International Journal of Anglo-Indian Studies

ANGLO-INDIAN LIVES IN THE NORTH WEST c.1930-1947

EXCERPT FROM:

McMenamin, Dorothy (2023). *Anglo-Indian Lives in Pakistan: Interrogating Religion and Culture through the lens of Oral Histories.* Lahore, Pakistan: Vanguard Publishers.

AUTHOR'S NOTE:

This article is predominantly a chapter extracted from a wider research project published as Anglo-*Indian Lives in Pakistan*. The focus here is on the North West region commencing with the spread of the British Raj into the provinces of Punjab and Sind from c.1930 to Independence in 1947. Anglo-Indians in this region, called Pakistan since 1947, lived amongst a predominantly Muslim population compared to those in India within a majority Hindu milieu. The wider project proposed that this religio/cultural difference laid the foundations for the acceptance of mixed race Anglo-Indian families transferred into the region by the British, as compared with British and European males who arrived earlier in India and liaised with local women. Furthermore the geographic terrain of the North West contained the two main mountain passes from Central Asia into India, inducing tolerant attitudes towards outsiders which, in turn, contributed to the higher status enjoyed by Anglo-Indians in Pakistan. To assist in understanding this article, a section from an earlier chapter of the wider project has been inserted at the beginning up until page 14 delineating the differing mentalities of Hindus and Muslims. This insertion explains fundamental attitudes within Hinduism and the entrenched cultural implications of caste in social life, particularly in relation to marriage practices, as opposed to Islamic practices which do not derive from caste heirarchies.

Dorothy McMenamin (née DOYLE), PhD, is an independent researcher affiliated with the University of Canterbury, Christchurch, and the University of Otago, Dunedin, both in New Zealand. She was born and schooled in Pakistan. In her teens she emigrated to England, subsequently to Australia and then New Zealand. She specialized in world religions and South Asian history. She has published three books, *Raj Days to Downunder* (2010), *Leprosy and Stigma in the South Pacific* (2011) and *Anglo-Indian Lives in Pakistan* (2023). She is married with four children. Dorothy may be reached by email at: dorothysbookshop@gmail.com

ANGLO-INDIAN LIVES IN THE NORTH WEST c.1930-1947

Differing Muslim and Hindu mentalities towards intermarriage

Before turning to the lives of Anglo-Indians in the North West region prior to it becoming Pakistan, the contrasting worldviews and belief systems that gave rise to entirely different Muslim attitudes towards Anglo-Indians, as compared to Hindus in India, needs elaboration. It is claimed here that these differing attitudes are central to perceptions about the status of Anglo-Indians in South Asia.

Many Pakistani citizens proudly acknowledge their ancient lineage and mixed heritage as descendants of the various streams of outsiders who entered South Asia over more than three millennia, including Central Asians, Scythians, Greeks, Arabs, Persians, and even Chinese.[1] In particular, several of the tribes who straddled the boundary between Afghanistan and Pakistan still bear the physical features of these ancestors. Some groups proudly claim their relationship to Alexander the Great who invaded India in the fourth century BCE, and the name Sikander or Iskander, after Alexander remains a popular name today; as in the name of the first defense secretary and subsequent President and Governor-General of Pakistan, Iskander Mirza.[2]

The presence of Alexander remains evident in the colonial archive, albeit sometimes panegyric and verging on the imaginary, such as reported in 1839 by the British political agent, Alexander Burnes, on his encounter with a tribe that included Alexander as a prophet of Allah in their theology.[3] Several Pakistanis I grew up with in the Punjab told me about their mixed descent from Indian and European unions and were proud of their familial links to Europe. Large sections of upper class Muslims claimed blood ties with Persians and Central Asians through links to the Mughal empire during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These elite family connections were highly respected in Pakistan, and the cultural links form part of a

[1] Edward Hamilton Aitken, *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind* (Govt Mercantile Steam Press, 1907), 87-88.
[2] Hassan Abbas, *Pakistan's Drift into Extremism: Allah, the Army, and America's War on Terror* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 2005), 33-35.
[3] Lawrence James, *Raj:The Making and Unmaking of British India*, (GB Softback Preview, 1998), 83.

Muslim heritage that Pakistanis value. Other ethnicities were evident in the family names Beg, Shah, Khan, Sayad, Shekh, and Mirza, as well as some Baluch clans who even took the names McPherson and McTavish.[4] Simply in themselves, these names confirm the acceptance of "others" in the region.

This positive attitude towards their own mixed heritage underpins an acceptance of intermarriage and the consequent mixed populations. Furthermore, Sind and Punjab have for millennia been populated by Jats, whose considerable economic and social power reflected a regional society where caste hierarchies ordered by the varna caste model had less authority. This is particularly true of Punjabi land owning Jats who were described as "a flat, seamless category of middle ranking peasants" where Hindu "customs and taboos … have less traction".[5] Jats were the descendants of Scythians who entered Sind during 100 BCE and the population in Sind has remained largely of Scythian rather than Aryan origin, the latter predominant in central and Northern India.[6] Significantly, from the northern Himalayan passes down through the plains to the Indus delta, the caste-rejecting and egalitarian influence of Buddhism remained influential in the North West until as late as the arrival of Islam into Sind in the 8th century CE.[7] The prevailing respectful tolerance of many Muslims towards Buddhist relics in the far North West, even today, is evident in internationally acclaimed schoolgirl Malala Yousafzai's biography quoting her father's poem: "When the voice of truth rises from the minarets/ The Buddha smiles/ And the broken chain of history reconnects".[8]

In the 9th century both Sunni and Shia Islam took root in the West and the attraction of the unorthodox practices of Sufi *pirs,* saints, became increasingly influential and pervasive.[9] Syncretic practices developed between devotional and mystical cults of

[4] Aitken, *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, 168.
[5] Anshu Malhotra and Farina Mir, *Punjab Reconsidered: History, Culture, and Practice* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2012), xxxii.
[6] Aitken, *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, 87 and 174.
[7] Aitken, *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, 89.
[8] Malala Yousafzai, *I Am Malala: The Girl Who Stood up for Education and Was Shot by the Taliban* (London: A W&N Paperback, 2014), 13.
[9] Sarah F. D. Ansari, *Sufi Saints and State Power: The Pirs of Sind, 1843-1947* (Cambridge University Press, 1992), 5 and Chapter 1.

Sufism and Hinduism.[10] Hindu caste restrictions were reported to be historically less rigid in this region, with taboos often ignored, particularly in the Punjab.[11] But the overarching influence of Hindu caste practices throughout the subcontinent for millennia was so pervasive that even until present times some Muslims retained hierarchical Hindu attitudes towards lower classes and/or others. For example, the blasphemy charge against Asia Bibi in 2009 arose from accusations that she had polluted a cup of water by drinking from it because she was a Christian.[12] This idea of pollution by a non-Hindu is essentially a Hindu custom. Nevertheless, caste hierarchies deriving from *varna* and *jati* were unstable, that is open and fluid, shifting with changing religious, political or economic affiliations. Historians Talbot and Tatla have commented that a unique feature of the region since the seventeenth century was "the weakness of the caste system".[13] Susan Bayly suggested that the Jats in the western Gangetic plain remained "relaxed about matters of ritual purity".[14] That is unlike in regions such as Bengal where powerful groups defended Brahmanical authority, and in Tamilnad where "caste Hindus" saw *varna* and *jati* as a means for the "policing of bloodlines" which sustained and perpetuated "ideals of ritualized hierarchy at the core of the Indian moral order".[15] Precedents in the North West are generally seen to exclude what Anjali Roy referred to as the "pollution complex"[16] connected with marriage and "problems of jati (sub-caste) mixing" practiced by high caste Hindus.[17] This is evident in the acceptance of intermarriage and racial mixing that gave rise to tolerant attitudes towards mixed groups, particularly Anglo-Indians who were also seen as connected to the British and not considered low class. This contrasts significantly with strong traditional Hindu attitudes towards outsiders and intermarriage in central, east and South India, especially Bengal where the majority of Anglo-Indians lived. These historical precedents in the North West, especially their own mixed

[10] Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 360-361.
[11] Susan Bayly, *Caste, Society and Politics in India from the Eighteenth Century to the Modern Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 41-41; P. Robb, *The Concept of Race in South Asia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 205-207.
[12] This case is discussed in a later chapter on contemporary conditions in Pakistan.
[13] Darshan Singh Tatla and Ian Talbot, *Punjab*, (Oxford, 1995) xvi.
[14] Bayly, *Caste, Society and Politics in India*, 42.
[15] Bayly, *Caste, Society and Politics in India*, 48 and 53.
[16] Anjali Gera Roy, "The Remembered Railway Town of Anglo-Indian Memory", *South Asian Diaspora,* 4. No.2, (2012) 143.
[17] Roy, "The Remembered Railway Town of Anglo-Indian Memory", 142.

antecedents, support the claim here that Pakistanis were favourably disposed towards intermarriage irrespective of tribal hostilities and recent intolerant religious extremism.

This Muslim mind-set starkly diverges from the ideological position of Hindus who stigmatized outsiders as *mleccha*, a derogatory term explicitly indicating that outsiders were unacceptable, and excluded, because they were ritually defiling or polluting to high caste Hindus.[18] To understand the inferior status of *mlecchas*, and thereby the status of Anglo-Indians through a Hindu perspective, it is necessary to appreciate how traditional Hindu ideology differs from the monotheistic world view of Jews, Christians and Muslims. Hinduism comprises a myriad of beliefs and practices, all of which share a *weltanschauung* centered around reincarnation; that is, multiple rebirths after death and, crucially, a high or inferior rebirth determined by actions and duties appropriate to an individual's caste or *jati* (sub-caste) in everyday life.

The sacred and powerful status of *Brahmin* was deeply embedded in Hindu ideology of *varna* (caste), whereby each person followed their own *dharma* (duty) depending on which caste he or she was born into. Each caste member needed to follow prescribed duties and rituals to be performed at different *ashramas* (stages of life).[19] If one lived in conformity with the set duties of a particular caste or *jati*, rebirth after death would be at an elevated plane or into a higher caste. But rebirth would be into a lower status if the rules applying to personal *dharma* were not maintained. Those outside this hierarchy, *mlecchas,* such as Anglo-Indians, polluted the higher castes, adversely affecting caste Hindu status upon rebirth.[20] The status of Hindus was set out in the Laws of Manu, wherein humanity was born from the bodily sacrifice of the mythical cosmic figure Purusha.[21] The highest caste, born from the mouth of this cosmic figure, were the *Brahmins*, priests, who alone were entitled to recite the sacred *Vedas*, scriptures, of the Hindu tradition. Next were the *Kshatriyas*, the caste of kings and warriors, born from the arms of Purusha. Hindu hegemony was legitimized by the

[18] Nirad C. Chaudhuri, *Hinduism: A Religion to Live By* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997), 189; Robb, *The Concept of Race in South Asia*, 9.
[19] Romila Thapar, *The Penguin History of Early India: From the Origins to Ad 1300* (London: Penguin Books, 2002), 62-67.
[20] Romila, Thapar, *History of Early India*, London, (Penguin Books, 2002) 65.
[21] This is one of several creation myths in Hinduism. Patrick Olivelle, *The Law Code of Manu* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 13-20.

reciprocal actions of the kings whose authority was sanctioned by the priests. The third caste, that of the merchants, *Vaisyas*, were spawned from the loins. These three castes are the “twice born”, that is born ritually pure, but their status could be polluted by the fourth and lower castes. The *Sudras* who emerged from the feet, were born to serve the upper castes.[22] *Mlecchas* and *Dalits* or *achhuts,* low castes, had an even lower status.[23] An important feature of individual *varnashramadharma* was that failure to observe specific rituals appropriately during everyday life resulted in pollution and accordingly a low re-birth; although for some infringements of *dharma*, rituals could be performed to regain a state of purity.

In this hierarchy the lowest classes, *Dalits* or *acchuts,* untouchables, remained impure throughout their lives, and were expected to perform activities polluting to the higher castes, particularly manual labour.[24] These lowest classes were designated to undertake polluting occupations, such as cleaning or working with products from dead animals. Of paramount importance to Hindus was that marriages should be arranged within strictly endogamous limits appropriate to each caste or *jati,* sub-caste.[25] Failure to maintain the rules pertaining to marriage resulted in a loss of status, and the mixed offspring remained a source of contamination to higher castes.[26]

Anglo-Indians were thus doubly polluting to high caste Hindus because, not only were they the progeny of *mlecchas,* polluting outsiders, but they were the offspring of transgressive marriages or liaisons which were outside the strictly prescribed limits of Hindu endogamy. This orthodox Hindu perspective consigned Anglo-Indians to a marginalized position *vis a vis* high caste Hindus. It barred Anglo-Indians from everyday interactions with Hindus, such as sharing food and obtaining water from the same source. High caste Hindus maintained this separation from lower caste Hindus, as well as from “others” including Muslims. This divisive hierarchy preventing intermingling continues to dominate Hindu social lifestyles despite widescale

[22] Olivelle, *The Law Code of Manu*, 19.
[23] Ramnarayan Rawat, "Genealogies of the Dalit Political" in *The Indian Economic and Social History Review, 52. No.3 (2015).*
[24] Sukhadeo Thorat and K. S. Newman, *Blocked by Caste*, (Oxford, 2010) 11.
[25] Louis Dumont, *Homo Hierarchicus: The Caste System and Its Implications* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1970); Olivelle, *The Law Code of Manu*, 44.
[26] Roy, "The Remembered Railway Town of Anglo-Indian Memory", 142-143.

condemnation, even by egalitarian-minded high caste Hindus. Irrespective of social resistance, numerous practices are retained by which certain actions and sacred public spaces are polluted by lower castes and "others" including by Anglo-Indians.[27] This project asserts that the low status attributed to mixed groups was the underlying reason why Anglo-Indians were marginalized and faced discrimination. Hindu marriage proscriptions contributed to the core of pejorative attitudes that arose and exist to the present day towards Anglo-Indians, more than seventy years after British rule ended. Throughout the 300 years of British rule, British men had intermarried with local Indian and Anglo-Indian women. This was irrespective of British objections to marriage, not specifically on the grounds of race, but the age of the British men and pragmatic practicalities of the rulers, contrary to claims by researchers interpreting the objections as stemming from mere racism.

Rather than race, it is claimed that culture and religion were the fundamental blocks to social intermingling and intermarriage between Anglo-Indians and local Indian men. In traditional Hindu and Muslim households, women's roles within the home differed substantially from the lifestyle of Anglo-Indian women, whose social customs derived from western Christian culture. Gist and Wright gave an example of cultural difference if an Anglo-Indian woman married into a Hindu household:

> The gap between the Anglo-Indian way of life and that of the orthodox Hindu or Muslim is very wide, and it is not easily bridged … If the girl marries an orthodox Hindu … she will experience a drastic change in family relationships, especially if the husband's family is a joint kinship arrangement in which the bride lives in her husband's parental household and is subject to severe restrictions imposed by the elders of the kinship group.[28]

In the above household, a new wife had the lowest status, below the authority of the husband's mother and all other women in the extended family home.[29] This differed from smaller Anglo-Indian households where rigid prescriptive hierarchies did not apply and the wife was free to continue her employment. Gist and Wright added that "These difficulties would also exist if the girl married into a traditionalist Muslim family, with additional difficulties if she had to share her husband with one or more other

[27] Roy, "The Remembered Railway Town of Anglo-Indian Memory", 143.
[28] N. P. Gist and R. D. Wright, *Marginality and Identity*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973) 80.
[29] Olivelle, *The Law Code of Manu*, 155.

wives."[30] Polygamy is sanctioned in Islam, but prohibited in Christianity and Western law.[31]

The western Christian culture of Anglo-Indians, especially the women, aroused local criticism because their lifestyles did not conform with Hindu and Muslim proprieties. Traditionally it was unacceptable for Hindu or Muslim women of high status to have the freedom available to Anglo-Indian women, such as working in public spaces in offices or shops, or mixing socially with non-family males. Even departures at railway stations and the custom of kissing goodbye by couples were activities "gossiped" about by locals who were unaccustomed to witnessing kissing in public[32] as strict upper caste Hindus considered bodily fluids polluting. The western attire regularly worn by European and Anglo-Indian women in South Asia, including dresses that exposed the lower legs and the "shameless sleeveless blouses", as Rani Sircar noted, were disapproved by Indians who were modestly dressed.[33] However, as Kristin Hoganson noted, attire was symbolic of nationality, so that Anglo-Indian women's attire was an assertion of western rather than native Indian identity. In the latter case, "respectable" Indian women's attire needed at least to cover the lower limbs, shoulders and upper arms, or even observe purdah outside family circles.[34]

Importantly, marriages in South Asia were traditionally arranged by the parents, and dowries paid by the bride's family to the groom's family. Dowry was not obligatory in Islam but customarily practiced throughout South Asia. Islam decreed that a predetermined monetary amount or possessions, *mahr*, be promised to the bride by the groom, and this agreement included in the marriage contract signed at the *nikah*, marriage ceremony.[35] These marriage practices were not part of Anglo-Indian

[30] Gist and Wright, *Marginality and Identity*, 80.
[31] Abraham Eraly, *The Mughal World: India's Tainted Paradise* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1997), 150; Frederick M. Denny, *Islam and the Muslim Community* (New York: HarperCollins, 1987), 102.
[32] Ian Kerr, "Representation and Representations of the Railways of Colonial and Post Colonial South Asia", *Modern Asian Studies,* 37. No.2, 2003), 316.
[33] Rani Sircar, *Strains in a Minor Key: A Celebration of Sixty Years in Calcutta* (Kolkata: Gangchil, 2013), 335.
[34] Kristin Hoganson, "The Fashionable World: Imagined Communities of Dress", in *After the Imperial Turn: Thinking with and through the Nation*, ed. Antoinette Burton (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 261.
[35] Katharine Charsley, "Risk and Ritual: The Protection of British Pakistani Women in Transnational Marriage", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 32, no. 7 (2006): 1180.

customs, where couples were free to choose their partners without payment of dowries or *mahr*. The rights of divorce varied in each tradition and remarriage was prohibited for Hindu women. The innumerable differences in the cultural practices of Hindus, Muslims and Anglo-Indians, including non-permitted foods, how food was eaten, and even men eating separately to women, formed part of the cultural divides.[36] Although these sanctions were usually respected by each group, the differing practices needed to be considered and negotiated if and when groups socialized together.

An important corollary to the ideological position of Hindus toward outsiders was the effect of Hindu attitudes on the British and their senior administrators in India. The British were impressed by the high caste Hindu awareness of the benefits of cleanliness by avoiding contamination in all its forms. The British rulers did not wish to be perceived as or treated like low castes epitomized by the actions of elite Brahmins washing their hands in ritual purification after being polluted by shaking hands with the British.[37] Ideas of "untouchability", where even the shadow of a low caste person or outsider, such as Europeans, could "pollute" the food of an upper class Hindu was shocking to the British.[38] Mahatma Gandhi noticed the influence of such practices on the British rulers commenting "It is ourselves who have taught them untouchability … one man touching another got polluted so avoided even standing in the shadow of that person ... [and the British thought they] should behave in the same way".[39] For these sorts of reasons, caste ideology permeated life in the subcontinent. Similarly, it is hardly coincidental that the British in India were likened to the caste system and a notional hierarchy emerged, equating the priestly Brahmin caste with the ICS officers who were euphemistically referred to as the "heaven born".[40] British officers and army soldiers paralleled the warrior Kshatriya caste, while the commercial classes twinned the merchant Vaisya caste. Lower class British, including Anglo-Indians, slotted alongside either the lowest Sudra caste or the untouchables. Such observances expediently fitted British class hierarchies, undoubtedly reinforcing

[36] Edward B. Harper, "Ritual Pollution as an Integrator of Caste and Religion", *The Journal of Asian Studies* 23 (1964): 153-175.
[37] David Gilmour, *The Ruling Caste: Imperial Lives in the Victorian Raj*, (Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2006) 257.
[38] David Gilmour, *The British in India,* (Random House, 2019) 408.
[39] Speech at National Educational Conference, Ahmedabad, 2 August 1924, quoted in Gilmour, *The British in India,* 407.
[40] Christopher Hawes, *Poor Relations,* (Surrey, Curzon Press, 1996) 76-78.

British class attitudes so that after the freer early years of mixing when only small numbers of British were in India, an aloof stance was adopted in their later dealings with others.

Although Hinduism is sometimes described as amorphous and inclusive, the hierarchical and exclusive ideology of caste and its explicit superiority towards outsiders has had radical implications throughout Indian history. Protests against the hegemony of the caste system were evidenced by local reform movements which at different periods of history gave rise to Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism, all of which were indigenous Indian ideologies rejecting caste.[41] Another example of the exclusion of outsiders was the entry of Parsees, Zoroastrians from Persia, who arrived in Gujarat from the eighth century and to this day have remained a separate, albeit highly successful, group.[42] A significant difference between Parsees and Anglo-Indians was that the original Parsees were refugee families which included women and children; whereas the ancestors of Anglo-Indians were European males who arrived without womenfolk, resulting in liaisons with local women. Whether Parsees choose to be strictly endogamous, or had little choice due to Hindu exclusion, is debatable. But because Parsees remained essentially endogamous, the stigma of *mlecchas*, outsiders, had less impact on their status, compared with that of Anglo-Indians born from outsiders through miscegenation. Successful Parsees always helped the poorer members of their community, a practice which upheld Parsee status.

The Muslim invaders and descendants of Central Asian Mongols who formed the great Mughal Empire in India were also considered *mleccha,* outsiders, and accordingly felt discriminated against by Hindus.[43] This low status meant that Muslims were sidelined by influential Hindus, much the same way as Anglo-Indians were ostracized. However, Muslims were essentially endogamous, having originally brought their own women and families; being the ruling class during the sixteenth to eighteenth century Mughal period, Muslims avoided the sharper stigma attached to mixed groups. It is

[41] Sugata Bose and Ayesha Jalal, *Modern South Asia: History, Culture, Political Economy* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 22 and 32.
[42] Mitra Sharafi, *Law and Identity in Colonial South Asia: Parsi Legal Culture, 1772–1947* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).
[43] Romila Thapar, *A History of India*, (London, Penguin, 1990) 234.

significant for my argument that all foreigners were considered outsiders by Hindus, and as *mlecchas* were ostracized, making the practice of endogamy favoured in attempts to avoid the stigma of intermarriage.

In contrast, and to support my argument that Muslims were not opposed in principle to the notion of social mixing with outsiders, religious precedents drew Muslims and Christians closer together, based on religion rather than ethnicity. Quranic sanctions acknowledged that Muslims, Christians and Jews, all followers of the Abrahamic tradition, were "people of the book" sharing the texts of the Jewish Pentateuch which appeared in the Christian Old Testament and in the Quran.[44] The Quran in fact permits Muslims to marry Christians or Jews, although this has been interpreted to allow Muslim men, not women, to marry Christians or Jews; a Pakistani friend was proud to mention this exemption.[45] The various sects of Islam, although internally discrete, treated the British and Anglo-Indians, both Christians, in a similar manner as relatively social equals. This is in contrast to the treatment of local converts to Christianity who were treated as lower classes, due in all likelihood to the fact that large groups of the lower classes converted to Christianity in both Pakistan and India. In Pakistan there appears to have been a clear distinction between the higher status of Christian Anglo-Indians compared to large village groups of local Christians; although there were and still are many well educated Pakistani Christians.[46] During my time at school in Rawalpindi in 1950-60s I recall several of the teachers were Pakistani Christians, as were a large number of the pupils.

In Hindu society it is important to emphasize that, despite the embedded dichotomy of purity and pollution, it was theoretically incumbent on the higher castes to treat the lower classes with a level of dignity.[47] This was so long as the lower classes followed their own duty and paid due respect to the upper classes, behaving in appropriately

[44] Frederick Denny, *Islam and the Muslim Community*, (NY, HarperCollins, 1987) 10-11.
[45] Quran 5:5 Such as at http://mquran.org/content/view/674/4/ Emphasized by Bushra Yunus, Oral history, Track 9:16-end.
[46] A staunch supporter of Asia Bibi, the Minister of Minority Affairs, Shahbaz Bhatti, was a Christian; Rani Sircar in *Dancing Round the Maypole: Growing out of British India,* (New Delhi: Rupa & Co, 2003) claims that like her husband, there were well-to-do Indian Christians working in the railways, although the distinction between local and European Christians was not always distinguishable by their names.
[47] Roy, "The Remembered Railway Town of Anglo-Indian Memory", 142.

subservient and unobtrusive ways. This was evident in the Hindu practice of not sharing food due to contamination by lower castes, and defilement, especially by saliva.[48] Not sharing food was not necessarily a reflection of personal dislike of all "outsiders", but part of accepted traditional practices. An important example of differences between religious groups in India was that high caste Hindus did not eat beef because the cow was considered sacred.[49] Orthodox Muslims did not eat pork or any products of pigs as it was considered a dirty and defiling animal, even the word swine being a highly abusive term.[50] Although exceptions varied on an individual basis, out of courtesy and respect, beef products would not be offered to Hindus, whilst pork would not be offered to Muslims. These and other prohibitions were well recognized and respected in mixed company, and especially by Anglo-Indians for whom neither beef nor pork was barred from consumption.

Goodwill was maintained so long as these deeply ingrained differences were respected and daily rituals of respective groups were not transgressed. To prevent friction, Anglo-Indians, Hindus and Muslims lived parallel lives thereby avoiding encroachment on each other's ritual sensibilities, and maintained their independent lifestyles. For example, Anglo-Indians in Calcutta usually lived in or near Muslim *paras,* neighbourhoods, where they were accepted, rather than near Hindu *caste mohallas,* upper caste areas, where they transgressed caste proprieties of purity and pollution.[51] This closer cohabitation between Muslims and Anglo-Indians in India, whether in *bustees* or better off neighbourhoods, was indicative of the friendlier relationships that prevailed between Anglo-Indians and Muslims; that is, elements of marginalization evident in the ostracization of Anglo-Indian from Hindu preserves, did not exist living amongst Muslims in either India or Pakistan.

[48] Edward Harper, "Ritual Pollution as an Integrator of Caste and Religion", *The Journal of Asian Studies, (*23, 1964) 156. Although the fieldwork in this research was conducted in a specific region of South India, the broader observations are common to Brahamanic orthopraxy in India.
[49] Harper, "Ritual Pollution as an Integrator of Caste and Religion", 155.
[50] Denny, *Islam and the Muslim Community*, 115.
[51] Laura Bear, *Lines of the Nation,* (NY, Columbia Univ. Press 2008), 181. Bear notes the separate "*paras*" where Anglo-Indians lived; Roy, "The Remembered Railway Town of Anglo-Indian Memory". 143. Here the situation and segregation of caste mohallas from pollution by lower classes is given.

Anjali Roy has described how Hindu city plans conformed with ancient cosmologies that delineated the "sacred geography" of old Hindu towns, so as to ensure the separation of high and low castes based on the "Hindu purity fetish".[52] She indicated how lower castes were designated areas separate from the better land allocated to higher castes.[53] In her description of the establishment of the colonial railway town of Kharagpur, Roy showed that the land allocated for the railway station, workshops and town was an area "reserved for the marginalized lower castes".[54] She suggested that the tactic worked to exclude the "*firanghee* or foreigner" from the sacred "Hindu ritual space that forbade the incursion of the *mlechcha* or 'unclean foreigner' into its sacred enclosure".[55] This research by Roy provides compelling evidence of Anglo-Indians marginalization from mainstream Hindu society and the low status attributed to them.

Background of British expansion into the North West

The North West of the Indian subcontinent, now Pakistan, did not come under British rule until the mid-nineteenth century, less than a hundred years prior to 1930, the starting point of overall project's historical narrative. Although the North West had been the entrance for invaders and foreign traders through the Himalayan passes for millennia, Anglo-Indians were newcomers following the advent of British supremacy in the region.

Sind was annexed by the East India Company under Sir Charles Napier in 1843. After the death in 1839 of the powerful Sikh leader in the Punjab, Ranjit Singh, and lack of a strong successor, the Punjab was annexed by Lord Dalhousie in 1849.[56] Punjab and Sind came under the administration of the Bengal Presidency and personnel moved from established centers to take up positions in public works growing in this politically important frontier.[57] Large numbers of those lured by employment prospects were Anglo-Indians, especially following the expansion of the new technologies of rail and telegraph.

[52] Roy, "The Remembered Railway Town of Anglo-Indian Memory", 141-142.
[53] Roy, "The Remembered Railway Town of Anglo-Indian Memory", 140-142.
[54] Roy, "The Remembered Railway Town of Anglo-Indian Memory", 140.
[55] Roy, "The Remembered Railway Town of Anglo-Indian Memory", 142-143.
[56] John Keay, *India: A History* (London: Harper Perennial, 2000), 421-423.
[57] Lawrence James, *Raj: The Making and Unmaking of British India* (Great Britain: The Softback Preview, Little, Brown and Company, 1998).

Once the Governor General of India, Lord Dalhousie, decided in 1853 to construct railways in India, the first railroad opened from Bombay to Thane.[58] Between 1858 to 1880 Bombay was connected by rail to Madras, Allahabad, Calcutta, Multan and Lahore, thereby revolutionizing modes of transport and networks of trade.[59] In particular, the remote North West was brought into close contact with the commercial and cultural life of other parts of British India. Lahore station opened in 1862 and came to represent colonial rule, being the center of security in the North West.[60] By 1878 the rail link extended from Lahore to the port being built at Karachi, near Kolachi a fishing village, close to the western edge of the River Indus delta flowing through Sind into the Arabian Sea.[61] The new port attracted Goans and Anglo-Indians engaged in equivalent jobs in Bombay and over the following decades both these groups prospered in Karachi.[62]

Eventually more than 40,000 miles of rail network emanated from and connected main city terminals to small country towns, weaving arterial routes that linked small stations erected along the way.[63] Workers were required at each station, and in larger numbers at industrial centers, such as Kharagpur near Calcutta where specialised staff and engineers were trained for the maintenance of machinery.[64] To attract Anglo-Indian workers away from their social lives established in urban centres in Bombay and Calcutta, quality subsidized accommodation, commonly referred to as railway colonies, was erected adjacent to remote railway stations.[65] From the time of the spread of the railways to the North West, large housing estates were built at the main railway centres, including in Lahore, Karachi, Rawalpindi and Multan. Rows of housing were built in the smaller railway towns to accommodate staff throughout the provinces where the railways ran.[66] All senior positions in the railways, from managers to

[58] Kerr, "Representation and Representations of the Railways", 299.
[59] Kerr, "Representation and Representations of the Railways ", 289-291.
[60] Kerr, "Representation and Representations of the Railways ", 291.
[61] Sarah Ansari, "At the Crossroads? Exploring Sindh's Recent Past from a Spatial Perspective", *Contemporary South Asia* 23, no. 1 (2015): 10-13.
[62] This is evident from many testimonies detailed here and in Chapter 4.
[63] Kerr, "Representation and Representations of the Railways ", 289.
[64] Bill Barlow in McMenamin, *Raj Days to Downunder*, 30. Bill was an apprentice engineer in Kharagpur, after which he obtained his naval engineering "ticket" in England.
[65] Kerr, "Representation and Representations of the Railways ", 295.
[66] Dick Leckey in McMenamin, *Raj Days to Downunder*, 220.

engineers, engine drivers and train staff, were filled by British or Anglo-Indian personnel. In particular, all engine drivers and guards were manned by Anglo-Indians, reflecting not simply the largesse of the British towards Anglo-Indians, but their insecurity as rulers, being a tiny group of around one thousand amongst the massive Indian population. It was this insecurity, particularly after the tumultuous events of the uprising in 1857, that drew the British to depend on the "loyal" support offered by Anglo-Indians. In turn Anglo-Indians who historically had culturally aligned themselves with the British, continued to depend on the British for employment, making Anglo-Indian employment an expedient symbiotic relationship. This loyal support of the British by Anglo-Indians had been criticised in India, calling them the "lackeys" of the British, whereas this criticism was not evident in the North West where the British were generally more popular than in central and east India, so that the British Anglo-Indian employees were accepted.

It is plausible to suggest that the arrival into the North West of Anglo-Indians, together with their families, at the same time as the establishment of the British army garrisons and administration, impacted positively on the initial attitudes of local people towards Anglo-Indians. This recruitment of Anglo-Indian workers and families from other areas of British India was an entirely different experience to that which occurred in east and south India.The earlier settlements took place over several generations and local Indians witnessed or were acutely aware of what they considered transgressive sexual liaisons and marriages giving rise to the mixed populations. This negative assessment was compounded by Hindu ideology that condemned miscegenation, irrespective of generational Anglo-Indians becoming endogamous and, in the main, educated and employed by the British.

Figure 1 (left) *Birch family's smaller railway quarters in Rohri, on rail route to Quetta*
Figure 2 (right) *Leckey parents at small railway colony, Gaziabad, near Delhi*

The events of the 1857-59 rebellion had resulted in increased numbers of British soldiers in India via the main centres and ports of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, spurring the growth of the local mixed-race population and drawing corresponding derision from both the local Indians and some British. It is suggested this significant difference in the initial perception of Anglo-Indians in the area which became Pakistan, coupled with a local attitude that was more accepting of mixed races affirmed a relatively positive assessment of the status of Anglo-Indians. Local people perceived them to be part of the generally respected British rulers and their culture, a perception which persisted in Pakistan when I visited in 2016. This contrasts significantly with the low social status generally attributed by researchers in Calcutta and Madras to Anglo-Indians for reasons postulated throughout this project.[67]

A telegraph cable was laid from Karachi to Suez in 1860, establishing a connection between Egypt and Britain. This enabled the first direct telegraph transmission between the Government in India and London via Karachi in 1864.[68] Anglo-Indians became employed in the telegraph service as the new technology emerged. News of the first British Indian army troops who mutinied in Meerut was telegraphed from Delhi to Ambala and Lahore. The transmission was made by "two young Eurasian signalers

[67] Andrews, *Christmas in Calcutta*; Bear, *Lines of the Nation*; Caplan, *Children of Colonialism*; Younger, *Neglected Children of the Raj*.
[68] Ansari, "At the Crossroads?", 13.

[Brendish and Pilkington]"[69] following the death of their senior officer Charles Todd, also described as Eurasian, who was killed upon the arrival of the mutineers into Delhi.[70] Several Anglo-Indians interviewed indicated that service in the telegraph was considered more prestigious than with the railways, and these positions were keenly and successfully sought through into the post-independence period.

The modern port city of Karachi not only enabled merchandise to be more easily transported by steamships to north India but, following the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, travel time was more than halved between India and Britain.[71] Sarah Ansari suggested that rather than being an obscure outer limit at the periphery of empire, Karachi replaced Calcutta as the main port and formed the crossroads where Europeans entered and departed India. Troops recruited in India to support the British in World Wars I and II embarked at Karachi for the Middle East and Europe.[72] These increased activities in the region offered excellent employment to Anglo-Indians and provided good socio-economic status in their capacity as loyal intermediaries supporting the British. Prior to, and in tandem with the technological changes introduced, were the growth of Christian missionary institutions which also offered employment opportunities.

Early British Mission institutions and Eurasian/Anglo-Indian opportunities

The arrival and establishment of Church Missionary Society (CMS) missions in the Punjab from as early as 1818 have been detailed by Jeffrey Cox.[73] Numerous mission schools and high schools were established for boys and girls by 1854 in Peshawar, Lahore, Amritsar, Delhi and Rawalpindi. The "non-European Indian Christians" said to be enrolled at the schools were likely to be either Indian Christians or Anglo-Indians.[74] According to Cox the "first ordained Indian in Punjab, if Eurasians are to be considered Indian, was the Baptist J. T. Thompson" who was sent from Bengal to the North West in 1818 to be the "solitary Christian" in Delhi.[75] At the medical mission in Tank, an

[69] Saul David, *The Indian Mutiny: 1857* (London: Penguin, 2003), xix.
[70] Anthony, *Britain's Betrayal in India*, 71. David, *The Indian Mutiny*, xx-xxii.
[71] Ansari, "At the Crossroads?", 10-13.
[72] Ansari, "At the Crossroads?", 19.
[73] Jeffrey Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines: Christianity and Colonial Power in India, 1818-1940* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002).
[74] Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines*, 44 and 190.
[75] Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines*, 28 and 38.

"Indian Christian doctor, John Williams" was engaged.[76] If these positions were held by Anglo-Indians or Indian Christians, they demonstrate a good social status from the earliest arrivals. Lahore Cathedral was consecrated in 1888 where a native church was also established by the multiracial Anglican mission.[77] By 1896 the feature of each mission station was the clerical family inhabiting the central mission bungalow, surrounded by educational, medical and other institutions.[78]

Situated by Lahore Cathedral were the Cathedral Girls' School and Lahore Cathedral Orphanage and Day Schools.[79] A branch of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) had its headquarters at St. Hilda's in Lahore, an Anglican sisterhood for missionaries and other deaconesses.[80] By 1908 a large residence was available at St. Hilda's for deaconesses who taught in several English medium schools, alongside Anglo-Indian and later Pakistani teachers, operating right up to the 1970s.[81] The area became surrounded by institutions for women and girls. Mission workers quickly spread through the region, with medical dispensaries operating in Peshawar and Srinagar in 1850s.[82] A case study is included in Chapter 4 detailing one of the SPG homes for children, St. Faith's, and recounts the memories of some children raised in the home in Rawalpindi. St. Faith's originally opened in Lahore in 1930s by a Deaconess of the Order of Grey Ladies. The Order of Grey Ladies, as they were formally called, ran several schools, including St. Deny's boarding school in the hill station of Murree, and Station School in Rawalpindi.[83]

The Catholic Church established parallel facilities. By 1899 in Lahore the Convent of Jesus and Mary opened middle and high schools for European and Eurasian girls in several towns.[84] The Sisters of Charity operated in Multan and Dalhousie and the Capuchins established major urban institutions including St. Anthony's School for

[76] Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines*, 44.
[77] Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines*, 44.
[78] Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines*, 76.
[79] Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines*, 72.
[80] Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines*, 72.
[81] Hazel Innes Craig, *Under the Old School Topee* (London: BASCA, 1990), 80.
[82] Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines*, 72-73.
[83] Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines*, 44.
[84] Christopher Harding, *Religious Transformation in South Asia: The Meanings of Conversion in Colonial Punjab* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 88.

European and Eurasian boys in Lahore.[85] From these centres, mission stations opened in smaller towns and hill stations, and many of the interviewees attended these schools.

Although “uplift” in rural areas attracted some mass conversions of villagers in the Punjab, large-scale conversion was not the primary aim of the Christian centres and institutions. In the main, they offered schools and institutions to already converted British, Europeans and Eurasians.[86] Tony Ballantyne has noted that British churches in New Zealand were centers for sharing spiritual, social and educational knowledge, and included libraries and clubs.[87] Likewise Anglo-Indians established much of their social lives around these Christian institutions in South Asia. The Capuchin Order expressed dislike of European racial prejudices dictating segregation in education which excluded Indians from attending their schools; but notably made no comment on caste prejudice implicit in the opening of the Sacred Heart School for high-caste native girls.[88] Such self-criticism was often expressed by Europeans, rather than criticizing or misjudging indigenous customs they did not fully comprehend. It is asserted this sensitivity explains, to some extent, why the British are blamed for the impoverished plight of Anglo-Indians.

Anglo-Indians undertook leading roles in Catholic and Protestant missions. What has often been overlooked in recent historiography on colonial interactions between rulers and ruled was the pervading strong religious impulse that existed in South Asia, both by Europeans and South Asians.For instance, the quotidian lives of Hindus and Muslims included numerous daily rituals and both religious traditions restricted women’s interactions with non-family males. These daily practices did not apply to Christians who followed their own religious rituals and practices, mainly on Sundays and holy days. These religious beliefs impacted on the social customs of Anglo-Indian Christians, so that the lack of social intercourse between groups was due to differences in religious customs, rather than merely a racial bias. The term “intermarriage” had previously referred to marriages between Catholics and non-

[85] Harding, *Religious Transformation in South Asia*, 88.
[86] Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines*, 26-27.
[87] Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire* 250.
[88] Harding, *Religious Transformation in South Asia*, 88.

Catholics because these were considered transgressive; this in turn indicates that marriages to non-Christians were doubly transgressive. A key theme in this research shows that cultural differences explicit in everyday practices and rituals formed a barrier to social mixing in societies in South Asia, especially marriages. These social differences did not necessarily translate into dislike of individuals of other cultures, so long as individuals recognized and adhered to behaviour that did not infringe on the sensibilities of specific cultural groups.

An example of the inclusion of Eurasians as part of the early British community is evidenced by the life of Robert Warburton, born in Khyber in 1842, who recorded his memoirs in the region from 1879 to 1898.[89] His Anglo-Irish father married a niece of the Afghan leader, Dost Muhammad, and Robert was their only child. He was sent to England for his education and returned to take up a position in Peshawar.[90] As a lone British political officer in Khyber, Warburton married and raised his family at the frontier outpost. He was fluent in several local languages but was unsuccessful in seeking posts in larger centers, nor did he receive requested salary increases. Lawrence James recognised Warburton as having a "rare ability to command respect and affection among the Raj's most turbulent subjects".[91] Warburton was visited on occasion by Viceroys and even Prince Albert in 1890 and remained at his post until his retirement.[92] Writing his autobiography in England, he focused on his working life, unfortunately excluding details of any personal connections he may have retained with his mother's family. He did however mention that her family helped his parents during troubled times in the early years of their marriage, indicating that his mother's marriage was accepted.[93] Warburton acknowledged that his close links to the Afghanis contributed to his success, to the extent that he never carried a weapon and he believed this trust was repaid by the loyalty of his assistants.[94] Described as "Eurasian" and accepted both by locals and the British, Warburton represents the duality of personal identity and status which Anglo-Indians could attain in the North West. While

[89] Robert Warburton, Eighteen Years in the Khyber, 1879-1898, (London: J. Murray, 1900).
[90] Gilmour, *The Ruling Caste: Imperial Lives in the Victorian Raj*, 168.
[91] James, *The Making and Unmaking of British India*, 219.
[92] Warburton, *Eighteen Years in the Khyber, 1879-1898*, 207-214.
[93] Warburton, *Eighteen Years in the Khyber, 1879-1898*, 4-5.
[94] James, *The Making and Unmaking of British India*, 407.

James noted that Warburton's acceptance by the British was "exceptional",[95] it is likely that his appointment was due to the "pragmatic malleability of British structures designed to secure the maintenance and security of the imperial edifice",[96] particularly in the problematic region where Warburton's skills were exceptional. Although during the period pre-1947 Anglo-Indian fortunes were alternately buttressed by British patronage when desirable, or regulated and restricted for similar reasons, Warburton's mixed race origins and influence appear to have been a positive factor regarding his appointment in the North West.

During this early period, mission activity in the North West provinces peaked and Anglo-Indian and Christian communities grew, as demonstrated by the Christian centre established in Lahore. By 1878 in Karachi both the Holy Trinity Cathedral and St. Patrick's Catholic Cathedral were completed, and the many surrounding institutions became centers of British society. Karachi gradually grew into a modern international city, attracting more Anglo-Indians, Goans and Parsees who settled and established their own communities and clubs, as described by interviewees in the wider research project.[97]

As Christians, Anglo-Indians and Goans participated in their respective Church community lives. Although large numbers of Indian Christians attended the same churches, their social lives were not western but followed conventional South Asian lifestyles. Anglo-Indians and Goans followed western lifestyles although also enjoying their respective but distinctly adapted styles of Indian and western foods. Goan foods were South Indian style, more spicy than the milder North Indian recipes. Anglo-Indian foods included many different styles, and several recipes were adaptions of western and various Indian recipes. The western attire of Anglo-Indians and Goans involved moderate extra expenses compared to that of local South Asians. Their employment covered these costs and the jobs usually provided accommodation as the interviewees' testimonies show. Exploring the lifestyles that these jobs engendered reveals the status of Anglo-Indian lives in Pakistan.

[95] James, *The Making and Unmaking of British India*, 219.
[96] I am indebted to Uther Charlton-Stevens for this observation.
[97] These descriptions are contained in the oral histories of Tony Mendonça, Richard Rodrigues, Blossom Greig, all of whom had Goan antecedents.

Anglo-Indians as a "railway caste"?

Researchers have shown that Anglo-Indians monopolized positions in the railways, occupying upper and lower subordinate jobs in the industry, considered to be their privileged preserves.[98] However, as recognized by Ian Kerr, this project shows that "Europeans and Eurasians" [in other words Domiciled Europeans and Anglo-Indians] had also long been employed in "skilled and supervisor ranks" in the railways.[99] Low caste Indians comprised the labour force laying the tracks because manual work was shunned by higher castes, as such tasks had polluting effects on ritual status.[100] Accordingly, neither the British nor Anglo-Indians undertook laboring jobs to avoid the scorn and extra derision of Hindus. The prevailing attitudes towards manual labour in India exemplified the restrictions Anglo-Indians imposed on their own employment in an attempt to avoid undue stigma attached to what was considered low caste employment and its corresponding degraded status in Hindu social hierarchies.[101]

Laura Bear's specific findings in Kharagpur, together with the predominance of Anglo-Indians regularly reported to have served in the railways throughout British India,[102] are taken to support Bear's suggestion that they should be considered a railway caste.[103] However Anjali Roy interrogated Bear's interpretation of the representation of Kharagpur Anglo-Indian post-migration memories, compared with memories of the few still in residence. In this regard Roy suggested that Laura Bear's well-nuanced invocation of *jati,* translated as caste which designated Anglo-Indians a "railway caste", was a fusing of *jati* with performance of "railway morality".[104] Bear recognized that for Bengali families this represented Anglo-Indians as immoral and a "polluted other that condense[d] in their behaviour all the problems of Jati mixing".[105] That is, that through their miscegenated origins and western standards of low morality, Anglo-Indians needed to be excluded from Hindu sacred spaces. Anjali Roy thus saw the need for colonial representations of railway colonies to be explored in terms of

[98] Caplan, *Children of Colonialism*, 29; Bear, *Lines of the Nation*, 96.
[99] Kerr, "Representation and Representations of the Railways ", 308.
[100] Thorat and Newman, *Blocked by Caste*, 11.
[101] Thorat and Newman, *Blocked by Caste*, 37.
[102] Muthiah and MacLure, *The Anglo-Indians*, 77-90.
[103] Bear, *Lines of the Nation*, 107.
[104] Roy, "The Remembered Railway Town of Anglo-Indian Memory", 142.
[105] Roy, "The Remembered Railway Town of Anglo-Indian Memory", 142{Bear, 2008 #2168.}

"colonial power and miscegenation … framed against the Hindu pollution complex".[106] The paramount suggestion in this project is that the low status of Anglo-Indians should be interrogated on the basis that the claim was framed by Hindu ideals of purity and pollution, rather than simply issues of race attributed to the British.

Apart from rejecting Bear's claim that the "low railway morality" of Anglo-Indians derived from problems of miscegenation because, as Anjali Roy recognized, this was a Hindu perspective, Bear's claim is further contested on the following grounds canvassed by this research. Ken Blunt, an Anglo-Indian born in 1915 reminded me of the comparative historical context of the time when his father was an engine driver. He remarked that the status of train drivers at that time was "equivalent to the [airline] pilots of today".[107] This succinct remark indicated the enormous social disparity between the early generations of steam train engine drivers and train drivers post-1960s when employment in the railways was superseded by modern technologies of motor vehicles and air transport. David Leckey, a train enthusiast, described the varied duties of train drivers, even in the 1930s when his father was an engine driver, showing it to be a highly responsible position.[108]

David's description, coupled with Ken Blunt's simple analogy, complicates Bear's claim which referred to the lower socio-economic status of her railway colony interviewee cohort in 2000. The later living conditions which Bear encountered during her research in Kharagpur near Calcutta, induced her to connect Anglo-Indian status with that of the low class impoverished railway workers she interviewed. Anjali Roy described the excellent living conditions enjoyed by Anglo-Indians in Kharagpur prior to the 1950s, compared with the "decrepitude and state of neglect" of the township later found and described by Bear.[109] Bill Barlow was an apprentice engineer in Kharagpur before 1950 and recalled with great fondness his time in Kharagpur.[110] Some time after recording the oral history Bill presented me with a copy of Laura Roychowdhury's (née Bear) autobiographical account, including her time in

[106] Roy, "The Remembered Railway Town of Anglo-Indian Memory", 143.
[107] Ken Blunt, interview recorded in 1996.
[108] David Leckey in McMenamin, *Raj Days to Downunder*, 210-211.
[109] Roy, "The Remembered Railway Town of Anglo-Indian Memory", 149.
[110] Bill Barlow in McMenamin, *Raj Days to Downunder*, 30-31.

Kharagpur, expressing great dismay by her descriptions of the decay and "moral decay" of the township and its residents.[111] It was not the way he remembered Kharagpur, which in fact was more like the earlier conditions subsequently described by Anjali Roy. The following sections in this book show that Anglo-Indians were employed in a variety of jobs after the establishment of the railways. These early railway jobs provided excellent subsidized housing, social amenities for staff and education for their children, enabling a good standard of living and corresponding status. The jobs were responsible positions protecting British interests, assuaging the rulers insecurities, since the troubles of 1857-1859 and later against political activists including the Quit India movement supporting rising nationalism.

Bear's use of the term "railway caste" serves to perpetuate the notion of the low esteem with which Anglo-Indians are perceived in India. Links between caste and appropriate occupation, according to Hindu prescriptions, assigned Anglo-Indian employment to correspondingly polluting employment. Interestingly, originally Hindus relegated the railway industry to be low caste employment, despite being the latest technological development when railways were first introduced. Travel on the *kala pani*, that is black water or ocean, was traditionally contaminating to upper caste Hindus, so that travel by ship impacted negatively on their status and purity.[112] When the railways were introduced, there were calls that rail travel should be treated with the same restrictions regarding pollution imposed on travel across the *kala pani,* because both high and low castes travelled together which impacted negatively on high castes.[113]

Bear's proposition that Anglo-Indians could be called a "railway caste" conflates the identity of all Anglo-Indians, past and present, to railway employees, delegating the railways as "low class employment" for those living in "low class areas" such as Roy and Bear described in contemporary Kharagpur. The claim ignores large numbers of

[111] Laura Roychowdhury, *The Jadu House: Intimate Histories of Anglo-India* (New York: Doubleday, 2000).
[112] M.K. Gandhi, *An Autiobiography or the Story of My Experiments with Truth* (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1956 Reprint), 37-40 and 90. Gandhi explained the difficulty getting permission "to cross the seas" as well as the rituals required on return for "readmission" to his caste.
[113] Kerr, "Representation and Representations", 301 and 313.

Anglo-Indians in British India and since independence who were employed in other services. They were engaged in private businesses, some being leaders of the All India Anglo-Indian Association and its regional branches, and even Members of Parliament. These positions are not occupations reflecting low social status. Moreover, Bear's claim of a "railway caste" does not apply in Pakistan prior to and especially since 1947 because Anglo-Indians moved out of employment with the railways, as transport increasingly shifted to trucks and air freight. It is suggested Bear's claim is restricted to Hindu attitudes towards Anglo-Indians, reflecting Hindu notions of *jati*-mixing and low caste identity which corresponded with Hindu disapproval of western morality and intermarriage, coupled with low class employment. As shown, these Hindu traditional mentalities caused low status and marginalization of Anglo-Indians, rather than their marginalization being due entirely to British exclusion. Having highlighted the salient cultural differences between Hindus, Muslims and Anglo-Indians it is time to turn to the lives of Anglo-Indians generally.

Other professional lives of Anglo-Indians

Research on Anglo-Indians to date include diverse mixed groups encompassed under the legal definition of an Anglo-Indian. Although my research includes the same groups, each group resident in the North West is referred to individually, that is, Goans, Domiciled Europeans, Anglo-Burmese and Anglo-Indians. Anglo-Indian specifically refers to mixed descendants of the British and Europeans. The older term Eurasian was not used by the interviewees to describe themselves as it was considered outdated and/or referred to poor sections of mixed groups of Portuguese descent in India.

The advent of new technologies and the range of opportunities that became available in the mid-nineteenth century significantly changed Anglo-Indian employment and their consequent lifestyles. Anglo-Indians were favoured by the British as railway station managers, engine drivers, guards, sales managers and in security positions. They were also employed in the prestigious telegraph service which put them at the forefront of new technologies of the age. It was in these positions that Anglo-Indians in the North West found employment opportunities, as well as in the British institutions that had emerged.

Most of the schools set up for children of railway employees at the various “hill stations” were boarding establishments.[114] Initially these schools were set up in districts such as Kurseong and Darjeeling which served Bengal and central India. Once the railways extended to North West India, subsidized and mission schools multiplied from 1875 in the northern hill stations around Simla, Nainital, Murree and Mussoorie.[115] Apart from British and American missionaries staffing these schools, it has not been recognized, because of their undifferentiated names, that many of the teachers at Christian schools were Anglo-Indians. One of my paternal uncles, Terence Doyle, was teacher at training college in Kurseong during the 1930s. Joan Flack, one of his pupils, qualified and took up teaching.[116] Several interviewees or their relatives were also teachers.

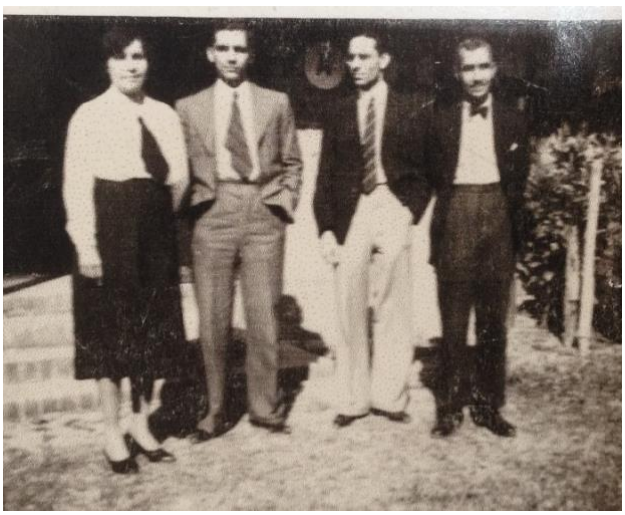

Figure 3 (left) *Terence Doyle, teacher, beside his mother, father (far right) engine driver in Burma, c.1940s*

Figure 4 (right) *Mike Glenn (left) and brother Owen Glenn (seated) on aunt's knee, teacher in Nainital*

Mike Glenn provided a family photograph of himself, brother and cousin in uniform as pupils at St. Joseph’s School, Nainital, in early 1940s with his aunt, a teacher at the school.[117] Another Anglo-Indian interviewee, Dorette Kharas, completed her BA and B.Ed in Calcutta in the 1930s with help of an Anglo-Indian scholarship. She later

[114] Bear, *Lines of the Nation*, 85-86.
[115] Bear, *Lines of the Nation*, 86.
[116] Flack in McMenamin, *Raj Days to Downunder*, 70.
[117] Mike Glenn, in McMenamin, *Raj Days to Downunder*, 81.

became the principal of St. Thomas' School and then Loretto College in Calcutta until 1979.[118] Dorette mentioned that "Not many women went to University in those days except the Bengalis who were very literary minded … I was the only Anglo-Indian there."[119]

In fact, other Anglo-Indian women did achieve tertiary qualifications. Moira Breen provided a description of her career which began with a BSc in Madras, followed by post-graduate positions offered in the USA and a doctorate obtained from Chicago where she went on to do pioneering scientific work.[120] She was the daughter of a doctor who abandoned his family in Madras in 1927 due to the inferior treatment he received as a locally trained doctor. Her mother then resumed her training as a teacher while the children attended boarding school, with little cost, at Lovedale Lawrence College, Sanawar in the Nilgiri Hills.[121] Moira concluded her life story expressing her appreciation to all who had helped her achieve her ambition, quoting her old school motto "Never give in".[122] This motto of all Lawrence Colleges was often quoted by interviewees who attended Lawrence College in Murree.

The professional employment of Anglo-Indians has been described in several colonial accounts, but not always recognized as such due to the similarity between British and Anglo-Indian names. For example, the historian Jeffrey Cox described how Lahore and Delhi became centers of education through the establishment of Indian academies by the early twentieth century.[123] He showed that missionary institutions made use of qualified "Indian" men and women who were employed as doctors and high school teachers.[124] Martha Francis was the first head surgeon at a women's hospital in Delhi where she served until 1932, and whose formal qualification was listed merely as "Indian doctor".[125] Her name does not indicate whether she was an Indian Christian or Anglo-Indian. The same lack of clarity applied to Jenny Muller, who

[118] Kharas in McMenamin, *Raj Days to Downunder*, 61-62.
[119] Kharas in McMenamin, *Raj Days to Downunder*, 61.
[120] Moira Breen, "Never Give In", in *The Way We Are: An Anglo-Indian Mosaic*, ed. Lionel Lumb and Deborah Van Veldhuizen (New Jersey: CTR Inc. Publishing, 2008), 2-9.
[121] Breen, "Never Give In", 2-3.
[122] Breen, "Never Give In", 8-9.
[123] Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines*, See Chapters 9 and 10.
[124] Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines*, 183 & 211.
[125] Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines*, 173.

Cox indicates was probably “country born”, schooled at Lawrence Military School, Sanawar, and trained at Calcutta Medical College in 1888.[126] The difficulties in discerning the difference was due to Indian Christians being given Christian names upon conversion, as indicated by Roy Engles who described his family conversion and adoption of the name Engles.[127] Conversely, Anglo-Indians inherited the name of their European paternal ancestor. Written records containing such Christian names can make the identities indistinguishable whereas the advantage of personal testimonies identify the lifestyles of distinct groups.

Charlton-Stevens disclosed that Dr. May Shave, a “lady” doctor who graduated from Grant Medical College, Bombay in 1908. During World War II she was in charge of Lady Aitchison Hospital, Lahore, where she subsequently ran her own “extensive private practice”.[128] As mentioned earlier, by 1935 Shave served in the Provincial Legislative Council, becoming the first female Vice-President then President of the Lahore Anglo-Indian Association.[129] Shave’s husband was a member of the Indian Medical Department (IMD) which was described as being “exclusively comprised of domiciled men serving as assistant surgeons” who received lower salaries than Indian Medical Service (IMS) graduate doctors.[130] The findings of Jeffrey Cox and Uther Charlton-Stevens show that Anglo-Indians, including women, participated in tertiary education in the early twentieth century. This is in contrast to Lionel Caplan’s fieldwork which led him to suggest that Anglo-Indians did not move into higher education until after 1947.[131] Conceivably conditions in the Punjab differed from Caplan’s interview cohort in Madras.[132] Although the lifestory of Moira Breen, above, goes against the grain.

Several of the interviewees or their family members won army scholarships and obtained IMD qualifications in Calcutta or Madras, after which they were tied to seven

[126] Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines*, 175.
[127] Roy Engles, Oral history, Track 1:1-5.
[128] Uther Charlton-Stevens, "The Professional Lives of Anglo-Indian Working Women in the Twilight of Empire", *International Journal of Anglo-Indian Studies* 16, no. 2 (2016): 7-9.
[129] Charlton-Stevens, "The Professional Lives of Anglo-Indian Working Women", 8-9.
[130] Charlton-Stevens, "The Professional Lives of Anglo-Indian Working Women", 8-9.
[131] Caplan, *Children of Colonialism*, 52.
[132] Caplan, "Cupid in Colonial and Post-Colonial South India", 8.

years army service.[133] The testimony of Jack Frost [b.1912], provided evidence that during this period Anglo-Indians were not only trained as doctors but, if possible, sought the higher status of IMS qualifications. Frost Sr. sent his son to be qualified in Britain so that Jack could serve in the IMS rather than the IMD which entitled him to promotion to senior ranks as a medical officer in the British Army, plus higher salaries than IMD doctors. Jack explained:

> [I] joined the Indian Medical Service (IMS) in 1939 … they [his father and other IMD qualified doctors] joined [the army] as warrant officers, and were eventually promoted to lieutenants and then captains, the highest I think they could get. This was army discrimination … I was British trained so I finished up a Lieutenant Colonel. I think my parents were rather proud as it had cost them a lot of money to have me train in Britain.[134]

Jack's statement complicates, even overturns, claims that Anglo-Indians were barred from senior positions due to racial discrimination and/or their domicile in India, rather than in fact due to different qualifications. His testimony, and that of Esmee Cloy and Betty Doyle whose husbands were IMD qualified doctors, confirm Charlton-Stevens' finding that salaries of Anglo-Indians as "uncovenanted staff" were significantly lower than British IMS "covenanted staff".[135] However, salaries paid to local Indians were in turn usually lower than the rates paid to Anglo-Indian uncovenanted staff. This hierarchy of seniority and salaries formed part of British policy, deeming staff from Britain needed to be compensated for their service in India because costs in Britain were much higher than India. It was considered that the living costs of those locally domiciled were lower making salaries commensurately lower. But this differential was often begrudged by local non-covenanted employees who held equivalent qualifications.[136] The IMD qualification until around 1938 was called the Licentiate, being a slightly shorter course than the IMS medical qualification in England; although upon arrival in India these IMS doctors or surgeons (the terms being almost synonymous in India) had to undertake extra training on Indian diets, languages and

[133] D. R. Thapar, *The Morale Builders: Forty Years with the Military Medical Services of India* (London: Asia Pub. House, 1965), 57.
[134] Jack Frost in McMenamin, *Raj Days to Downunder*, 183 and 186.
[135] Charlton-Stevens, *Anglo-Indians and Minority Politics in South Asia*, 66; Doyle, "Raj Days to Downunder", 176.
[136] Thapar, *The Morale Builders*, 58.

tropical diseases.[137] By 1940 the Licentiate course was replaced by the internationally recognized MB qualification.

Esmee Cloy's husband qualified in 1937 with the Licentiate certificate in Calcutta prior to World War II, but his qualification was not recognized in New Zealand where he later migrated. Whereas Noel Doyle, two years his junior, who took some extra training, obtained an MB from the same institution which was internationally recognised. Subsequently when IMD doctors with the MB qualification migrated to the West, their qualifications were recognized and no further qualifications were necessary before being registered to practice. Cloy and Doyle had obtained army scholarships to join medical college, and went on to serve in World War II. Norman Barnett also won an army scholarship to train, but he qualified after the war ended in 1945.

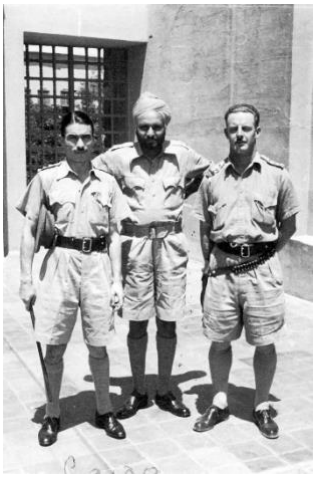

Figure 5 (left) *Jack Frost (left) serving in WWII in Cyprus c. 1942*
Figure 6 (right) *Esmee and George Cloy on their wedding day.*

By the time Barnett qualified he said there were no army service nor any jobs available for Anglo-Indian doctors in Calcutta. Instead he joined the Burmese army and his first job was in Burma, after which he emigrated to New Zealand in 1950.[138] Another doctor who emigrated to New Zealand in 1949, Cecil Anderson, said he was part of the last medical student intake in Calcutta in 1942. Cecil said the Government paid all tuition

[137] Gilmour, *The British in India,* 187.
[138] Norman Barnett in McMenamin, *Raj Days to Downunder*, 38 and 49. For his subsequent service in Auckland, Norman was awarded an OBE.

costs for Anglo-Indians and that parents only needed to provide pocket money. All the medical students boarded at "The Range" but in 1944 these boarding facilities were closed because "They just felt it was coming to the end of the service".[139] It was likely that with the termination of British scholarships for such education, subsequent Anglo-Indians faced difficulties meeting tertiary fees. Of these doctors, Doyle, Cloy and Frost found employment in the North West, soon to become Pakistan, because like Barnett and Anderson they did not find work in India after returning from service in World War II.[140] This suggests that employment, even for Anglo-Indian medical practitioners, was more welcomed in Muslim populated areas than predominantly Hindu regions.

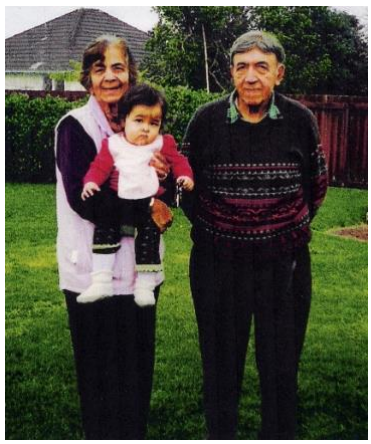

Figure 7 (left) *Noel and Betty Doyle at the Khyber Pass, 1939*

Figure 8 (centre) *Norman and Gypsy Barnett with daughter and servant in Burma 1948*

Figure 9 (right) *Cecil Anderson (right) and Connie Grindall (holding grandchild) in Auckland*

After serving in North Africa during World War II, Jack Frost was posted to Quetta where he enjoyed his working conditions. However after partition took place, he said:

> We were given options, to either transfer to the Pakistan Medical Service or get out. We couldn't stay on in the Indian Army, but you could take a position in Pakistan because I think they were short of medical officers … My family were in Rawalpindi, and Dad stayed on there. We were there before partition … There were no options to stay on in India at all.[141]

[139] Cecil Anderson in McMenamin, *Raj Days to Downunder*, 57.

[140] Although I used my family connections to interview Frost and Cloy, contact with Barnett and Anderson was coincidental. They had emigrated to New Zealand and lived in Auckland where we were introduced after my attendance at the World Anglo-Indian Reunion in 2001, which they did not attend.

[141] Frost in McMenamin, *Raj Days to Downunder*, 188.

The hierarchy evident between British and Anglo-Indians in the army and medical service was paralleled by British-trained and Indian-trained staff which at times were strained. Betty Doyle, trained as a midwife, mentioned that after her husband qualified as MB in Calcutta Medical College, he began his obligatory army service in Peshawar in 1938. Here he was "often at loggerheads with the Queen Alexandra nurses, because they bossed him around not recognizing his qualification".[142] A similar experience was reported by an Anglo-Indian nurse who said she was "treated as dirt" whilst working with the British nursing sisters of the Queen Alexandra service.[143] Such comments confirm findings by other researchers showing that some British staff did adopt superior attitudes towards Anglo-Indians. But this attitude, although evident in specific circumstances, did not reflect the overall workplace experience of the interviewees in the North West nor subsequently Pakistan.

Yasmin Khan has given detailed descriptions of Indian soldiers deployed by the British during World War II, including that of Anglo-Indian and IMD medical officers as shown above. The testimonies of the interviewees here are supported by Khan who identified Karachi as a modern hub of both business and social activities, whilst Lahore experienced a flourishing business boom.[144] Charlton-Stevens' description of Anglo-Indian women's service during the war years, especially those serving in the Women's Auxiliary Corps (India), WAC(I), is complemented by Khan's description of the responsible jobs undertaken by these women.[145] Several of the female interviwees were nurses during this period, whilst Charles Harvey's Parsee mother (married to his Anglo-Indian father) joined and served in the WAC(I), confirming the range of Anglo-Indian involvement in the workforce at that time.

Diversity of Anglo-Indian employment and lifestyles

Descriptions of the childhood lifestyles of interviewees born in the North West prior to 1925, and the employment of parents of younger interviewees, provide insights into the status of groups of Anglo-Indian families in the region before the establishment of

[142] Doyle in McMenamin, *Raj Days to Downunder*, 176.
[143] Charlton-Stevens, "The End of Greater Anglo-India", 74.
[144] Khan, Yasmin. *The Raj at War: A People's History of India's Second World War* (London, UK: Vintage, Penguin Random House, 2015), 18, 155-157, 168.
[145] Charlton-Stevens, "The Professional Lives of Anglo-Indian Working Women"; Khan, *The Raj at War,* 154.

Pakistan.[146] The year of birth of interviewees is given to provide a timeline indication of the descriptions of their own lives and/or a guesstimate of their parents' lives, and their parents' employment.

Both sides of the grandparents of Yvonne Smith [b.1927, Agra] had come from Scotland and Ireland around the mid-nineteenth century, and had served in various army stations in India, including Madras, and some had taken part in the Second Afghan War. Yvonne's father, born 1886, refused to join the army because he would have to groom horses, so instead joined the telegraph service, and retired as Superintendent in Rawalpindi aged about fifty-five in 1940.[147] Yvonne, the eleventh child of fourteen children, described her childhood home in the telegraph colony in Delhi from 1930-1939 where her father was a telegraphist. She described the house as having separate drawing and dining rooms, an outside kitchen linked by a passage, at least three bedrooms plus dressing rooms which her family used as bedrooms. She said "All the [later] houses were as good as that in Delhi, and we had flush toilets".[148] The homes were surrounded by a lawn and garden in which there were:

> peach and loquat trees … pomegranate tree … two types of hedges a short thorny one and slightly taller one which cut the garden into two sections. The driveway ran the length of the house … covered in red gravel … on either side … the *mali* [gardener] planted rows of sweet peas. The side of the house had dense bougainvillea which climbed up the walls.[149]

In the telegraph colony Yvonne said there were two Muslim families, a "white Russian" who she thought was Armenian but otherwise the colony was "full of your own kind. Probably would be Anglo-Indians, but you never really thought about it".[150] Yvonne thought of herself as British, despite acknowledging her maternal grandmother was a "very dark skinned Biharan woman".[151] In her view "an Anglo-Indian is someone who is born in India … mostly British".[152] This ambiguous idea of who was an Anglo-Indian was constantly voiced in Pakistan.

---

[146] Appendix 1 provides an alphabetical list of all the oral history interviewees. The second column gives date and place of birth, from which these interviewees are identifiable.
[147] Yvonne Smith, Oral history, Track 2:4-8.
[148] Yvonne Smith, Oral history, Track 2:28-35.
[149] Yvonne Smith, Oral history, Track 2:28-35.
[150] Yvonne Smith, Oral history, Track 2:38-43.
[151] Yvonne Smith, Oral history, Track 6:1-7.
[152] Yvonne Smith, Oral history, Track 6:1-7.

Betty Doyle [b.1915] described her life as a child growing up in the Lahore railway colony, where her father was employed as an auditor until 1920. Her paternal grandfather Charles Wigram José and his two brothers, wandering minstrels presumed to be Huguenots since they were not Catholics, arrived overland into the North West about 1860.[153] Later Betty lived with her mother and stepfather, a medical doctor, in the Lahore cantonment area when she was not at boarding school in Mussoorie nine months of the year.[154] She talked about the fun she had cycling around Lahore, always wearing western style "frocks" as they were then called, and cycling to the more distant Mughal Shalimar Gardens and large city parks.[155] Rani Sircar, of a Brahmin family converted to Christianity, spent her high school years in Lahore between 1938 to 1947 because her father was employed in the railways. Rani's description of their rented home was reminiscent of the home of Yvonne Smith. Sircar recorded the novel sight of mass bicycling in Lahore, including girls and women on cycles.[156] This level of security and feeling of safety during the late years of British rule was evident in several testimonies. This security remained decades later when I too cycled alone to school as a teenager in Rawalpindi in the early 1960s – much to the amazement of young Pakistanis who I spoke to on my return visit to Pakistan in 2016.

Also employed with the Lahore railways was the father of Dick Cox [b.1932] whose family had been resident in British India since the 1860s. His maternal grandfather, Dr. James Fleming, had been superintendent of the Punjab Lunatic Asylum in Lahore, holding the rank of major when he retired in 1921.[157] Dick's father retired as the District Commercial Manager of the North Western Railway, previously holding postings at other stations.[158] Dick recalled their last home in Lahore was called the "Rest House" which he considered large enough to accommodate three families, whereas he was an only child. It was situated near the Burt Institute which was "the hub of the social

[153] Doyle in McMenamin, *Raj Days to Downunder*, 171.
[154] Doyle in McMenamin, *Raj Days to Downunder*, 171.
[155] Doyle in McMenamin, *Raj Days to Downunder*, 175.
[156] Rani Sircar, *Dancing Round the Maypole: Growing out of British India* (Rupa & Co., 2003), 177.
[157] Cox in McMenamin, *Raj Days to Downunder*, 152-153.
[158] Cox in McMenamin, *Raj Days to Downunder*, 158.

life of the railway colony, their center of entertainment and relaxation".[159] He described it as a large complex:

> It had one main building which contained a large sprung dance floor, a stage at one end and a balcony extending along three sides of the floor. In addition there was a billiard room with three tables, two indoor badminton courts and, importantly, a lounge bar which was the most popular facility of the whole complex. A fair amount of whiskey and gin was consumed every evening. There was a separate indoor swimming pool which was very well used during the summer months. Outdoors were two grassed sports fields, for soccer and hockey, always well maintained. Usually there was a dance on Saturday nights that was well attended by the adults.[160]

The parents of Winkie Lord [b.1946] were associated with the Lahore railways and she remembered social functions at the Burt Institute. The family also socialized at a smaller Anglo-Indian railway club called the Griffin Institute, near the railway workshops at Mughalpura.[161]

Figure 10 (left) *Dick Cox and his mother at their railway home in Mughalpura, Lahore*
Figure 11 (right) *The Burt Institute, Lahore [Courtesy Valeria King, Anglos from Pakistan]*

In Rawalpindi the railway colony was situated by the railway station in Westridge along with its club, the Lansdowne Institute known as the "*Naatch Ghar*", house of dance. The Telegraph Office or "*Taar Ghar*" with its own colony and club were situated more centrally by The Mall.[162] In Karachi the Anglo-Indians called their club at the railway

[159] Cox in McMenamin, *Raj Days to Downunder*, 158.
[160] Cox in McMenamin, *Raj Days to Downunder*, 158.
[161] Winkie Lord, Oral history, Track 1:5-8.
[162] Khan, *Rawul Pindee*, 85 and 114-115.

colony “The Loco”.[163] These clubs, whilst not quite as salubrious as the Burt, had at least a tennis court, dance hall, nearby swimming pool, billiard room and lounge bar.

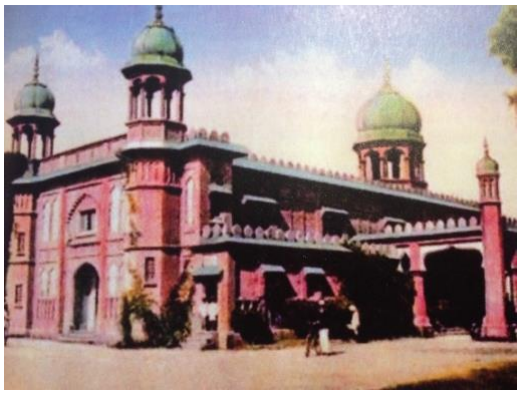

Figure 12 (left) *Lansdowne Institute, Rawalpindi [Courtesy Ali Khan, Rawul Pindee]*
Figure 13 (right) *Collins Institute, East Bengal, one of many smaller Anglo-Indian clubs c.1940s*

None of the interviewees mentioned specific British clubs from which they felt excluded pre-1947, although the exclusive Gymkhana Clubs in Karachi and Lahore were not mentioned as centers of their social lives. The extensive grounds of these clubs encompassed sports fields, including cricket grounds, where Anglo-Indian teams competed. The lack of any derogatory comments, together with the description of their own good club facilities, indicates that Anglo-Indians were content mixing socially with people of “their own kind”, a term often used by the interviewees.[164] Anglo-Indians were most comfortable socializing with others from a similar socio-economic and cultural background with whom they shared common interests.

During this late colonial period, Indians were not admitted as members of Anglo-Indian clubs, although they could be invited as members’ guests. But “club life” was not the usual lifestyle for most Indians, particularly bars where British or Anglo-Indian women were present. Neither was ballroom dancing a common activity amongst Indian men and women, although as shown in Chapter 4 this was enjoyed by some Pakistanis who attended clubs and dances. These activities are discussed in more detail post 1947 because fuller testimonies are available.

[163] Blossom Greig, Interview notes, 11; Tony Mendonça in McMenamin, *Raj Days to Downunder*, 235.
[164] Yvonne Smith, Oral history, Track 2:38-43.

All the interviewees employed servants, some of whom had served in the families for more than a generation. The main servants lived in simple row of rooms called "servants' quarters" usually situated in the rear garden within the bungalow compound of rented company or housing colony accommodation. Dick Cox [b.1932] recalled his family had "the usual servants": a *khansama* (cook), bearer (waiter) and *mali* (gardener) who lived in the servants' quarters. The *ayah* (maid servant or nanny) usually lived within the home, but the *jamadhar* (cleaner) and *dhobi* (laundryman) lived off the premises.[165] Similar servants were employed by all the interviewees. The normal practice of servants was to address the males in the home as "*sahib*", the women as "*memsahib*", the children as "*chota sahib*" or "*miss sahib*". In return the servants were called by their names, or job title if they had not been known long, or the relationships were along formal lines. This formality did not exist between children and the servants' children living on the premises who usually played together in the compound.[166]

The expansion of business activities in the North West associated with industrial growth opened different avenues of employment, such as engineers for the construction of canals and dams.[167] Individuals from different Anglo-Indian groups capitalized on countless business ventures, such as operators of tea-room, music shops, cinemas, and teachers in schools. Family friends owned Lintotts Tearooms in Murree as well as the large Odeon Cinema theatre in Rawalpindi, although these were sold once the family emigrated. Several hotels were owned and run by British or Anglo-Indian families in Rawalpindi, such as Flashman's Hotel, Keays-Byrne and Shaw's hotels. Units in these hotels were often the home of Anglo-Indian families.[168]

One of the many employment opportunities that arose was with the emergent oil industry, reflected in the testimonies of John Walker and Ian States, whose fathers were both trained and employed by Attock Oil Company, a local company whose

[165] Cox in McMenamin, *Raj Days to Downunder*, 156.
[166] Doyle in McMenamin, *Raj Days to Downunder*, 173.
[167] Gabb, *Anglo-Indian Legacy 1600-1947*.
[168] The owners were childhood family friends, and other friends lived at the hotels. John Roberts' family lived at Shaws Hotel, Rawalpindi, interview notes, 5. Some of these hotels feature in Khan, *Rawul Pindee*, 78.

management staff were engaged by London agents, Steel Brothers.[169] John Walker [b.1935 Rawalpindi] was schooled at the same school as his father, Lawrence College, in Ghora Gali near Murree, usually a training ground for soldiers. John explained that his mother was fourth generation of Anglo-Dutch descent, whilst his father was first generation in India. He described his father's job working for Attock Oil Company at the Khaur oilfields about 55 miles from Rawalpindi. He said his father finished his schooling at Ghora Gali in 1924 and had intended to join the army but whilst awaiting recruitment, was taken on by Attock Oil Company who had brought in Americans for the purpose of training men as:

> local born drillers … about a dozen or more … my father was one of them … They went through all the different aspects, drilling, production and refining … In the early days all they were trying to extract was paraffin, kerosene; it wasn't until later that they started refining for petroleum … Originally it was just sold as kerosene, raw product. The early engines ran on kerosene, later it changed.[170]

John's understanding of the industrial technicalities derives from his own training as an engineer. He had family photographs of the original simple oil wells, and of a Dodge motorcar belonging to an American who set up a garage in Rawalpindi importing Dodge cars and trucks.[171] His knowledge about the early days of his family in British India is evident in his numerous carefully labelled photograph albums. Connections to his youth were also evident as an organizer of Lawrence College Ghora Gali school reunions in England for fifteen years up to 2015, and his attendance at a minimum of eight school reunions held in Pakistan.[172]

The father and grandfather of Ian States [b.1946] had also been employed as drillers with Attock Oil Company, the latter in all likelihood undertaking the same training as John's father above. Ian's memory extended only to the conditions of his father's employment.[173] Ian and John Walker knew each other as youngsters, but Walker went to England a decade before the States family emigrated to Western Australia; neither had any contact until John was interviewed in Surrey in 2016 and I put them in touch.

[169] John Walker, Oral history, Track 1:1-18; and Ian States, Oral history, Track 1:3-6.
[170] John Walker, Oral history, Track 1:1-3.
[171] Digital photographs of pages of John Walker's family photograph albums will be filed with his oral history.
[172] John Walker, Oral history, Track 1:12-18.
[173] Ian States, Oral history, Track 1:6-12.

I had not known the Walker family in Pakistan whereas the States had been family friends and contact continued through mutual parents' friends. John's comment that the company trained "local born" people as specialists obviously included Anglo-Indians. As mentioned previously, these people were often considered British, both by themselves and others in the region.

Ian States commented that he had always thought of his family as British, until his Australian fiancée pointed out that his grandmother was quite dark and there must be some Indian in him. Ian suddenly realised that he "had this Anglo-Indian heritage … on my mother's side … then I realised I was Anglo-Indian".[174] It was common amongst interviewees that the term Anglo-Indian was not clear in the North West. Yvonne Smith was adamant that the term was coterminous with British.[175] Yet others who called themselves Anglo-Indian, such as Fred Lord, believed the term applied only to those of mixed British, not European, descent.[176] It is likely also that families who had moved West from Calcutta, where a distinct Anglo-Indian identity was strong, might have retained that clear personal community identity. In contrast Goans usually remained a distinct group who identified proudly as Goan, that is typically people with Portuguese surnames and who believed their parents or ancestors originated from Goa. It was unclear whether these Goans were Indians who had converted to Catholicism some four centuries earlier having adopted Portuguese Christian names, or whether they were of mixed Portuguese descent. Goans with light brown complexions were often considered to be of mixed Portuguese-Indian descent, whereas in many instances these Goans had married Anglo-Indians or Domiciled Europeans, usually Catholics like themselves, not Protestants. In Pakistan there appeared to be no distinction between Goans and Luso-Indians although the category Luso-Indian was not commonly known. In the main, Luso-Indian is a term applicable to groups in South India where Portuguese influences had been wider.

It has been noted that Goans were more business-minded than Anglo-Indians; careful with money, making investments and purchasing properties, not a goal of most Anglo-

[174] Ian States, Oral history, Track 6:14-18.
[175] Yvonne Smith, Oral history, Track 6:1-end.
[176] Fred Lord, Oral history, Track 4:8-13.

Indians who were known instead for their fun-loving proclivities.[177] The lack of interest in purchasing homes by Anglo-Indians might have been due to the excellent accommodation provided with employment by the British. It is suggested the difference reflects a stronger affinity of Goans with the land, specifically Goa. This differs from Anglo-Indians who looked to their ancestral links beyond Indian soil, particularly since the memory of their maternal Indian heritage had not survived, leaving their identity linked only to their British or European antecedents.

As early as 1888 the Goa-Portuguese Association was founded in Karachi, with its own building completed in central Saddar. In 1926 an affluent group of Goans moved and set up their own new township in an area that had been a “piggery”, now known as Garden East.[178] This area was unattractive to local Muslims because pigs represented everything unclean. Choosing this piece of land would have been economically attractive, and the purchase would not have received opposition from locals. This appears a socially expedient tactic, utilizing and improving unwanted land, which in time became profitable and desirable. It is clear that many Goan families arrived in the North West chasing opportunities being created by the British. The family of Albert Godin [b.1929] was one of these. Albert was asked to write “a piece”, for the archives at the Sarhad Conservation Network, Peshawar, about his parents who owned and ran a music center, A. Godin & Co, from 1924 to 1982.[179] He described how his father’s family, Godinho, moved from Goa to the North West, where they abbreviated and Anglicized their name to Godin. His grandfather worked at a piano repair workshop, then opened a family shop in Quetta, hiring out hand-wound gramophones, pianos and musical instruments, until the devastating 1935 earthquake when some 30,000 lives were lost.[180] After several moves, financed by his family, Albert’s father Robert Godin established his own music outlet in 1924 in Peshawar. Here the business thrived with the increase of British troops and families during World War II and a “summer branch” was opened in Cherat at an elevation of some 4,000

[177] Blossom Greig, Interview notes, 7-8.
[178] Rodrigues Menin, *Gold to Platinum 1981-2006: St. Lawrence’s Church & Parish Karachi – Pakistan* (Karachi: Shamrock Communications, 2016). Also see: http://www.goansofpakistan.org/milestone.htm
[179] Godin, Albert Joseph, "The Godins of Peshawar", August 2011. A copy is archived with the oral history collection.
[180] Godin, "The Godins of Peshawar", 1.

feet, patronized by holidaying British.[181] Over the following decades Robert and his wife Eveline assisted Muslim refugees, and Eveline set up activities for the women, such as sewing classes.[182] The two generations of Godin families show the variety of lifestyle opportunities taken up by Goans in the North West. It is of interest that a relative in India, Denzil Godin, is a current Anglo-Indian member of the Indian Legislative Assembly for Uttar Pradesh.[183]

In the main cities, Anglo-Indians and Goans had separate clubs and social lives, although intermarriage and social mixing occurred, often disapproved of by Goans who were more protective of their daughters.[184] Two examples of such lifestyles are evident through the family genealogies of two interviewees, Tony Mendonça and Blossom Greig, and descriptions of their parents' lives. Tony Mendonça [b.1934] the seventh of thirteen children of a Karachi Goan family, traced his genealogy and discovered that his ancestors had owned large properties in Karachi and other cities, and that his ancestors had intermarried with Anglo-Indians. Details of Tony's family supports my argument that Anglo-Indians and Goans comprised many successful families. Tony's grandparents came to Karachi from Goa where his father was born in 1901.

> Dad's father, Lazarus Mendonça, was of Portuguese descent, apparently a medical doctor and landowner … his mother was a Goan. They married in Goa then moved to Karachi. When [Tony's] dad was about 16 years old, his father left the family … believed to have gone to Goa or Portugal. His mother was left with three young sons ... Some years later Lazarus wrote to Dad, but he immediately ripped and binned the letters without opening them. Apparently Lazarus was keen for Dad to inherit land he owned in Portugal and Goa, but Dad was still furious and bitter and never forgave him … Dad … won scholarship and matriculated from St. Patrick's High School … met and married mum in Kotri.[185]

[181] Godin, "The Godins of Peshawar", 2.
[182] Godin, "The Godins of Peshawar", 4-6.
[183] Whilst attending the World Anglo-Indian Reunion in Chennai in 2019 I met Denzil Godin, a current Anglo-Indian member of the Indian Legislative Assembly for Uttar Pradesh, who told me some of his family had been in Pakistan but they had lost contact. I provided Denzil a copy of Albert Godin's family account and Denzil was delighted to confirm the families were related.
[184] Blossom Greig, Interview notes, 9-10.
[185] Mendonça in McMenamin, *Raj Days to Downunder*, 229-230.

Tony described his mother's background as British. His maternal great grandfather had been a District Collector (which Tony understood involved acting as a High Court Judge) in Hyderabad, Sind, William Harrison Blackwell, who married a Karachi Goan. They raised ten children in Hyderabad, one being Tony's grandfather Henry Blackwell who worked for the British army. Henry collected his share of the inheritance when the property in Karachi was sold, but lived in Rawalpindi until his death. Tony recalls "We never knew what happened to it [the money] … The relatives on mum's side were wealthy … we were an embarrassment to the Blackwells".[186] Tony's story shows how quickly fortunes can change in a family, yet he and his siblings received a good free education at St. Patrick's in Karachi. It also shows that during the British period in the North West prior to 1947 there were sufficient employment opportunities as well as affordable education for children, offered free to poorer families. Tony obviously was aware of the differences between Goans and Anglo-Indians, and identified as Anglo-Indian. Tony's father had two jobs and struggled to support his large family, having become an alcoholic at one stage, but worked all his life for the British, in the railways and as a Civilian Gazetted Officer in the RAF.[187] When the British left India, Tony bitterly recalled:

> Dad was left high and dry, no pension, nothing. As the RAF left, the local Royal Pakistan Air Force took over and Dad was obliged to work with them for a few more years before he finally retired … with a golden handshake, paid as a lump sum of 3000Rp, about NZ$120.[188]

Figure 14 (left) *Tony Mendonça's father in Portuguese costume*

Figure 15 (centre) *Tony (bottom row second right), family and relatives*

Figure 16 (right) *Mendonça's apartment in Vaveja Building, Napier Street, Karachi*

[186] Mendonça in McMenamin, *Raj Days to Downunder*, 230.
[187] Mendonça in McMenamin, *Raj Days to Downunder*, 231.
[188] Mendonça in McMenamin, *Raj Days to Downunder*, 231, 238-239.

Six of Tony's maternal aunts married British soldiers, all of whom survived serving in the Second World War. After withdrawal of the British from India, these families emigrated to England.[189] Years later when Tony visited some of his aunts, he commented that the war had taken its toll on the husbands and their lives were difficult in England. Nevertheless, Tony's story does not support the common suggestion that British soldiers usually abandoned their wives in India. One of my maternal aunts married a British soldier and after the war they went to England, but the marriage failed. Their financial circumstances were such that my maternal grandparents, who had emigrated to Australia, paid fares for their daughter and young family to join them in Perth. This indicated that at that time, life in England although perhaps "secure", was difficult and possibly more financially constrained than the lives of many Anglo-Indians in British India.

The maternal family of Blossom Greig, an interviewee from Karachi living in New Zealand, said her maternal Goan family, Coutinhos, set up and ran an undertaking business and bookshop in Karachi from premises they owned.[190]

Figure 17 (left) *Blossom Greig's maternal Goan family – Coutinho shop/home in Karachi*
Figure 18 (right) *Blossom Greig's maternal grandparents (center), her parents (on right with brother on mother's lap)*

[189] Mendonça in McMenamin, *Raj Days to Downunder*, 235.
[190] Blossom Greig, Interview notes, 2

Because of their respected business the Coutinhos were able to join the Karachi Goan Association KGA, a club for well-to-do Goans.[191] Neither Blossom's mother nor her children could be members of the KGA because she married a non-Goan, an "Anglo". Blossom's father, Jack Magnum, who described himself as a Domiciled European.[192] Jack was born and raised in Burma by his Domiciled European/Anglo-Indian parents working there, where his father died, while he, his mother and siblings were evacuated with very few possessions out of Rangoon during World War II. Blossom considered that her father was more likely to be mixed rather than Domiciled European because although he was fair skinned, she did not think he was as fair as the British. She considered the family claim to being "pure" Anglo rather than of any mixed descent was a "class thing". Whether this idea derives from notions of purity in Hindu caste or British class ideals is unclear, in all likelihood both. Nevertheless her comments confirm how ideas of "purity" associated with superiority remain pervasive within Goans, mixed groups, the British, Muslims and Hindus in the subcontinent.

Blossom grew up more familiar with the Goan side of her family who were resident in Karachi, where she was born.She said that in the Goan tradition, males were dominant, and money and businesses passed through the male heirs, not females.Women did not keep their names after marriage and "Goan families like to keep the money and social standing within their own family name" unlike Anglos who "were more British or European in their ways, so male and female children were treated equally".[193] Another club was called the Goan Union to which again only Goans could be members. Blossom's father told her about clubs that Anglos had attended, the Karachi Institute and "The Loco" but these had closed since very few Anglos remained in Karachi compared to Goans.[194] This description draws a clear demarcation between Goans and Anglos, preserving distinct identities, although inter-marriages affirmed commonalities based on their shared Christian identity and lifestyles.

[191] Blossom Greig, Interview notes, 2
[192] Blossom Greig, Interview notes, 9
[193] Blossom Greig, Interview notes, 10
[194] Blossom Greig, Interview notes,11

As in the case of Blossom's father Jack Magnum, moving to Karachi from Burma due to the Japanese invasion during World War II, a large number of Anglo-Burmese who managed to escape, chose to move to the North West region. Jewel Keating's family, the Shepherd family, trekked out of Burma and came to Lahore in 1942 because her mother wanted to be far away as possible from the war in Burma.[195] The Burmese Government in Exile was set up in Simla, and being a niece of officers in that Government, George Kirkham and Charles Haswell Campagnac (former Mayor of Rangoon), Jewel Keating [b.1925] went to Simla to work as a stenographer at their headquarters.[196] A cousin of the Shepherd family, Eric Gordon Hall, who had trained as an engineer in Burma, settled in Lahore in 1942 and enlisted and was selected for the officer cadre of the Royal [British] Indian Air Force in 1943. Keating's older brother Owen Shepherd, the same age as Eric Hall's younger brother Clinton Hall, and a friend Charlie Nicholas, all joined the air force in Lahore and Karachi in the early to mid 1940s.[197] These were prestigious positions. A contingent of Polish refugees arrived during the war, and several men also trained as pilots, alongside Anglo-Indians and others who were eligible and selected.[198]

Several young suitably qualified Anglo-Indian men enlisted in the Royal Air force, which in 1947 became the Royal Pakistan Air force and Royal Indian Air Force. Subsequently some of these men, including Eric Hall in the Pakistan air force and Charlie Nicholas, who remained in India, were pitted against each other in wars between India and Pakistan.[199] Hall rose to the rank of Air Vice Marshall of the Pakistan Air Force, and other Anglo-Indians achieved the rank of Squadron Leaders and Wing Commanders.[200] Anglo-Indians in India also rose to high ranks in the Indian Air Force, one of several being Wing Commander Leslie Blunt, brother of interviewee, Ken Blunt.[201] Leslie piloted the first aircraft which landed at Srinagar during the

[195] Keating in McMenamin, *Raj Days to Downunder*, 256.
[196] Campagnac, *The Autobiography of a Wanderer*, 300-301; Keating, "Raj Days to Downunder", 256.
[197] Jewel Keating's surviving younger sister, Audrey Wilson, provided this information.
[198] Ansari, "At the Crossroads?", 7.
[199] Personal email 3 March 2017 from Audrey Wilson, younger sister of Jewel Keating deceased, cousins of Eric Hall. http://www.christiansinpakistan.com/eric-g-hall-a-notable-christian-pilot/
[200] Muthiah and MacLure, *The Anglo-Indians*, 123.
[201] Anthony, *Britain's Betrayal in India*, 442-443.

Kashmir crisis, while Ken served in the Pakistan boundary police at the same time.[202] These positions demonstrate that Anglo-Indians who attained appropriate school leaving educational standards and qualified for admission could rise to the highest ranks.

Support perceived to be needed for poorer Anglo-Indian families at various times and in different ways was provided by affluent Anglo-Indians. An instance of this was in Lahore by the prosperous Braganza family who owned several large properties, including the Braganza Hotel, a lively establishment opposite Lahore railway station.[203] In 1887 the Braganza family donated land and buildings in the central city to the Lahore Charitable Association, including a building run by nuns as a retirement home for elderly Anglo-Indians known as *Gosha-e-Aman "*A Strangers Home".[204] The residents were usually in an economic position to support themselves, although the more needy were assisted by family and friends. There was no charitable organization funding the home and residents overall. Strangers Home was staffed by Catholic nuns and later managed by the charitable organisation, *Caritas*. Following the sudden departure of the nuns and allegedly "trumped up" claims by a Pakistani woman who installed herself in the building claiming ownership, the Government of Punjab took possession of the building. The building was demolished in January 2012, despite appeals for compensation issued by the Church. Photographs of the residents at Strangers Home, taken in 1950s were posted on *Anglos in Pakistan* Facebook page, and family members identified some residents and commented on visiting their parents at the Home.[205]

[202] Anthony, *Britain's Betrayal in India*, 443.
[203] Recorded conversation with family members, Edwina Braganza, a retired school principal, and her two sons Robert and Noel in Lahore, March 2016.
[204] "Church Property: Demolition denounced", The Express Tribune, 10.1.2012. Accessed 24.11.2017. https://tribune.com.pk/story/319374/punjab-government-razes-chrtistian-compound-chapel-despite-stay-orders/
[205] https://www.facebook.com/groups/anglosfrompakistan/search/?query=Strangers%20Home. Accessed 19.2.2018.

Figure 19 Strangers Home, Lahore: two sets of residents [Courtesy Valeria King, Anglos from Pakistan]

The testimonies referred to above, in the main, refer to the parents' lives of Anglo-Indians describing the employment opportunities and lifestyles in the North West region. Much has been written about the children of the British who were sent back to England for their education, as compared to those born and schooled in what was still British India.[206] Brief details will be given of some of these latter school experiences by elderly Anglo-Indians who were born in the region prior to 1925, up to around the time of partition.

School experiences up until around 1947

The discourse on schooling during the time of British rule fell into the vexed context of racial mixing and segregation of British children. It was recognized that in the main the British sent their children to boarding schools in England, most famously and painfully described by Rudyard Kipling whose father was the curator of the Museum in Lahore.[207] David Gilmour says that some 5,000 British and Anglo-Indian children were in Indian schools, implying that these children were not segregated at school. Furthermore, some Anglo-Indian children such as Jack Frost were in fact sent to England for higher education. In general, Anglo-Indian children either attended local Christian English medium schools on the plains or were sent to boarding schools in the "hill stations".

[206] Elizabeth Buettner, *Empire Families*; Vyvyen Brendon, *Children of the Raj* (London: Phoenix, 1988); William Dalrymple, *White Mughals*; Hazel Mary Innes Craig, *Under the Old School Topee*; Deborah Cohen, *Family Secrets: Living with Shame from the Victorians to the Present Day* (London: Viking, 2013).
[207] Brendon, *Children of the Raj*, 117; Buettner, *Empire Families* 56, 121-129.

Dick Cox, whose father worked for the North West railways was sent to boarding school in Simla.[208] Betty Doyle whose father also worked for the railways attended Oak Grove railway school in Mussoorie, but after his retirement, having moved briefly to Bangalore, she and her younger sister were ineligible at Oak Grove and instead attended, what was then called, Wynberg school in Mussoorie.[209] Doyle and also Esmee Cloy who boarded in Mussoorie, said that apart from a few Parsee and Indian Christian students, no Hindus, Muslims or Sikhs, attended their schools.[210] It is beyond this project scope to identify the racial policies of schools but a personal and well researched account is available by Hazel Craig, a member of the notable British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia.[211] The Christian schools near Rawalpindi, such as Lawrence College for boys in Murree, Burn Hall College, Abbottabad, as well as Edwardes College, Peshawar, admitted Indian students as day scholars or boarders prior to 1947. Bob Hansen [b.1918] a boarder from Kashmir where his father was a bandsman in the employ of the Maharaja Hari Singh, was head boy in 1937 at Lawrence College, Ghora Gali, Murree.[212] He described the mixed living conditions at the school:

> There were a lot of Indians and Sikhs at the school, and they all mixed together. The school was run along European lines with low fees. Meals were European style, using cutlery, and I think food was served on the table and you helped yourself. We had a dining room for each of the houses, and you sat with those in your house. If anyone was Muslim, Hindu or a Sikh they had their own private meal arrangements. There wasn't any conflict between the two races, religions, and they didn't have to go to church, as we did every morning. There was only a C of E church and Catholics went elsewhere because there was no catholic church on the school premises. Many Indians were day students.[213]

Hansen's older sister attended Lawrence College for girls but he said that this sister school closed after partition as the numbers of Anglo-Indian children diminished with the exodus of the British and Anglo-Indians. Lawrence College boarding school was accessible to sons and daughters of Anglo-Indian train drivers, confirming the status of train drivers during that period, until the 1950s, as described by David Leckey [born

[208] Cox in McMenamin, *Raj Days to Downunder*, 156-157.
[209] Doyle in McMenamin, *Raj Days to Downunder*, 174-175.
[210] Cloy and Doyle in McMenamin, *Raj Days to Downunder*, 165 and 175.
[211] Craig, *Under the Old School Topee*.
[212] Hansen in McMenamin, *Raj Days to Downunder*, 202-203.
[213] Hansen in McMenamin, *Raj Days to Downunder*, 203.

1931]. “Being a senior driver he [dad] was able to pay but the fees were quite steep. He did that for all the family [four boys and three girls] … Even my dad and uncle went to [that school].”[214] This shows that not all railway employees sent their children to the subsidized railway schools. David, and other interviewees, explained that a special train was made available at the beginning of the school term to take all the children up to the nearest station to the respective boarding schools in the hills, at which point either a bus or some four-legged transport was available, otherwise they walked the last miles. Nine months later the school year ended and the reverse trek took place.

The views expressed here are by Anglo-Indians about their own experiences, and these often are at variance with views expressed by others about Anglo-Indian lifestyles. A differing example about boarding school was that of Jack Moore, the son of a British gunner in the Royal Field Artillery, quoted by Vyvyen Brendon.[215] Moore indicated that by the age of ten he had lived in thirteen different houses and was then placed in Lawrence boarding school at Ghora Gali. He described it as “a grim establishment … bad food, primitive accommodation, freezing conditions, brutal canings for misdemeanors”.[216] David Leckey, boarding at that school around the same time, indicated “the masters were good and bad … nice times were nice, and the bad times were bad … there were a lot of fights amongst the boys, a lot of bullying. You had to learn to take care of yourself”.[217] This was the closest David came to criticizing his time at the school, even though he ran away because he was unhappy after his mother died. To correctly gauge and interpret a single remark as evidence of a total environment is plagued with difficulty, as individual experiences arise in personal contexts, molded by their own earlier sets of experiences. Certainly some of the interviewees, such as John Roberts, were unhappy at boarding schools but they accepted the painful memories of leaving their families for nine months and went on to enjoy the friendships and camaraderie of sporting events, at which many excelled.[218]

[214] Leckey in McMenamin, *Raj Days to Downunder*, 212.
[215] Brendon, *Children of the Raj*, 146.
[216] Brendon, *Children of the Raj*, 146.
[217] Leckey in McMenamin, *Raj Days to Downunder*, 212.
[218] John Roberts, Interview notes, 2-4. The oral histories give detailed accounts of Anglo-Indian sporting achievements, too numerous to be included in this account. However, there is ample evidence by various researchers that Anglo-Indians often excelled in sport. My father

After independence and partition, increasingly all mission schools admitted Indian students. Pragmatic expediency related to economics was likely to have driven the changing agenda, rather than mere race, due to the exodus of the British and Anglo-Indians from India. Although some schools closed, such as Lawrence College girls school in Murree, several of the schools were in high demand by local families and remained prestigious schools, namely St. Stephen's College in Delhi, Lawrence and Burn Hall Colleges, both near Rawalpindi/Islamabad, Aitchison College in Lahore and Edwardes College in Peshawar.

Overall the testimonies relating to this period up to 1947 show that Anglo-Indians were employed in British armed forces, civil services, schools and companies. As the following chapter will show, a few Anglo-Indians worked in association or partnership with Indian businessmen, such as Christine St. Clare-Smith, whose father ran a horse racing business with a well known local man. Several members of this earlier generation, such as the Dwyers brewery, Lintotts café as well as cinema halls, set up their own businesses, employed fellow Anglo-Indians but dependent on local providers for basics, whilst locals filled the large number of essential labouring jobs. Goans worked for the British also, but several were entrepreneurial, setting up their own businesses and owning properties. In the mid-twentieth century Anglo-Indians employment began to shift to private business and companies, as shown above, including with the burgeoning oil industry run locally by Attock Oil Company and managed by British Steel Brothers through whom the management was provided.

The few Anglo-Indian parents who were unable to provide for their care for their children, placed them in boarding schools where ordinary Anglo-Indian children were schooled. Additionally, children of poor families received free education in the same mission schools, but there was no evidence of pauperism or Anglo-Indian ghettos as found in major cities in eastern and southern India at equivalent times. From the earliest times of the British in the North West there were sufficient employment opportunities in expanding local British industries, who engaged Anglo-Indians and

was nearly selected for the Indian hockey team in 1930s but was glad, in retrospect, that he focussed on his medical training!

Goans. This employment shifted with the decline of employment conditions following the departure of the British. During the final decades of British rule the preponderance of Anglo-Indian employment had been with British public services, the railways, telegraph, post office and police. Interviewees for my project, whose families held positions in these services, confirm that these positions were usually senior roles with the provision of good accommodation. Pending the departure of the British and the expansion of other industries, new opportunities opened to Anglo-Indians for different specialized employment with private companies, and these positions were keenly sought and obtained. There was no evidence that Anglo-Indians failed to utilize education to improve their lives and take advantage of the new opportunities. It is notable, however, that very few Domiciled Europeans or Anglo-Indians owned their own homes, which instead were either provided by their employers at nominal rentals, or rented from local Hindus, Sikhs and sometimes Muslims landlords; the latter no doubt worked closely with British communities to their mutual benefit.