



EDITORIAL

Brent Howitt Otto and Robyn Andrews

This general issue of the journal comprises two articles and two book reviews. The articles are time specific: one focusses on the current Covid 19 pandemic and its effects on Anglo-Indians, and the other explores the intellectual impact of D'Cruz's book, *Midnight's Orphans*, fifteen years since its publication. The book reviews are of recent publications.

The first article, by Brian Gomes and Jillet Sarah Sam, is based on their ethnographic research designed to understand the impact of elderly Anglo-Indians living through the Covid-19 pandemic. They focus on elderly Anglo-Indians living in the community (rather than in residential care) in Calcutta, and explore various 'care systems' they found to be in place which helped to meet physical and emotional needs through a disturbing and challenging time. Their findings indicate that these care systems blend kin and non-kin networks, were organised sometimes informally or more formally, and included institutional relief efforts from organisations and churches. It also highlights what resources and networks are available to elderly Anglo-Indians, and how they operate.

The next article, authored by Debojoy Chanda, assess a seminal Anglo-Indian text published fifteen years ago. Chanda offers an overview of the content of Glenn D'Cruz's, *Midnight's Orphans* (2006), as well as a consideration of the impact on Anglo-Indian Studies scholarship since its publication. Chanda argues for its timeliness and ongoing relevance in considering the proliferation of Anglo-Indian stereotyping, particularly in literature but also in other mediums such as film. He

praises D'Cruz's scholarship as well as his courage in taking a personal approach to the stereotyping by addressing the impact on his own family, as part of the community.

One book review, by Shyamasri Maji, assesses a new collected volume entitled *Beyond the Metros: Anglo-Indians in India's smaller town and cities* (2021). In addition to offering readers chapter-by-chapter summaries she recommends its value for scholars of Anglo-Indian Studies and across disciplines in that it stands alone as a collection of studies of this community in non-metro city locations, which paint a textured portrait of the internal diversity of the community. Its ethnographic lived-reality approach also offers an alternative to the tropes commonly and homogeneously addressed, and it may inspire readers to revise their conceptions of the community, and of the nation.

The final contribution to this issue is a book review by Vishwajeet Deshmukh on R. Kochhar's recently published, *English Education in India, 1715-1835* (2021). Deshmukh assesses Kochhar's work as a new addition to a crowded field of studies in the last century and a half on the development of English education in India, its politics and purposes, and short and long term effects on the course of colonialism and beyond. While noting Kochhar's study is new, Deshmukh deems it a modest contribution. He notes the imprecise, pejorative or freighted nature of terms he uses such as "half-caste" to describe one stage of the development of English education. He also points out the book's evidentiary tilt towards colonial British perspectives, which leaves gaps in understanding how English education was received by its Indian pupils. This leaves the mixed-race group he identifies as an original focus of English Education no better understood and possibly viewed with greater prejudice.

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CARE SYSTEMS FOR COMMUNITY-DWELLING ELDERLY ANGLO-INDIANS: EVIDENCE FROM TWO WAVES OF THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC IN CALCUTTA¹

Brian Gomes and Jillet Sarah Sam

ABSTRACT

This article traces how diverse networked systems of care were employed to address the needs of community-dwelling Anglo-Indian elderly (i.e. those not residing in institutional care homes) during the Covid-19 crisis in Calcutta. The article draws on ethnographic interviews and observations from March 2020 to May 2021. The article reports three significant findings. First, care convoys and collectives, involving both kin and non-kin, were instrumental in elder care. Second, these networked arrangements, in which the elderly themselves are active participants, are strongly shaped by patterns of kinship and residence among Anglo-Indians in the city. However, these patterns were also modified to navigate the pandemic. Third, voluntary organizations at the church, neighbourhood and community level also contributed to elder care during the Covid-19 pandemic.

I. INTRODUCTION

Since March 2020, India has experienced two major waves of the Covid-19 pandemic, the first in 2020 and the second in 2021. The Government of India (GoI) soon identified the elderly (defined as people over 60 years of age) as being especially vulnerable to the virus. This meant that apart from the many restrictions on mobility and interaction experienced by the general population, the elderly experienced stricter restrictions.

¹ Following our respondents, we refer to the city as Calcutta rather than its official name (Kolkata).

For instance, on 13th April 2020, the GoI issued special guidelines for the elderly, encouraging them to isolate at home and not venture out unless for medical emergencies or essential activities. Taking a cue from these guidelines, other agencies such as government offices, supermarkets, public transport and churches restricted the entry of the elderly until late 2020, well after the restrictions on the general population were relaxed. These restrictions were reimposed during the traumatic second wave in April 2021.

These restrictions created particular challenges for elderly Anglo-Indians in Calcutta. Although institutional care arrangements for elderly Anglo-Indians do exist in Calcutta, the majority grow old in their own homes and neighbourhoods. Anglo-Indians also have distinctive patterns of elder care which are not based on the predominant multigenerational coresident family format prevalent elsewhere in India. Instead, among Anglo-Indians, elder care has been organized through diffused, often transnational, networks. Emigration rates among Anglo-Indians have been relatively high since Indian independence, especially among the younger generations. This means that care for elderly Anglo-Indians is often distributed across people spread out around the world. Further, practices of familial and kin residence also encourage the networked provision of care for elderly Anglo-Indians in Calcutta. Although the young are expected to participate in elder care, parents do not always expect to live with children once they are married. Historically too, since childcare was networked (relatives other than parents could be primary caregivers), elder care was also networked (youngsters cared for their aging former caregivers who were distant relatives and family friends) (Bear, 2012; Caplan, 2001).

Considering these factors, in this article we study the experience of community-dwelling elderly Anglo-Indian residents of Calcutta during this pandemic. We document the fear and hardship experienced by them, and the resources they drew on to address the “new normal” of the pandemic. The article has four remaining sections: Section II contains a discussion on the literature on elder care. Although few studies explicitly focus on elder care among the Anglo-Indians, we review the broader literature to understand how care work is organized in this community. Research methods are discussed in Section III, while Section IV contains the findings of the study. We end with concluding observations in Section V.

II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Elder Care

In India, a relatively small segment of elder care occurs in an institutional context. Until very recently, institutional elder care was heavily stigmatized (Cohen, 1998; Lamb, 2000). Instead, elder care in India was conventionally undertaken by younger family members (Raju, 2014), often in the context of a multigenerational patriarchal joint family (Samanta et al., 2014). The heightened migration of younger family members seeking economic opportunities, both within India and abroad, is also noted to have affected intergenerational family ties (Jamuna, 1998) and posed new challenges for the care of the elderly who remain in India (Nandal et al., 1987; Raju, 2014; Subrahmanya, 2000). Some of the stigma attached to institutionalised elder care has started to decline since the 2000s (Kalavar & Jamuna, 2011; Lamb, 2011). Despite these changes, for a large part of the Indian population elder care still continues to occur in the community-dwelling context, where they live in their own homes and neighbourhoods, irrespective of whether their kin reside with them.

Caregiving for the elderly involves a variety of activities including routine assistance (Katz et al., 1963; Lawton & Brody, 1969) and social interactions (Barker, 2002; Kruijswijk et al., 2014; Matthews & Rosner, 1988). Caregivers may be either kin or non-kin. Kin ties refer to links through blood relations and marriage. The literature notes that a variety of kin participate in elder care: spouses (Lambotte et al., 2019; Langer & Ribarich, 2007; Samanta et al., 2014; Tennstedt et al., 1989), children (Matthews & Rosner, 1988), grandchildren (Mills et al., 2005; Samanta et al., 2014), daughters-in-law (Gupta & Pillai, 2002; Kruijswijk et al., 2014; Samanta et al., 2014), sons-in-law (Kruijswijk et al., 2014), siblings (Langer & Ribarich, 2007; Pashos & McBurney, 2008; Tennstedt et al., 1989), and nephews and nieces (Dellmann-Jenkins et al., 2001; Pashos & McBurney, 2008; Tennstedt et al., 1989). Care by non-kin includes institutions (old age homes, hospitals, *ashrams*) and professional caregivers (Kalavar & Jamuna, 2011; Lambotte et al., 2019). Other sources of care by non-kin, particularly in the context of community-dwelling elderly, include neighbours (Barker, 2002; Broese van Groenou & De Boer, 2016; Lambotte et al., 2019), friends (Barker, 2002; Broese van Groenou & De Boer, 2016; Lambotte et al., 2019), local merchants, such as bakers, pharmacists, and hairdressers (Lambotte et al., 2019, p. 4) and

volunteers (Broese van Groenou & De Boer, 2016). For community-dwelling elderly, the role of non-kin becomes even more significant when family members live far away (Broese van Groenou and De Boer, 2016).

There has been a conscious effort to move away from dyadic relations of elder care towards conceptualizing it in terms of more extensive networks of caregivers. Keating et al. (2003) introduced the idea of a care network where both kin and non-kin provide complex, interconnected, and sometimes complementary mechanisms of care. However, Kemp et al. (2013) and Lambotte et al. (2019) argue that most theoretical models of care networks have failed to analyse their dynamic characteristics. Although in theory care networks are supposed to look beyond dyadic relationships, in practise the unit of analysis in most care network models has devolved into a focus on dyads *within* the network (Kemp et al., 2013).

To overcome this gap, Kemp et al. (2013) developed an alternative model of care networks known as the “care convoy” model. A care convoy refers to “the evolving collection of individuals who may or may not have close personal connections to the recipient or to one another, but who provide care, including help with activities of daily living (ADLs), socio-emotional care, skilled health care, monitoring and advocacy” (p. 18). In this model, the unit of analysis is the networked (non-dyadic) interaction and collaboration among caregivers (both formal and informal) (Kemp et al., 2013; Lambotte et al., 2019). The care convoy model has been adopted widely in social gerontology.² Over time, Lambotte et al. (2019) further refined this care convoy model to incorporate the active role played by the elderly themselves in the caregiving process. In a recent study, Kemp (2021) employed the care convoy model to understand interaction between formal caregivers, friends, and family members in American elder care during the pandemic. However, Kemp’s analysis does not consider a very wide range of non-kin actors such as neighbours, shopkeepers and shop owners and other service-related people (such as driver, security guard, bank employees). In contrast, this article adopts the care convoy model to understand the complex, networked and agentic care arrangements emerging through the interaction

² See for instance, studies by Ball et al., (2014); Kelly et al., (2018); Reckrey et al., (2021); Stokes Patterson (2020); Moen & DePasquale, (2017).

between a variety of kin, non-kin, non-professional actors, and elderly Anglo-Indians during the first two waves of the Covid-19 pandemic in Calcutta.

The care convoy model has been revised through a focus on technology. Winance (2010) developed the concept of a “care collective” where care emerges through the interactions between non-humans (technical objects) and humans (including the elderly, their family members and professionals). Here, care is both provided and received by all people in the care collective. Winance (2010) argued that the technical object makes possible such sharing of care among humans in the care collective and can modify “distance or proximity” and “relationships of dependency” between them (p. 107). Ahlin (2017, 2020) refined Winance’s concept in two important ways - by incorporating the transnational nature of care and by focusing specifically on information and communication technology (ICT). Through her concept of the “transnational care collective”, Ahlin (2017) refers to care generated through interactions between the elderly, their transnationally located family (by which she means their children), care professionals (such as nurses), and ICTs. Ahlin (2020) argues that transnationally located children perform “good care” by combining ICTs with service by professional caregivers to interact daily with parents and check on their varied requirements (such as diet, medical routines, social interactions with others, and finances). Unlike Winance (2010) and Ahlin (2017, 2020), who did not go beyond the family and professional caregivers, in this article we will illustrate the role of non-kin such as neighbours, friends and non-professional carers within care collectives (transnational or local). Ahlin also focuses solely on communication technology within ICTs, such as the use of mobile phones, or social media channels (such as Skype, Facebook Messenger). In contrast, while employing the concept of care collectives, this article will also examine non-communication technology such as digital platforms. Considering digital platforms helps us document the active role that the elderly themselves undertook in their own and the care of others during the pandemic.

Elder Care Among Anglo-Indians

Few studies explicitly focus on elder care among Anglo-Indians. Existing studies have focused on the care of elderly Anglo-Indians in institutional settings. Andrews (2012) analyses the importance of “ethnic-specific socio-cultural” (p. 22) institutions which primarily cater to elderly Anglo-Indians such as the Lawrence De Souza, Tollygunge

and Mary Cooper homes in Calcutta, noting that residents feel comfortable there because other residents have similar ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Andrews (2012) identifies two significant factors which recently prompted elderly Anglo-Indians to move into old age homes in Calcutta. First, they were left on their own in the city after family members migrated to foreign countries. Second, some felt unsafe while living in central Calcutta, due to the hostility they encountered from new neighbours from different communities. These factors make it important to understand care arrangements of elderly Anglo-Indians who are community-dwelling in Calcutta, rather than those residing in old age homes. There are no studies that focus on community-dwelling elderly Anglo Indians. Instead, references to their care arrangements are scattered across the broader literature on the community. For example, Sen (2017) has documented the support provided to community-dwelling elderly Anglo-Indians by voluntary organizations such as the Calcutta Anglo-Indian Service Society (CAISS hereafter) and churches in Calcutta.³

To understand elder care among community-dwelling Anglo-Indians, we need to understand kinship structures and patterns of residence in this community in contemporary India. Caplan (2001) notes that among Anglo-Indians in Chennai, there is considerable diversity in the types of families and which family members cohabit with each other. Despite the expectation that Anglo-Indian families are nuclear in nature, he found that a form of joint family, quite different from the joint Hindu family, was peculiar to the Anglo-Indians. Placing the conjugal couple at the centre, Caplan (2001) defines a joint family as consisting of two or more cohabiting couples. This joint family could include the parents of both the husband and the wife, or married siblings residing together with their respective children. Caplan (2001) also notes other forms such as single person households, nuclear households (one couple cohabits with/without children), supplemented nuclear households (relative of the couple other than their children cohabit with them) and other households (for instance, two unmarried siblings who cohabit).

While the form varied greatly, Caplan (2001) notes that Anglo-Indians cherished the idea of a close family. This frequently resulted in “supplemented” (p. 161) families,

³ For a more detailed discussion of the history of CAISS, see Sen (2017).

where even distant relatives would cohabit. There was an expectation that those who are better off must extend help to family and kin who are either down on hard times or trying to improve their lot in the world (Bear, 2007; Bear 2012; Caplan, 2001). One translation of this maxim is that it is not uncommon for poorer relations, particularly elderly relatives, to supplement the Anglo-Indian family. In her study on the railway Anglo-Indian families of Calcutta and Kharagpur, Bear (2007) finds that in these families, “expansive bilateral reckoning based on affective household ties gives particular weight to fraternal and sororal connections. These provide networks that cross-cut families of marriage and link them to families of birth” (p. 430). She also found that extended families may live in different households but are bound by sharing Sunday meals after attending church together.

In the context of the ideal of close families, Caplan (2001) notes that there is a strong expectation that the young care for elderly relatives. Given the varied patterns of families and residence discussed above, parents do not always expect to reside with an adult married child (Bear, 2012). However, it is expected that an individual must take care of the elderly, especially at a point when the elderly person is no longer able to do so for themselves. Caplan (2001) notes that local disapproval along with a strong sense of filial duty act as incentives for the care of such elderly family members. This elderly figure might be a parent, a female relative (say a grandmother or aunt) who provided primary care to the individual as a child, or some other elderly relative. In striking contrast to the conventions of broader Indian society, there is no clear rule about whether the son or the daughter should care for the elderly parent. In the next section, we will explain how we drew on this literature review to structure our research design.

III. DATA AND METHODS

This article draws on an ongoing ethnographic study of community-dwelling elderly Anglo-Indians in Calcutta which was started by the first author in 2018. This ethnography covered Ripon Street, Elliot Road, Entally, Park Circus, Bow Barracks, Salt Lake, Picnic Garden, and Garia. As part of this broader ethnography, the first author observed Anglo-Indian elderly in nearly 100 households. Both authors jointly conducted thematic analysis of these observations.

As with Caplan's survey in Chennai (2001), in Calcutta the form of the households also varied considerably. Before the pandemic, this included single person households, nuclear households, supplemented nuclear households, joint families, supplemented joint families and other families. In our sample, it was unusual for the mobile and autonomous elderly to reside with adult married children. During fieldwork, multiple respondents remarked that among contemporary Anglo-Indians in Calcutta, children usually leave the parents' house, provided they can afford to do so, to start their married life under a separate roof. Most elderly cohabiting with adult married children did so only when they were no longer mobile, particularly inside the house. Many physically autonomous elderly persons either lived by themselves, with dependent adult sons, or with unmarried adult daughters. Some also resided with relatives through blood (cohabiting siblings) and marriage (for example, a deceased cousin's wife).

For the purposes of this article, where the focus was to understand the experiences of the elderly in the pandemic, the two authors jointly conducted detailed interviews with 45 Anglo-Indian households within the larger ethnographic sample.⁴ The households were spread out across the different neighbourhoods Ripon Street/Elliot Road (9), Picnic Garden (24), Park Circus (5), Entally (3), Garia (3) and Salt Lake (1). The interviews were conducted in multiple rounds from March 2020 to May 2021, with each elderly person having been interviewed at least twice. All interviews were conducted either telephonically or through digital media calls. In addition, text messaging and social media exchanges were also drawn upon. Interviews were conducted to understand the experience of the elderly in both the first and the second wave (except for one household).⁵

⁴ Names of all respondents have been changed to preserve their privacy.

⁵ In this case, our respondent withdrew from public life (including participation in our study) due to depression caused by the sudden death of their elderly spouse from Covid-19 in mid-2020.

IV. FINDINGS: NEGOTIATING THE PANDEMIC AS AN ELDERLY COMMUNITY-DWELLER

We found that in the first wave, where mobility was more strictly restricted, community-dwelling elderly Anglo-Indians drew on initiatives conducted by churches, neighbourhood organizations and voluntary organizations. Their ability to draw on such formal organizations was shaped by their socio-economic status and physical location in the city. During the pandemic, they often drew on care convoys and care collectives, combining people in local and transnational locations, not only for their own care but also care for other elderly people. During the pandemic, their engagement with technology was heightened - they explored new technology (such as digital platforms) and also used familiar technology (such as social networking sites) more frequently as part of care arrangements. We also found that elderly community-dwelling Anglo-Indians creatively reshaped residential arrangements to address uncertainties generated by the pandemic, particularly the lockdowns. However, we also found that some elderly Anglo-Indians felt left out and struggled to deal with the pandemic on their own.

Voluntary Organizations and Churches

Voluntary organizations and churches actively organized care for the elderly, particularly during the first lockdown which was national in scale. Community organizations (such as CAISS), neighbourhood organizations (Bow United Organization, BUO hereafter) and churches organized Covid-19 relief initiatives directed particularly towards poor and elderly Anglo-Indians.

Before the pandemic, CAISS had been distributing monthly free rations to poor elderly Anglo-Indians. From May to July 2020, CAISS increased the frequency of ration distribution because the places they worked and the small shops frequented by them had closed due to the lockdown. CAISS distributed weekly rations through a network of young Anglo-Indian volunteers to ensure that it could be delivered to the elderly persons (so they need not travel to collect it as they had before the pandemic).

The BUO was established in 2008 by Anglo-Indian residents of the Bow Barracks area of Calcutta, to address the needs of residents and help its many elderly residents (a large proportion of whom were Anglo-Indians). During the first wave (from April to

September 2020), the BUO organized specific initiatives to alleviate the expected social isolation of elderly residents of Bow Barracks. The elderly could call on a network of younger volunteers from Bow Barracks over the phone and ask them to buy and deliver essential items (such as food and medicine) to their homes. They could also call the volunteers for any emergency help. The BUO also continued its pre-pandemic practice of distributing monthly free rations to the poor and the elderly. From April to May 2020, BUO volunteers delivered these rations at the doorstep of elderly residents of Bow Barracks. However, due to travel restrictions during the first lockdown, some elderly Anglo-Indian residents of Ripon Street and Picnic Garden, who also used to come to Bow Barracks to collect these rations earlier, were excluded from this initiative.

Churches in Picnic Garden and Entally distributed free rations as Covid-19 relief. The Church of Our Lady of Vailankanni, which has a substantial Anglo-Indian membership, distributed monthly free rations from May to September 2020 to poor church members living in Picnic Garden. A 500 grams energy drink packet was added to regular rations to enhance nutrition among the elderly during the pandemic. Similarly, Fatima Church collaborated with the neighbouring St Teresa's Church to distribute monthly free rations to poor church members living in Entally from May to August 2020. Many of our elderly respondents not only donated money themselves, but they also reached out to relatives and friends abroad to contribute to these initiatives.

These organizations reverted to their original ration distribution efforts a few months after the first lockdown ended and ceased any significant Covid-19 relief activity. Further, during the second wave of Covid-19, they did not organize any Covid-19 relief since, unlike the first lockdown, the second lockdown was more local, and the shops were not completely closed.

Care Convoys

We consider two illustrative cases, both of which involve a strong component of self-care. Roslyn's care convoy involves both kin and non-kin. Due to her strained financial circumstances and estrangement from her son and daughter-in-law, Roslyn (77 years) has been renting a storeroom by herself in Picnic Garden since 2016. Although her son lives in the same neighbourhood, he meets her only every alternate month to hand

over some money. Roslyn has no other kin because she was the youngest of her siblings, who are all deceased. Rather than her son, the most significant node in her care convoy is Pinky Mondol (28 years), Roslyn's next-door-neighbour since 2017.

When we spoke to her in May 2021 Roslyn's son had visited her only twice since the pandemic started, mainly to give her some prepared food, groceries, and money. She keenly recollects that he did not inquire about how she was coping with the pandemic. Whenever Roslyn needed anything during the pandemic, she would first turn to Pinky. The two women continued to meet each other daily in the common area while washing utensils and for tea. During this period, Pinky also taught her how to attend online church services. In June and September 2020, Roslyn suffered from fever, chest pain and stomach upset. Pinky accompanied Roslyn to a nearby clinic and purchased cooked food, groceries, and medicines for her. Roslyn also became Pinky's primary source of information about the neighbourhood (such as the condition of the market or shop opening times).

From May to September 2020, Roslyn received monthly food rations as pandemic relief from the Church of Our Lady of Vailankanni. Each month, church volunteers would deliver rations to Roslyn on the ground floor of her building. During this period, Roslyn also asked Pinky to go out and buy medicines for her. After the church rations stopped in October 2020, Roslyn started to visit the neighbourhood markets herself to buy groceries and medicines until March 2021. Pinky was also instrumental in getting Roslyn vaccinated. She informed Roslyn in January 2021 that vaccination centres were now open for her age group and gave her the phone number of a vaccination center where her brother-in-law worked. Roslyn then called and booked a slot for herself. When Roslyn went to the vaccination center, Pinky's brother-in-law met her at the entrance and helped her navigate the entire vaccination process. In the month of May 2021, Pinky told Roslyn not to go out as cases of Covid-19 were on the rise again. Instead, Pinky went out to buy groceries, food and medicines for Roslyn.

As observed in the literature, the idea of a close family is enacted in specific ways among Anglo-Indians. Although most elderly Anglo-Indians in this sample did not reside in the same household as their adult married children living in Calcutta, Bear's description of an extended family joined together by the Sunday lunch could be

observed (Bear, 2007). During the pandemic this network became a central part of a larger care convoy which assisted in both routine and instrumental activities of the elderly person, even though family members resided in separate households. It was common for parents and their married children living nearby in separate flats (with separate kitchens) to be linked through ties of daily care.

Our second case reflects an extended joint family, where the households are linked, through both sororal kin ties and filial ties, in a care convoy. Linda (81 years) has been living in a Picnic Garden flat by herself since the death of her husband and daughter. Her nephew, Peter (66 years), moved into a flat in the same neighbourhood with his wife and adult, differently abled son in the 2000s. Soon, his sisters, Pearl (66 years) and Catherine (70 years) moved into a different flat in the same neighbourhood. Before the pandemic, the siblings would spend Saturday evenings at Linda's flat and eat Sunday dinner at Peter's residence. During the pandemic, these siblings have been a significant source of care for each other. Since Catherine is the eldest, Peter told her not to leave the house at all. He also told Pearl to be careful while going to the neighbourhood market to buy groceries. Since they could not meet physically due to the high number of Covid-19 cases from April 2020 until September 2020, they would call each other three times in a week. From October 2020 to April 2021, the siblings started to meet each other again in-person. During this period, Peter would go over to the sisters' flat four times a week just for a 15-minute chat (but not a meal). After cases started to increase again in April 2021, Peter reduced his visits to twice a week. They also checked on each other daily via phone and video calls.

The siblings also became a crucial source of care for Linda, who was diagnosed with Alzheimer's disease in December 2019. During the first wave, in April 2020, Peter prevailed on Linda to stop having her domestic helper come to her home. While the siblings usually called Linda twice a week earlier, since the pandemic they call her daily. Peter spoke to Linda on WhatsApp video call each morning to update her about the neighbourhood and check on her needs. Pearl also called her every night because she worried that Linda would be prone to accidents while cooking in the absence of the domestic helper. Pearl's calls also acted as a cross-check: if Linda forgot to mention some need to Peter it would be caught during Pearl's call. Although Pearl offered to send over cooked meals, Linda insisted on cooking for herself. So, from

mid-April until October 2020, Peter's son ordered groceries from a popular grocery delivery platform for Linda whenever he placed an order for his household. Since the siblings were worried about accidents and Linda refused to place the burden of cooking food on their shoulders, Peter advised her to resume the services of the domestic helper from November 2020 onwards. This domestic helper visited Linda's flat to cook, clean and shop for her. Since the second wave was announced at the end of April 2021, the siblings have convinced Linda to discontinue the services of her domestic helper. This time around, the siblings are not letting Linda cook and Pearl and Catherine prepare meals for her in their own kitchen. Pearl then drops off these cooked meals at Linda's flat thrice a week.

Care Collectives

We start with a case that demonstrates the significance of socio-technical care collectives in the lives of community-dwelling elderly Anglo-Indians during the pandemic. Melvyn (78 years) lives with his wife Gladys (77 years), in his childhood neighbourhood of Ripon Street. Their two daughters, who live in Australia, used to speak to them three to four times a week via WhatsApp and video calls. The couple could not discontinue their domestic help's services even after the pandemic struck, due to their significant mobility issues. So, Melvyn's elder daughter, Helen, instructed the domestic help on Covid-19 appropriate behaviour and sanitization.

During the early part of the first lockdown (April 2020), Melvyn had a heart attack. He asked Gladys to telephone Jamie (a 74-year-old Anglo-Indian friend and neighbour). Since Gladys has significant mobility issues herself and the ongoing lockdown made mobility difficult, Jamie coordinated everything locally in this health emergency. Jamie booked an ambulance, accompanied Melvyn to the hospital and informed Helen in Australia by calling her through WhatsApp from the ambulance. Jamie visited Melvyn every morning for the entire week he was hospitalized, to check with the doctor and observe Melvyn. He also arranged for medicines and other medical equipment, and secured Melvyn's discharge from the hospital. When Jamie informed Helen that Melvyn would be hospitalised, she, in turn, informed her younger sister and three of Melvyn's cousins in Australia through a conference call. After Melvyn's operation, Jamie would update Helen daily through a WhatsApp call on his way back from the hospital. After this daily update, Helen would in turn update her younger sister and

Melvyn's cousins through a conference call. When they had specific questions, Melvyn's younger daughter and cousins would call Helen individually, since Melvyn was too weak to interact with people on the phone. Helen also called Gladys to reassure her and to check on her daily.

After Melvyn was discharged, the domestic help moved in with them full-time to help take care of him for two months. Jamie also arranged for a man to buy groceries and pay the internet, electricity, and phone bills. Jamie would visit the neighbourhood shop to buy Melvyn's medicines because he could read the expiry dates himself. Jamie also updated others in the neighbourhood and the church about Melvyn's progress, since Melvyn had not regained his strength after the surgery. Since Melvyn's cardiac operation, Helen checks on Melvyn's diet with Gladys and Jamie, a daily practise she adopted at the start of the pandemic. From the month of June, when Melvyn became stronger, both daughters called him daily through WhatsApp. During June 2020, Melvyn's cousins called him twice a week on a WhatsApp conference call, which reduced over time to once a week and then twice a month. They continued to check on the couple during May 2021 when the BBC reported that the Covid-19 situation during India's second wave was grim.

In the case outlined above, the care collective for the elderly person is linked to the immediate neighbourhood (spouse, other relatives, friend, community people, domestic helpers) and even to nodes in Australia (daughters and cousins), all connected through communication-based digital technologies. However, as we can observe in the case of Linda (above), since the pandemic, care collectives for the community-dwelling Anglo-Indian elderly in Calcutta have expanded to include digital platforms, which are non-communication based digital technologies. For instance, we can observe in Linda's case that her nephew, Peter, alarmed at the combined effects of Alzheimer's and absence of her domestic help, turned to a grocery delivery platform to address Linda's routine needs at the height of the first wave. Since the pandemic started, we found that the use of digital platforms was on the rise. Before the pandemic, the elderly would prefer not to use digital platforms since they preferred to visit the markets themselves. However, since the pandemic started, more elderly Anglo Indians have become conducive to the inclusion of digital platforms within their

care collectives because their mobility was particularly constrained during lockdowns and periods of heightened infections.

Adjustment Strategies: Lockdowns and Two Covid-19 Waves

Elderly Anglo-Indians negotiated the pandemic through creative and drastic adjustments. Some elderly Anglo-Indians who resided alone changed their pattern of residence significantly to navigate the pandemic, particularly during the lockdowns and the peaks of the two Covid-19 waves. Some respondents in single person households moved in with married children (two cases), siblings (two cases) and other single Anglo-Indian friends (two cases) during the pandemic.

Here we consider an illustrative case of two Anglo-Indian sisters who moved in with each other to navigate the two lockdowns and transformed a support network of another friend into a care convoy. Wendy (68 years) has been living in Picnic Garden in a flat by herself since 2004 because her husband passed away and her only child was institutionalized. In 2009, 75-year-old Winnie, Wendy's divorced sister, moved into a flat nearby. The sisters found this flat through the help of Wendy's church friend, Beryl (78 years), who alerted them to an empty flat downstairs in her own building. Beryl, who migrated to Calcutta from a small railway colony in the early 2000s, has lived alone since an estrangement from her only daughter and her husband's death in 2012. Before the pandemic, the three women would meet each other every Sunday at church and have celebrated Christmas together at Winnie's flat since 2009.

The lockdowns announced by the government of West Bengal⁶ during the first and second waves prompted Wendy to move into Winnie's flat until December 2020. During this time, Wendy would buy essentials (such as groceries and medicines) for herself and Winnie by visiting the neighbourhood market, and from the few mobile vendors who came to the neighbourhood. Wendy also did the cooking, with some help from Winnie. While the sisters had other people checking up on them during the

⁶ The West Bengal government initially announced a state-wide lockdown from 23rd to 27th March 2020. Then the Gol imposed a nation-wide lockdown on 24th March 2020. All public transport was shut down and only essential shops were open during limited periods. People were permitted to go out only for essential services. The Gol extended the national lockdown multiple times until June 2020, with each phase permitting greater mobility. No national lockdowns were imposed in the second wave. Instead, the West Bengal government announced a state-wide lockdown from on 30th April to 28th June, 2021. Here, mobility was permitted only between 7 am to 10 am and 3 pm to 5 pm.

pandemic, Beryl lacked such a care convoy. During the first lockdown, an erstwhile support group transformed into a care convoy. Since churches were closed from April to December 2020, Wendy, Winnie, and Beryl form a small prayer group with a Bengali Christian neighbour. The prayer group met physically twice a week and after prayer the four women drank tea, ate snacks, and discussed daily life. Beryl struggled with supplies during the first wave because she became fearful of stepping out of the house. She was unable to access certain supplies, such as milk, eggs, and bread, which were available only in the neighbourhood market. So, at the end of each prayer meeting, Wendy and Winnie checked if Beryl needed medicines or groceries. When Beryl informed them, Wendy would buy supplies for her on her next supply run at the neighbourhood market and drop them off at Beryl's flat. Beryl started to go to the market again to do her own shopping in December 2020.

Wendy moved back to her own flat in January 2021, only to move back into Winnie's flat again when the West Bengal government imposed a lockdown during May 2021. Although Wendy felt she personally could handle the second lockdown after her experience of the first one, she was concerned about Winnie's ability to manage on her own. When Covid-19 cases started rising in April 2021, the prayer group started meeting again through Whatsapp video twice a week. Since Beryl did not use a smartphone, Winnie (and, after she moved back in, Wendy) would walk up to her flat to share a smartphone with her. Beryl stopped visiting the market again in April 2021. Beryl has been able to manage groceries by herself in the second wave because this time mobile vendors for all products (including milk, eggs, and bread) came and sold their wares in front of each building. However, she still asks either Winnie or Wendy when she needs medicines, and they walk over to the pharmacy nearby to pick anything up for her. The sisters also became concerned with Beryl's low protein intake (she preferred only eggs), and so during the second wave they started to cook fish and meat for her on the weekends. The sisters cook at their flat and then walk up and give Beryl the food. In turn, Beryl gives them any special egg dishes that she cooks at her flat.

Next, we consider a case where the pandemic also resulted in reconciliation within families in a way that facilitated elder care. Here an incidence of Covid-19 or a resultant death compelled previously dissociated family members to re-evaluate and

overcome these differences. The devastation caused by the disease and the lack of public resources prompted many to draw previously dissociated family and kin into their care convoy. A Covid-19 death changed the dynamics within a supplemented joint Anglo-Indian family. The Sinclair siblings, Luke (75 years), Bertha (70 years), and Rupert (65 years), lived in their childhood home in Park Circus. By the time the pandemic hit, there were two other members living in the household: Rupert's youngest daughter, Lara (28 years), and Bertha's husband's cousin, John (62 years). Bertha, a widow, has two daughters who live in England. Due to past conflict between Rupert and Bertha, who had stopped talking to each other, the household was split into two separate kitchens. Rupert and Lara maintained one kitchen while Bertha and John maintained another. Luke interacted with both his sparring siblings and would eat in both kitchens.

When the first lockdown was imposed, Rupert and Bertha started to surreptitiously check on each other's health. Since they were still not on talking terms, they used Lara as a go-between. Bertha contracted Covid-19 in February 2021. In this period, Lara and Rupert became the primary care-giving members in Bertha's care convoy. After Bertha developed a fever, Lara booked a Covid-19 test for her and bought medicines for her from the neighbourhood pharmacy. The next day, when Bertha started to struggle to breathe, Rupert secured a hospital bed for her by calling up some doctors he knew through their shared volunteer work with CAISS. From then on, Rupert and Lara were preoccupied with Bertha's health and arrangements related to it. Lara would call the hospital daily to check on Bertha and then update Rupert, Luke, John, and Bertha's daughters in England. During this period, the two kitchens were merged into one, with John procuring groceries and cooking for himself, Luke, Rupert, and Lara.

Bertha passed away a week later. Rupert conducted most of the procedures after her death. He settled the hospital bill, got her body discharged from the hospital and organised Bertha's funeral. After Bertha's death, the members of this household, where John is a deceased sister's husband's cousin, decided to continue with the merged kitchen as a first step to bring peace in this supplemented joint family. Now the cooking is done collaboratively by Lara and John, while Rupert procures groceries from the neighbourhood market.

Left Out During Lockdowns

Not all elderly Anglo-Indians in Calcutta were able to successfully negotiate the pandemic through care convoys and collectives. The lockdown experiences of some respondents made this starkly clear. One reserved elderly couple, estranged from their children and neighbours, had experienced a collapse of their support and care network because their community and church friends were either deceased or had migrated away from Calcutta. They struggled to find medicines during the lockdowns.

In two separate cases, we observed that despite the existence of a care convoy, elderly men struggled to buy medicine (and in one case, food) during the lockdowns. In both cases, the elderly men were in daily touch with their children who lived abroad. Neither man informed their children, possibly because they categorized this lack of food and medicines as a routine problem to be handled on their own rather than a larger problem requiring intervention from the children. Further, due to the class stigma associated with the ration drives, both men did not reach out to the Covid-19 relief measures undertaken by CAISS and the Calcutta churches.

V. CONCLUSION

This article demonstrates that community-dwelling elderly Anglo-Indians in Calcutta actively shaped their own arrangements of care, in the form of networks such as care convoys and collectives, during the pandemic. These networked care arrangements were strongly influenced by patterns of family and kinship peculiar to the community (such as extended joint families, supplemented families) as well as diverse patterns of residence among the community-dwelling elderly in Calcutta (interactions with neighbours, friends, and domestic help). We also demonstrate that kinship and residence patterns were modified to negotiate the pandemic, sometimes through active intervention on the part of the elderly person (moving in with married children, siblings, and friends) and involuntarily in other cases (contracting the illness or death). Voluntary formal organizations at the church, neighbourhood and community levels also contributed to elder care during the first wave of the pandemic.

Care convoys and collectives, involving both kin and non-kin, were instrumental in addressing material, medical and social needs during the pandemic. The nodes in the

care convoy could, and did, extend to other cities in India and abroad. Yet, by its restrictive and fear-inducing influence on elder mobility, the pandemic also necessitated a locus of care concentrated at the neighbourhood level. We also demonstrate that the pandemic prompted a shift in the support network of some elderly Anglo-Indians into functioning as a care convoy. The care collectives of community-dwelling elderly Anglo-Indians expanded during the pandemic to include care through digital platforms in addition to heightened use of digital communications technologies. Such platforms enabled the elderly to take on a more agential role in self-care and the care of other elderly persons. While we have discussed the varying dimensions of care convoys and collectives, in the case of some community-dwelling elderly Anglo-Indians residing by themselves, these care mechanisms either collapsed or were inadequate in negotiating the pandemic, particularly the lockdowns.

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AFTER 15 YEARS: A LOOK BACK AT GLENN D'CRUZ'S *MIDNIGHT'S ORPHANS: ANGLO-INDIANS IN POST/COLONIAL LITERATURE*

Debojoy Chanda

ABSTRACT

*This article locates Glenn D'Cruz's *Midnight's Orphans: Anglo-Indians in Post/Colonial Literature* (2006) against the greater backdrop of Anglo-Indian Studies. Sketching an outline of the field in extremely broad strokes, it claims that D'Cruz's text helped Anglo-Indian Studies navigate across a moment of scholarly stagnation that set in during the late 1990s, marked by a spiraling reiterative decrying of certain pejorative stereotypes associated with Anglo-Indians since at least the nineteenth century. Outlining the arguments that D'Cruz's text makes, I show that it breaks free from this stagnation by calling for an examination of the contextual truth-effects that the stereotypes produce, as opposed to iterating the stereotypes themselves.*

*D'Cruz's claim in *Midnight's Orphans*, that the racism Anglo-Indians face changes with shifts in sociopolitical coordinates, holds good to the present. In addition, the text's performative quality sets an example for scholars to move away from institutional scholarly objectivity toward greater emotional gains. These and other factors help *Midnight's Orphans* maintain its position as a seminal work with enduring relevance to the field of Anglo-Indian Studies fifteen years after its publication.*

Fifteen years have elapsed since the publication of Glenn D'Cruz's *Midnight's Orphans: Anglo-Indians in Post/Colonial Literature* (2006). As a scholar of Anglo-Indian studies, I do not think the book has received the credit which is its due—not least, perhaps, because it was not sufficiently circulated within the hallowed confines of American academia. Looking back on my days as a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, I still remember how I hunted across the libraries of the state of Illinois for the book, only to find myself faced with a dead end. So, fifteen years later, prospective readers may well ask why—if at all—the book matters to Anglo-Indian Studies. Quite simply put, I would argue that it matters greatly because it helped open the then somewhat stagnating field of Anglo-Indian Studies to the need to stop repetitively interrogating socio-politically generated stereotypes about Anglo-Indians—as it was doing *ad nauseam* by the late 1990s (Williams, 2002, pp. 87-96; Sen, 2002, pp. 16-20). Further, by putting literary texts in dialogue with postcolonial studies, *Midnight's Orphans* made a clarion call for the exploration of how these stereotypes contextually generated certain truth-effects (D'Cruz, 2006, p. 23; pp. 29-40). While Jenny Sharpe had made a similar call about the need to understand and examine stereotypes according to their truth-effects in the context of the aftermath of the First War of Indian Independence of 1857 (1993, p. 127), the context D'Cruz discusses at length is that of multiculturalism in Australia. Until D'Cruz penned *Midnight's Orphans*, the field, in the fin-de-siecle, seemed somewhat reluctant to engage with the matter of truth-effects generated by the pejorative stereotypes head on, although it had already assumed a continuous loop that reiterated how the stereotypes had been produced by British colonial imaginaries in India, and how these had been exploited and reproduced by colonial and postcolonial literary and cinematic productions (Chew, 1997; Mills, 1996, 31-49; Williams, 2002, pp. 87-96).

Before the reader accuses me of making what may seem to be a tall claim in favor of *Midnight's Orphans*, permit me to make an assessment of Anglo-Indian Studies as it stood toward the late 1990s, and how this position made the recurrent study of the re/production of the stereotypes almost inevitable.

Anglo-Indian Studies came into its own as a nascent but recognized field of study with the publication of Kenneth Ballhatchet's 1979 magnum opus *Race, Sex and Class Under the Raj: Imperial Attitudes and Policies and Their Critics, 1793-1905*. In it,

Ballhatchet (1979) explores the equation of sexual immorality with British colonialist determinations of 'impurity' of race and class in nineteenth-century India, and the prohibitions instituted accordingly by British administrative policy to delineate demarcations of British behavioral patterns in the colony (p. 8). Taking Ballhatchet's scholarship a step further, Christopher Hawes' 1996 book *Poor Relations: The Making of a Eurasian Community in British India 1773-1833* delved into the subject of how these restrictive colonial policies concerning interracial sexual relations between British men and Indian women ironically paved the way for the forging of an 'impure' Eurasian community in India (p. x).

Both Ballhatchet and Hawes provided insights into how colonial policies discursively racialized Anglo-Indian bodies through the conduits of sex and class (Stoler, 1995, pp. 3-11) to construct them as stereotypically hypersexual, lacking in the 'manly spirit' of the British empire financially and otherwise. These 'impure' bodies were inhabited by figures perpetually aspiring toward 'Britishness' because of a sense of insecurity and powerlessness inherent to them, born as they often were into poverty. In this way, these scholars historiographically codified *how* the negative stereotypes of Anglo-Indians were generated.

Perhaps the first pivotal book to bring postcolonial studies to bear upon colonial and colonialist literary texts in order to discuss aspects of the topics Ballhatchet and Hawes touch upon (albeit before Hawes' time) was Jenny Sharpe's *Allegories of Empire: The Figure of Woman in the Colonial Text* (1993). Sharpe (1993) astutely demonstrates the British colonial administration's discursive construction of Eurasians/Anglo-Indians as figures who, by dint of their racialization and the stereotypes that this racialization shored up, bore the power to disfigure the British 'civilizing' mission in India (p. 73). Sharpe (1993) shows how stereotyping—specifically the stereotyping of the 'mild Hindoo' as in fact the savage rapist of British women—sharpened its focus after the First War of Indian Independence. In concurrence with this honing of the stereotyping process, the British fashioned Eurasians/Anglo-Indians as having inherited the worst qualities of both the British and the Indians (p. 19-20). This construct helped separate a biologically superior 'pure English race' (1993, p. 46) from 'Asiatics' whose inferiority and depravity had apparently manifested itself through Indians having raped numerous British women in 1857 (1993, p. 91).

By the time we come to Nancy Paxton’s use of literary texts to conduct what she evidently intends should be an equally ambitious project, the trend of reiteration I have spoken of had begun to set in. Dealing with how the post-1857 period ‘orientalized’ a dominant rape script in India—with the script of consensual interracial sex functioning as one of the rivals to this dominant script—a page of Paxton’s *Writing Under the Raj: Gender, Race, and Rape in the British Colonial Imagination, 1830-1947* (1999) examines a handful of now proto-canonical colonialist novels to at best reiterate the claim that race, class, and gender went hand-in-hand with the imperialist discourses that hierarchized them (p. 194). The implication is, of course, that the racial stereotypes these discourses bolstered were also left intact.

That one page of Paxton’s book testifies to the main contention that D’Cruz voices in *Midnight’s Orphans*—that discussing or alluding to how the adverse stereotypes about Anglo-Indians were produced, leaves reams of scholarship mired in the trap of image criticism. Not surprisingly, this brand of image criticism, D’Cruz argues, manically reiterates how a dominant discourse disparagingly ‘fixes’ the identity of Anglo-Indians into otherness by assuming the form of a stereotype, if only to sociopolitically regulate Anglo-Indians.

Nevertheless, because stereotypes carry fluid significations in various cultural and historical contexts, D’Cruz, pushing to its limit Sharpe’s claim that “racial and sexual typing has no meaning outside of its conditions of existence” (1993, p. 127), proposes to move away from image criticism to examine this multiplicity of significations. To do so, he draws upon French philosopher Michel Foucault’s brand of discourse analysis. This, he suggests, will help him examine the varying truth-effects that these stereotypes produced in multiple settings (2006, p. 16-17). D’Cruz’s call to examine these truth-effects is what constitutes *Midnight’s Orphans* as a turning point in the field of Anglo-Indian Studies. The genres that D’Cruz uses to examine these truth-effects and how they should be treated critically and interrogatively, range from examinations of administrative policy and sociological studies to postcolonial literary texts, films, and even a photograph of D’Cruz’s family. I cannot and will not pretend to do justice to all the incisive ideas and insights dotting *Midnight’s Orphans*—a matter I caution the reader about before plunging into an extremely rough sketch of the book’s contents.

Outlining the time-tested stereotypes used to pin Anglo-Indians into fixity, D'Cruz, in the first chapter of his book—titled “Seven Deadly Stereotypes”—provides an overview of how his scholarly predecessors in the field use Raj literature merely to delineate the attitudes and prejudices contextually produced and manifested against Eurasians/Anglo-Indians from the middle of the nineteenth century to the 1970s. However, as he rightly points out, these predecessors do not necessarily challenge the accuracy of the stereotypes, thus bearing out how they are mired in the stasis of image criticism as they merely decry the mis/representation of Anglo-Indian characters through the lens of these stereotypes. Disavowing their path, D'Cruz calls for an examination of how social, political, and cultural life discursively taxonomized Anglo-Indians as aberrant figures through regimes of truth—regimes functioning through specific technologies of subjugation. A representative example of such a taxonomic technology is the British East India Company's gradual withdrawing of covenanted posts for Eurasians through the association of Eurasians with bodily degeneracy, as D'Cruz discusses in the chapter that follows.

The second chapter, “Regulating Bodies: Dangerous ‘Others’ and Colonial Governmentality,” draws upon how the theme of the admixture of British and Indian blood spelt doom for Eurasians/Anglo-Indians, cautioning against them because they were born of interracial marriage. This discursive marginalization of Anglo-Indians is bolstered by and reinforces the stereotypes in question, as Henry Bruce's 1913 novel *The Eurasian* attests. Bruce's novel is about the marriage between a Eurasian clerk and a poor working-class English woman, in which the woman eventually determines to kill her child of mixed blood because the child is constituted of miscegenative ‘taint.’ Drawing upon points from Ballhatchet's and Hawes' work, D'Cruz examines some of the policies that perpetuated this sense of taint to, among other things, control the sexual behaviour of British civil servants. This, as D'Cruz points out, ties up with Foucault's argument that Victorian sexuality could not be best understood in terms of repression—that is, in terms of a lack of overt discussion—what with the era seeing an explosion of discourses about sexuality and perpetuating tropes of racial degeneration through manic pathologization. Additionally, it resonates with Ann Laura Stoler's assertion that Foucault's genealogy of sexuality cannot be understood without references to European imperialism and its production of racialized bodies—bodies bearing a stark contrast to the sound European body.

In the third chapter, “Beyond the Pale: Imperial Power and Scientific Regimes of Truth,” D’Cruz discusses Rudyard Kipling’s 1887 short story “His Chance in Life” and Stephen Alter’s 1979 novel *Neglected Lives* to show how miscegenation, and—tautologically—notions of taint of blood, perpetuated themselves to produce a racial science of sorts vis-à-vis Anglo-Indians. This, D’Cruz points out, assisted the emergence of the stereotype of the Anglo-Indian as a wastrel or ditherer. Demonstrating how Cedric Dover was opposed to notions of miscegenative taint in both India and the United States while paradoxically being sometimes committed to certain social ‘truths’ that racial science associated with miscegenation, D’Cruz discusses how racial hybridity had unfortunately moved from the realm of biology into that of sociology through a prism of Social Darwinism.

The fourth chapter, “The Poor Relation: Social Science and the Production of Anglo-Indian Identity” examines how the stereotype of the Anglo-Indian as financially destitute in social scientific studies of the community, had been configured by British administrative policies, with opportunities for the education and employment of Anglo-Indians in colonial India having been curtailed greatly after the late 18th century, and only partially alleviated by jobs in the railways into which they were recruited from the late 19th century. Furthermore, British colonialist social sciences helped propagate the stereotype of the Anglo-Indian as mimicking the British in his psychological and biological aversion to manual labor. This discourse of aversion helped provide support for a ‘scientific’ racialization of Anglo-Indians as innately stricken by a ‘fatal flaw,’ while sociologically Anglo-Indians were produced as a marginal ethnic minority by studies such as Noel P. Gist and Roy Dean Wright’s *Marginality and Identity* (1973). More recent integrationist sociological surveys, such as V. R. Gaikwad’s study of Anglo-Indians, and Shiva Kumar Gupta’s anthropological study of marriage among Anglo-Indians—both motivated by a desire to contribute to a sense of Indian national solidarity and a more tolerant Indian national identity—would suggest that the stereotype of the destitute Anglo-Indian has been supplanted by a more ‘positive’ one. However, D’Cruz claims that it is impossible to make absolutely ‘positive’ or ‘negative’ comments on Anglo-Indians, though postcolonialism, globalization, and multiculturalism at times uncritically valorize hybrid cultures, fluid identities, and porous boundaries.

The fifth chapter of D'Cruz's book, "Midnight's Orphans: Stereotypes in Postcolonial Literature," views how three postcolonial novels attempt to move away from the pejorative stereotypes in question and use them with a degree of strategic plasticity. In the process, these novels, D'Cruz argues, invert theories of racial and sexual degeneracy even as they insert new problems into the picture. For example, while Salman Rushdie's 1981 novel *Midnight's Children* portrays an Anglo-Indian protagonist as a sign of a fecund and critical hybridity, the fact remains that "*inversion does not necessarily constitute an act of subversion*," as D'Cruz so aptly puts it (2006, p. 169; emphasis in the original). In other words, a positive figuration of an Anglo-Indian need not mark a ridding of the colonial discursive baggage historically associated with Anglo-Indians. In keeping with this inseparability of the 'positive' and 'negative' as absolutes, Saleem Sinai, the protagonist, has an evil twin, and is sterilized, with his body disintegrating and degenerating even as he narrates the story. Evidently, the old racial science that D'Cruz speaks of in the third chapter of his book, haunts the novel. With Hari Kunzru's 2002 novel *The Impressionist* categorically locating Anglo-Indians as characters who are unable to cut their ties to the British Raj even in multicultural societies, thus perpetuating some of the negative stereotypes in the process, 'hybridity' evidently always carries marks of the racist history it attempts to leave behind. I. Allan Sealy's 1988 novel *The Trotter-Nama*, however, rewrites the knowledge of racial origins by writing about Anglo-Indian lives across generations as fragmentary miniatures that distort reality, so that stereotypes will find themselves caught in what D'Cruz fittingly describes as a hall of mirrors—a hall that refuses to yield a picture of an 'authentic' subject. In the final reckoning, D'Cruz deliberately leaves his position vis-à-vis the three novels liminal, neither uncritically celebrating Anglo-Indians as global citizens nor denigrating the literary representations of Anglo-Indian characters in the novels since either position would repress Anglo-Indian diversity by an essentializing logic. This essentialism, hints D'Cruz, is a risk to be avoided in an era of multiculturalism.

The sixth chapter, "The Good Australians: Australian Multiculturalism and Anglo-Indian Literature," examines the influx of Anglo-Indians into Australia in the aftermath of the repeal of the White Australia Policy, with multiculturalism in this setting maintaining white normativity while ambivalently celebrating diversity. With Anglo-

Indians not being welcome in the era of the White Australia Policy, the pressure on them to become 'good' Australians was always lurking in the background. After all, as D'Cruz points out, multiculturalism calculatedly articulates cultural difference to control it, propagates diversity, and recognizes separatist ethnic structures, which burdens Anglo-Indians with the cultural baggage of the stereotypes in terms of 'difference.' Demonstrating his point, D'Cruz reads Patricia Pengilley's publication "The Case of the Vanishing Princess: Sally's Tale" (1988). He asserts that Pengilley is forced to contend with memories of her land of birth—India—and the curse of the 'taint of blood' she consequently carries with her, while other Anglo-Indians born in Australia—such as second-generation immigrants to Australia—have to struggle with the issue of hybridity through second-hand accounts.

In the conclusion to the book, which he tellingly names "Bringing It All Back Home," D'Cruz articulates the problematic character of Gloria Jean Moore's brand of image criticism vis-à-vis diasporic Anglo-Indians in the age of multiculturalism. To do so, he reads a photograph of his father's family which, by Moore's standards, would be deemed a 'positive' image when in fact the photograph, in its performative quality, may be trying to maintain a posture of 'respectability' in intended opposition to that of a family associated with the Eurasian Question. This posture, suggests D'Cruz, would help the family legitimize itself as bearers of all the markers of whiteness and its discursive synonyms. Breaking away from this brand of image criticism to read Keith Butler's 1998 short story "Sodasi" through the application of a Foucauldian lens, D'Cruz asserts that Anglo-Indians in multicultural Australia largely constitute an invisible model minority. Anglo-Indians in Australia, according to D'Cruz, constitute a minority that is constantly trying to redefine itself generationally and in terms of gender, and that need not try to pin itself down through 'positive' images because while stereotypes deal in the language of racism, and 'positive' images try to fight racism, the coordinates underpinning racism are extremely complex and perpetually shifting. These coordinates cannot merely be reduced to the logic of individual prejudice, as image critics would have it.

What makes D'Cruz's book stand out even now is, among other things, how spot on he has been about the fact that the racism Anglo-Indians face shifts with changes in political coordinates and terrains. I will take just one example of this racism to back my

conviction about D'Cruz's argument—an example involving Indian filmmaker Anjan Dutta's 2004 multilingual film *Bow Barracks Forever*. The film deals with the inhabitants of Bow Barracks—an actual housing complex in Central Kolkata that had been constructed during the First World War to house American troops, and that currently houses a number of largely Anglo-Indian families. As I have described in my 2014 article "Outside in the Stereotype: Anglo-Indians' Passage from Community to Singularity," barring its setting, Dutta's film is fictional. It unfortunately portrays the Anglo-Indian characters inhabiting the Barracks as destitute wastrels, smugglers, frauds, and hypersexual mistresses to non-Anglo-Indian men, giving yet another lease of life to the stereotypes. However, there is a twist to this politics of representation. With the Government of West Bengal then planning to tear down the Barracks and using the thugs at its disposal to coercively evict the Anglo-Indian inhabitants, a non-Anglo-Indian character in the film conjectures that the inhabitants can make a plea to the Government to conserve the Barracks as an 'authentic' Anglo-Indian heritage site for cultural consumption by audiences across communities. In this way, the inhabitants can apparently ensure that they are not evicted. Pandering to this predilection for the consumption of some 'authentic' brand of Anglo-Indian culture, the inhabitants of the Barracks, seized by a sudden spurt of industry, inexplicably turn a new leaf and start diligently catering to a non-Anglo-Indian clientele at Christmas time, this clientele being interested in the Barracks as a fleetingly 'authentic' Anglo-Indian site with specific cultural attractions, such as Anglo-Indian foods and the celebration of Christmas, shaping its inhabitants' lives (Chanda, 2014, pp. 53-56). With Dutta claiming knowledge of Anglo-Indian "lifestyle and culture" (qtd. in Chanda, 2014, p. 53), he keeps the stereotypes and the racism attached to them intact. Additionally, there is nothing authentically Anglo-Indian to the foundation of the Barracks, so that the attempt to pass it off as an ordinary Anglo-Indian heritage site reiterates the stereotype of impoverished Anglo-Indians as frauds. Nevertheless, Dutta's film perpetuates a workable means for the conservation of the Barracks and, by extension, for the halting of the eviction of its inhabitants. Indeed, this ploy has been put into action and has worked to the present day, with *Bow Barracks Forever* having given birth to a problematic Anglo-Indian culture industry of sorts—an industry that has unwillingly catered to an audience of bourgeois Kolkatans even on Christmas Day of 2020 amidst a raging pandemic (Gangopadhyay, 2020). Evidently, even as the stereotypes have held sway in Dutta's film, the film itself has shifted political

coordinates in favor of the Barracks' Anglo-Indians inhabitants, deferring their eviction as much in fact as in fiction. On a note we cannot dismiss, D'Cruz has, in his book, justifiably criticized Dutta's 1998 film *Bada Din*—a more simplistic film—for its perpetuation of some of the “deadly stereotypes” that Anglo-Indian Studies scholars decry.

Another of the multitude of the virtues of D'Cruz's book is its abjuration of scholarly ‘objectivity,’ the issue of objectivity being something D'Cruz treats with some disdain. This is a feat of necessary courage for an academic, with D'Cruz setting an example for the overlapping of intellectual gains with emotional gains for humanities scholars in academia. (Let us not forget that even in her updated 1999 version of her seminal 1988 essay “Can the Subaltern Speak?,” star postcolonial studies critic Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak refrains from specifying that the protagonist of the piece is in fact her great-grand aunt, and that the philosopher and Sanskritist with whom she has a “failure of communication” about Bhaduri's suicide, is her cousin Tara Chatterjea (1999, pp. 306-08)). Indeed, D'Cruz never refrains from allowing the authoring self to surface from amidst the interstices of his academic prose—something that Euro-American academic institutions have traditionally tried to prevent scholars from doing, crippling their aspiration to reap more rewarding academic experiences in the process. By writing about how his father decided not to buy into Frank Anthony's position that Anglo-Indians assimilate into the Indian nation and chose instead to retain his identity through an alternative act of assimilation into multiculturalist Australia, D'Cruz brilliantly captures the ambivalence of migration and multiculturalism in a way that ‘scholarly objectivity’ cannot. Similarly, when he chooses to read the photograph of his father's family and argues for its effort to pass for a ‘white’ brand of respectability, he clarifies with baffling infallibility his point that absolutely ‘positive’ or ‘negative’ comments on Anglo-Indians are exercises in futility. Such autobiographical acts as D'Cruz's are, then, perhaps necessary not merely to Anglo-Indian Studies but also to the institutional humanities as such. Indeed, this scholarly stance connects seamlessly with D'Cruz's current scholarly position—a position founded on an exhaustion with the institutional theoretical frameworks that D'Cruz (2020) used in *Midnight's Orphans*, finding as he does greater affinity with Rita Felski's irreverent and iconoclastic brand of postcritique, as he reveals in an article that awaits publication. From that point of view, perhaps he would be the first to find fault with me for lauding his work—and I will

laud it nevertheless because the contributions *Midnight's Orphans* made to Anglo-Indian Studies still hold good. Indeed, scholars are still writing articles that find their cues in points that D'Cruz had articulated in passing in *Midnight's Orphans* all those years back. Evidently, then, burgeoning specialists in Anglo-Indian Studies could not do worse than ignore *Midnight's Orphans*.

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BOOK REVIEW: *BEYOND THE METROS: ANGLO-INDIANS IN INDIA'S SMALLER TOWNS AND CITIES*

Shyamasri Maji

Andrews, Robyn & Anjali Gera Roy, ed. (2021). *Beyond the Metros: Anglo-Indians in India's Smaller Towns and Cities*. Delhi: Primus. 270pp. ISBN: 978-93-90737-65-9.

The edited volume under review studies aspects of Anglo-Indian societies located in smaller towns in India. This represents a major shift in Anglo-Indian studies which has usually marked metropolitan centres as the locales of the community. In this respect, this pioneering project widens the scope of research on the Anglo-Indian community. The bifurcation of the community based on its spatial location is meant to bring out the fact that it is not a homogenous body, that it has wider varieties of place-specific socio-cultural activities than is usually acknowledged. In the ten chapters of the book, the differences are brought out through the responses of the members of the community towards cultural representation, 'nationality' discourse and citizenship rights. Born of a research project funded and supported by the New Zealand India Research Institute, the book includes contributions of a wide range of scholars belonging to different disciplines in the Social Sciences and Humanities. Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, Director of New Zealand India Research Institute, rightly observes that the volume "breaks into a relatively less-explored scholarly field" ("Foreword," p.vii).

To date both media and academia have dealt prominently with Anglo-Indians in the metro cities which has served to establish their lived experiences as a norm for all Anglo-Indians. The editors of the volume attempt to offer us a cartography of the socio-cultural life of the Anglo-Indians based on India "beyond" the Metros. The contributors'

essays have made ethnographical and historical explorations of the selected places in different regions of India. They have used survey and interview methods for collecting primary data. The book is divided into three parts on the basis of three major spatial categories—railway towns, hill stations and port cities—that share a history of colonial settlement. These places have each been the habitat of a section of the Anglo-Indian community who live far away from the din and bustle of the big cities in India or the Anglophone countries such as the UK, the US, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. The first part, “Railway Towns”, covers the stories of the Anglo-Indians in Kharagpur (West Bengal), Asansol (West Bengal), Jabalpur (Madhya Pradesh), Jhansi (Uttar Pradesh) and Secunderabad (Telangana). The second part, “Hill Stations”, represents the community life of the Anglo-Indians in Dehradun (Uttarakhand) and Ranchi (Jharkhand). The third part, “Port Cities”, deals with the history of the community in Pondicherry (Union Territory), Cochin (Kerala) and Goa (Union Territory).

In Chapter One, “Kharagpur: The Remembered Railway Town of Anglo-Indian Memory”, Anjali Gera Roy studies the recollections of the diasporic Anglo-Indians, who once lived in Kharagpur. They consider the railway colony there as ‘home’ and re-visit it virtually on websites such as ‘Kharagpur’ and ‘Kharagpur’s Diaspora United’. These digital archives of nostalgic narratives recreate a vicarious homeland – a virtual presence that seeks to compensate for its actual absence. Roy employs the mainstream discourse of *desh* or “ancestral village,” the contested notions of *pitrabhumi* (“land of the father”/ ancestral land) and *punyabhumi* (land of religion) to explore the concept of Anglo-Indian ‘home’ in the Indian subcontinent.

While *pitrabhumi* confers natural citizenship on the inhabitants, the railway colony problematises the idea of home. Unlike *desh*/‘village’ the railway town is artificially created—a product of Western modernity. It can create a cohesive community of affiliation based on ethnicity but cannot confer natural citizenship on its residents. Roy observes that the nostalgic recollections of Kharagpur from the diaspora challenge the fixed, traditional notions of home. She mentions that some of the members of the Anglo-Indian diaspora prefer to preserve the old photographs of the colony and often discard the recent images of the decrepit buildings there. This shows the gap between their imagination of the railway colony and the reality that surrounds them. Roy

explains this gap as the “spatial and temporal distance of the Anglo-Indian home in the colonial and postcolonial imaginary” (p. 31).

Located 110 kilometers from Kolkata in Paschim Medinipur district of West Bengal, Kharagpur is widely known for the Indian Institute of Technology, a premier institute of national repute. A quick internet search shows that Kharagpur had, until recently, the longest railway platform in the world. It also has one of the biggest railway workshops in India. In the second chapter, “Past and Present: Mapping the Anglo-Indian Journey in Kharagpur,” two young research scholars Catherina Moss and Anannya Chakraborty examine the changes that have crept into the Anglo-Indian spaces of Kharagpur. Their findings show that most of the Anglo-Indians have shifted their residence from the dilapidated buildings in the colony (Blocks) to new areas (Jholi). Remarkable changes have come in their social life with the decrease in their number in the colony. With the loss of job quotas in the railways, the community members now believe that education is the only means to enhance their economic prospects in India and abroad.

In “Other Places, Other Spaces” (Chapter Three), Deborah Nixon explores the community life of the Anglo-Indians in Jhansi and Jabalpur, two large railway junctions of the British Raj. By analysing the narratives, anecdotes and memories of the older residents of these towns, Nixon links the resilience of the community to the socio-cultural changes that followed Independence. She describes their initiatives to preserve the cultural distinctiveness of the Anglo-Indians through regular church services and a Westernised lifestyle. Although marriages of Anglo-Indians to non-Anglo-Indians are common, they often fail to be a part of the greater section of the society due to their reluctance to learn Hindi and eat Indian food (p. 83). To the older generation Anglo-Indians ‘home’ is still located in colonial times. The younger generation, however, thinks differently and locates itself comfortably in post-Independence Indian society.

In Chapter Four, “Asansol Anglo-Indians: Buying into the Nation?”, Robyn Andrews examines the scope of citizenship for the Anglo-Indians in India, as many of them feel culturally alienated here. She conducts an ethnographic survey in Asansol, an industrial town situated in the Paschim Burdwan district, to find out if the Anglo-Indians

could claim their belonging to this city, like the people of other Indian communities living there. Her findings show that the Anglo-Indians in Asansol are economically well-off. Most of them own houses and private vehicles. It is through their purchase of property in different parts of the city they have established their belonging to the place. Their existence and identity are no longer restricted to the railway colony. With the passage of time, they adapted themselves to the changing patterns of community life by maintaining good connections with community bodies and by gaining agency in local administration.

In "Voicing a Return" (Chapter Five), Upamanyu Sengupta talks about the railway Anglo-Indians in Secunderabad. Their employment opportunities were enhanced with the flourishing of the IT industry in this south Indian city. Due to their fluency in English and effective communicative skills, the local Anglo-Indians found jobs in the BPO sector and this immensely changed the socio-economic condition of the community in Secunderabad, Hyderabad and the surrounding areas. It instilled in them the confidence to seek better opportunities in the corporate sector and some of them even started their own business enterprises after gaining extensive professional experience in the BPOs. The easy employment of large number of young Anglo-Indians in the BPO industry seemed to be a fit compensation for the loss of the community's job reservations in the public sector.

The railway towns were indeed an important part of the community's history since the inception of the railways in the nineteenth century. Since the railway colonies were mostly located outside the metro cities, these helped the community to have a close-knit world of their own. This, however, distanced them from the local people of other communities. The older generation feels deeply the loss of the community's space in the railway colonies. Unlike them, the younger generation is concerned little about the golden days of the community during the Raj. Like other Indian youth, they look for better job opportunities to improve their lot in India. Their fluency in English is a silver lining for the community as it helps them to find work in the IT sector.

The second part of the book consists of two chapters: Robyn Andrews' "Educators of the Doon Valley: Dehradun's Anglo-Indians" and Afrinul Haque Khan's "Negotiating Culture and Identity: Anglo-Indian Community in Ranchi." Andrews describes the

social history of the Anglo-Indians in Dehradun and discusses the role of the Anglo-Indian community in disseminating quality education through reputed schools such as Carman School, St. Jude's School and Hilton's School. These institutions provide good academic training and hone the English communication skills of the students. These also offer an environment for learning the etiquette of the West. The schools as well as the Anglo-Indian society in this hill station are led by three families—the Gardners, the Manns and the Hiltons. These schools have a significant role in regulating the community life and preserving its traditions as most of the social functions on cultural occasions are organised in the school premises. In her chapter, Khan argues that identity is culturally defined. She discusses the cultural distinctiveness of the Anglo-Indians in Ranchi by distinguishing their cultural practices from the Christians of the local tribal groups or the Adivasis: "The prayers, ritual readings...and ceremonies of the Anglo-Indians are performed in English whereas for tribal Christians are conducted either in Hindi or tribal languages" (p.168). She explains that the differences are also evident in the clothes worn by the women of the two groups. While the Anglo-Indian women wear frocks, gowns and skirts during the prayer service, the tribal women represent themselves in ethnic clothes such as saris and salwar suits.

As mentioned earlier, the third part of the book deals with three port cities which were dominated for a long period by non-English colonial rulers such as the Portuguese, the Dutch and the French. The mixed descent population in these cities, particularly in Cochin and Pondicherry, were recognised as Anglo-Indians much later. While Cochin was under Portuguese control for many years before it ended in the 17th century, Pondicherry was officially a French settlement until the 1960s. In "Pondicherry Anglo-Indians into the Fold" Cheryl-Ann Shivan and Robyn Andrews examine the problematics of Anglo-Indian identity in Pondicherry, the seat of French culture in India. The creoles and the Franco-Indian group in Pondicherry often chose to have French nationality instead of Indian and enjoyed employment opportunities in France. They can go to France anytime without a visa. However, the mixed descent people who came to Pondicherry after 1962 were not offered French citizenship. This group was recently recognised as Anglo-Indian by the All India Anglo-Indian Association, which has now established a branch there (p.191).

All sections of the Portuguese Eurasian population in Cochin, especially the ones living in the hinterlands, could not conform to the criteria of English language and Westernised lifestyle. As Brent Howitt Otto explains in his chapter "The Unique History and Development of Cochin's Anglo-Indians" the rural Anglo-Indians in Kerala continued with farming and skilled trades for generations, after the retreat of the Portuguese from Cochin. They spoke Malayalam for public transactions and Portuguese at home. Even in the twentieth century their prayer services were conducted chiefly in Portuguese. They differed from the urban Eurasians who conformed themselves to the English ways when the British made strong their hold on Malabar in the nineteenth century. Otto clearly mentions that the socio-economic and cultural adherences of the Anglo-Indian community in Kerala represent a sharp contrast to the urban mindset of the community members in northern India: "Anglo-Indians from the north often did not master the local vernacular language because they frequently moved for work in the railways or the military" (p. 221).

Of the three chapters discussed in part three, Andrews' chapter on the Anglo-Indians of Goa is unique in the sense that it addresses the trend of reverse migration; that is, the return of the Anglo-Indians from the West to this Union Territory in India. Most of the returnees have decided to settle down in Goa after retiring from their jobs in English-speaking Commonwealth countries. Instead of going back to the familiar towns where they were born and brought up, they moved to this port city, which is considered as one of the chief holiday destinations in India. Goa is also known for its Westernised social ambience, and this may be a possible reason for the gradual increase in the number of Anglo-Indian returnees here. The reverse migration shows that the financial savings they accrued from the global-north enabled them to improve their prospects on the Indian soil where they feel rooted like the other Indian citizens.

Of all existing literature in Anglo-Indian studies, this edited volume is the only book that makes its exclusive focus the Anglo-Indians in the smaller towns and cities of India. The chapters discussed above represent the variety of Anglo-Indian experiences in different geo-cultural regions in India. The facts presented in them contest the trend of homogenisation by highlighting what Bandyopadhyay explains as "diversity in the lived experiences, aspirations, memories and sense of identity within this community" ("Foreword," p. vii). This volume critically examines the concepts of

collective identity such as community, nationality and citizenship from the perspective of a section of Anglo-Indians hitherto living in the periphery of academic discourse. The diversity of their lived experiences inspires the readers to re-view the history of the community as well as of the Indian nation. The great variety of their occupational and professional engagements since the colonial times shatters the stereotyped images of the Anglo-Indians in mainstream cultural representations. Considering all these factors, this book is strongly recommended for research scholars and senior academics in Anglo-Indian Studies and other branches of the humanities and social sciences.

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BOOK REVIEW: *ENGLISH EDUCATION IN INDIA, 1715-1835*

Vishwajeet Deshmukh

Kochhar, R. (2021). *English Education in India, 1715-1835*. London: Routledge India.

English Education in India, 1715-1835 Half-Caste, Missionary, and Secular Stages by Rajesh Kochhar is a modest attempt to understand the establishment of education and schools in the early colonial period and how various social constructs influenced the educational establishments in India. Kochhar's previous scholarship has focused on technological education and its history in colonial India. However, in this book, he focuses on language as a central focus in three distinct stages of development and growth under the British Empire: (i) Half-caste Stage, (ii) Missionary Stage, and (iii) Secular Stage.

The book is divided into seven chapters: chapters two and three discuss the so-called "half-caste stage" and missionary stage respectively, while the rest of the chapters focus on what Kochhar terms the "Secular Stage". Kochhar's classifications indicate transformational periods which represent the shift in the attitude towards education by the Empire and the motive behind the changes. Chapter seven discusses the work of scholars such as Duff, Trevelyan, Macaulay, and Bentinck. Thus, the categorization by Kochhar is not only chronological but is also based on attitude shifts and the intentions behind the shifts in the policy.

Kochhar's choice of the term "half-caste" for the first stage is a problematic use of this historically pejorative term for people of mixed-race. The categorization of this stage is intended to refer to the first-generation offspring of European fathers and native or mixed-race mothers, a group who would later come to be known as "Eurasians" or

“Anglo-Indians”. Previous scholars have generally referred to the group as “mixed-race” or “mixed-descent”, wherever the terms “Eurasians” or “Anglo-Indians” were deemed anachronistic. It would be difficult to find any unironic academic use of the derogatory term “Half-caste”. Kochhar claims that his study is the first to detail this so-called “half-caste education stage”. However, this educational period has been previously discussed by Reverend J.A. Graham in his article titled “*The Education of the Anglo-Indian Child*” in the 1934 issue of the Journal of Royal Society of Arts, under the term “Anglo-Indian” or “Eurasian”. A wider discussion of the term “Eurasian” also appears in Syed Mahmood’s *A History of English Education in India (1791-1893)* published in 1895.

Kochhar’s understanding of theology and conflict between Protestants and Roman Catholics leading to establishments with religious identities propels a broader understanding of education being driven by the force of religious identity. However, Kochhar’s understanding of the Anglo-Indian group is limited concerning social class and race. He does not account for the British class structure. His focus on the mixed-race group is restricted to the children of soldiers of the lower class. Higher British officials and their mixed-race children have not been discussed, although the differential treatment of the higher and lower military officials’ mixed-race children may be understood through the British orphanages and their related schools.

Kochhar discusses the scholarship of Durba Ghosh when discussing the entity of Lower and Upper Orphanages, however, his view of the Anglo-Indian community is quite unidirectional. Durba Ghosh in the article “Making and Un-making Loyal Subjects: Pensioning Widows and Educating Orphans in Early Colonial India” (2003) discusses the concept of citizenship with the social perspective of the colonizers and the colonized, whereas Kochhar only looks at the perspective of the colonizers. Kochhar mentions various examples of mixed-race individuals and the shift in the attitude towards the mixed-race groups. When institutions were opened for the education and care of mixed-race children, the latter were euphemistically called poor Protestant children or illegitimate children of Protestant fathers. In the view of Kochhar, the orphans in the eyes of the imperial powers were never meant to join the top administrative positions. These institutions were charity schools and asylums.

The next stage i.e., “Missionary Stage” (1800) was categorized as a period where the missionaries established their presence in colonial India. The East India Company permitted British Christian Missionaries the freedom of operation in all the territories under the Company under the Charter of 1813. The primary reason, he argues, the government permitted missionaries and their work in education was an intention to drive linguistic development that in turn would lead to benefits in the affairs of the trade in the East. The missionaries undertook a reverse approach to propagate religion by learning vernacular languages, grammar, and the creation of bilingual dictionaries. Not only did the missionaries learn the vernacular languages, but the study of the Hindu religious texts from Sanskrit was also undertaken to understand the religious life of natives. According to Kochhar, the missionaries' only aim was to convince the pupils that Christianity was the only true religion.

The religious conversions by missionaries created a feeling of unrest and worry that led to the formation of the Hindoo College at Calcutta in 1817. Kochhar regards this period as the “Secular Stage”, though these secular establishments were formed on religious identities. The interest of the Hindus of Calcutta to learn and educate themselves in the English language was proposed by David Hare and Sir Raja Radhakanta Deb with Raja Ram Mohan Roy heading the initiative. The Hindoo College, established by the wealthy Hindus of Calcutta, was a pioneer in the development of the native education under government control. The promotion of this institution was driven by the unrest created over the idea that English missionaries were using English education as a tool for introducing Christianity to natives. Hindoo College, now known as Presidency University, served as a model for non-Christian schools to establish themselves. A prerequisite for the expansion of the school system was the easy availability of textbooks, in the writing of which the missionaries and chaplains played a leading part. British administration in general and many individual Englishmen were very supportive of English education for Indians.

The British had earlier projected themselves as patrons of ancient learning and retained Persian as the official language. It was important to evaluate certain policies in terms of language. In 1835, policies implemented by Governor-General William Bentinck following T. B. Macaulay's *Minute* on educational policies revolutionized English education in India. The shift in the educational policies redirected

governmental support for the oriental institutes, instead towards English education. Additionally, the oriental educational systems of native Hindus and Muslims were preached against by the British with racism and casteist attitudes. The official administration language was changed from Persian to English. Subsequently, the focus was not limited to imparting knowledge to natives but was to create natives with British attitudes of taste, intellect, opinions, and morals.

Kochhar has described the stages of educational development and growth in colonial India from 1715-1835 in-depth with a focus on changing concepts and attitudes. Kochhar's understanding is tainted with a unidirectional perspective that has not accounted for the education of individuals of higher social class and status but is limited to the lower socio-economic groups. Moreover, the chapter on mixed-race groups in early colonial India fails to discuss the British construction of class and race. This understanding of the mixed groups does not account for the Dutch, French and Portuguese attitudes and how they even impacted the English East India Company and their politics. This scholarship is a modern understanding of the concept of educational history in India; however, it bears an anachronistic if not prejudicial mark even when compared with the findings of Justice Syed Mahmood's book titled *A History of English Education in India (1791-1893)*. Mahmood's work refers to the mixed-race group as "Eurasian" unlike Kochhar's use of "Half-Caste", which is an outdated and derogatory term of which Kochhar seems to be aware. One may speculate that the term "half-caste" has been used in order to increase the Search Engine Organization (SEO), since the usage of word "race" or "mixed-race" are less discussed compared to "caste" in an Indian academic publishing space.

English Education in India, 1715-1835 Half-Caste, Missionary, and Secular Stages by Rajesh Kochhar is a basic introduction to the educational history in colonial India from 1715-1835. However, its value is diminished by historical gaps as well as political ideologies and perspectives which are not sensitive to the terminology and understanding of the social groups it describes in-depth, especially the mixed-race Anglo-Indian groups.

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