‘meets’.

Abbreviated as the ‘Inster’, the Institute truly was ‘R&R Central’¹³ for Anglo-Indians of the British Raj. However, it was also a subtle training ground in the same rules of conduct that governed other Anglo-Indian institutions, such as their schools. There were unwritten rules to which everyone conformed—rules that had to do with knowing your place and staying in it, never attempting to transgress into the higher echelons if your position in life or your gender did not provide you with the license to do so.

Muthiah and MacLure provide details of the many categories under which employees could be recruited into the Indian railways. The fourth way, established in 1927, was originally for Europeans only, but later for Indians too. “These Special Class Apprentices”, they write, “were recruited from among the educated, trained for four years and put through a London engineering degree course. [...] They could one day hope to become Chief Mechanical Engineers or General Managers” (2013, pp. 81-82). Other categories of railway recruits could rarely rise to the highest levels. Indeed, they “could only aspire (to higher posts) through the slow process of

promotion” (2013, pp. 82). Rules were made, put into place and enforced by imperial commanders even before services such as the Railways employed large numbers of people with mixed-race ancestry. And, given the slow rise up the hierarchical ladder, one could make the argument that, in colonial times, there was little upward mobility for Anglo-Indian employees. In the course of time, unwritten rules and regulations became institutionalized by Anglo-Indian employees who simply accepted them without question. As Colleen Gantzer told Muthiah and MacLure, “...we learnt, almost instinctively, exactly where to draw the line. These codes of conduct were not enforced by any law makers or Council of Elders. They had evolved and were accepted by everyone as the done thing” (2013, p. 88). The President of a Railway Institute, for instance, was almost invariably the colony resident who held the highest official position at the time—as was my observation of the Byculla Mechanics Railway Institute in Bombay, of which I had personal experience while growing up.

Institutes had their down sides too, although contemporary memoirs only skirt around them. Close proximity to one’s colleagues while at work as well as during leisure hours, especially when viewed through the perspectives of the concepts of ‘privacy’ and ‘personal space’ to which Anglo-Indians became introduced in the West upon emigration, bred contempt—as familiarity is prone to do. As Gantzer puts it, “Everyone knew what everyone else did” (Muthiah and MacLure, 2013, p. 88). It was a strong, mutually-supportive society; but it was difficult if not impossible to mind one’s own business as one became pulled into the daily domestic dramas of one’s colleagues who were also one’s neighbors. It was impossible to leave household quarrels or disagreements behind when one left home for the workplace—one only transported them to the engine room or the workshop floor where they became fair fodder for everyone’s probing. In like manner, competition generated in the work place for promotions or bonuses transcended the world of professional endeavor and entered into domestic arenas to be loosely gossiped about or hotly debated.

Gantzer also states that “Railway people enjoyed themselves because their society ensured that liberty never deteriorated to license” (Muthiah and MacLure, 2013, p. 88). Conversely, as Gantzer further explains, “...since Railway People had evolved these morés within the tightly structured society of the Railway Colony, they found it very difficult to adjust to the outside world” (Muthiah and MacLure, 2013. p. 88).

This phenomenon to which Railway people were subjected more than other Indian employees—a result of their nomadic existence—would explain why newly-arriving Anglo-Indians in mid-twentieth century Britain felt deeply isolated. Robbed quite suddenly of the community support system upon which they had relied in India, they lost their bearings. As Gantzer comments to Muthiah and MacLure: “...since Railway People had adopted (these) morés within the tightly structured society of the Railway Colony, they found it very difficult to adjust to the outside world...” (2013, p. 88) When they attempted to integrate themselves with the local British populace at Council dances in London, they were ostracized and victimized by the racist policies of recreation clubs that debarred colored people from entering. An inability to enter into leisure activity with the people of their host nation led, eventually, to the formation of the Anglo-Indian associations in London that continue to flourish to this day.

The paradoxes of their existence in India are not lost upon former Railway People. For instance, although poorly-paid Railway employment made their juggling of finances challenging, they were rich in the company and friendship of like-minded friends and neighbors who shared their cultural moorings. Although oblivious to the myriad mainstream wealth of Hindi or Bengali cinema that flourished in the world just outside their Railway colonies, they were up-to-date with the doings of contemporary Hollywood idols thousands of miles away made available to them through local ‘picture-houses’. Although unable to converse in vernacular Indian languages or confined to the use of what one Anglo-Indian in London called “botchi-khana Hindi”, (that is to say, pidgin Hindi adequate for communication with cooks and *ayahs*), they read Western classical music fluently and were adept in the vocabulary of pop and rock hits.

CONCLUSION

In general, an examination of recent memoirs indicates that distance has lent both enchantment and disillusionment to the view of First Wave Anglo-Indians, now in the twilight of their immigrant lives in Great Britain and Australia, attempting to recall their early years in Anglo-India or their experiences with members of the community. The essays and poems that Anglo-Indian creative writers are producing today amidst

the hunger for colonial reminiscence go hand in hand with a literary and cinematic Raj Revival and are producing fresh images of Anglo-India. *Indian Summers*, for instance, currently showing on BBC TV and widely distributed in the US through PBS stations, is creating renewed interest in colonial nostalgia and in the role and perception of Anglo-Indians within strictly established social parameters. For instance, the lives of orphaned children of mixed racial descent placed in the care of an Anglo-Indian teacher are offered up for scrutiny in the TV series, *Indian Summers*. The Simla Club, also presented in this series as meant exclusively for Europeans, might be perceived as a precursor of the Railway Institutes—'Clubs' that catered largely to the needs of Anglo-Indian members. Such depictions of colonial institutions and of racialized boundaries do much to underscore social conventions that debarred Indians from transgressing into the spatial world of the white *sahib*. But how true to life these depictions are—whether literary or cinematic—ought to be considered carefully.

An unravelling of Anglo-Indians literary rumination proves that the delineation of remembered Indias is a complicated business. For memory can embellish beloved experiences as much as it can sharpen unpleasant ones. Craig recalls the happiest memories of her boarding school years in India with deep pleasure and nostalgic affection. Duncan's novel, on the other hand, quite possibly contains exaggerated accounts of his father's unpleasant memories of corporal punishment in Indian boarding schools. Memory can also serve to erase unpalatable aspects of one's past by modalities that psychologists refer to as 'repression'. Thus, one ought to read memoirs of small-town colonial India with caution. For within the imaginary homelands that such canvasses depict, there is evidence that they are frequently painted with a nostalgic brush that often succeeds in presenting only part of the complete picture.

Rochelle Almeida, *Clinical Professor of Global Cultures in the Liberal Studies Program at New York University (NYU), has also held the position of Senior Associate Member at St. Antony's College, University of Oxford. She earned a Ph.D. in English from the University of Bombay and a Doctor of Arts degree in English from St. John's University, New York. She is the author of Originality and Imitation: Indianness in the Novels of Kamala Markandaya and The Politics of Mourning: Grief-Management in Cross-Cultural Fiction. Her most recent book, Britain's Anglo-*

Indians: The Invisibility of Assimilation *is the result of a decade-long ethnographic research project undertaken in the UK. She has co-edited Global Secularisms in a Post-Secular Age and Curtain Call: Anglo-Indian Reflections. Forthcoming shortly is an edited anthology, Goa: A Post-Colonial Society Between Cultures. She has received research grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Liberal Studies Program at NYU and has held a Global Research Initiatives Fellowship at NYU-London. As an international freelance writer, she divides her time between Connecticut and Bombay.*

NOTES

¹ The British Nationality Act, 1948, created the new status of "citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies" (CUKC) for people born or naturalized in either the United Kingdom or one of its colonies" (See Wikipedia entry on British Nationality Act, 1948, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British_Nationality_Act_1948 Accessed January 2017). As far as Anglo-Indians were concerned, it permitted entry into the UK to individuals able to provide documentary evidence of British paternity. The Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1962, on the other hand, restricted entry into the UK to individuals "with government-issued employment vouchers, limited in number, to settle" (See Wikipedia entry on Commonwealth Immigrants Act, 1962, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Commonwealth_Immigrants_Act_1962, Accessed January 2017).

² Please note that Muthiah and MacLure have confused these two locations which happen to be two different places: Jamalpur is in the Munger district of Bihar while Jabalpur (also spelt variously as Jubbulpore or Jubalpure) is in Madhya Pradesh.

³ See meaning of word "ghetto" in Dictionary-com: <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/ghetto> Accessed December 2014.

⁴ See Books published by Blair Williams under the CTR Publications banner such as *Voices on the Verandah* (Eds. Margaret Deefholts and Sylvia W. Staub, 2004); *The Way We Were: Anglo-Indian Chronicles* (Eds. Margaret Deefholts and Glenn Deefholts, 2006); *More Voices on the Verandah: An Anglo-Indian Anthology* (Ed. Lionel Lumb, 2012); *Women of Anglo-India: Tales and Memoirs* (Eds. Margaret Deefholts and Susan Deefholts, 2012) and *Curtain Call: Anglo-Indian Reflections* (Eds. Kathleen Cassity and Rochelle Almeida, 2015).

⁵ See, for instance, the memoir of the late Owen Thorpe entitled *Paper Boats in the Monsoon: Life in the Lost World of Anglo-India* (US and UK: Trafford Publishing, 2007).

⁶ In *Under The Old School Topee*. (Basingstoke: The Short Run Book Company Ltd, 1990), p. xi when Craig refers to "children of the Raj", she does not mean Anglo-Indians but 'Home'-born British children who were raised in India because their fathers were either colonial administrators or worked in corporate multi-national European firms on the Indian sub-continent.

⁷ See Thorpe, Owen, op.cit.

⁸ See Antonio Gramsci: *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (New York: International Publishers, 1971). Gramsci believes that colonial empires flourished primarily because administrators had the tacit support of local partners—their mixed race offspring, in the case of India—who not only supported their regimes but assisted in their continuation. Anglo-Indians, employed to run the colonial machinery in India through the Railways and other institutions, were educated in Anglo-Indian schools to assist in the smooth running of empire while being deprived of critical thinking skills that would have caused them to question their role in it.

⁹ Craig is referring here to accounts by Rudyard Kipling of the miserable years he spent living away from his Bombay-based parents in England when sent away to boarding school. For more information on Kipling's life in English boarding schools, see his autobiography, *Something of Myself*, (Ed. Thomas Pinney), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

¹⁰ BRICS stands for Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa.

¹¹ See entry on Indian Railways Institute of Mechanical and Electrical Engineering on Wikipedia: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian_Railways_Institute_of_Mechanical_and_Electrical_Engineering Accessed December 2014.

¹² Note that like Muthiah and MacLure (as explained in Footnote 2), Kipling also confuses the two sites, Jamalpur and Jabalpure. By placing the second site in parenthesis, he seems to have made the assumption that they were one and the same town.

¹³ 'R and R' is a phrase that derives from military slang. It is a customary abbreviation for 'Recreation and Relaxation (or 'Rest and Relaxation').

WORKS CITED

- Anonymous: Wikipedia entry on Indian Railways Institute of Mechanical and Electrical Engineering on Wikipedia:
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian_Railways_Institute_of_Mechanical_and_Electrical_Engineering
- Anonymous: Wikipedia entry on British Nationality Act, 1948,
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British_Nationality_Act_1948
- Anonymous: Wikipedia entry on Commonwealth Immigrants Act, 1962,
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Commonwealth_Immigrants_Act_1962,
- Cassidy, K. and R. Almeida. (2015). (Eds) *Curtain Call: Anglo-Indian Reflections*. New Jersey: CTR Publishers.

-
- Clarke, D. R. (2004). "May I Have the Pleasure?" *Voices On The Verandah: An Anthology of Anglo-Indian Prose and Poetry*. Margaret Deefholts and Sylvia W. Staubs (Eds.) New Jersey: CTR Publishing.
- Craig, H.I. (1990). *Under The Old School Topee*. Basingstoke: The Short Run Book Company Ltd.
- Deefholts, M. and S. Deefholts. (2012). (Eds.) *Women of Anglo-India: Tales and Memoirs*. New Jersey: CTR Publishers.
- Deefholts, M. and G. Deefholts (Eds.). (2006). *The Way We Were: Anglo-Indian Chronicles*. New Jersey, CTR Publishers.
- Deefholts, M. and S. W. Staub (Eds.) (2004). *Voices on the Verandah: An Anthology of Anglo-Indian Prose and Poetry*. New Jersey: CTR Publishers.
- Duncan, G. (2007). "Young Men Behaving Badly". *The New York Times Magazine*, November 7, 2007. http://www.nytimes.com/2007/11/18/magazine/18lives-t.html?_r=1 Accessed February 2017.
- Duncan, G. (2007). *The Bloodstone Papers*. New York: Harper Collins.
- Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. New York: International Publishers.
- Kipling, R. (1991). *Something of Myself*. Thomas Pinney (Ed.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lumb, L. (2012). (Ed.) *More Voices on the Verandah: An Anglo-Indian Anthology*. New Jersey: CTR Publishers.
- Moore, G.J. (1998) *The Anglo-Indian Vision*. Melbourne: AE Press.
- Muthiah, S and H. MacLure (2013) *The Anglo-Indians: A 500 Year History*. New Delhi: Niyogi Books.
- Rushdie, S. (2002). "Step Across This Line." The Tanner Lectures on Human Values. Delivered at Yale University, February 25 and 26, 2002. http://tannerlectures.utah.edu/documents/a-to-z/r/rushdie_2002.pdf Accessed December 2014.
- Rushdie, S. (1992). "Imaginary Homelands." *Imaginary Homelands: Essays and Criticism, 1981-1991*. London: Granta Books.
- Skidelsky, W. (2009). "Meet the Man in Black". London: *The Guardian*, March 14, 2009. <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2009/mar/15/glen-duncan-novelist-interview>. Accessed February 2017.

Tharoor, S. (2016) *An Era of Darkness: The British Empire in India*. New Delhi: Aleph Books.

Tharoor, S. (2017) *Inglorious Empire: What the British Did To India*. London: Hurst Publishers.

Thorpe, O. (2007). *Paper Boats in the Monsoon: Life in the Lost World of Anglo-India*. US and UK: Trafford Publishing.