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ANGLO-INDIAN IMMUNITY FROM PARTITION VIOLENCE

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ABSTRACT

This article is drawn from a wider research project delineating Anglo-Indian lives in Pakistan. Anglo-Indians in that country reside amongst a predominantly Muslim population, compared to a Hindu majority in Independent India. Exploring this religious-cultural dimension exposed the non-discriminatory attitude of Muslims towards mixed race people, compared to the hierarchical exclusive ideals of caste Hindus. It is argued this difference contributed to the higher social status of Anglo-Indians in Pakistan.*

A pivotal period of Anglo-Indian lives in newly created Pakistan was partition in August 1947. Inevitably family memories around this momentous time included stories of communal violence witnessed at close hand by Anglo-Indians. Despite providing havens of safety for locals at risk, this research shows that Anglo-Indians were not targeted by the rampant carnage. This immunity from cycles of violence is an important addition to the continuing search for narratives encompassing the complexity of partition events and, importantly, documents the hitherto unrecognized heroism of Anglo-Indians.

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INTRODUCTION

This article is drawn from a wider research project that delineated Anglo-Indian lifestyles in Pakistan. That project was undertaken to balance and contrast the plentitude of academic accounts on Anglo-Indian lives in India which, with few exceptions, described Anglo-Indians as a marginalized impoverished community. This academic consensus differs significantly from the personal experiences of those in Pakistan. Anglo-Indians in that country are resident amongst a predominantly Muslim population, compared to a Hindu majority in India. Exploring this religious/cultural demographic revealed the more tolerant attitude of Muslims towards mixed race people, in comparison to caste Hindu ideals of exclusivity. It was proposed the former attitude contributed to the higher status of Anglo-Indians in Pakistan who came to simply be called “Anglos”.

The project sources derive from seventy-five oral histories plus shorter interviews with Anglo-Indians whose families resided in the northwest regions of the subcontinent from 1930 (McMenamin, 2019; 2023). A pivotal period in these lives was the lead up and aftermath of independence and partition in August 1947. Inevitably family memories around this momentous time included stories of the horrendous communal violence witnessed by Anglo-Indians that peaked in the Punjab between Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs. Despite frequently providing secure havens for those at risk, the testimonies reveal that Anglo-Indians were not targeted by the carnage occurring around them. This immunity from cycles of violence in 1947-48 is an important addition to the continuing search for narratives encompassing the complexity of partition events and, importantly, records the overlooked heroism of Anglo-Indians.

Overview

Historiography on partition shows the core cause of the violence arose from anxieties and antagonisms between Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs derived from religious-cultural differences estimated to have caused over one million people killed and around ten million displaced (Hasan, 2000; Pandey, 2006; White-Spunner, 2007). It has also been shown that the religious difference of Parsees and Christians, as described by Bapsi Sidhwa (1989), saw those groups excluded from partition violence; Urvashi Butalia (2000) further established that Dalits were exempt. The focus here is on mixed race Christians, namely Anglo-Indians, who had been employed by the British in civil

institutions, schools and companies, including the railways as managers, accountants, clerks, engine drivers and guards (Caplan 2001). As train drivers, guards, and even passengers travelling across the new border regions, Anglo-Indians witnessed at close hand the horrific communal violence that took place on the railways (McMenamin, 2006; 2023).

With rising communal unease preceding independence, Anglo-Indians remained loyal to the British rulers without overt partisan political attachment to India or the proposed new Muslim state of Pakistan. However, political leaders of the Anglo-Indian Association in India came to advocate allegiance to India and the Indian National Congress, whilst a regional political leader in the Punjab attempted parallel allegiance with the Muslim League (Charlton-Stevens, 2022, pp. 271-274). But neither position was unilaterally accepted by ordinary Anglo-Indians. Branch Association leaders in Lahore actively distanced themselves from the national Association's moves towards Congress. Yaqoob Khan Bangash (2022, pp. 5-11) showed that the rift between national and provincial leadership led to political ruptures in Lahore and a few years later the oblivion of Association branches in Pakistan. Interestingly, an Association leader in Punjab in 1947, C. E. Gibbon asserted that most Anglos were descended from Muslims (that is, Indian mothers) so could be called "Anglo-Muslims" (Bangash, 2022, pp. 14-16). Bangash suggests this could have been an attempt to establish Pakistan as a homeland for Anglos, but the term nor the idea caught on. This historical evidence shows that despite being excluded from partition accounts, Anglo-Indians were not passive observers during this period and were involved in political activism, even in Pakistan.

On the social level Urvashi Butalia (2001, p. 248) claimed that Hindu othering had caused problems in India, stressing that "Hindus and Muslim were not social equals" and she posited that this social inequality lay beneath claims for partition. On the same basis it was argued in my research that as a mixed race group of "others" Anglo-Indians were not social equals in Hindu India either. The perceived commonality of low status of Muslims, as well as mixed race groups in India, led Christian Anglo-Indians as Christians to share a closer affinity with Muslims, rather than with caste Hindus. My research showed that, similar to the exclusion of Parsees, Indian Christians and Dalits, Anglo-Indians were immune from violence because it was confined to Muslims, Hindus

and Sikhs. A recent account from an Anglo-Indian leader in India also referred to this exclusion of Anglo-Indians from partition violence. (O'Brien, 2022, pp. 108-109).

Apart from isolated instances where Anglo-Indians were incidental victims of partition violence, despite providing havens of safety and assisting those at risk from attack, the testimonies confirm that Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs did not deliberately target Anglo-Indians. As such, the generalized claim that Muslims sought to exterminate all non-Muslims posited by Waseem (1999, p. 209) is inaccurate because as cited above and in this research, their target focused exclusively on Hindus and Sikhs, not Christians, Parsees, Anglo-Indians or Dalits. Ian Talbot (1999, p. 228) noted that human voices had been "strangely silent" from partition historiography which had focused on the causes of the massacres, rather than the physical and psychological impacts. Talbot instead turned to literature by Bapsi Sidhwa, Kushwant Singh, Saadat Hasan Manto and Bhisham Sahni to elicit the missing human dimension. Butalia emphasized the value of oral histories as a means to explore the personal experiences of partition, how it was understood, remembered, and, expediently, forgotten. The voices of the oral history interviewees quoted here contribute to these missing dimensions in partition narratives by depicting the predicament of Anglo-Indians amidst the horrendous tragedies occurring, as well as revealing many acts of kindness.

Several of the interviewees, including my family, lived in the Punjab and witnessed the brutality of partition violence, whilst many were instrumental in providing havens of safety for those at risk. A previous article (McMenamin, 2006) contained full descriptions of some events, briefly reiterated here. The complete oral history transcripts were published in *Raj Days to Downunder* (McMenamin, 2010; 2019). Extracts from later unpublished interviews recorded after 2015 are quoted here at length.

Rather than focusing on violence per se, although inevitably implicit and occasionally explicit in the extracts, the positive narratives confirm that Anglo-Indians were routinely excluded from attacks. Ashis Nandy (2011) and Anam Zakaria (2015, pp. 112 and 218) commented that those who survived partition violence have memories not only of the violence but of an earlier shared past of friendships of all the involved communities.

Zakaria (2015, pp. 7-9) suggests that positive encounters exhibiting amity and goodwill are an aspect of partition experience needed to overcome the images of violence which have sustained enmity ingrained in the psyche of young generations of both Pakistanis and Indians. These positive memories, along with the accounts of Anglo-Indians, could form part of a long overdue process to help heal the scars of violence incurred over seventy years ago.

VIOLENCE IN RAWALPINDI AND MURREE DISTRICTS

The memories of Anglo-Indians resident in the northwest region around 1947 indicate there was no overt concern about the impending division of India into two separate states as it was perceived the early random violence had been between locals, not directed at Anglo-Indians. The majority, however, did feel that since British rule was ending, they too should depart, although many choose to stay on as working conditions remained favourable for Anglo-Indians in Pakistan. This nonchalant attitude towards partition itself is evident in the testimony of Yvonne Smith. A few weeks before partition, Yvonne married a young army officer at the large railways club in Lahore, the Burt Institute. She said they had to suspend their "joyride that day" because the famous Anarkali bazaar in Lahore "was up in flames".[1] She added that they:

> dodged the police and got into [the] train, as we were going to Srinagar for our honeymoon … at 'Pindi in those days, all sorts of taxi drivers would come and say 'anyone for Srinagar'. We honeymooned for ten days … We had a house boat, it was lovely.[2]

Yvonne said that despite a curfew in Lahore she and her sister forgot and went out walking, so ended up spending the night in a police cell.[3] These two recollections demonstrate the casual attitude of Anglo-Indian civilians, even army families, towards public affairs and security despite violent attacks having occurred in the Punjab since March 1947. This casual attitude is in stark contrast to the increasing fears of Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims. Yasmin Khan (2007, p. 84) notes that the latter began barricading and arming themselves in their homes because of the ever-increasing communal tensions and rising violence in the province.

[1] Yvonne Smith, Oral history 2015, Track 2:1.16-1.19.
[2] Yvonne Smith, Oral history 2015, Track 2:1.16-1.19.
[3] Yvonne Smith, Oral history 2015, Track 2:1.22-1.24.

In contrast to the above causal attitude, in March 1947 Esmee Cloy (McMenamin, 2006, p. 85) had been frightened by the fires and murders around Murree, a hill station near Rawalpindi, and said she wanted to emigrate as soon as possible. Conversely, her friend, my mother Betty Doyle (McMenamin, 2006, p. 85) living in the Rawalpindi cantonment, heard what she described as dreadful cries of people being attacked in nearby bazaars, but did not feel personally threatened or at risk. Betty was confident the violence would remain outside the cantonment area, and essentially it did. When asked if armed forces kept the marauders out, she replied she had not seen guards patrolling nor did she think that was standard practice in Rawalpindi.

Although her husband was away with his troops, newly married Yvonne Smith moved to his station at army headquarters, Barian, near Murree on 15 August 1947, the date of independence. She said:

> I saw nothing. All I know is that the Post offices closed … the banks closed … I was on my own, only twenty years old … I lived in a big block on my own … sentries used to parade our grounds … We had no electricity … I had a cook downstairs … my orderly slept with a loaded rifle, those were his orders. There was a lot of fear at the time. I didn't know anyone attacked, [n]or lost anyone. But we heard of an engine driver who lost an eye. He was an Anglo-Indian.[4]

Yvonne did not know whether the injury to the Anglo-Indian driver was deliberate or accidental, but the details below relating to attacks on trains indicate that Hindus and Muslims were specifically targeted, not Anglo-Indian engine drivers, guards or even Anglo-Indian passengers. Yvonne recalled her husband being on duty on the trains plying between India and Pakistan and told her that some of the men in his troop were Dogras, Hindu rajputs from the Kashmir and Jammu region. His task was to escort a train full of Hindu refugees travelling through Lahore to the Indian border. He told Yvonne that the Hindus took their precious possessions and the women "had loads of gold hidden on them, one had a band of gold that just went round and round on her leg".[5] However, the train he escorted back from the Indian border to Pakistan, had carriages with only "bloodied corpses".[6]

[4] Yvonne Smith, Oral history 2015, Track 2:1.28-1.32.
[5] Yvonne Smith, Oral history 2015, Track 2:1.28-1.32.
[6] Yvonne Smith, Oral history 2015, Track 2:1.32-1.37.

At that time Brian Birch (McMenamin, 2006, pp. 88-90) lived in the engine drivers' quarters at the railway colony in Westridge at Rawalpindi, because his father was a driver, and whose train had regularly been raided. Brian recalled:

> Where we were living there was no violence but you could see the city of Rawalpindi burning, it was just out of control … We children didn't feel endangered, it was like an adventure for us … we used to say look there is another building on fire (McMenamin, 2010, p. 148).

Brian's comment indicates that his parents had not instilled ideas of fear into the minds of their children, presumably because they did not feel threatened in their homes. His testimony corroborates that of other Anglo-Indians living in both the cantonment and railway colony in Rawalpindi, that they were not targets of violence. This was despite the cantonment and railway colony being separated by bazaars where the violence occurred. After August 1947 into 1948 the city was beset with atrocities, including women and children killed and drowned in wells, but Anglo-Indians and other Christians remained immune from such violence (White-Spunner, 2017, p. 84).

Several interviewees were either at boarding schools in Murree or living at hill stations near Rawalpindi, and recalled Pathans who arrived and burnt Sikh and Hindu properties.[7] Most of the testimonies, which were recollections of events over sixty years earlier did not contain dates, so that the chronology of events described below are unclear. This was unless the memories were linked to key personal events, such as Yvonne Smith's wedding above.

One of the earliest enterprises established in Murree district was a brewery set up in 1860 by Edward Whymper and Edward Dyer, the latter the father of Reginald Dyer, infamous for his responsibility for the massacre of Indians at Jallianwala Bagh in 1919. The highly successful brewery had a brisk trade of bottled beer and produced a malt whisky. By 1920s, due to difficulties in sourcing clean water, the brewing facility was moved to Rawalpindi (Ali Khan, 2015, pp. 158-62). The malting process remained at Murree although after World War II the family business was sold to Hindus, so that when partition violence erupted in 1947, the brewery buildings in Murree were destroyed. In due course all the brewing facilities were transferred to the Rawalpindi

[7] Ken Brown, Oral history 2015, Track 1:29-36; Ian States, Oral history 2015, Track 4:25-29 and Birch in McMenamin 2010, 147-148.

site and a Parsee family purchased the thriving business which continues to operate to date. Ken Brown[8] aged eleven, was at boarding school at Lawrence College in Ghora Gali near Murree and recalled the brewery being burnt down during the period of partition violence. But he did not see or experience any violence, even though there was at least one Sikh and a few Hindu boys at his school. The school was never attacked and he knew other nearby schools were untouched, despite several schools having Hindu pupils. Later Ken joined the Pakistan army and recalled:

> when the Pathans and tribals [other Muslim northern tribes] decided to attack Kashmir … they moved irregular troops through Murree and at that time the Gurkha regiment came and protected us at Ghora Gali … tribals were burning as they were going along … [they] burnt down the Brewery.[9]

Ken went on to recount an incident relating to his friend Helen Bruin who worked at Murree Brewery, married to a brewer Bill Lyons. Decades later Ken visited the couple in Auckland, where they had emigrated, and his memory was confirmed by Helen:

> the Pathans came ... and told him [Helen's father] take your family and leave now, go away as we are going to burn this place down. That is how they were spared. They had a good love for the Anglo-Indians and British, they warned Helen Bruin and her parents … they were not local villagers, but Pathans, tribesman from the hills, Peshawar, northwest frontier and Hazara, those places.[10]

Almost seventy years after the above events Ken remained surprised by this and other partition memories; particularly that the Pathans and hill tribes scouring the region razing Hindu and Sikh villages and businesses, did not attack Anglo-Indians or the British.

John Walker was at school in distant Deolali during partition but later attended Lawrence College in Ghora Gali, Murree, and was well informed about the history of the district. For fifteen years, up until the age of eighty, John regularly helped organize Ghora Gali School Reunions in England and Pakistan.[11] He said that his great-great-grandfather had set up a business in Murree to provide provisions to a market garden, next door to which was a piggery. The piggery subsequently was owned by "a chap named Sharp, who became famous for his pork pies throughout Northern India,

[8] Ken Brown, Oral history 2015, Track 1:29-32.
[9] Ken Brown, Oral history 2015, Track 1:32-36.
[10] Ken Brown, Oral history 2015, Track 1:32-36.
[11] John Walker, Oral history 2015, Track 1:12-18.

Sharp's Pork Pies".[12] Having a piggery in a Muslim district would have been fairly unusual, because the pig is *haram* (forbidden) for Muslims who consider it unclean. John said that in 1947:

> a local band of hotheads … slaughtered the Hindu butchers, put them into the piggery and set the piggery alight. And Mrs. Hay, who owned the piggery at the time, she was made to sit and watch this. She was never the same again.[13]

In view of the fact Mrs. Hay owned the piggery, an activity which would have been abhorrent to most Muslims, it is surprising that she was not killed or molested. However, she was made to witness the cruel deaths, most likely due to having provided Hindus with employment and possibly assisting them. Being British or Anglo-Indian, and undoubtedly Christian, appears to account for her life being spared.

EVENTS IN LAHORE

In 1904 Lionel Lumb's grandfather set up their family billiard business and his father ran a branch in Lahore catering to army cantonments (Lumb, 2006, p. 82). Aged ten in 1947, Lionel recalled his father hiding several of his Sikh workmen and their families in locked cellars to keep them safe from rampaging Muslim mobs (2006, pp. 84-85). Prior to that he remembered the Sikhs sharpening the blades of their curved swords, kirpans, carrying one sword on their shoulder belt and the other strapped to their bicycles to keep them safe from attacks as they rode home after work. One Sikh employee told him "they were cutting the penises off slaughtered men and stuffing them into their owners' mouths", but the Sikh added this was "because they have been raping and mutilating our women" (2006, pp. 83-84). Lionel recalled that on the 14 August 1947 Lahore "went up in flames" and the water supply was cut to Hindu and Sikh areas so that those "who ventured out to beg for water were cut down by Muslim mobs" (2006, p. 84). He said that near his home people died either slowly of thirst or swiftly from the knives of neighbours. In late September Lionel's father arranged for his hidden Sikh workmen and families to be smuggled out to a military refugee collection point run by a rich Hindu with "his own private militia" from where they were taken to safety to Amritsar (2006, p. 85). Lionel added that he knew, unlike the Sikhs, his family had not been in mortal danger because they were Anglo-Indians and

[12] John Walker, Oral history 2015, Track 1:33-36.
[13] John Walker, Oral history 2015, Track 1:33-36.

Christians (2006, p. 82). This testimony clearly confirms Anglo-Indians did not consider themselves in danger or targets of violence. However, assisting those who were targeted, as Christine St. Clair-Smith describes below, could put protectors at risk. Another incident my family recalled involved two Anglo-Indian friends crossing a bridge over the Sohan River when they saw a small group being attacked by Muslims, so they headed down to assist the victims. The attackers warned them to leave, otherwise they too would be killed.

Ken Brown said that his father in Lahore had retired from his railway job, and in 1947 was the gatekeeper of a large engineering depot. Here he sheltered many Hindus who worked at the depot and their families. Ken said “the Muslims came and wanted dad to hand them over to them, but he wouldn’t. They didn’t break through as it was well protected”.[14]

Roy Engles was an Indian Christian from Lahore who said his family intermarried and socialized with Anglo-Indians. Roy said that his Christian ancestor’s name was Eshwar Peshan “but we got converted to Christianity by a German missionary whose name was Engles, so he gave his name to my grandfather”.[15] Roy’s father was a teacher of a prestigious Urdu medium Christian school in Lahore, where English was also taught.

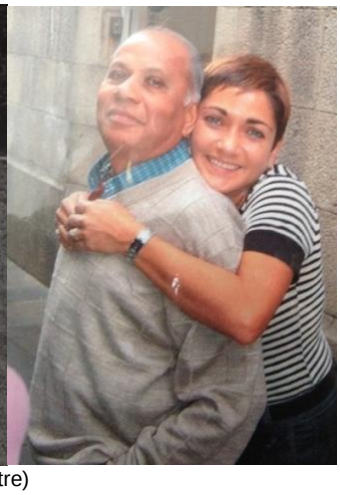

Figure 1 Yvonne Smith, husband and daughters, Angela Harvey (centre)

Figure 2 Ken Brown's parents, Lahore

Figure 3 Roy Engles and his daughter in London

[14] Ken Brown, Oral history 2015, Track 4:27-30.
[15] Roy Engles, Oral history 2015, Track 1:1-5.

Roy attended the school which he said comprised fifty percent Christians, the rest being Hindu, Sikh and Muslim children.[16] He said:

> Partition took place when I was still in the school, I stayed at school from five years old and was still there in 1947 [eleven years old]. Yes, there was quite a lot of trouble because we were living in the road in Australia Building … [with] two or three Hindu families. But we protected them. Because there was a big place at the other side of the road that was Hindu, a very large place. My father had a double barrel gun, and we used to be there protecting the people as they come. Yes, in case the Hindu came to attack the Muslims there, we protected them and all that.[17]

> Christians were not involved at all in partition violence, not at all. Yes, they helped. Even if they were living in the Muslim community they were not attacked. Or living in the Hindu community, nothing. Because Christians were not taking part in anything. You have your India, we have Pakistan, but it is nothing to do with us [Christians]. When it happened in 1947, all my relatives moved to India, Christian relatives, all of them. Only my father stayed, because he had the higher job and we were quite settled.[18]

Roy's testimony provides interesting perspectives on partition. Firstly, that all Christians, including of course Anglo-Indians, were not targeted by violence, as indicated in Bapsi Sidhwa's famous novel, *Ice Candy Man,* where a sweeper's daughter was married to an elderly Christian to ensure her safety. It was also interesting that Roy's Indian Christian relatives chose to go to India, perhaps due to the closer kinship to their Hindu origins prior to converting to Christianity? Rani Sircar's family, Brahmins who had converted to Christianity, also chose to return to India. This was despite Rani's explicit description of her family's diminished status and exclusion by their Brahmin relatives because they had converted (Sircar, 2003, pp. 194-96). Roy Engles' testimony indicates that because they felt secure about their exclusion from violence, Christians offered protection to those at risk.

The above responses of Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and the British to the mayhem in Rawalpindi, Murree and Lahore districts indicate a strong empathy and trust between individuals who had contact with each other in their everyday lives. The recollections below echo similar attitudes and patterns of behaviour and confirm a

[16] Roy Engles, Oral history 2015, Track 2:6-9.
[17] Roy Engles, Oral history 2015, Track 2:9-16.
[18] Roy Engles, Oral history 2015, Track 2:9-16.

level of amity that existed between Anglo-Indians and Muslims, Hindus or Sikhs despite the surrounding murderous activities.

VIOLENCE ON THE TRAINS AND RAILWAY STATIONS

The vast historiography produced on partition contains graphic descriptions of the carnage on station platforms and on the trains moving in both directions. The testimonies of Anglo-Indians support the finding by Paul Brass (2003, pp. 72-74) that train attacks were planned, often with police complicity. This is evident in the testimony of Ken Blunt, a policeman on security duty escorting a train to Lahore. Ken said he was relieved of his duty and taken off a train at Jhelum and that the train "was wiped out, just outside Lahore … they arranged that because the police were definitely in on that … they probably thought I would be a fly in the ointment" (McMenamin, 2006, p. 86). Ken's testimony is suggestive of the general integrity of Anglo-Indians although this trait had given rise to descriptions as the "lackeys of the British" being upholders of law and order, steadfast in their duty without partisan involvement with Muslims, Hindus or Sikhs.

This loyalty to the British, or their employers, resonates throughout the history of Anglo-Indians and perhaps contributes to reasons why they were spared from violence even though often being at the heart of massacre sites, in positions such as engine drivers, security officers and guards on trains where all the passengers were slaughtered. During the earlier Quit India movement, however, the British were targets of violence, whereas during partition the British too were excluded from violence. Brian Birch offers another reason why engine drivers and guards were not attacked because Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs wanted the trains to keep moving, ferrying passengers across the border (McMenamin, 2010, p. 148).

Brian recalled his engine driver father being distraught about conveying Hindus from Peshawar south eastwards to India. Brian provided details of Pathans forcing trains to stop, either by laying wooden planks across the lines or tying wires across "cuttings" through which the trains had to pass (McMenamin, 2010, pp. 147-48). Once the train stopped all the passengers, Hindu men, women and children were taken out and killed with swords or sticks with barbed wire wrapped at one end (McMenamin, 2006, pp.

88-90). Each time his train was stopped, Brian said his father thought “this is it, but no, they just left him, and they left the workmen … [they] had to move the trains” (McMenamin, 2010, p. 148).

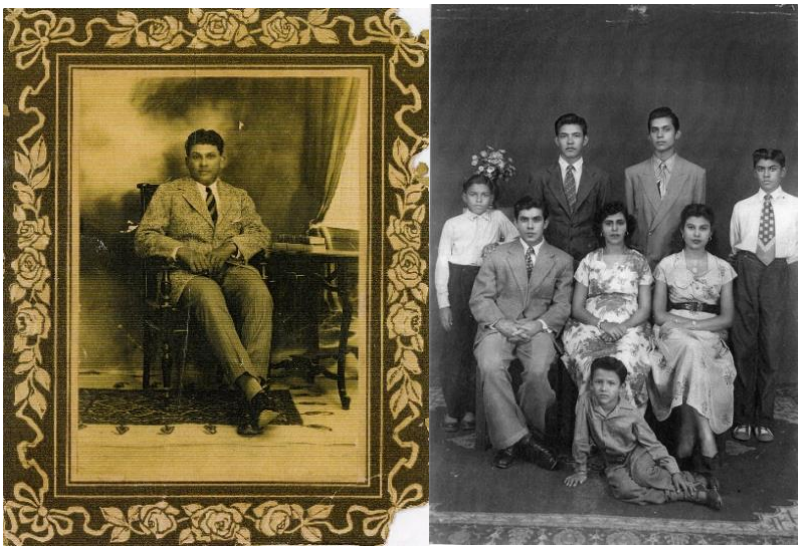

Figure 4 Brian Birch’s father, engine driver

Figure 5 Brian Birch (in dark suit top left), mother (centre) and some siblings

Brian recalled his father saying the drivers were traumatized and could not take more of the violent killing on trains and platforms. Anglo-Indian engine drivers, including Birch sr., were bewildered and tortured by their experiences witnessing the barbaric slaughter and violence on their trains. Placing extra guards on trains eased the situation, although Brian’s father asked for a transfer to Karachi because he could not face continuing to work in the Punjab.

The father of David and Dick Leckey was also a train driver in Punjab and Sind. The older son David vividly recalled the different types of trains along the North Western Railways, such as engines specifically for transporting heavy goods (HGS), and engines for passenger services (SPS). He remembered the hours spent polishing engines to keep them looking almost new, and recalled his father had driven the Viceroy Special, and post 1947, he drove the Muhammad Ali Jinnah Special. David said the train featured in the movie Bhowani Junction, mainly filmed in Pakistan, was one his father had driven. On a trip back to school after partition following their holidays Dick Leckey, aged ten, his younger brother Gene, aged eight, and their sisters witnessed communal partition violence (McMenamin, 2010, p. 223). Their home was

in Kotri, South Sind, and they travelled by train through Multan and Lahore to Rawalpindi to their school in Murree. Dick described an attack on their train as it went through a “cutting” in a hillside where he saw Sikhs perched, attacking the train with “guns, stones and all sorts of missiles” (McMenamin, 2006, p. 87). The train passed through Multan without stopping because a section of the station was on fire and people were fighting with swords. At Lahore, when their train halted at a railway siding beside another train, the boys peeked into the train and saw it full of mutilated decaying bodies (McMenamin, 2010, p. 223). Despite the carnage witnessed on their travel to school, Dick said they got to Lawrence College in Murree but “there were only a dozen of us so they put us in the hospital” for about two months until the staff and other students arrived for the new term (McMenamin, 2010, pp. 223-24). Dick said when they returned home after nine months at boarding school, his father never discussed the attacks.

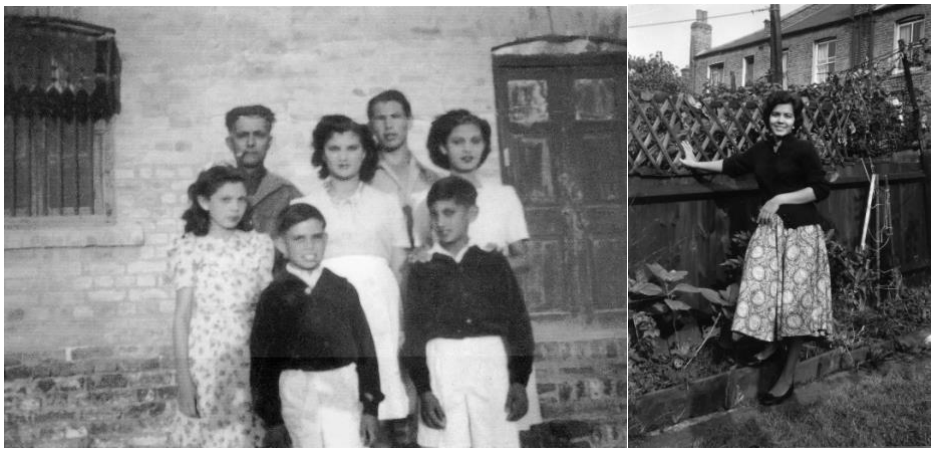

Figure 6 Leckey family - father (top left), an engine driver; sons David (top right), Dick (bottom right), and siblings

Figure 7 Connie Grindall, in England

Although the Anglo-Indian engine drivers witnessed traumatic events, they remained resilient, continuing to drive trains irrespective of the horrific violence but in fear for their own lives. The lack of recognition for their brave service is likely due to the far worse predicament of the passengers, but nevertheless, the drivers’ courage in carrying out their duty needs acknowledgement.

Not only were the lives of Anglo-Indian train drivers and guards spared but several interviewees, who were passengers on trains that were attacked, were spared. In view of the dreadful number of innocent lives lost during the massacres on the railways,

these exceptions are highly significant. Ian States recalls a train journey as a youngster with his mother in 1948 and the surrealness of their situation as he reflected on it:

> in 1948 ... [The violence] was still all happening. My brother and I were with her, and she also had a servant. We had a compartment in the train carriage, from Lahore to Pindi, and the train was stopped somewhere between, by Pathans. They came on board and were looking for non-Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs. Mum locked the door, bolted it and somebody was banging on the door. And she said in her best Urdu, that she had a gun in her hand, which she didn't, but would shoot anyone who came through the door. I think [in hindsight] what gave it away to them, as they didn't bother us after that, her Urdu was so awful, she wasn't any kind of Sikh or Hindu! They didn't try to get in just went on. I don't know about the others on the train … the stories were not repeated to us.[19]

The limited ability of some Anglo-Indians to speak local languages fluently has been commented upon in many accounts. However, in the northwest this trait was more common amongst women who did not work; whereas working men and women did speak local languages because they needed to communicate with local employees and members of the public. Certainly as far as my childhood was concerned, most Anglo-Indians spoke Urdu and Punjabi or even other local languages fluently. In terms of Ian States memory, it is of interest that the "raiders" he refers to were not in any way incensed by his mother's lack of language, but instead bypassed her, her children and a servant. Although the sons were young at the time, I am aware that they, and especially their father, were fluent in local languages. Despite having left Pakistan aged fifteen, I can still speak a mix of Urdu and Punjabi, although not quite as fluently as I would like more than fifty years later.

The lack of violence being inflicted on Anglo-Indians was evident in the testimony of Louise José, daughter of a retired Anglo-Indian army doctor, Major Cooper, employed in 1946 by the Imperial Tobacco Company in Saharanpur. Saharanpur was a large railway junction where Hindus and Muslims lived and worked, and Louise was "shocked how people who had lived and worked together, could be so intent on killing each other in cold blood". She added:

> In Saharanpur trains came in full of dead bodies, men, women and children, Hindus leaving newly formed Pakistan, viciously slaughtered.

[19] Ian States, Oral history 2015, Track 4:25-29.

> So Muslims felt it imperative to go to Pakistan … Anglo-Indian drivers, fireman and guards drove the trains in despair as they knew the killing was going on in their trains … none of these Anglo-Indians were harmed … when the trains stopped at regular stops, people came on and off to kill with knives, no guns, for maybe two weeks it went on.[20]

Louise's comment that "Muslims felt it imperative to go to Pakistan" because of the violence, indicates fear of retaliation due to the massacre of Hindus and Sikhs. This again confirmed the cyclic nature of the violence and the exclusion of Anglo-Indians in the massacres. Her personal recollection that family servants had to leave work early due to an imposed curfew suggests general compliance with regulations. Although on one occasion a servant was late and left in a hurry so that he was:

> still wearing his uniform for serving at table, a long white coat and a *pugree* (turban), as well as the bands in IMD [Indian Medical Department] colours, navy blue and light blue with letter 'C' for Cooper on the band around his turban. Fortunately the servant was still wearing his uniform so they believed and knew he worked for Doctor Major Cooper, and the police escorted him home safely.[21]

Aside from the interesting description of the uniform worn by the servant, it is curious that the uniform signifying his British connection, provided reason to be escorted home by police. This contrasts with the earlier recollection of Yvonne Smith that she and her sister were locked overnight in a police cell in Lahore for violating a curfew.

Around the time of partition Connie Grindall travelled on a train from India to Karachi with her mother and siblings to join her father who had taken up a new post (McMenamin, 2006, pp. 90-91). During the night the train stopped, and they heard noises outside the closed windows of their internally locked compartment. Her mother told the children to remain quiet and lie still. When they arrived at Karachi they discovered that, except for themselves and another Anglo-Indian family in the compartment, and no doubt the Anglo-Indian train crew, all the passengers had been killed. Two other interviewees, Christine St. Clair-Smith and Penny Newman encountered similar horrors on train journeys from India across the border into Pakistan. The events leading up to and including their train journeys are described next to provide a wider perspective of the events preceding the experiences.

[20] Louise José, Interview notes 1996, 2.
[21] Louise José, Interview notes 1996, 3.

Christine St. Clair-Smith's father owned horse stables and was a bookie in partnership with a Muslim, Malik Abdul Kayuum. They moved the horses around the north India racecourse circuit including Lahore, Delhi, Rawalpindi and Calcutta.[22] Christine and her mother often travelled around the circuit, but mainly stayed near relatives in the Punjab. Christine said when she was seven years old, in November 1947, her mother and two uncles had helped Muslims syces (horse groomers) in Amritsar to escape over the border, dressed as British army sepoys.[23] Her cousin, Ian States, a son of one of the uncles, provided an account of this.

> He [Christine's father] had huge stables in Meerut, central North India, and they used to take their horses everywhere. At partition, there was rioting outside because the stable was staffed by Muslim syces. This was the middle of the Hindu area and for some reason they took exception and began to cause trouble. The syces were actually smuggled out of India by my father and his brother … these Muslim syces [disguised] as soldiers in the British army and escorted them back to Pakistan. They travelled by train, truck and bus. Dad was living in Pindi at that stage.[24]

Prior to the rescue of the Muslim syces and horses, Christine explained her side of the fuller story, commencing at the time her mother and herself as a girl visited Gaya, where for the first time Christine experienced, what she called "Quit India" harassment:

> mum and I had gone into the big market and … a riot broke out … We were in front of a stall and the man said to my mum in Urdu, 'better come in I'm going to hide you because there is going to be trouble. There is a big mob collecting' … he hid us behind huge tins of ghee. Over the ghee and us, he put gunny sacks … I'd never seen or heard a mob going wild. The mob moved up towards us and three or four entered … we kept hiding and the man whispered to us, 'don't breathe too loud. I protect you with my life, but don't breathe too loud!' … he had hidden us so well and about an hour after the noise had died down … he got Indian clothes. It was fine for mum because she had dark almost black hair, but I was blonde and fair skinned. Mum and I dressed up in shalwar kameez … and his son escorted us … to the railway cantonment where dad's family was. That was our first real connection with the Quit India mob. We left Gaya and there was more trouble in that part of India … We didn't come across it anywhere in Punjab. It just got bad after mela [festival].[25]

[22] Christine St. Clair-Smith, Oral history 2015, Track 1:10-13.
[23] Christine St. Clair-Smith, Oral history 2015, Track 4:6-9.
[24] Ian States, Oral history 2015, Track 4:29-end.
[25] Christine St. Clair-Smith, Oral history 2015, Track 7:1-7.

Christine's comment that the family had not experienced activities in the Punjab, such as in Gaya, is consistent with the observation by Bose and Jalal (1988, p. 161) that in the northwest areas there was minimal involvement with the Quit India movement. After the Gaya incident, Christine and her mother were in Meerut, where her uncles had rescued the Muslim syces. Word had got around about these activities and apparently a crowd decided to attack the "*Angrezi memsahib* [English woman] who was helping the Muslims".[26] This incident describing an attack targeting Anglo-Indians was exceptional although it occurred in central India rather than the northwest, and the family had earlier helped Muslims to escape to Pakistan. Christine said that evening a crowd gathered around their home:

> all the syces who were looking after my father and his partner's horses, which were part Arab, they were all there … suddenly their thatched roof caught fire … By nine o'clock there was smoke coming into the house, as you could see through the rafters where the thatch had given way, the stables had been set on fire. None of the syces would leave the horses. Mostly Hindu syces but loyal and faithful. Meerabux our cook, and Fulchand our bearer, the chokra [boy] and Rana my ayah [maid], they were rushing around trying to collect valuables, and my mum kept saying, they are not important, life is important. When the inside of the house and door frames started catching fire … Meerabux our cook led us through the back of the cottage, past the flaming stables … we hid in a nullah, a drain. We were there for four or five hours … the crowd disappeared and Meerabux said 'I'm going to go out to see'.[27] Twenty-two horses were burnt to death, with eleven syces. And it has only been in the last fifteen years that I can bear the smell of a barbecue, doesn't that sound daft. Anyway, about an hour later, Meerabux returned with two Sikh Indian army officers … We were loaded into the back of the truck covered with blankets in case … We were driven to one of the officer's homes in Delhi where we stayed until January 1948 and then we were loaded onto a refugee train … The windows were shuttered and they hung blankets so nobody could see inside. We had chattees [pots] with water, embers and tiffin [food] carriers with different foods, and we had to go to Amritsar … [the train] kept being stopped, and you could hear horrendous sounds … They tried to get into our compartment but the sepoys had guns and fix bayonets poking through the windows. We arrived at Amritsar station … when the doors opened the blood and bits of limbs kept falling by. The officers helped mum and the ayah off, and Meerabux and Fulchand and the chokra got all our belongings, few possessions … I was lifted and we just ran, with the sepoys and four servants. We got to the barbed wire, and could see dad and his partner on the other side, but they couldn't open the gate … around the station, they were losing their lives, left right and center, blood splashing

[26] Christine St. Clair-Smith, Oral history 2015, Track 4:3-6.
[27] Christine St. Clair-Smith, Oral history 2015, Track 4:6-9.

> everywhere. When people talk of the peaceful handing over of power, they haven't a clue … the Colonel said you can't take these three, they are Hindus, their life won't be worth a penny if you take them into Pakistan. So that was my saying goodbye to Fulchand who had been with my mum and dad and Meerabux from the age of seven … we walked along the barbed wire fence holding onto their hands, and they were crying and we were crying. Meerabux's hands were just shredded, but he looked after Fulchand.[28]

Figure 8 Christine St. Clair-Smith, mother and brother in 1942

Figure 9 Christine (seated in front), her parents (standing behind her, centre), with friends and relatives

Not only does Christine's testimony vividly describe the carnage taking place, but it demonstrates the loyalty and friendship that existed between Anglo-Indians and their family helpers, servants, whether Muslim, Hindus, Sikh or Christian. The word "servant" fails to convey the warmth of the relationships that frequently existed between Anglo-Indians and local people. These domestic helpers were totally trusted to assist with daily indoor chores, often living on the premises or within the compound.

Following partition Penny Newman's family were travelling by train to Pakistan as her father had decided to remain with his troop and join the Pakistan army. Her father's Anglo-Indian family were from Bangalore, but while serving in World War II, he had been in the Punjab Eight, a battalion of Muslims which became the Fifth Baluch. He later rose to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel.[29] Penny said:

> Dad had made up his mind to go to Pakistan. He was going there because he loved the Muslim troops … he thought young country … he would be able to help develop and grow with it … The rest of the family

[28] Christine St. Clair Smith, Oral history 2015, Track 4:9-end.
[29] Penny Newman, Oral history 2015, Track 3:3-6 and 15-18

had gone to England by then. His job was to get the Muslim troops safely into Pakistan. The first troop he took out, a troop train and we were on it, full of Muslims and their families. The whole battalion was moving. I was a two and my sister Patsy was just born … we took his (father's) ayah with us. She was a Hindu lady, totally alone, with no family whatsoever. She had been with [our] family all her life. We were in the second carriage, and during the night dad woke up feeling something not right. He would have had his talki talki … and he asked the engine driver to stop … [and found] three quarters of the train was missing … they came across the train, every single person had been slaughtered. Dad very rarely talked about it … Anyway we got to Bunnu. His job then was to get the Hindus … into India. It was up in the mountains, but dad had learnt his lesson by then. So he sent out scouts that he could depend on. They came back and said 'it is a trap sir' … looking down the mountain side he said he could see them all entrenched, ready to attack the next train … they knew they were the Hindu troops going. Dad said ok we are still going. He had them all lined up to get on the train, but didn't give the order for them to get on the train, he made the train go. The troops went overland. As the train went over they could see them attacking an empty train. While dad was doing that, Mum went to stay with [a friend] … The ayah ... had just poured the [hot] bath water into the bath, and there was a lot of shooting and screaming. My ayah must have got frightened and took off. The Hindu ayah. I must have got up to follow her and fell into the bathwater, and started screaming … They rushed me off to the military hospital, by then I was unconscious. Over this ten-day period apparently, they had forgotten about the poor Hindu ayah. By then dad came back and sent out his troops to look for her … but she had run straight into the riots and they found her beheaded ... If she had only stayed where she was, she would have been absolutely fine and I wouldn't have been burnt.[30]

Figure 10 Penny Newman's parents, Shortland family wedding group

Figure 11 John Newman, Angela Harvey, Penny Newman and Charles Harvey (L to R) in Birmingham, 2015

[30] Penny Newman, Oral history 2015, Track 6:3-12.

The testimony confirms Anglo-Indians, even in the army when involved in partition violence frequently protected and/or assisted either Muslims, Hindus and/or Sikhs. Even the faithful ayah was not entirely forgotten, but sadly a subsequent search expedition found her killed.

All the above testimonies indicate the specificity of targeted victims was based on religious difference, extending to a sole Hindu woman, Penny's ayah. Apart from better off Indian Christians, the majority of Christians in South Asia were low class villagers and sweepers who converted to Christianity. It was suggested that the sweeper classes were not attacked because they performed essential services nobody else wanted to undertake (Butalia, 2000, p. 248).

VIOLENCE AND WOMEN

Ayesha Jalal (2013), Urvashi Butalia (2000), Andrew Major (1995) and others have argued that overall, in each community, women were doubly the victims of partition violence. The absence of opportunistic attacks by South Asian males on women who wore western attire, demonstrates a level of acceptance of cultural difference at that period. This was contrary to the traditional limitations placed on the lifestyles of their own womenfolk, as compared to the lifestyle and attire of Anglo-Indian and European women. Excepting the attempted attacks on Christine St. Clair-Smith and her mother due to assisting Muslims; the harrowing experience of the owner of the piggery who employed Hindus; and the killings in Baramulla narrated below, this research indicates that Anglo-Indian women in both Muslim Pakistan and Hindu India were not victims of partition violence. The testimonies of female interviewees present at scenes of violence and/or civil disorder exemplify this exclusion as in this testimony of Yvonne Smith:

> Peter [her husband in the army] said they were killing people and throwing them into the wells, in 'Pindi. Shops were set on fire … when I was about five or six months married, I lived in Pindi in the Grand Hotel. I took my dog for a walk, a little dachshund. There was panic because the Grand Hotel was in the shopping areas. The tribal men still around came to Pindi and into shops, didn't know they had to pay for things. The police had to be sent for, everyone was hiding behind pillars. I was carrying my dog and hiding behind a pillar. But I personally never came

> across anything. We wouldn't go to bazaar areas where they were killed and slaughtered.[31]

It is surprising that a woman alone in a public place at a time of widespread civil rioting, found it sufficiently safe behind a mere pillar! This is particularly so in the case of an army officer's wife fully aware of attacks by Pathans in Kashmir and Murree, and the massacres on trains. My mother, Betty Doyle, not an acquaintance of Yvonne Smith, living in Rawalpindi during the same period, told me of an elderly Anglo-Indian woman accosted in the streets by a Pathan who demanded she give him all her money.[32] The woman opened her purse and offered him the one rupee note in it, whereupon the Pathan placed a ten rupee note in her purse, closed it and departed! This incident not only showed the humour and/or generosity of Pathans, but also their tacit tolerance towards western women's lifestyles and apparel which was in complete contrast to the customary practice of Pathan women who followed purdah.

Another experience of an Anglo-Indian woman during 1947 is recalled by John Walker relating to his mother being driven home near the oilfields at Khaur and Balkassar:

> my mother was on her way back to Khaur from Pindi having been shopping. She was in a pickup, which they all called box cars in those days, and she was with a driver called Khaki Jung. (Pause: John disturbed by memory). You see these people had lived together, as neighbours, and yet one day she was driving through a place called Fatehjung, which is where the road to Khaur crossed the railway line that took you to Kohat. There was smoke rising all over the town and the car had to dodge burning cars and goodness knows what in the road, and eventually two chaps hailed the car, and my mother said 'for goodness sake don't stop', and the driver said 'no, they don't want to harm you, they just want a lift'. And these two guys were carrying these axes that they used for cutting branches off the trees to feed the goats, the bair tree. These two guys were covered in blood. Mum said alright, and they jumped in the back and when they got to where they wanted to get off, they just banged on the cab roof and off they went. My mother told this story to my father when she got back, and he said they were probably just settling scores. Because a lot of the Muslim families who had fairly big holdings of land, way back in their history, because of the Muslim laws of inheritance where it had to be shared out and it got smaller. Each son had his little bit so it got smaller and smaller, that it ended up no more than a garden which couldn't sustain a family. So they ended up

[31] Yvonne Smith, Oral history 2015, Track 2:1.32-1.38.
[32] This family story, retold on many occasions by my mother, was somehow excluded from her oral history.

> having to go out to work, in the hands of money lenders who were invariably Sikhs or Hindus.[33]

In the circumstance of a woman alone in a car with, it appears, an unarmed driver, it is highly significant that John's mother was not molested or attacked. Nor was the car hijacked by men who had all the signs of having been involved in criminal activities.

It has been suggested that during the period of partition, opportunists took advantage of the lack of legal prosecution and police control to free themselves of the yoke of indebtedness, so that motives for killings were not based solely on religious bigotry. John's understanding of Muslim indebtedness supports this explanation. Yasmin Khan (2015, pp. 11-12) refers to retired British civil servant Malcolm Darling's tours around the Punjab in late 1946 and noted that Balkassar, a village where John Walker's father lived and worked on oil drills, was a place where Sikhs and Muslims had lived in harmony, until the cry for Pakistan made them eye each other warily The following description by John Walker of a long standing family servant not only displays John's sympathetic understanding of his fellow Indians, but confirms the commonality of shared religious belief which Darling had observed. Walker conveys the idea that religious conversion occurred amongst the lower classes, because religion "rest[ed] lightly on their shoulders". He explained:

> Al Uddin came first to great grandmother Winter, then my grandmother Anderson as a domestic servant. Because they had grown up together, they were about the same age my granny and him. He used to call her 'Aggie'. Her name was Agnes, and grandfather Anderson used to get mad as hell when he heard this. He used to give her a bit of a ribbing and tell her it was about time she stopped allowing him to call her Aggie, but Memsahib. He (Al Uddin) was a low caste Hindu to start with, and after a while he got fed up with this and he thought he would become a Sikh, because the Sikhs had supposedly abandoned the caste system, which isn't quite true there was still a level of separation between the clans … He converted to Sikhism and then he discovered that there was still a bit of caste in Sikhism, so he decided he would become a Muslim. Hence the name Al Uddin, which is the name he died with. When he died, I think his son went to the local mosque to have him buried.[34]

This sensitive account by John, particularly that religion "rest[ed] lightly on their shoulders" is a testimony to the way shared lives of poorer Punjabis was shattered

[33] John Walker, Oral history 2015, Track 1:29 and Track 2:1-5.
[34] John Walker, Oral history 2015, Track 3:9-end.

with the phenomenon of partition. The testimony again confirms the close relationship of Anglo-Indians and their servants, especially those who had lived in India for several generations and there was a reciprocity of loyalty and care between the respective families who lived in such close daily contact.

SIKH COMPLICITY IN VIOLENCE

Anxiety over their future place in India inevitably aggravated Sikh insecurities and contributed to antagonism between local communities. Some Anglo-Indians considered that the troubles and violence were restricted to Muslims and Hindus, and that the Sikhs unfortunately got caught up in it. Whereas the following comment by John Walker could fall under the category of "cold blooded stray stabbing" which Ian Talbot (1999, p. 232) identified as a feature of violence in North India. It may have been caused by retaliatory or random violence inflicted on unsuspecting individuals, here, a Sikh:

> The road to the Attock Oil camp at Balkassar ran off the main Chakwal Road … there was an old Sikh employed to direct people to where the camp was and to collect the post, because the postman wouldn't bother to go all the way round, and someone from the company would come and collect the post from him. And they killed him. He was an old man, brutal, nothing subtle about it.[35]

A few interviewees and other evidence suggests that the proposed division of Punjab, the Sikh sacred homeland, incurred the wrath of militant Sikhs who instigated violence that erupted both by and against them (Moon, 1961, pp. 77-85). The observation of Louise José ties in with these claims and her belief that the killings on trains in and out of Saharanpur by both Hindus and Sikhs caused Muslims to feel it imperative to go to Pakistan.[36]

Near Rawalpindi, Tommy Walker witnessed Hindu and Sikh workers butchered on the streets beside the oil company office in Morgah, so he slept with a revolver under his pillow.[37] He said he never had to use it despite the fact he gave protection to several Hindus, including his gardener who remained living in the servant quarters on his compound until Tommy left Pakistan in the late 1960s. At the time of these killings in

[35] John Walker, Oral history 2015, Track 2:1-5.
[36] Louise José, Interview 1996, 3.
[37] Tommy Walker, Interview 1997, 5.

Morgah, a Hindu doctor employed by the oil company was found hiding under the bed of another British employee. It was arranged for the doctor and other Hindu employees to be flown safely to India (McMenamin, 2010, p. 177).[38] Not only does this reflect a high degree of fear and anxiety, but it also demonstrates that the choice to hide in a British home was sufficient to avoid being attacked with the assumption that the British would provide assistance to safety – which occurred as reported by the interviewees. Such instances raise unassessed issues such as the local reliance on ordinary Britishers for safety, and the roles of Britishers and Anglo-Indians assisting locals in their dire time of need.

Another oil company staff member, Harold Braund, stationed at the outer oilfields at Khaur, “was sitting in his office when an axe-wielding mob burst in and attacked his staff. Maxine [his new American wife] recalled keeping her service revolver at her side while she tore up all gifts of wedding sheets to make bandages for the wounds of his six Hindu clerks. None survived” (Braund, 2012). Neither of the Braunds were harmed.

AN INCIDENT OF PARTITION VIOLENCE THAT INCLUDED ANGLO-INDIAN VICTIMS

Pamela Barretto, the daughter of Jose Barretto from the Post and Telegraph Department in Rawalpindi, compiled a memorial account of her father’s death in a missionary leaflet (Barretto, 1997). This account is the only recorded incident where Anglo-Indian and European men and women were killed amongst general partition violence, although they were not specifically targeted. The memorial mentions generalized attacks on locals without specific details, apart from killing a Hindu patient in the hospital.

In April 1947 Jose Barretto’s wife began a temporary job as a doctor at St. Joseph’s Hospital, Baramulla, on the road from Rawalpindi to Srinagar, Kashmir. Her father was assisting at the nearby Franciscan Missionary of Mary Sisters’ Convent where the family resided. On 26 October 1947 they learnt that Afridi tribesman were invading Kashmir, and the next morning the “carnage began” (Barretto, 1997, pp. 7 & 15). They heard shooting from the Maharaja’s grounds, screaming and crying and saw local men

[38] Confirmed also by Tommy Walker, interview 1997, 2-3.

felled by guns. The attackers first entered the hospital, where they "stabbed a Hindu woman in her bed" (1997, p. 16). They killed an English woman who had just had a baby, and her husband who rushed into the ward. Three nuns were also shot. The attackers then entered the convent where Pamela's parents were trying to help the infirm but the "raiders" made everyone line up to be shot, including four nuns, nine sisters, her mother and father. Her father offered himself to be shot in place of the women and was shot. As he fell dead, the voice of the "major of the Pathan army" rang out in his local language "Stop! Don't kill them" and he went on to assure those present that he had been educated in Peshawar by [Mill Hill] priests and nuns and remembered their kindness (1997, p. 17). This officer stopped the "raiders" from shooting the people who had been lined up to be shot.

The fact that the massacre at Baramulla was ended by an Afridi ex-pupil of an Anglo-Indian school, supports the idea that Anglo-Indian schools established by the British contributed towards a level of amity between the British, Anglo-Indians and South Asian middle classes. Due to good experiences at school the friendships and respect created surfaced even during the most heinous of times.

A FAMILY IN PESHAWAR

Albert Godin compiled an account about his parents (originally from Goa, named Godinho but who changed their name to Godin), commencing with his family's activities as providers of music and musical equipment in Peshawar since 1924 (2011). During the period of partition Albert noted:

> A number of Hindus and Sikhs … offered to legally transfer their properties to the Godins without payment in the hope that, if they returned to Pakistan at some later date, these properties would be returned to their original owners. Both Robert and Eveline Godin refused such transactions on the grounds that these properties were not paid for. (2011, p. 4)

Additionally, Albert commented:

> Many thousands of Hindus and Sikhs and their families were lodged at the Balahisar Fort for their safety … Robert and Eveline would visit their friends in the Fort and take some refreshments for them. Of these, many had given them "*potlis*" (small bags) of their gold and jewelry for safekeeping. These were duly labelled and on the day prior to their flights, these "*potlis*" were returned to their owners. (2011, p.4)

Subsequently thousands of Muslim refugees from India settled in Peshawar, and the properties vacated by the exodus of Hindus and Sikhs were listed for auction with the bidding restricted to the "*mohajirs*", refugees. The Godin's home was on this list, but because the people of Peshawar did not wish to "dislodge" them, it was agreed no bid would be made for their property (Godin, 2011, p. 5). The authorities "accepted the wishes of the people and the property was allotted to the Godins against payment" (2011, p. 6). Later in 1982 when Eveline Godin "breathed her last", despite it being Ramzan the Muslim period of fasting, her funeral was attended by hundreds of locals who offered Islamic prayers for her before the coffin was taken into the Christian Church. Albert and his wife remained in the region through increasingly troubled years as thousands of Afghan refugees entered Pakistan during the Soviet invasion and warfare between the Taliban and government forces right up until 2015. Frailty and age induced the couple to emigrate and join their children who had earlier settled in Canada.[39]

MIGRANTS, REFUGEES AND *MOHAJIRS* INTO SIND

In Baluchistan, and particularly in Sind along the Southern boundary of Pakistan with India, there was an absence of extreme partition violence. However an exchange of Hindus into India and Muslims into Pakistan occurred. Tony Mendonça lived in Karachi with his large family. Aged thirteen in 1947 Tony recalled some events:

> The refugees started arriving in Karachi, by the millions, before and after partition … Because there were no resources to cope, these refugees set up shacks and shanties anywhere they could see or find open spaces. They used bamboo and sacks to build shelters, but there weren't any water, drainage or toilet facilities. So slums appeared … The refugees even took over the Karachi Golf course. These were desperate refugees who had to flee the sectarian riots, fighting and killings. The refugees survived with meagre aid from Red Cross, Church or Government. Maybe the mosques assisted too, I don't know. When the monsoons came, and it rained heavily, these people were out there in a quagmire. They attacked a tram, in frustration. I was on the tram, but just got off and walked home. (McMenamin, 2010, pp. 278-38)

Karachi had been known as one of the wealthiest and cleanest cities in India prior to the partition migrations into Pakistan. Everything unfortunately changed as the huge number of Urdu speaking Muslims, *mohajirs*, crossed into Sind. Eventually they came

[39] Albert Godin and his wife Clare joined their children in Toronto sometime between 2012-2016. Albert emailed me from Toronto 20.06.2016 when he was frail and admitted to hospital.

to represent more than fifty-one percent of the population of Karachi, putting an enormous strain on the city's infrastructure (Ansari, 2005, p. 127). It was not until the 1950s that housing projects were initiated in attempts to accommodate the *mohajirs*, although the resettlement accommodation provided was vastly insufficient.

Another comment on the absence of killings appears in an account relating to crossings over the Sind border into India:

> From all the Sindis from Sind I have met so far in India in the last fifty years – none, but none has mentioned any loss of human life in his or her family. It is clear that the Sindi Muslims had not been violent against the Hindu Sindis … there were a few cases of robbery and hooliganism, but I don't give that much importance. (Kothari and Kothari, 2008, p. 150)

The strain of the huge number of refugees and the lack of adequate housing in Karachi led to serious conflicts. Communal clashes increased between local Sindis and the Urdu speaking *mohajirs* from India. Safety of citizens was compromised by uncontrolled gangs dominating the streets, inducing many Anglo-Indians and Goans to immigrate.

THE EFFECTS OF PARTITION ON ANGLO-INDIANS

Several interviewees commented that although they were spared partition violence, the extreme actions did cause them concern. They worried that such atrocities could befall themselves if circumstances arose whereby the British or Anglo-Indians were seen as "the enemy". Having witnessed Hindu, Muslim and Sikh neighbours turn and slaughter each other, they worried it could happen again. Nevertheless, many Anglo-Indians chose to remain in Pakistan, not emigrating until much later, indicating a good relationship between Anglo-Indians and Pakistanis. The kindness and bravery of individuals to those in immediate danger, at unknown risk to their own safety, confirms that priorities remained on saving endangered lives. These concerns and activities point to warm and loyal ties that existed between large segments of Anglo-Indians and their Muslim, Hindu and Sikh neighbours in united Punjab and Sind.

The exclusion of Anglo-Indians as mass targets of partition violence was because the focus of violence remained restricted to Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs. This immunity continued despite, or perhaps because of, impartial Anglo-Indian attitudes and their

assistance to any locals at risk. In addition, Anglo-Indians were not accomplices in organized attacks, especially attacks on trains as evidenced by Ken Blunt's experience being taken off duty on a train, so that an attack went ahead unhindered. This neutrality and lack of complicity is starkly exhibited by the exclusion of Anglo-Indian engine drivers, staff and even passengers, in trains where wholescale massacres of Hindu or Muslim men, women and children took place. The memory of Brian Birch about his father indicates that train staff were heavily traumatized by their experiences amidst the violent events; what remains surprising is that irrespective of the tumultuous times, engine drivers arrived for work as scheduled. This heroism of Anglo-Indian train divers and guards, as well as other individual acts of kindness to locals at risk, is attested to by the interviewees in this research and provides historical evidence for recognition of these brave actions.

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