International Journal of Anglo-Indian Studies

EDITORIAL

Brent Howitt Otto and Robyn Andrews

This general issue of the journal comprises two articles and two review essays on recently published books. Each of the articles studies Anglo-Indians in a particular geographic, political and temporal frame. Dorothy McMenamin's article is based in her extensive study of Anglo-Indians in Pakistan, focusing on the Partition. Lyndon Thomas offers us a window into his current ongoing study of Anglo-Indians in present day Odisha, and some of its preliminary conclusions. The review essays respectively address very significant recent publications: Uther Charlton-Stevens' *Anglo-India and the End of Empire* (2022), reviewed by Anjana Banerjee; and, Barry O'Brien's *The Anglo-Indians: A Portrait of a Community* (2022), reviewed by Dolores Chew.

Dorothy McMenamin's article, 'Anglo-Indian Immunity from Partition Violence' is largely based on one chapter in her recently published book, *Anglo-Indian Lives in Pakistan* (2023), which emerged from her PhD in history, which aimed to highlight the particular and different experiences of Anglo-Indians in Pakistan compared with India around the Partition and thereafter as both nations emerged. Central to her argument is the unique impact of the socioreligious milieu of Pakistan and India as, respectively, Muslim and Hindu majority states, to the lives of the Christian minority Anglo-Indians. This article focuses on Partition, and provides vivid oral history accounts from Anglo-Indians who lived through Partition but were very rarely victims of the violence. She also includes a number of stories of Anglo-Indian heroism. McMenamin's work adds a rarely seen dimension within the study of Partition – the experiences of a small minority in the midst of the political turmoil, mass migration and bloodshed.

Lyndon Thomas and Sthitaprajna have carried out an ethnographic study of Odisha's Anglo-Indian community, which has hardly ever attracted any scholarly attention in the past because, perhaps, Anglo-Indians in Odisha have been overshadowed by the cultural centre of gravity of the community in Kolkata just a few hundred kilometres to the north. Now is an apt time for their study, as the community is under cultural strain from diminishing numbers, particularly as railway employment had been their past stronghold but is not any longer. Their ethnography seeks to study the community's past, its defining cultural anchors and markers of identity, reasons for and principles of change, and the reflections of Anglo-Indians in their own words about the future. In this article, which presents and problematises the community in Odisha, the authors also reveal some of their preliminary conclusions: that Odisha's Anglo-Indians strongly identify with India as home, while simultaneously feeling distinct from other Indians in some key ways especially tied to their past collective experiences, but which struggle for firm grounding in the present due to changes in occupation, forms of socialising, and the migration out of Odisha for educational and employment opportunities no longer connected to the railways.

Last calendar year, 2022, saw the publishing of two important books in the study of Anglo-Indians, and we eagerly publish extended review essays on both of them. One is Uther Charlton-Stevens' second book, *Anglo-India and the End of Empire*, reviewed by Anjana Banerjee. Unlike Charlton-Stevens' first book, *Anglo-Indians and Minority Politics* (2017), which was an academic history based on his doctoral dissertation at Oxford, this latest book targets a popular rather than specialist readership but gives no less a deep dive into Anglo-Indian engagement with politics, theatre and film, the world wars, racial attitudes, Partition and migration in the last decades of the Raj. The other important book of 2022 is *The Anglo-Indians: A Portrait of a Community*, by Barry O'Brien, current President-in-Chief of the All India Anglo-Indian Association (AIAIA). At over five hundred pages O'Brien aims to tell a comprehensive story of a Community, drawing on both on historical sources and engaging anecdotes gleaned from a life lived at the centre of all things Anglo-Indian, and highlight the perspective of the largest and more than century old extant organisation of Anglo-Indians, the AIAIA. Historian Dolores Chew provides a review essay no less lively than O'Brien's book.

Robyn Andrews *holds a Ph.D. in social anthropology from Massey University in New Zealand, where she is an Associate Professor in anthropology. Her Ph.D. thesis was on the Anglo-Indian Community (2005), about which she continues to research and write extensively in collaboration with other Anglo-Indian Studies scholars in various disciplines. She has most recently co-edited:* Anglo-Indian Identity: Past and Present, in India and the Diaspora (Palgrave Macmillan, 2021) *and* Beyond the Metros: Anglo-Indians in India's smaller towns and cities (Primus, 2021). *Contactable via R.Andrews@massey.ac.nz*

Brent Howitt Otto, S.J. *is a Ph.D. candidate in South Asian History at the University of California, Berkeley. His dissertation centres on a Jesuit Catholic mission in North India, 1921 to 1962, and its shifting orientation and methods in response to British authority, Indian anticolonial nationalism, the movement of the depressed classes and the priorities of the post-independence Nehruvian state. In the course of prior post-graduate degrees in international and global history from Columbia University and the London School of Economics, and a theological degree in Indian Church history, Brent has researched and written about Indian Catholic education, Anglo-Indian migration and diaspora, and Christian religious identity and performance. Contactable via botto@berkeley.edu*

International Journal of Anglo-Indian Studies

ANGLO-INDIAN IMMUNITY FROM PARTITION VIOLENCE

Dorothy McMenamin

ABSTRACT

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

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

* This article is adapted from a chapter in the author's book, *Anglo-Indian Lives in Pakistan* (2023), which was based on her PhD thesis. A doctoral scholarship enabling this research from the University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand, is acknowledged and greatly appreciated.

INTRODUCTION

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

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

Overview

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

VIOLENCE IN RAWALPINDI AND MURREE DISTRICTS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

EVENTS IN LAHORE

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

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

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

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

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

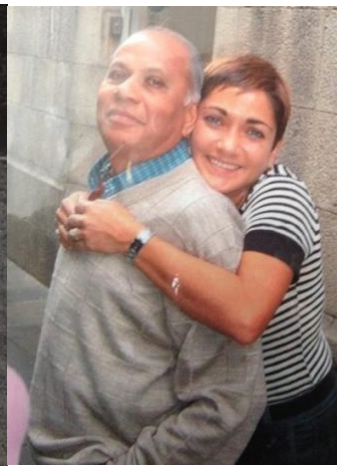

Figure 1 Yvonne Smith, husband and daughters, Angela Harvey (centre)

Figure 2 Ken Brown's parents, Lahore

Figure 3 Roy Engles and his daughter in London

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

VIOLENCE ON THE TRAINS AND RAILWAY STATIONS

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

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

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

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

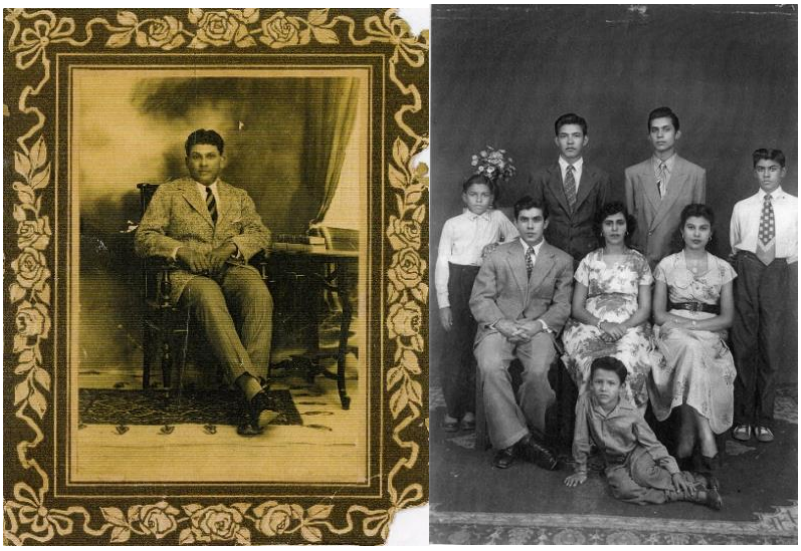

Figure 4 Brian Birch’s father, engine driver

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

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

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

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

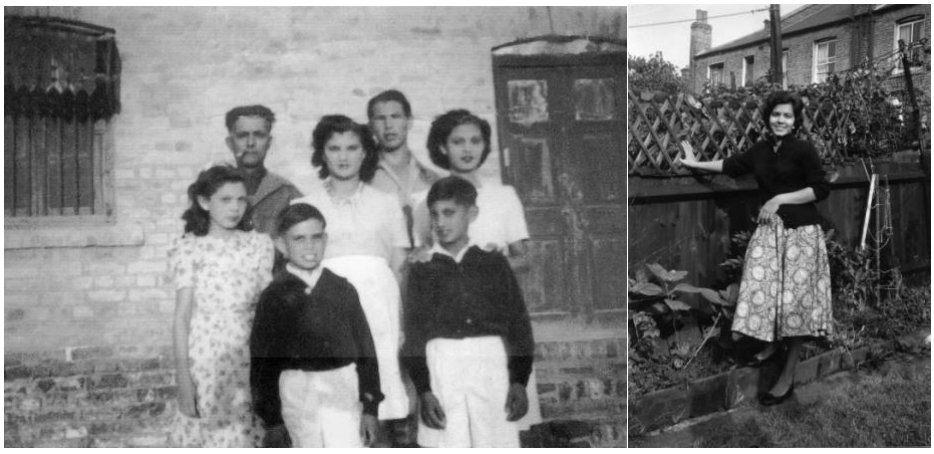

Figure 6 Leckey family - father (top left), an engine driver; sons David (top right), Dick (bottom right), and siblings

Figure 7 Connie Grindall, in England

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

VIOLENCE AND WOMEN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SIKH COMPLICITY IN VIOLENCE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

AN INCIDENT OF PARTITION VIOLENCE THAT INCLUDED ANGLO-INDIAN VICTIMS

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

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

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

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

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

A FAMILY IN PESHAWAR

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

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

Additionally, Albert commented:

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

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

MIGRANTS, REFUGEES AND *MOHAJIRS* INTO SIND

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE EFFECTS OF PARTITION ON ANGLO-INDIANS

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

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

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

Dorothy McMenamin (née Doyle), PhD is an *independent researcher, affiliated with The University of Canterbury, Christchurch, and The University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand. She is a founding Member of the New Zealand South Asia Centre, UC, Christchurch. Dorothy was born and schooled in Pakistan. In her teens she emigrated to England, later Australia, then settled in New Zealand. She specialized in world religions and South Asian history and trained as an oral historian. She published several articles and two books* – Raj Days to Downunder: Voices from Anglo India to New Zealand *(2010; 2019) and* Leprosy and Stigma in the South Pacific *(2011). Gaining a doctoral scholarship from the University of Otago she recorded interviews with 'Anglos' from Pakistan and her thesis was adapted and published in 2023 as* Anglo-Indian Lives in Pakistan: Interrogating Religion and Culture through the Lens of Oral Histories*. She may be reached by email at:* dorothym@snap.net.nz

REFERENCES

Ansari, Sarah. (2005). *Life after Partition: Migration, Community and Strife in Sindh*: *1947-1962*. Oxford University Press.

Bangash, Yaqoob Khan. (2022). Anglo-Indians and the Punjab Partition: Identity, Politics, and the Creation of Pakistan. In *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History.* https://doi.org/10.1080/03086534.2022.2086202.

Bose, Sugata, & Jalal, Ayesha. (1988). *Modern South Asia: History, Culture, Political Economy*. Routledge.

Brass, Paul R. (2003). The Partition of India and Retributive Genocide in the Punjab, 1946-47: Means, Methods, and Purposes. *Journal of Genocide Research*, 5, no. 1: 71-101.

Butalia, Urvashi. (2000). *The Other Side of Silence: Voices from the Partition of India*. Duke University Press.

Caplan, Lionel. (2001). *Children of Colonialism: Anglo-Indians in a Postcolonial World*. Berg.

Charlton-Stevens, Uther. (2022). *Anglo-India and the End of Empire.* London: C. Hurst & Co. (Publishers) Ltd.

Charlton-Stevens, U. E. (2018). *Anglo-Indians and Minority Politics in South Asia: Race, Boundary Making, and Communal Nationalism.* Abington, Routledge.

Hasan, Mushirul. (2000). *Inventing Boundaries: Gender, Politics, and the Partition of India*. Oxford University Press.

Jalal, Ayesha. (2013). *The Pity of Partition: Manto's Life, Times, and Work across the India-Pakistan Divide.* Princeton University Press.

Khan, Ali. (2015). Rawul Pindee: *The Raj Years*. Murree Brewery.

Khan, Yasmin. (2015). *The Raj at War: A People's History of India's Second World War*. Vintage, Penguin Random House, UK.

Khan, Yasmin. (2007). *The Great Partition: The Making of India and Pakistan*. Yale University Press.

Kothari, Shuchi, & Kothari, Rita. (2008). Crossing the Border in Opposite Directions: Two Partition Narratives. In *Partitioned Lives: Narratives of Home, Displacement, and Resettlement*, Anjali Gera Roy & Nandi Bhatia, (Eds.), (pp.146-155). Dorling Kindersley.

Lumb, Lionel. (2006). Freedom's Terrible Legacy. In *The Way We Were: Anglo-Indian Chronicles*, Glenn Deefholts & Margaret Deefholts, (Eds.), (pp. 81-86). CTR Inc. Publishing.

Major, Andrew. (1995). The Chief Sufferers: Abduction of Women During the Partition of the Punjab. *South Asia*, 18, no. 1: 57-72.

McMenamin, Dorothy. (2023) *Anglo-Indian Lives in Pakistan: Interrogating Religion and Culture through the Lens of Oral Histories.* Vanguard Books (Pvt) Ltd.

McMenamin, Dorothy. (2019). *Anglo-Indian lives in Pakistan through the lens of oral histories*. PhD, University of Otago.

McMenamin, Dorothy. (2010). *Raj Days to Downunder: Voices from Anglo India to New Zealand*. Christchurch, NZ: McMenamin. (Re-Issued 2011, republished 2019, Anglo-Ink).

McMenamin, Dorothy. (2006). Anglo-Indian Experiences During Partition and Its Impact Upon Their Lives. *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies*, 8, no. 1 (2006): 69-95.

Moon, Penderel. (1961). *Divide and Quit*. Chattto & Windus.

Nandy, Ashis. (2011). Pakistan's latent 'potentialities' Radio Open Source. http://radioopensource.org/ashis-nandy-on-pakistan-latent-potentialities/

Nixon, Deborah, & Ghosh, Devleena. (2008). Fires in the Kangra: A British Soldier's Story of Partition. In Anjali Gera Roy & Nandi Bhatia, (Eds.), *Partitioned Lives: Narratives of Home, Displacement and Resettlement,* (pp.174-191). Dorling Kindersley.

O'Brien, Barry. (2022). *The Anglo-Indians: A Portrait of a Community*. Aleph Book Company.

Pandey, Gyanendra. (2006). T*he Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India*. Oxford University Press.

Sidhwa, Bapsi. (1989). *Ice-Candy Man*. Penguin.

Sircar, Rani. (2003). *Dancing Round the Maypole: Growing out of British India*. Rupa & Co.

Talbot, Ian. (1999). Literature and the Human Drama of the 1947 Partition. In Ian Talbot & Gurharpal Singh. (Eds.), *Region and Partition: Bengal, Punjab and the Partition of the Subcontinent*, Oxford University Press.

Waseem, Mohammad. (1999). Partition, Migration and Assimilation: A Comparative Study of Pakistani Punjab. In *Region and Partition: Bengal, Punjab and the Partition of the Subcontinent*, Ian Talbot & Gurharpal Singh, (Eds.), Oxford University Press.

White-Spunner, Barney. (2017). *Partition: The Story of Indian Independence and the Creation of Pakistan in 1947*. Simon & Schuster UK Ltd.

Zakaria, Anam. (2015). *The Footprints of Partition: Narratives of Four Generations of Pakistanis and Indians*. HarperCollins.

Unpublished family accounts:

Godin, Albert. (2011). The Godins of Peshawar: Pakistan to Canada.

Braund, Wilton. (2012). Eulogy for Maxine Braund, 25.12.1915 – 12.10.2012.

Barretto, Pamela. (1997). Looking Back After 50 Years. *Franciscan Missionary of Mary Leaflet*.

International Journal of Anglo-Indian Studies

A PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT OF THE ANGLO-INDIAN COMMUNITY IN ODISHA THROUGH MEMORIES AND LIVED EXPERIENCES

Lyndon D. Thomas and Sthitaprajna

ABSTRACT

Anglo-Indians are a mixed-race Indian minority community. The word 'Anglo' denotes their mainly British descent, and 'Indian' refers to the Indian ancestry of this community. V.R. Gaikwad studied the Anglo-Indian community as a cultural and linguistic minority in July 1959-January 1961 in Bangalore, Jhansi and Bilaspur (Gaikwad, 1967). Subsequent studies on Anglo-Indians have focused on the experiences of Anglo-Indians based in metro cities such as Kolkata, Chennai and Mumbai while overlooking Anglo-Indians' historical and geographical presence in small towns and non–metropolitan cities. This anomaly was, to an extent, remedied in a book on Anglo-Indians in smaller towns and cities (Andrews & Gera Roy, 2021). However, there has been no known study on Anglo-Indians (AIs) in Odisha. This article explores social and cultural changes through their lived experiences and attempts to provide a historical perspective on the Community in Odisha and its relationship with the railways. It also touches on the concept of 'home' or desh*, examining the popular notion of Anglo-Indians not being rooted in India as home, with particular reference to the community in Odisha.*

RECOGNITION AND NAMING - A DISTINCT COMMUNITY

'Eurasian', 'country born', 'half-castes' or 'Indo-Briton' were derogatory terms used to describe the community from as early as the 18th century. In 1825, Calcutta Eurasians adopted the term 'East Indian' believing it to be common and familiar in England and perhaps because of its connotations with the East India Company (Hawes, 1996, p. 90). From the 1780s, the East India Company had imposed restrictions on the mixed-race Eurasian community, in education and employment and even questioned their

legal status as British subjects. Thus in 1830, John William Ricketts, presented a petition to the House of Lords and the House of Commons from the growing mixed race community of European and Indian parentage, begging redress for the discrimination they suffered under the rule of the East India Company (Otto, 2015). The petition, succeeded in bringing Eurasian grievances to the fore and the debate upon it, engaged the Company's government and British society in India. In Britain, it involved Parliament, the Board of Control ,and the Company's Directors (Hawes, 1996, p. 135). The petition, asked Parliament to rule on the legal status of Eurasians as 'British Subjects' but the Company view prevailed and they continued to be 'Natives of India'. According to Frank Anthony, in 1897, the Secretary of State for India, was petitioned by a deputation to recognize and give official recognition to the use of the term 'Anglo-Indian', but refused. After that, Lord Curzon also denied the request for the same designation and the term 'Eurasian' remained in use (Anthony, 1969, p. 2). Finally, in 1911, the then Viceroy Lord Hardinge sanctioned the use of the term Anglo-Indian to describe the community in the census taken in that year (Moreno, 1923).

However, the problem persisted as the community had a 'trinity of status'. Natives of India, for the purpose of employment, European British subjects for defence purposes, and non-Europeans with regard to the British Army. Sir Henry Gidney, leader of the community in India, led a deputation to London in 1925, to petition, the Secretary of State for India, to clarify the political and legal position of Anglo-Indians (Anthony, 1969, p. 97).

It was through the efforts of Gidney that the Government of India Act of 1935 included a definition of the Anglo-Indian community (Anthony, 1969, pp. 104-8). The Constitution of Independent India, which came into effect on January 26, 1950, reproduced that definition, thus Article 366(2) states:

> An 'Anglo-Indian' means a person whose father or any of whose other male progenitors in the male line is or was of European descent but who is domiciled within the territory of India and is or was born within such territory of parents habitually resident therein and not established there for temporary purposes only.

THE COMMUNITY IN ODISHA

The Constitution of India guaranteed the community political representation through nominations in Central and State legislatures. State Legislative Assemblies of twelve states in India nominated Anglo-Indians to their legislatures (Dias, 2019, p. 166). However, Odisha has never nominated an Anglo-Indian to serve in its Legislative Assembly. Dias mentions some states that offered Anglo-Indians seats in professional courses (Dias, 2019, p. 124). The state of Odisha has never extended any support of this nature to the community in Odisha and is also one of the ten states yet to constitute a State Minorities Commission.[1] Even though there has been no representation, community members felt that the state was home, was well governed and peaceful. Around two hundred Anglo-Indian families were living in Odisha until the 1990s. Currently, seventy families live in Bhubaneswar, Cuttack, Jharsguda, Berhampur and the railway town of Khurda Road (KUR), which has the highest number of families.

That there was little known about the community or its existence in Odisha became evident at the Tata Steel Literary Meet, held in February 2023 in Bhubaneswar. Prof. Sashmi Nayak, interviewing Mr Barry O'Brien about his book, paused her interview when she looked into the audience and noticed her teacher Mr Gordon 'Bobby' Barren and her children's teacher Mrs Sonja Maria Benjamin.[2] She asked the audience there to give them both a standing ovation. The audience was quite captivated by the small group of Anglo-Indians, and the media people present there expressed surprise at learning that there were Anglo-Indians still living in Odisha.

According to Lionel Caplan, Anglo-Indians were ‘hardly present at all in histories of modern India’ (Caplan, 2001, p. 6). Alison Blunt also writes that the history of the community has remained a largely ‘hidden history’ (Blunt, 2005, p. 17). Much in the same way, we also noted that the community was hardly ever spoken of or written about in Odisha. In a more significant national context, we found no literature on Odisha's Anglo-Indians. Despite Odisha having been the home for many reputed

[1] See article about this situation: https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/10-states-7-uts-yet-to-constitute-state-minorities-commissions/articleshow/99540658.cms?from=mdr. Accessed on April 17,2023

2 Gordon Barren also taught the second author's daughter at a well-reputed international school, and she feels that Anglo-Indians had a unique teaching style. Sonja Benjamin is also a well-known teacher and the wife of the first author.

Anglo-Indian teachers, there was not much information about the community in any form in the public domain. Therefore as an Anglo-Indian living in Odisha, I needed to write about the community and document the changes that it was going through. Writing about the community in Odisha would inform more people about the existence of the Anglo-Indian community.

METHODOLOGY

We used unstructured interviews, focus groups and house meetings to gather information for this article. House meetings, a technique developed in the 1950s, are deliberative group conversations with six to twelve participants who know each other (Cortes, 2006, pp. 24, 46-57). Such meetings create a space to have a dialogue about issues that matter to a community (Kong, 2010). Our house meetings took place in the homes of our respondents, with at least five different families participating and, on occasion, in the church compound after the English service. We conducted ten house meetings. A focus group discussion is a technique where a researcher assembles a group of individuals to discuss a specific topic, aiming to draw understandings from the complex personal experiences, beliefs, perceptions and attitudes of the participants through a moderated interaction (Morgan, 1996). We used house meetings and focus groups since both methods employ the strategy of group conversation and encourage connection between participants and the telling of stories based on lived experiences.

We had two focus groups of twelve participants each, with participants ranging from 18 to 87 years old. One group comprised Anglo-Indians residing in Odisha; the second was Anglo-Indians originally from Odisha but presently residing in other states or countries. The participation of two Anglo-Indian MLAs (one from a railway town) and one former Member of Parliament in the focus group enriched the discussions and added perspective. In order to tell those stories, we focused on the senior citizens in the focus group and the community. In India, all those aged 60 years and above are considered senior citizens. Our key participants are senior citizens and elders of the community whose narratives and lived experiences are the focus of this article. We also interviewed senior citizens and retired rail workers of other communities who had worked with Anglo-Indians and knew the community.

After three meetings with the focus groups in 2020, there was a sense of direction when one of our participants, who had been born in Odisha (and is now settled in New Zealand), described how happy she was to share stories about her community:

> Sharing stories is what will take us forward. Our children are our future. We must pass on our unique history through stories that preserve our community.

In October 2021, seventy-two Anglo-Indians attended a community meeting organized by the authors on the study's objectives. However, owing to pandemic-related fears, several seniors could not attend. In December 2021, we met a number of seniors at a Christmas Tree event for children. Following this, there were follow-up meetings at social gatherings and community functions. Where there are direct quotes from the participants, to protect their identity we have not used their names, although we include brief biographical details for context.

Though our participants shared stories of incidents which reflected how the local populace viewed them, the work ethic of the community members and their willingness to stand up for their principles, most of their narratives always veered towards the railways which highlights the important role it played in their lives. The next section deals with the genesis of the relationship between the Anglo-Indians and the railways that came into being. The sections that follow include memories of the lives they had lived, tales of the railways, the railway colony, the railway Institute, their homes, and the changes in the community.

THE RAILWAYS AND THE ANGLO-INDIANS

The Directors of the East India Company, in 1844, had thought that the construction of railways was a doubtful venture because of climatic difficulties, want of qualified engineers and doubts about financial success. They knew that caste scruples could deter Hindus from using the railways, which could create a financial loss. However, Lord Dalhousie, Governor General (1848-56), impressed upon them that there was a great need for railways and that there were advantages which would accrue from them (Abel, 1988, p. 32).

When the British set out on the herculean task of constructing a railway network in India, they needed people who could take up the challenge of building it. England had

its share of problems with the Crimean War and other internal problems, so finding Englishmen to take up the task in India was not feasible. Most Indians did not take favourably to the then innovations by the government. They regarded the railways and other means of transport, like steamship navigation, as a direct threat to their caste and religion (Abel, 1988, p. 31).

Anjali Gera Roy mentions Gandhi's observation that with the railways coming, “the holy places of India have become unholy” (Gera Roy, 2021, p. 25). Educated Indians would not have worked for the meagre wages on offer for this work, so Anglo-Indians stepped in to fill that gap, as: "He knew the country; he had been born and bred in it; he knew the people, he conversed with them in their own languages. The Anglo-Indians braved the heat, the swamps and the jungles and took up the challenge" (Maher, 1962, p. 157). The Anglo-Indians found that their supposed technical adaptability, physical hardiness and ability to deal with the local workforce as supervisors (for example, they spoke the local languages) were more sought after by the British firms involved in this work than men from Britain or any other Indians (Muthiah & MacLure, 2013, p. 37).

According to Gaikwad, young Anglo-Indians left their classrooms to join the railways at a very early age. A retired Divisional Mechanical Engineer we interviewed remarked how one of his non-Anglo-Indian batch mates, while discussing the ties of the Anglo–Indians to the railways, commented, 'From the fourth form to the platform'. Apart from the availability of jobs, Gaikwad attributes this to a unique social custom among Anglo-Indians: As parents did not provide for the expenses of their children's marriages, nor were they expected to, boys preferred to leave school early to earn and start a family (Gaikwad, 1967, p. 148).

Bear writes that Bengali railway workers and middle-class Bengalis were united in their assertions that Anglo-Indians were *tash*, a term applied equally to Indian Christians and Anglo-Indians that suggests that they are low-class, too Anglicized, rootless, sexually disreputable, and cheap imitations (Bear, 2007, p. 11). Discussions with several Bengali railway families in Khurda Road Junction regarding Bengali sentiments about Anglo-Indians revealed that such thoughts had never crossed their minds. They have Anglo-Indian neighbours and have never thought of them as *tash*.

Their children have Anglo-Indian teachers whom they respect very much. They put it down to those respondents being either extremely orthodox or *'Bahaar ke log*' (outsiders), who have not imbibed the railway ethos. They mentioned how even in Bengal, many 'Bengalis' still refer to migrants from East Pakistan as 'Bangladeshis', aliens who search for a *desh* (village home) and often treat them as ‘others’.

Our study found that looking down on others as polluted does not fit into the railway ethos in Odisha. Like the Bengali rail workers we interviewed, there was another local (Male, Hindu, Railwayman, b.1948) who told us of how locomotive assistant Panda (who was Brahmin by caste) used to eat out of the same plate and drink out of the same cup as his Anglo-Indian driver (we confirmed this story while interviewing the driver). If a high caste Hindu could do that, this would, in this instance at least, dispel the notion of Anglo-Indians as 'polluted'.

A remarkable incident of railway solidarity transcending the barriers of religion, community or regionalism occurred when some thugs, at the behest of their political masters, surrounded railway driver Samad (a Muslim man), Anglo-Indian firemen John Dickson and Mervyn Benjamin. The short, sturdy, but fearless Samad gave the call, 'Stand back to back'. Outnumbered against an armed group of enforcers, John Dickson (Male, Anglo-Indian Railwayman, b.1938), one of the last surviving members of the trio, remembers a familiar voice shouting something in Oriya, which made the attackers hesitate. It was Dickson's Hindu second fireman and later union leader Panda, standing against members of his community in support of a Muslim and two Anglo-Indians. Panda's words, loosely translated, 'the first man to touch the sahibs will not have a hand before this day is out'.

The railway colony's local Odiya population have consistently admired and respected their Anglo-Indian co-workers and community members. Mrs Olga Littlewood, Founder, and retired Principal of one of the largest schools in the state, passed away in her son's railway unit, a building that housed five other families. Her sons in Australia wanted to travel to India to pay their respects, so they requested that her last rites be kept on hold till they reached India.

The state had no funeral parlours, so the body had to be preserved on ice and kept at home. Keeping the body came with its problems because Hindus have to follow certain customs when there is a death. The deceased usually is not kept for more than a few hours, but in this case, the body was kept for six days, affecting the cooking of food and the Hindu households' daily *puja* (prayer) rituals. Despite the inconvenience of living with a dead body in the building, not a single family in the unit and locality objected to having the body in the building for such a long time.

ANGLO-INDIAN RAILWAYMEN

The Anglo-Indian railwaymen, especially the drivers, are still thought of very highly in Odisha. At a dinner attended by the authors they met an elderly railwayman (Male, Hindu, Railwayman, b.1945) who spoke highly of his Anglo-Indian driver, whom he accompanied on a gruelling trip from Khurda Road to Jamalpur workshop while taking a steam locomotive for repairs. It was a hard week of heat, long halts and physical labour, but his driver had made a lasting impression even after three decades. He remarked, 'Waah! Kya aadmi tha!' [What a man!] In the words of an elderly taxi driver, 'Sahab log toh engine ko shobhha dete te' [the Anglo-Indian drivers of old added splendour to the engine] (Male, Muslim, Taxi Operator, b.1942).

The Anglo-Indian railwaymen could also hold their own when they had to and did not worry about the consequences when they felt it was a matter of principle, as this story testifies:

> The Anglo-Indian driver was about to start his train on another platform when he heard that his wife and son were being denied their reservation on the Puri Express. He rushed to their aid. Soon the Station Master, Loco Foreman and Head Ticket Collector and Railway Protection Force were all in attendance. They threatened the driver with action and begged him to relent. 'My train will not leave the station till my family is on this train', he said. Just then, in an astonishing display of solidarity with a fellow railwayman, there was another message, this time from the non-Anglo-Indian driver of Puri Express, 'Sahab bola hain Puri Express bhi nahi chalegi jab thak baccha ko berth nahi milega' [The driver says that this train will also not leave till the child gets his berth]. Khurda Road Junction had come to a standstill! No trains in, no trains out! Berths were allotted immediately! (Male, Muslim, Railwayman, b.1951)

Male railwaymen spoke about how their work began before their trip began. They had to wash and clean the steam engine and then rub her down with jute or cloth till she

was spotless. Driver John Blanche would don a white cotton glove and run it along the cabin area to check for coal dust. If it were still dusty, the cleaning would recommence. Most had been firemen before becoming drivers, and they remember that shovelling coal as a fireman was not just about strength but skill. As one participant told us, “You had to be able to stand the heat of the firebox and make sure the coal was spread as evenly as possible, and the late Mervyn ‘Sonnu’ Benjamin was an expert at this” (Male, Anglo-Indian, Railwayman, b. 1938).

While the rail workers respected authority, the drivers stood no nonsense even from the officers. Driver Hector Blanche would challenge the officer to identify himself before allowing him to board the engine. Some of the younger Anglo-Indian drivers who idolized the senior Anglo-Indian drivers were also particular about etiquette, as one officer found out:

> The signal was green. The Anglo-Indian driver had just got the train rolling out of Bhubaneswar Railway Station when he heard somebody getting onto the engine. ‘Who are you?’ asked he. ‘I am an officer’ said the man. 'You should have taken my permission before boarding my engine’, growled the railwayman menacingly. The other missed the tone in the voice and, in the blink of an eye, found himself being lowered unto the platform by a wiry arm as the train kept rolling. Once again, he yelled, 'What are you doing? I am an Officer.' The voice from the cabin door answered, 'Yes, sir! But not a gentleman!' (Male, Anglo-Indian Railwayman b. 1940)

Anglo-Indians may have benefitted from preferential recruitment policies; however, some, like Mr V. Anand, former General Manager of Southern Railways, said in his article titled, ‘Anglo Indians Contributions to Indian Railways’, that the Anglo-Indians undoubtedly made the Indian railways what it is now. Their contribution to the development of the Indian Railways was immense. (Anand, 2003)

Article 338(3) of the Constitution had ensured the continuation of job reservations for the community in the Railways, Customs and Post Telegraphs Department, but this preferential recruitment was due to cease in 1960. The lack of access to railway jobs meant the number of Anglo-Indians on the railways dwindled, and the community in Khurda Road, Orissa, lost its most important spaces - the Railway Colony and the South West Institute (SWI).

THE RAILWAY COLONY

The railway life was alluring because the railway also offered housing in the railway colony, separated from other communities, with plentiful opportunities for recreation in the railway institute (the South West Institute, in this case). Thus close-knit communities with shared interests and pursuits were created. As Moss et al. found in their study of Kharagpur, houses and lanes in the railway colony once defined social and racial relations. Non-Anglo-Indians could only use the back roads and rear entrances, as one of our study participants stated:

> Nobody dared enter the colony except to deliver milk or some other items. Even the 'Call Boy' (who called the drivers and guards on duty) could only use the rear entrance. (Female, Anglo-Indian, Railway woman, b.1941).

> Dad was transferred from Kharagpur to Khurda Road in 1957. In those days, other communities lived in the ‘Loco Lines’. Guard, driver, inspector, it did not matter; they did not live in the Railway Colony. It was only for Anglo-Indians (Male, Anglo-Indian, Railwayman, b.1944).

The older generation among the local populace still remembers the names of the families that once inhabited the colony. Many have fond memories of the lovable sahibs and their relationships as colleagues while working on the railways.

> Outside the railway station, there were only Anglo-Indian homes. The Trinidads lived here (now the Officer’s Rest House and Conference Hall). Crowds of young Anglo-Indian boys and girls would gather in the open space here for games of foot tennis or to have fun. Barren, Culpepper, Unger, Thomas, Blanche, Trinidad, Augustine, Feegrade, Lovery, William, Betreen and many more families lived here. (Male, Muslim, Railwayman, b.1946)

Gaikwad mentions how gardening was a common hobby with Anglo-Indians and how gardens were a regular feature of Anglo-Indian houses and clubs (Gaikwad, 1967, p. 157). Similarly, Moss et al. also mentions how Kharagpur residents reminisced, with great pride, about the prevalence of beautiful, well-kept gardens in the compounds of the houses in the colony (Moss & Chakraborty, 2021). Residents of the railway colony in Odisha remember the colony much the same way.

> In those days, there were no electric lights, only gas lamps, but the streets were beautifully lit. Cleaning would begin in October. The roads would be cleaned, bushes trimmed, and the houses whitewashed. The IOW Department (Inspector of Works) did a fine job maintaining the place. Everything was spic and span! (Male, Anglo-Indian, Railway Contractor, b.1934)

Although our respondents spoke of how things had changed, none felt displaced by moving out from the colony. They had retired, so they had moved on to their own homes, which they had purchased from their retirement funds or, in some cases, to their ancestral homes left to them by their family members. Though they cherish the memories of their past, of friends who had passed away or moved on, they expressed no discontent about moving out from the colony.

THE RAILWAY INSTITUTE

The cultural hub was the Railway Institute of Khurda Road, but Anglo-Indians from other parts of Odisha would also congregate there for festivities; for example, families living in Bhubaneswar, Cuttack, Berhampur, Jharsguda, and Balasore would travel to participate in the festivities and celebrations. On special occasions and for significant events, westernized and well-to-do Indians and a Maharajah or two would also join in the festivities. A local businessman from Cuttack told us:

> Those were the great days of the Anglo-Indian community! My uncle was a contractor on the Bengal Nagpur Railway (BNR) and was very westernized. He used to sponsor a gold medal for the best dancing couple at the 31st December Dance at the Railway Institute at Khurda Road. All the top officials and business people would drive down to attend. (Male, Hindu Businessman, b.1935)

The Anglo-Indians we spoke to also had memories of the erstwhile capital of Odisha, Cuttack. There is a riveting account of a discussion between an Anglo-Indian and a rajah:

> Cuttack had dances too, and many high society people, westernized Hindus, would attend the dances. My brother Bas had a run-in with a maharajah. The maharajah had set his eyes on a young lass who had taken a fancy for my handsome brother. He walked across the hall in his neatly cut sharkskin coat and said, ‘Bas, I have a bone to pick with you!’. Bas replied, ‘Let’s step outside and pick it clean’. (Female, Anglo-Indian, Retired Teacher, b. 1941)

The South West Institute, or SWI (earlier known as the European Institute), was the hub for all social activities for the community members (the other railway Institute was the 'Indian Institute' for members of the other communities). The Institute had its own bowling green, bar, grand piano, tennis courts, badminton court, billiard table and a beautiful wooden dance floor. Bridge, billiards, and *whist drive* (social event where

whist, a classic English trick-taking card game was played) were popular ways to relax in those days:

> I remember Joe Doll and myself playing bridge against Jossy Lovery and Wadiyar. In the billiard room, the prize for winning a game was Ghantia (a fried snack) and tea. Yes, the Institute was the centre of our life as we knew it then! (Male, Anglo-Indian, Retired Railwayman, b. 1940)

Moss et al. comment on the centrality of the railway institute to social life and the functioning of the community in Kharagpur (Moss & Chakraborty, 2021). It was the same in Khurda Road. However, the link to the Institute remains powerful here because it was not just for socializing.

All the seniors had their wedding receptions there. It was thus not only for recreation but was a symbol of the very beginning of the families who lived in the town. It is no wonder that the community continues to feel its loss even today:

> All our wedding receptions took place at the Institute. Many people have gone now, but our memories of them in the SWI remain. It remains the most essential part of our community life as youngsters. (Female, Anglo-Indian, Retired Teacher, b.1948)

Our respondents still had memories of the Railway Institute library and how it offered a wide variety of reading, unlike the institutes of Gaikwad's study, where reading was mainly crime and detective novels (Gaikwad, 1967, p. 157).

In earlier times, the South West Institute committee had only Anglo-Indians, who brooked no interference. A retired railwayman told us how in the early seventies, a non-Anglo-Indian officer decided that lower-grade Anglo-Indian rail workers should be allowed to use only the East Institute or Indian Institute. The Anglo-Indian committee disagreed and threatened to resign en masse should that order ever be implemented. It was a sign of the close bond a well-knit community shared and would remain its hallmark for generations.

Our interviewees, have memories of couples dressed in their best attire, dancing the waltz and the fox trot on the teakwood dance floor of the railway institute. Sherlock (Anglo-Indian b.1955), John (Anglo-Indian b.1952) and Frodo (Anglo-Indian b.1953) laugh when asked how many families attended the functions*. 'The hall was crowded! There was no place on the floor to dance,'* they replied.

The Railways took back control of the Institute around 2011. With just a few Anglo-Indian railway employees left on the committee, the community lacked the numbers to form the committee. It could not prevent control being taken away by the railways. SWI, Khurda Road was arguably the last Anglo-Indian Institute to close. Gaikwad mentions how Anglo-Indians of Jhansi and Bilaspur believed that the railway authorities did not want their Senior Institute (formerly European Institute) to exist because it was patronized mainly by Anglo-Indians. The community in Odisha believes that the officers wanted the antique billiard table and took over the Institute solely for this purpose. This heritage building is now an office for the Railway Protection Force (RPF), which uses the ground floor rather than the upper floor that has the dance floor (almost destroyed now). Elderly Anglo-Indians commented on how the building stands dark and silent at the end of the working day, a stark reminder of what it once was.

Another reason for the lack of regular social events nowadays is the need for a community hall to call its own. Hiring a hall is possible only on special occasions. Earlier, the community came together to celebrate regularly. However, this happens only on special occasions like Easter and Christmas, so the community is no longer in the habit of getting together. Dwindling numbers owing to deaths and migration to cities, coupled with long working hours and professional commitments, also contribute to low attendance at functions. Due to low interest in attending, the Christmas festivities, and the New Year's Eve dance in 2022, had to be cancelled.

In the railway colony of old, every house had a gramophone or a guitar, piano accordion or a saxophone, and there was a lot of dancing and music. Seniors remember house parties and jam sessions, organized by Mrs Dorothy 'Dolly' Feegrade and Ann Lovery, in their homes, which Anglo-Indians and their Westernized Hindu friends attended. Once known for its dancing abilities, the community has now apparently hung up its dancing shoes. The organizers of a dance told us, *'Nobody dances anymore'*. In his study, Gaikwad noted the preference among youngsters in the sixties for rock and roll (Gaikwad, 1967, p. 152). Moss et al. note how the preference for contemporary English and Hindi music often excludes the older generation from participating (Moss & Chakraborty, 2021). The community in Odisha experiences a similar situation. Children once learnt to dance by attending dances

where they observed, practised and picked up the traditional slow dances, such as the fox trot and waltz, before moving on to other dances. With dancing becoming a forgotten tradition, the hustle, Charleston, cha cha, jive, jitterbug, waltz and foxtrot are not practised or passed on to the next generation.

For a community that once prided itself on its musicians, only a few youngsters now play musical instruments.[3] There is no conscious effort to form a band or come together as a choir at Church, and only one family sings for the church services.

BEYOND THE RAILWAY COLONY-HOME

Meghan Mills, writing on the myth of location and migration, mentions Rex's reference to two ethnic experiences of importance in many an ethnohistory: the claim to territory and the experience of migration (Mills, 1998, p. 374). Gera Roy's article on Kharagpur deals with the first experience (Gera Roy, 2021). Andrews addresses the second in her article on Asansol (Andrews, 2021).

Kuntala Lahiri-Dutt, writes, "The late 1920s and 30s were a period of great uncertainly for the Anglo-Indians – a period of self-questioning and realignment of loyalties because the community had realized that in spite of its dedication to the ruling colonial power, they were going to be un-ceremonially discarded by the British. The Anglo-Indians pushed into a deep crisis of belonging, began to feel more insecure than ever and tried to use their collective energies to form a homeland that would reassert their separate identity within the Indian territorial mass" (Lahiri-Dutt, 1990, p. 57). Gera Roy mentions how Anglo-Indians are a community without an originary home in its traditional Indian meanings. E.T. McCluskie dreamt of a homeland for Anglo-Indians where they could identify with the land and each other as community members. To make this a reality, McCluskie leased 10,000 acres near Lapra station in Ranchi district from the Raja of Ratu to make that dream a reality. Gera Roy quotes McCluskie, "Every Indian, whatever his station in life, can proudly say he has a piece of land and a hut, which he calls by the sweet word "Home" but alas, we who are bred and born in this country cannot say we have a home" (Gera Roy, 2021, p. 22)

3 Anglo-Indian bands used to play at events and private parties hosted by westernized English music lovers, in the twin cities of Bhubaneswar and Cuttack.

Anglo-Indians rarely owned land or homes because, as Valerie Anderson mentions, the 1790s ban on land ownership and rights of residence for Europeans and Eurasians hit Eurasians hard. “Europeans could always return to Europe to buy property, whereas Eurasians born and bred in India, and rarely as wealthy, were unlikely ever to do so.” (Anderson, 2011, p. 42). Perhaps this was done with the intent to urbanize the European and Eurasian population, but it only made it harder for the mixed-race community to purchase land. Later on, even though the ban was lifted, most Anglo-Indians could not afford to buy land owing to their meagre financial resources or the transferable nature of their jobs.

Alison Blunt also writes that, “Colonization and settlement at McCluskieganj enacted the homing desire of many Anglo-Indians who imagined themselves to be living in an imperial diaspora and sought to create, rather than return to a homeland” (Blunt, 2005, p. 103).

Gera Roy echoes Blunt by writing that McCluskie’s vision, and its execution, was born out of a desire for a *muluk* (homeland) or *desh* attached to birthplace. McCluskie did, however, make it clear that there was ‘no question of domiciliary rights; we belong to India and India to us’ (O’Brien, 2022, p. 32715). More recently, in February 2023, at the Tata Steel Bhubaneswar Literary Meet in Bhubaneswar, Mr Barry O'Brien, President-in-chief of the All India Anglo-Indian Association, wondered aloud, 'What if we had our own small state like Sikkim or Goa?' He smartly added a rider, 'with the initial infrastructure built by the government'.

Like McCluskie, and now O'Brien, so many 'Indian' groups across the country are raising the demand for statehood primarily based on language, culture, ethnicity, and religion. At the beginning of the 21st century, India witnessed the creation of three new states - Chhattisgarh, Uttarakhand and Jharkhand. There are groups across the country trying to forge new homelands like Khalistan in Punjab for the Sikhs, and there is a demand for a Koshal state in western Odisha. The Bodoland demand in Assam and the recent bifurcation of Andhra Pradesh into Telangana is evidence enough to suggest that not just Anglo-Indians but Indians of all castes, creeds and ethnicities are

constantly in search of a politically and geographically distinct *muluk* or *desh* for their particular group.

Laura Bear writes that Bengali railway workers complained that the problem with Anglo-Indians was that they had no *desh* and no country of origin (Bear, 2007, p. 11). However, Anglo-Indians are clear about their originary home because India is their home, for did they not come to be as an ethnic group *in* India? Our respondents are unanimous when they say, *"for Nationality, we always write Indian"*, and an Anglo-Indian never claims regional ethnic affiliation.

Blunt mentions that in the 1930s, community members initially identified themselves as belonging to a British fatherland and an Indian motherland. However, in a second phase up to and after Independence, Anglo-Indians leaders like Gidney and Anthony sought to bolster a national identification with India as a motherland. She mentions Maher writing in 1939, of generational differences where the older generation called England home, while the middle-aged realised that it was out of their reach but that the younger generation "feels India to be his homeland, is proud of her and loves her" (Blunt, 2005, p. 46) In 2006 (the year of Gera Roy's study), Anglo-Indians might have come across as 'not at home', but there is ample evidence, in 2023, that Anglo-Indians in Odisha have no such feelings of Britain as home and do not struggle to make themselves at home in the post-colonial Indian space.

Meghan Mills talks about the "tiresome" popular designation of the hybrid Anglo-Indians as a people of no fixed cultural address, which overlooks the reality of a community whose very roots remain in India. Through the course of colonialism, Anglo-Indian's attachment to India was far deeper than various long-serving Britishers could ever hope to be (Mills, 1998, p. 374). In the words of Frank Anthony, "The community is Indian. It has always been Indian. Above all, it has an inalienable Indian birthright" (Anthony, 1942). Mills also comments that the non-membership ascribed to Anglo-Indians is not duplicated in reference to Parsis, Armenians, Jews, the Chinese or Tibetans in India.

To quote Mills once again: "The methods of oral history force attention to the irregular yet normal factors of Indian colonial and post-colonial environments. The notion is

quickly dispelled of a psychically 'stateless' Anglo-Indian people, towards the realization of the Anglo-Indians' confirmed attachments to specific places in India, and when anthropology's gift of fieldwork is applied in investigations of the Anglo-Indian community, a very different analysis emerges of the community's character through time" (Mills, 1998, p. 372). The oral narratives of our respondents reveal that they definitely do not feel stateless and are very much at home. As one of our interviewees put it:

> We had a chance to leave. My mother's sister left with her family for England, but my dad said, 'In India, I was born, and in India, I will remain'. We are born here, and we will die here. (Female, Anglo-Indian, Teacher, b.1941)

Thus, India is home, the country of birth, marriage and death. The Anglo-Indians we interviewed made many statements in support of this, such as: 'Our bones must lie here in our hometown', or 'You must come home to die'. A retired gentleman had sold his land and left to live with his sons in another city. When he died, his family buried him there, and the conversation was about how he would have wanted to be buried here ("at home").

A woman who had travelled from Hyderabad, where she now lived, to be beside her husband's grave at the All Soul's Day service for the dead, returned because this was home, where her husband was buried and where she, too, hoped to be laid to rest one day. When a young man working in Bangalore passed away, his family, at great personal expense, brought his body back to his hometown to bury him in his grandmother's grave. Community members here are unanimous that India is home to the very end, and the thought of any other home has never crossed their minds.

In her study of Anglo-Indians in Asansol, Andrews raises an interesting question of whether Anglo-Indians were 'buying into' the nation by purchasing homes and whether they were increasingly thinking of themselves as citizens of India. She mentions that Anglo-Indians began to buy flats, or apartments from the late 1990s but our respondents told us that there was an Anglo-Indian colony outside the railway colony with families who owned their own homes even before Independence. Those who retired from the railways have bought homes, and even the younger generation, have invested in their own homes, which reflects their sense of belief in a settled and

continuing existence in the land of their birth, unlike, perhaps their counterparts in more cosmopolitan settings.

This is also quite unlike some Indian communities like the Telugu Jews who came to Telangana and Amravati around 300 years ago and settled in the Guntur and Krishna district. They believe that they are one of the lost tribes of Israel and cannot wait to go 'home'. None of them own houses.[4]

A HOME WITH A NAME

Like Rose Deane of Gera Roy's Kharagpur, most residences have names like Minstead, Mon Repos, Rose Cottage, Fearnleas Palace and many other quaint European names. Many buildings outside the railway colony remain, but their names have been lost to the ravages of time and failing memories. Our seniors, for example, spent some time in a focus group reminiscing and trying to remember Rose Cottage and who owned it. The next generation is showing signs of following the naming tradition, and one can spot an Arl Villa, Daph Villa, Barren House, Kimmel House and Uncle Tom's Cabin.

> Where the railway land ended, more Anglo-Indians lived: Callahan's (they had a beautiful marble table outside their front door), Littlewoods (now the BSNL Telephone Office), Fernandez, Francis, Martins, Ambrose, Thomas, Granny Moses and the Lovery's. Then there was the 'White House of Odisha' or Fearnleas Palace, with a frontal view like the US White House, owned by the Fernandez family. The road was lined with Anglo-Indian homes. (Male, Anglo-Indian Retired Teacher, b.1952)

The Fernandez home, Fearnleas Palace, housed on a big plot of land with exquisite French windows, manicured lawns, gardens, a fountain and a driveway, sadly no longer stands (a local developer built a tutoring centre). The home of the anglicized Muslim toastmaster of many Anglo-Indian weddings, Mr Wahab, is another structure that stands silent and decaying.[5]

4 Andhra Jews keep their chin up despite the long wait to go 'home' (2023, March 20). The Hindu. https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/andhra-pradesh/andhra-jews- keep-their-chin-up-despite-the-long-wait-to-go-home/article66537674.ece. Accessed on March 18,2023.

5 Mr Wahab was not Anglo-Indian but lived like one and was accepted as one. He was a toastmaster at several Anglo- Indian weddings. There was once a pillar near his house with the words E. P. Dennison and Shyam, marking a partnership venture between the two. The pillar was at the beginning of a pathway, and the area became known as Shyam's Gate. Shyam is rumoured to have swindled Dennison, and the business failed.

Both the stately homes of the Hardy family still stand. A member of the local population has claimed one and the second with the Church of St. John in the Wilderness, just behind it, with its once beautiful sun porch, now lies covered in vegetation and mud. The land now houses a temple on one side and a market complex on the other.

Another retired railway officer celebrating his sixtieth wedding anniversary in May 2023 said he could go to his brother in the U.K. or his son in Australia and celebrate his Diamond Jubilee. However, it would not be the same because he had been married here, and celebrations 'at home' would be extra special.

In the last four and a half decades, a large number of families have left Odisha for work-related opportunities in other Indian states, and only three families from the state, have emigrated for ‘better opportunities’ (as they put it) thus dispelling the notion that all people are looking for another home. From the findings of this research, we argue that the terms ‘*udbastu’* (uprooted) and 'not at home' do not apply to the community here. The railway colony may have been a temporary home, but it hardly mattered because this community could call the whole of India home. The current generation is comfortable with who they are and where they belong.

Caplan mentions how the issue of emigration looms large in the consciousness of Anglo-Indians in Madras city (Caplan, 2001, p. 134). In contrast, speaking to four families of seniors, who had been on vacation to England to visit their relatives, we were told that England might be an excellent place to visit but India was home. All four families were unanimous that they had never considered staying back in England. Another slightly younger man told us how he had used his family papers to go to England, but when he went there, he felt that India was more his home. This display of strong ties to India indicates a robust sense of citizenship and belonging of Anglo-Indians in Odisha, which may well differ from those in more cosmopolitan areas. In all our discussions, the participants reiterate that they are content with their lives despite social and cultural changes.

CHANGES

Our participants unanimously believed that the younger generation has lost out due to decreased social interaction and that they need to learn about the community's

traditions. Old photographs of birthdays show how the socializing patterns of the younger generation had also changed:

> When we were children, every family knew when someone's birthday was coming up, and we would get all excited, probably as much as the birthday boy or girl. Those were not the days of theme parties and goody bags, but the cake and a 'khoi' bag (piñata) filled with coins, whistles, balloons and small toys were good enough for us. Games like pinning the donkey's tail, musical chairs, treasure hunt and crossing the River Jordan kept us busy and happy. It was an unwritten rule that nobody would be left out, teenagers included (Male, Anglo-Indian, Retired Railwayman, b. 1953).

Unlike earlier, the current trend among Anglo-Indian families, is to celebrate their children's birthdays only with their classmates and school friends (non Anglo-Indians). Anglo-Indian children are often left out because they don't fit into a particular category. 'It is a girl's party', 'Only for kids below ten', or 'Only for family'. This change reduced socializing among the younger generation of Anglo-Indians so instead of sowing the seeds of friendship and camaraderie, the children were kept away from other children in their community, thus ensuring that there was limited bonding which bodes ill for the community's future.

Many age-old practices have changed; for example, our respondents spoke of how the church bells used to toll when somebody died, the news would spread of where the death had occurred, and the community would gather to condole the bereaved family. Community members took over the home, and the family would never be without company, for many would stay on to keep 'the night watch' with them.

Peter and Paul have been 'dressing' coffins (using cloth and foam to give the coffin a better appearance) for the last forty years and wonder who will do it after them. Strong young men were always around to shoulder the coffin to the hearse (a two-wheeled wooden carriage), which had to be pulled to the Church and back to the cemetery after the church service.

The motorized hearse must be called for because nobody knows who will do the duty as the attendance at funerals is not what it used to be. Most of our respondents feel that the old traditions have broken down though some are of the opinion that it is not easy for community members to get the day off to attend a funeral, as times have

changed. A discussion at a house meeting revealed how only two people were in attendance for the funeral of the late Mr Lawrence in 2021, while there were very few people present for the funeral of Mr Quentin Mullinex. For the funeral of a senior, Mrs Dawson, there was nobody to help dress the coffin.[6] The coffin had to be carried into Church by ladies because no gentlemen were present. (Male, Anglo-Indian, Real Estate Agent, b.1959)

CONCLUSION

The community in Odisha appears to be losing members at an alarming rate, with eight deaths in the last six months. What emerges is that the Railways have been an integral part of the community and its social life. With only two community members left working on the railways, the community lost the railway institute, severely impacting social interaction and cultural life. Because the community has no hall to congregate in, there is limited opportunity to meet, talk, and bond. Interaction or socializing is limited to extended family or small groups of relations, which has impacted the sense of community. There are also marked social and cultural changes in this once close-knit community.

There were high levels of social interaction earlier, but that practice has disappeared as even youngsters prefer to stay at home and do not socialize with each other. What is clear, though, is that the community in Odisha considers the state and India home and will live out their lives here though the younger generation may move out for a better quality of life and other opportunities. Anglo-Indians in Odisha, have essentially forged an Indian identity, though they aspire to remain distinct through the tales and memories of the past generations. Future research may productively explore whether the limited social interaction between community members has impacted their health and mental well-being.

6 The Christian Burial Society provides its members with a bare plywood coffin. Dressing the coffin would mean adding foam on the inside with white satin. The outside of the coffin is then covered with black satin to give the coffin a better look.

Lyndon D. Thomas *is a PhD student and research scholar in the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, at Siksha 'O' Anusandhan University, Bhubaneswar. He heads the Training Department at a prestigious engineering college in Odisha and has also taught Communication and English, as a guest faculty and trainer at premier institutions in Odisha, including the Xavier Law School and Xavier School of Sustainability of Xavier University Bhubaneswar (now XIM University).He is currently working on his thesis titled 'The Anglo-Indian Community of Odisha-Tales and Memories'. He can be contacted at asher.thomas09@gmail.com*

Dr Sthitaprajna *is an Associate Professor in the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, at Siksha 'O' Anusandhan University, Bhubaneswar. Her areas of research include gender studies, literary theories, comparative religion and theology and Sanskrit poetics. Besides her collection of short stories for children entitled Stories that Stir and her books Parables of Jesus and Buddha, Speak and Write Well: Communicative English for Everyday Use, and Poetics: East and West, her articles have been published in various journals. An accomplished Odissi dancer, she has performed internationally. She can be reached at sthitaprajna@soa.ac.in*

REFERENCES

Abel, E. (1988). *The Anglo-Indian Community: Survival in India*. Chanakya Publications

Anand, V. (2003). Anglo-Indians' Contributions to Indian Railways. *The Indian Railways Fan Club*.

Anderson, V. E. R. (2011). *The Eurasian Problem in Nineteenth-Century India* SOAS (School of Oriental and African Studies).

Andrews, R. (2021). Asansol Anglo-Indians: Buying into the Nation? In R. Andrews & A. Gera Roy (Eds.), *Beyond the Metros: Anglo-Indians in India's Small Towns and Cities*. Primus Books.

Andrews, R., & Gera Roy, A. (Eds.). (2021). *Beyond the Metros, Anglo-Indians in India's Smaller Towns and Cities.* Primus Books.

Anthony, F. (1942). *Annual General Meeting (AGM), Bombay Branch of All India Anglo-Indian Association (AIAIA)*.

Anthony, F. (1969). *Britain's Betrayal in India*. Allied Publishers.

Bear, L. (2007). *Lines of the Nation: Indian railway workers, bureaucracy, and the intimate historical self*. Columbia University Press.

Blunt, A. (2005). *Domicile and Diaspora: Anglo-Indian women and the spatial politics of home*. Blackwell.

Caplan, L. (2001). *Children of Colonialism: Anglo-Indians in a Post-Colonial World*. Berg.

Cortes, E. (2006). Towards a Democratic Culture. *Kettering Review*.

Dias, C. (2019). *The Anglo-Indians and Their Future*. Pranatha Books.

Gaikwad, V. S. R. R. (1967). *The Anglo-Indians: A Study in the Problems and Processes Involved in Emotional and Cultural Integration*. Asia Publishing House.

Gera Roy, A. (2021). Kharagpur: The Remembered Railway Town of Anglo-Indian Memory. In R. Andrews & A. Gera Roy (Eds.), *Beyond the Metros: Anglo-Indians in India's Smaller Towns and Cities*. Primus

Hawes, C. (1996). *Poor Relations: The Making of a Eurasian Community in British India 1773-1833*. Curzon Press.

Kong, L. J. (2010). Immigration, racial profiling, and white privilege: Community-based challenges and practices for adult educators. *Adult Education Research Conference.*

Lahiri-Dutt, K. L. (1990). *In Search of a Homeland: Anglo-Indians and McCluskiegunge*. Minerva.

Maher, R. (1962). *These are the Anglo-Indians*. Sona Printers.

Mills, M. (1998). *Ethnic Myth and Ethnic Survival: The Case of India's Anglo-Indian (Eurasian) Minority* York University].

Moreno, H. W. (1923). *Some Anglo-Indian Terms and Origins. Proceedings of the Indian Historical Commission*.

Morgan, D. L. (1996). Focus Groups. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *22*, 129–152.

Moss, C., & Chakraborty, A. (2021). Past and Present, Mapping the Anglo Indian Journey in Kharagpur. In R. Andrews & A. Gera Roy (Eds.), *Beyond the Metros: Anglo-Indians in India's Smaller Towns and Cities*. Primus.

Muthiah, S., & MacLure, H. (2013). *The Anglo-Indians: A 500-Year History*. Niyogi Books.

O'Brien, B. (2022). *The Anglo-Indians: A Portrait of a Community*. Aleph.

Otto, B. H. (2015). Navigating Race and National Identity For Anglo-Indians in the Struggle for Rights and Recognition in Colonial Calcutta, 1821-1830. *International Journal of Anglo-Indian Studies*, *15*(1), 13-33. http://www.international-journal-of-anglo-indian-studies.org/index.php/IJAIS/issue/view/2

International Journal of Anglo-Indian Studies

BOOK REVIEW: *ANGLO-INDIA AND THE END OF EMPIRE*

Anjana Banerjee

Charlton-Stevens, Uther (2022). *Anglo-India and the End of Empire*. London: Hurst Publishers / New York: Oxford University Press. 387 pages.

Uther Charlton-Stevens' new book is a vivid and stimulating account of the British empire's dramatic disintegration viewed through the complex perspectives of the Anglo-Indian community. The title emphasises his focus: the foregrounding of this mixed group's evolving concerns about *identity* (collective and individual) and *home* (physical and imaginative) in the context of changing relations between the coloniser and the colonised in the later phase of the British Raj. The historian analyses in detail the hitherto largely neglected role played by these historically 'marginalised' offspring of mixed British/European and Indian alliances in the years before, during and after the two World Wars. In his own words, "racial passing, crossing boundaries and reformulations of identity – usually as a means to elevate the individual or the collective – are persistent themes of the history presented here … in constant tension with this book's predominant narrative - the efforts of the political and intellectual leadership of the mixed-race group to foster internal group solidarity and to forge their claimed constituents into a self-consciously confident and politically unified whole" (p. 9).

At the outset Charlton-Stevens clarifies that since the histories of Anglo-Indians written so far have primarily focused on the origins and formation of this community through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, he aims to bring the story of 'Anglo-India' towards a conclusion vis-a-vis the sudden post-war collapse of the empire and abrupt British departure. The book, in this sense, takes off from Charlton-Stevens' first one – *Anglo-Indians and Minority Politics in South Asia* – to specifically focus on the story of

'Anglo-India' and Anglo-Indians within the wider context of the emerging forces of Indian decolonization through the first four decades of the twentieth century. It has, in addition to an exhaustive Introduction and a brief Epilogue, five scholarly chapters, supported by annotated pictures, meticulous reference notes, a bibliography and an index.

Charlton-Stevens adopts a novel approach for introducing his core arguments. The striking cover illustration of Merle Oberon as Anne Boleyn, the tragic Tudor queen, in a 1933 film, immediately draws the reader's attention and piques her interest. While referring to his own Anglo-Indian family roots to partially explain the reason for writing this book, he alludes to his grandmother's role in stimulating a growing interest in his 'mixed' past (through childhood stories). He cites a family lore that claims a connection with Merle Oberon, the famous film actor of yore. This provides a context for a long and fascinating discussion of identity reformulations by 'mixed-race' diasporic actors on the global stage. In pursuit of fame and glamour, these Eurasian/Anglo-Indian personages felt compelled to hide their coloured roots and pass themselves off as 'whites.' The curious cases of Merle Oberon, Anne May Wong and Boris Karloff – all international film stars in their heydays – are deftly analysed with the help of substantive credible evidence. The historian further strengthens his argument by critiquing, among others, a comparative study of John Masters' novel *Bhowani Junctio*n and its later film adaptation, as well as Paul Scott's *Alien Sky* and *The Raj Quartet*. The entire narrative is brought alive through carefully annotated photos of several prominent family members, individually and in groups, as well as many other key members of the community.

Charlton-Stevens cites a telling comment made by Malcom Muggeridge (Assistant Editor at the Calcutta *Statesman,* 1934) that the Anglo-Indians were "quite the unhappiest people in the world. Ghosts haunting the British Raj" (p. 4). Why was this so? In the historian's opinion the biographers of Merle Oberon had rightly identified the Anglo-Indian dilemma towards the last phase of the Empire as being "'caught in the middle between Indian nationalism and British imperialism' and facing variable degrees of prejudice from both sides that tended to cast their mixed 'blood' as a source of 'shame'" (p. 4). Tracing the roots of this situation, he takes the reader back to India in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when a hybrid community was in the

process of being formed in the three Presidencies of the East India Company (EIC) – Bengal, Bombay and Madras. In a bid to gain a stronger foothold in India, the Company's order (1698) gave explicit encouragement by offering financial incentives to inter-racial marriages between its soldiers and 'native' women – Indian, Indo-Portuguese/Dutch/French. This happened in the context of its ongoing commercial cum religious (Protestant vs Catholic) rivalry with other European enterprises. The historian points out that like other rival European traders and colonisers, "at this point the English thought less in colour terms than in religious ones" (p. 37).

However, a hundred years later, EIC was issuing orders to limit opportunities of education in England and employment in its key services for the mixed and their children. Charlton-Stevens meticulously explains this radical change in its policy and its unsettling impact on the rapidly emerging mixed group through the increasingly complex colonial lens of colour prejudices, class and gender distinctions as well as the presumed illegitimacy of the mixed offspring. Based on his detailed discussions of other historians' opinions and bolstered by numerous fascinating tales of the mixed, he arrives at credible conclusions such as "…the mixed-race group were the direct inheritors of an intergenerationally transmitted British cultural package which remained at the core of their home lives and ongoing educational upbringing" (p. 40). Replete with relevant examples, his account of the mixed-race community's position within the highly hierarchical colonial society points out that "even at its high-water mark, c. 1880-1920, colonial British racism remained fundamentally class-inflected, preoccupied with social, moral and economic markers of respectability" (p. 41). This was one of the main reasons why the undercurrents of racial and colour prejudices became deep and lasting through the years of the mid-twentieth century. Concurring with other historians, Charlton-Stevens notes the Indian caste system's insidious influence on the rigid hierarchical distinctions of British colonial society and cites in support the case of Vivien Leigh, the Hollywood star of yesteryears (pp. 65-66). Leigh's father had to resign from the Bengal Club and the Saturday Club (in Calcutta) after marrying her mother, who happened to be the offspring of an Armenian Catholic man and a mixed-race orphan woman, supposedly Irish, because of her fair complexion.

A significant aspect of the historian's analysis of the emerging 'mixed-race' identity is his scrutiny of the deep impact made by the evolving late nineteenth century theory of

'scientific' racism and its offshoot, eugenics. Colonial society's attitudes interfaced with the emerging science of race to deepen prevalent stereotypes and prejudices. Charlton-Stevens draws attention to numerous instances of 'Eurasians' in India being "subjected to the resulting pseudosciences embedded within colonial anthropology which sought to measure and categorise them anthropometrically, by measuring height, nose size and shape, and cranial circumference" (pp. 68-69). The offspring of mixed unions were, therefore, supposedly weak or infertile. The reader, however, learns that a set of contradictory data was already emerging at the time demonstrating the proliferation of a thriving 'mixed' population. Seemingly well-intentioned scholars like Edgar Thurston (Superintendent of the Madras Government Museum, 1909) used their supposedly scientific studies to promote the well-being of the least privileged among them through charity and education (pp. 69-70).

The simultaneous existence and expansion of educational facilities and charitable activities by religious organisations (such as the Anglican Church) with proactive support of the colonial government is astutely attributed by Charlton-Stevens to the so-called "reputational risks of European and Eurasian poverty" (p. 70). Apprehensions that the Imperial/Christian prestige would be undermined in the eyes of the ruled due to rising poverty and lack of education amongst the Anglo-Indians and Eurasians were apparently widely articulated. Consequently, by the first decade of the twentieth century, the phenomenon of Anglo-Indians being increasingly perceived as being loyal (due to ties of blood and kinship) as well as skilled and capable of filling various ranks in key colonial services such as the railways in particular, became well-recognised. In the words of Charlton-Stevens, "the railway colonies … were to provide the bulk of the community's employment and the complacently self-contained world of the new Anglo-India" (p. 77).

While probing the complex nomenclature of the emerging mixed community, Charlton-Stevens argues that the lack of clarity and wider agreement in 'naming' it does not necessarily negate its awareness of a collective group identity. Instead, it only goes to show how, different factions within the community were intensely focused on establishing an inclusive social identity. He proposes that the eventual replacement of 'Eurasian' with 'Anglo-Indian' (officially sanctioned in the 1911 census) could be attributed to the growing desire of the mixed community to appropriate the latter's

association with Britishness (p. 82). Be it the self-proclaimed Domiciled Europeans or Anglo-Indians with diverse colouring – distinction between whom was little, according to widely held contemporary views – there was a common desire to claim European or British descent. The depth of his discussion on this issue is enhanced by the historian's analysis of different perspectives provided by not only the conjoined mixed community and colonial British society but also by contemporary Indians. A lighter skin tone of varying degrees ensured the mixed an equation with Britishness in the eyes of most Indians of early twentieth century. Class-based attitude of either colonial servility or cultural otherness appears to have been widely prevalent amongst them. A riveting literary example cited by Charlton-Stevens to support this analysis is the well-known story, 'The Babus of Nayanjore' by Rabindranath Tagore. One is tempted to detect the remnants of this colonial legacy in today's near obsession of many Indians with a fair/white complexion.

A highlight of the chapter aptly titled 'A New Anglo India' is a detailed discussion of the profound impact of the First World War on the overall status of the newly named Anglo-Indians. The community's rising military aspirations, hitherto stifled by the colonial government, were increasingly recognised by the latter in view of its own war needs. In this context Charlton-Stevens notes the efforts made by John Harold Arnold Abbott, a thriving businessman and president of the Anglo-Indian Empire League, to push for the community's employment opportunities in British regiments and even a separate Anglo-Indian regiment. He contends that this was in keeping with the general political mood of the time when nationalist sentiments as expressed by a diverse cross-section of Indian leaders (Gandhi, Tilak and Annie Besant) were in favour of cooperation with the imperial government by seeking military service for Indians. This is one of the many insightful instances where the historian engages in comparative studies of Anglo-Indian and Indian perspectives.

Charlton-Stevens proposes that the Raj's large volunteer army came into existence due to the widely prevailing Indian faith in the supposedly paternalistic colonial government. In contrast, the mixed community (including Domiciled Europeans) was more directly relying on its 'blood and kinship ties' by claiming to be Britain's 'sons.' He asserts that their support for the war was more 'heartfelt' than that reflected in the "abundant loyalist, imperial monarchist, and martial speeches of Indian rulers,

aristocratic landowners and other well-to-do Indians" (p. 89). The outcome was the simultaneous creation under duress of an Anglo-Indian Force (1916) and considerable enlargement of the Indian Army. Charlton-Stevens clarifies in detail the continued discrimination in terms of pay and armament allocated to both categories of recruits with Indians bearing the brunt of it.

The post-war political context of constitutional changes - in response to nationalist demands - elicited increasing 'Indianisation' of the Railways and other key services that considerably reduced the employment opportunities of the compulsorily demobilised Anglo-Indians. Charlton-Stevens meticulously chronicles this significant multifaceted change with all its contradictions within and beyond the community. The richness of this long discussion is enhanced by an analysis of the fascinating 'highly triangulated' role played by Henry Albert John Gidney, the Anglo-Indian leader, who attempted to promote "a dualistic assertion of loyalty to both their British fatherland and Indian motherland" (p. 26). Of particular interest is the historian's critique of the politics surrounding the Round Table Conferences (in London, 1930-32), wherein Gidney and B. R. Ambedkar, two minority leaders, joined hands to confront Gandhi's opposition to recognizing the Anglo-Indians as well as others like the Depressed classes and Indian Christians as minority communities. Charlton-Stevens' disapproval of the Gandhian position is palpable in statements such as, "… at this point Gandhi's efforts were concentrated on achieving a grand settlement with India's Muslims" (p.128) or "Despite his rhetoric of ostentatious humility, Gandhi's strategy had required supreme self-belief in his own abilities of persuasion" (p. 129).

Charlton-Stevens deftly analyses the challenge of rising post-war unemployment and poverty amongst the mixed-race community by situating it in the context of left-wing politics – Anglo-Indian and Indian nationalist/communalist – during the 1920s and 1930s. He points out that Gidney's teaming up with Kenneth Wallace, the socialist leader, was a pragmatic move to deal with the subtle "glass ceiling extending across Government services … private firms … social relations, [and] even the Church" (p. 137). Earnest promotion of the Anglo-Indian cause with the colonial government was imperative in view of the increasingly communalised allocation of vacancies – especially in the Railways – at the expense of the Anglo-Indians (p. 137).

In a related area Charlton-Stevens focuses on the efforts of the two leaders mentioned above to advise the community members against identifying themselves as Europeans in the census and electoral rolls, because it was counter-productive to the distinctive identity of the Anglo-Indian community. Racial 'passing' as a key feature in the life of mixed-origin communities in the British empire in Asia is a prominent thread running through his entire account in this book. He asserts that passing as a 'strategy of self-elevation' from a group (in this case Anglo-Indian) to which one belongs by birth and heredity, to being identified as European was "far more widespread than has been generally assumed […] The socio-racial dividing lines of the Raj were continuously contested and transgressed" (p. 143). In support of this contention he cites substantive evidence including the high-profile cases of Merle Oberon, Boris Karloff (along with his brothers) and many others, which demonstrate the benefits of successful passing for those of a lighter colouring.

In a significant contribution to his third chapter, Charlton-Stevens presents pan-Eurasianist ideas of Cedric Dover and Kenneth Wallace as a contestation of an emerging Anglo-India as well as nationalist India. It is ironic that while intending to encourage the formation of a wider 'imagined community' consisting of mixed-origin colonised peoples across Asia, they were inspired by the contemporary socialist Zionist model of a national homeland, created at the expense of earlier inhabitants. One could perhaps connect this trend of thought to the increasingly common phenomenon, during the later years of decolonisation, of Anglo-Indians optionally seeking a safe territorial haven not just in mainland India, but also in the Indian Ocean or even beyond. The historian proposes several reasons for this development, prominent among which were "the real dangers of the Anglo-Indian position as the auxiliaries of empire" and their reasonable or imagined anxieties regarding their future socio-economic-political prospects in an independent India, possibly taking on "the menacing complexion of a caste-inflected Hindu Raj" (p. 28).

In an insightful sub-section called 'Anglo-Indian colonisation schemes' in Chapter 4, Charlton-Stevens proceeds to discuss various attempts by the mixed community leaders to create agricultural colonies within India in the pattern of the post-World War One 'canal colonies' in western Punjab. While these were visualised as "sites of individual and collective self-transformation and self-actualisation," the historian

concurs with other recent studies that the grandiose and utopian nature of the schemes caused them to fail. In his view McCluskiegunge in Bihar was the only one that could have been the nucleus of an Anglo-Indian territorial state. He, however, observes that collective emigration and colonisation schemes such as involving the Andaman Islands continued to be proposed right until after independence.

Notwithstanding the dream of overseas colonies, Gidney's consistent efforts to secure the future of Anglo-India in India through constitutional channels in the 1930s is a fascinating section of Charlton-Stevens' account. Here the reader is drawn into the complex web of political exchanges between the Anglo-Indian leader, the colonial government, the British Government (Churchill, Attlee) and Indian nationalist leaders (Gandhi, Jinnah). The historian notes that Gidney expressed his public support for India's constitutional development while reiterating his community's loyalty to the colonial government for "peace, safety and tranquillity of the country" (p. 213). Simultaneously he made attempts to convince his community to be more connected to India, the land of its birth, without forsaking their distinctive way of life. His efforts to secure ongoing reservations for employment in the Government of India Act (1935) succeeded with the support of sympathetic British parliamentarians.

While examining the radical transformation wrought by the Second World War, Charlton-Stevens, with the help of Wallace's biography of Gidney, offers interesting insights into the circumstances leading to the latter's fateful interactions with Sir Stafford Cripps in 1942. His request for a large land grant in India, at the existing 'McCluskiegunge' colony for the formation of an Anglo-Indian state, was rejected by Cripps, who saw no place for Anglo-Indians in his constitutional proposals for India (p. 217). Although the negotiations between Cripps, Congress and the Muslim League failed thereafter, Gidney felt it to be only a temporary reprieve. According to Charlton-Stevens, this was a "devastating blow … most likely hastening his early death" (p. 29).

Continuing with his chronicle of the transformative impact of the Second World War, Charlton-Stevens notes the regeneration of Anglo-Indian loyalties to the empire and stronger identity with Britishness through the vastly expanded employment opportunities in the military and various other services such as railways, nursing stations, telegraph offices and wireless telephone exchanges. This does not discount,

however, the continuation of discrimination based on racism and colourism in recruitment and opportunities of promotion. He points out that there were often individual cases of passing for entry into more prestigious and better-paid services. Some individuals even travelled to Britain for the same reasons. In a striking contrast to this trend the historian presents in detail the extraordinary case of Captain Cyril John Stracey, who became a colonel in the Japanese-backed Indian National Army led by Subhash Chandra Bose (pp.226-231).

In the last part of his narrative Charlton-Stevens raises a final issue: whether the British withdrawal from India at the end of the War also signalled the end of Anglo-India. His assertion that it was the "death of the colonial Anglo-India" is quite plausible, given the in-depth analysis he presents of the contentious political negotiations of the time involving Frank Anthony (the successor to Gidney), Cripps and the nationalist leaders like Gandhi, Nehru and Jinnah. Charlton-Stevens' examination of Anthony's pivotal role in trying to reinvent the Anglo-Indian identity as a part of the emerging Indian nation despite the exodus of pro-British emigrants to Britain and Australia, is indeed a significant contribution. He proposes that by building a personal relationship with the Congress leaders - Gandhi, Nehru and particularly Vallabhbhai Patel - Anthony succeeded in convincing them of the Indianness of the Anglo-Indians and therefore retention of the provisions for them in the Constitution. In contrast, the historian explores the difficulties faced by the dwindling Anglo-Indian community in West and East Pakistan. It is a saga tinged with sadness and despair.

Charlton-Stevens' monumental account is essentially a rational yet deeply empathetic enquiry, enriched as it is by detailed and fascinating evidence culled from a very wide range of primary and secondary sources. As a diasporic Anglo-Indian with familial roots in Bangalore, he adds an insider's intriguing trivia and anecdotes to embellish his narrative. It certainly makes for an absorbing and compelling read for erudite scholars and interested general readers alike. Students of modern Indian history need to study and comprehend the significant wide-angled role played by Anglo-Indians in India's colonial past.

The book assumes special significance in view of the recent (January 2020) constitutional changes leading to the abolition of reserved seats for Anglo-Indians in

the Indian Parliament and state Assemblies. In effect they have been divested of the special provisions included in the Government of India Act (1935) and the Constitution of India (1949-1950). The identity of Anglo-Indians as a minority community with a right to democratic representation is once again contested.

Anjana Banerjee *(nee Chatterjee) has recently retired from teaching at Mallya Aditi International School, Bangalore. For several years she taught history, political science and international relations at the high school and pre-university levels. Apart from being the Head of the Humanities Department, she also functioned as the Faculty Advisor in charge of the school's successful Model United Nations activities in India and abroad. Anjana graduated from Delhi University and earned her Ph.D. degree at Jawaharlal Nehru University. Her abiding interest in history and allied fields grew under the exceptional tutelage of leading historians like Romila Thapar, Bipan Chandra and B.D. Chattopadhyay. Born in Kolkata, Anjana grew up in Delhi and spent many years living in different parts of India. She lives in Bangalore with her husband. She can be contacted via anjana.banerjee@gmail.com*

International Journal of Anglo-Indian Studies

BOOK REVIEW:
THE ANGLO-INDIANS: A PORTRAIT OF A COMMUNITY

Dolores Chew

O'Brien, Barry (2022). *The Anglo-Indians: A Portrait of a Community.* New Delhi: Aleph Book Company. 538 pages.

Barry O'Brien's door-stopper of a book, a rollicking paean to Anglo-Indians, is most timely in this moment in the history of India, when it is under the rule of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). It is very important to record, publicize and amplify the role and importance of minorities, when they are being squeezed into an existence predicated on sufferance. The book makes a significant contribution to this task, informing as it does, on the logical and legitimate *locus standi* of the Anglo-Indian community in India, and its evolution, both shaping and being shaped by the growth of India as a polity.

Encyclopedic in scope, the book is informed by rich insider knowledge of the community. Some of this was absorbed by Barry from his parents, who in turn garnered a lot from their parents and so on. But despite this prior knowledge, he tells us he was "shocked out of his socks" (p. xvii) by all that he learned while writing this book, a sensation that many a reader of the book will also experience.

The Anglo-Indians is entertaining and informative. You feel you're sitting with Barry and having a long 'chin wag', that is partly trip down memory lane, historical record, ethnography, curated recording of culture and objective defence of the community. It is an engrossing read and while hard to put down, at 538 pages needs more than a few sittings to complete. Those who've moderated an event in which Barry has been a speaker, will be familiar with how much he has to say, how well he says it, but could

he be a little less expansive!? Because of the homey tone he uses in the book, it seems fitting to refer to him in this piece, more informally as 'Barry'.

Writing by Anglo-Indians and on Anglo-Indians, and the emergence of the discipline of Anglo-Indian Studies (of which this journal is a vital part), has generated a lot of material. Those who've read existing works on Anglo-Indians -- academic, anecdotal, biographic -- will find much that is familiar in Barry's book, as he has drawn on all of it, older as well as more contemporary works (pp.521-525).[1] To mine it all is an impressive achievement, for which Barry credits the meticulous research by daughter Zasha and wife Denise.

The book details the "roller-coaster ride"[2] of Anglo-Indian fortunes, as the community has been deliberately used and abused by the powers that be. For the historical part Barry relies on primary and secondary sources and draws on his own experience and observations when it comes to bringing the story of the Anglo-Indians right up until this moment in time. He succeeds in his objective of writing, "a book that would focus on how the community had fitted into New India" (p. 521), and would be a corrective to "scattered clouds of misinformation" (p. 521). The book traces the manoeuvring within political spaces the community inhabited, from the earliest, right up until the debacle visited upon Anglo-Indians in 2019 with the removal of representation in legislatures (Andrews, Charlton-Stevens, Chew, 2019; Datta-Ray, 2020). It documents the efforts of pioneers and leaders from the early nineteenth century right up until the present time, the more well-known as well as the lesser known. It brings up-to-date the historical chronicling of minority politics dealt with so well in Uther Charlton-Stevens' historical study (2018).

[1] The Derozio Anglo-Indian Collection, housed in Central Library, Calcutta University is a valuable and growing repository of much of this material. The book notes that debt owed to Blair William in this regard. Blair, with foresight donated his personal collection for this purpose. However, we also need to recognize Prof. Selwyn Jussy of the Linguistics Department of Calcutta University for working for this with the then Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Suranjan Das and the university's librarian Dr. Soumitra Sarkar. Dolores Chew was the person who connected Blair with Selwyn. And Prof. Mritiunjoy Mohanty of IIM Calcutta also played a role in ensuring the shipped materials (from the US) would reach the library.

[2] This is a term Barry himself uses, though even if he didn't, most readers would be inclined to that adjective after learning of the history of the Anglo-Indian community for the first time, or being reminded of it, if they already knew it.

The expansiveness of the book is testament to Barry's admiration for David Wallechinsky, "the world's first pop historian" (p.xi). Its chronological ordering, pen sketches, timelines and use of Anglo-Indianisms, make it a treasure trove of information and trivia; encyclopedia, dictionary, a kind of Hobson-Jobson, rolled into one. Almost every well-known Anglo-Indian personality – sportsperson, writer, educator, politician, entertainer, religious figure, medical professional, member of the armed forces, philanthropist, visionary – gets at least one mention in the book, as do not-so-well-known ones, such as yours truly, commended for my "lethal 'tongue-lashing'" of the film *Cotton Mary* (p. 390). Over the years I've attempted to initiate an Anglo-Indian glossary, with input from community members, also a book of Anglo-Indian Christmases. They didn't materialize. But *The Anglo-Indians* has reassured me that much of this is now on record.

The book was deeply personal for me. There was a lot I was very familiar with, growing up in Calcutta in the '50s, '60s and '70s. For while Anglo-Indian life and history in many parts of India, (pre- and post-Partition), are well-covered in the book, Calcutta/Kolkata[3] features prominently, partly because of the size of the community, but also because it is Barry's city. *The Anglo-Indians* was nostalgia, memory and delight rolled into one -- Anglo-Indian wedding traditions, Christmas and the New Market, shopping in Rehman's ('Ramin's'). Boy's Town, Fr. Alan DeLastic, Fr. Conquo are places and persons who are very much part of my memories of childhood and adolescence. My mother, a teacher, was active in teachers' associations, and some of the educators named in the book, were her friends and associates. The book also documents many of the Anglo-Indian communities in other parts of India, including 'Thangashery/Tangasseri', where I visited with relatives during school holidays.

A constant thread in the book is the community's political struggles over the centuries right up until today, which demonstrates grit and perseverance in the face of great odds. While there were disagreements, and factionalism – that bane of collective action is ubiquitous--one nonetheless feels admiration for the dedication, commitment and tireless striving to advance and advocate for minority rights for a community that

[3] Like Barry does in the book with regard to the spelling of place names that have changed, I'm using the spelling of 'Calcutta' both in the original English spelling of the place, which was used when I lived there, and the relatively more recent one, 'Kolkata', depending on the time context.

has been seen as foreign, traitorous, anti-national and increasingly in today's context of Hindu ethno-nationalism, as Christian. The book effectively shows how the community has manoeuvred to elicit concessions and affirmative action policies and been able to adapt and survive through the vagaries of time and different political dispensations.

While admiring the efforts to carve a space for the community in tough terrain, we cannot but ignore some critical questions, for example about Anglo-Indian 'colonization' movements. There didn't seem to be any consideration at that time or in Barry's recounting today, about the displacement of populations who might already have been inhabiting those spaces in the Andaman Islands, and what became McCluskieganj and Whitefield. Whether they were official allotments, 'gifts' or 'purchases', the introduction of populations not native to the area makes us mindful of the Restorationist and Zionist slogan, "Land without people for a people without a land". This is the case even if we are mindful of historical relativism and we recognize that these efforts were driven by the need for survival of a community that didn't have the linguistic and ethnic rootedness of most other groups/communities in India. There is also an element of irony, in that a community born of the colonial encounter and being ill-used by that colonizer, would seek to establish 'colonizing' movements of their own. Perhaps, colonialism was so normative that the community didn't see anything paradoxical in this. However, one can't but note the hegemonic elision when Barry muses today, "our own…Sikkim", a "little state of our own", implicit in which is his acceptance of the problematic annexation of Sikkim into India (p. xvi).

On the other hand, Barry is to be congratulated for tackling head-on, the elephant in the room – who is an Anglo-Indian? He challenges the patriarchal assumption in "European in the male line", in the Indian Constitution, Article 366(2). But what I most appreciate, and aligns with my understanding, is his point that the Constitutional definition "has everything to do with blood, race, and one's father's lineage, and nothing to do with culture, language, and way of life" (p.xxvi). An Anglo-Indian living in Kolkata may be able to speak Bengali and one living in Kerala can speak Malayalam but it's not this difference that defines them; rather it's things like shared cultural practices, foods and idiomatic English usage (even if they may be inflected with some localisms). And he quotes Anglo-Indian literary icon Allan Sealy who thinks similarly:

> …this obsession with race…we have been defined over and over again as a community of mixed-race. I would like to think that we could exchange this notion of race for a simple one – culture. … It is something that you don't have to explain. (p. xxvii)

Another thorny issue that Barry, perhaps inadvertently touches on, is the obsession with the licit/illicit, legitimate/illegitimate dichotomy regarding the origins of the community. Frank Anthony recognized as community leader for decades, including through the difficult days in pre- and post-independence India, was very apprehensive about this.

> There is a vague and perhaps widespread belief that the Anglo-Indian community, like some other mixed communities perhaps, was the result of a haphazard process of miscegenation between outcaste Englishmen and outcaste Indian women. There is also perhaps the cynical insinuation that the origin of the community is largely shrouded in the blankets of incontinence. In fact, nothing is further from the truth. The community has developed along quite formal and legitimate lines. (p. 17)

Anthony was incensed with the aspersions thrown at the community, most likely even as he reveals his own moralistic bias, as he saw this contributing to marginalisation. However, by deliberately disregarding the evidence of informal and extra-legal alliances, he unwittingly affirms the stereotypes that he seeks to quash. Repeating the vile characterizations — 'miscegenation', 'outcaste', 'incontinence' – it would seem he supports their usage (as long as it's not to describe Anglo-Indians) and so perpetuates very problematic racial, gender and casteist hierarchies and patriarchal stances with respect to female virtue and chastity.[4]

In the sections about Anglo-Indian contributions to India's defence, India's sports reputation and Indian education, Barry demonstrates how though numerically a very small community, Anglo-Indians have always punched above their weight. At a time when the loyalty of minority communities in India is being questioned and their Indianness is being excoriated, this detailed history needs to be amplified. Anglo-Indians have demonstrated time and again their loyalty and patriotism. While it's unfortunate and pitiable that minorities feel compelled to prove their credentials and

[4] I explore some of this in the following. "The Search for Kathleen McNally and Other Chimerical Women: colonial and post-colonial gender representations of Eurasians," in Brinda Bose (2002), ed. *Translating Desire: the politics of gender and culture in India.* New Delhi. "Will the Real Anglo-Indian Woman Please Stand Up!" in Margaret Deefholts and Susan Deefholts (2010), eds. *Women of Anglo-India.* New Jersey.

demonstrate their ‘worthiness’ for rights and entitlements, in the times we live in, it contributes to a timely discussion of ‘who is an Indian’.

In this connection, as he chronicles the history of the community, Barry traces the history of migration, the first wave, often those who believed they were ‘going home’, but then subsequent waves when Anglo-Indians, like other Indians, went abroad simply to improve the prospects for themselves and their families. Nowadays, like many Indians from the middle-classes and elites, where most families have one or more relative residing abroad, Anglo-Indians are no different. The notion that Anglo-Indians leave because they don’t feel ‘Indian’ is successfully demolished in the book. Moreover, Barry goes on to record how many Anglo-Indians who live in India are successful, in careers and areas of employment or self-employment which enable them to enjoy a comfortable standard of living; also the percentage of Anglo-Indians pursuing post-secondary and post-graduate education has increased. At the same time, the book recognizes that many Anglo-Indians still live in very straitened circumstances and it also acknowledges the efforts of many community members in India and the diaspora, towards ameliorating the lives of their less-fortunate community members and giving the youth hope and promise for a better future, such as CAISS (Calcutta Anglo-Indian Service Society).

Apart from those who left to go ‘home’, in the first wave of departures, there were Anglo-Indians who left soon after Independence because they felt the community would not fare well in a post-colonial state, having often been identified with the colonizer through association, service, or simply culture. And part of the sad, sorry history of Anglo-Indians is the loyalty shown to the colonizers, despite being used and abused by them. One of those who saw no future in independent India was Stanley Prater. He perceived the community would suffer in a post-colonial state not just because of questions about loyalty, but because of the political forces in existence. Anthony lamented the departure of Prater, who had been the community’s representative in the Bombay Legislative Council for seventeen years and who Anthony regarded as his ‘principal lieutenant in the Constituent Assembly’. Writing about this, Anthony said: “He persuaded himself that there were mounting signs of

Hindu revivalism and implacable resistance to the provisional safeguards for minorities." Living in the times we do, Prater's assessment seems most prescient.

In the chapter 'Another 'Betrayal' – This Time by the Government of India'[5] (2019-2020), Barry describes how a decision, uninformed by facts on the ground was pushed through and deprived Anglo-Indians of reservations.[6] Articles written into the Constitution of India provided for Anglo-Indian representation by government nomination (reservations) for up to two seats in the Lok Sabha (House of the People in parliament), and for state governors to nominate an Anglo-Indian to a State Assembly. Frank Anthony noted how while the British had denied Anglo-Indian representation in the Constituent Assembly, "Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, and Sardar Patel agreed to give us three seats" (p. 96). Article 331 of the Constitution declared that reservations would cease to exist after 10 years. However, they got extended six times right up until January 2020. Over the years there had been political parties who supported the continuance of reservations and those who did not.

In December 2019 the "Indian government suddenly, arbitrarily, and insidiously wiped away the provision for the nomination of Anglo-Indian representatives to the Lok Sabha and state assemblies" (p. 157). The bill that was presented in parliament clubbed together *continuation* of reservations for Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs) and *discontinuation* of reservations for Anglo-Indians. It was a devious strategy because it meant voting against the bill would be seen as voting against SCs and STs. Other elements of political sleight of hand were also deployed. Law Minister Ravi Shankar Prasad asserted that per the data in the 2011 Census of India (the last available one), there were only 296 Anglo-Indians in India!

A brief background is needed to understand this sleight of hand. Over the years the decennial Census questionnaire reduced the number of identifier categories. The 1961 Census asked for 'nationality' and 'religion'. And it did away with 'caste or community', but kept 'SC/ST'. The 1971 census removed 'nationality', and only had 'religion' and 'SC/ST'. The removal of 'community' from the 1961 census questionnaire

[5] This is a nod to Frank Anthony's *Britain's Betrayal in India*.
[6] Also see Viswajeet Deshmukh and Ketayun Mistry (2022).

met with approval by Frank Anthony who believed that it would ensure that *Feringhees* in Kerala, who he saw as Malayalam-speaking Indian Christians trying to pass as Anglo-Indians, would not be able to do so. This speaks to the importance of identifying who is an Anglo-Indian, written about above. However, by acquiescing, Anthony shot the community in the foot. Realizing how crucial it was for the community to get counted as 'Anglo-Indian', there were attempts in later years by Anglo-Indian Lok Sabha representative MP Beatrix D'Souza and Rajya Sabha MP Derek O'Brien (who is Anglo-Indian but sits in parliament as a party nominee of the Trinamool Congress) to ensure that Anglo-Indians could specify their community on the census form. Sadly, their efforts came to nought.

It was pointed out that if the BJP government believed the size of the community was so small, why had they continued to appoint community representatives in parliament and in state assemblies where their party formed the government, including in Jharkhand, Uttarakhand and Madhya Pradesh, where according to their statistics there were zero Anglo-Indians! The bill passed even though twenty-seven parliamentarians, representing seventeen political parties were in favour of the continuance of Anglo-Indian representation (p. 167). Also, the timing of the vote was such that it happened on the last day of legislation of the year. Setting aside internal differences the community rallied, recalling earlier times when crises brought the community together as former MP Beatrix D'Souza recalled. "In our long history, the community has often got together to protect its interests and identity, under leaders like J.W. Ricketts and Henry Gidney, especially during its uncertain relationship with the British" (p.167). A meeting was held post facto where it was decided to "engage the government in dialogue while reaching out to the entire political fraternity represented in parliament, well-wishers, and the media" (p. 167).

Returning to the troubling number of 296, it's assumed that those 296 individuals who identified themselves as 'Anglo-Indian' in the 2011 Census possibly confused their religion or sect within the Christian faith (p. 161). Meanwhile all the other Anglo-Indians, approximately 3.5 lakhs (p. 168) of them stuck with the categories on offer, which had no scope for 'community' identity. An observer might lean towards giving the government the benefit of doubt and say they were genuinely mistaken. However,

when representatives of the community reached out to them, via letters and in person, they didn't change anything. This makes one think that (1) they didn't care and (2) it plays into something more sinister, linked to the ethnonationalist agenda of the current dispensations. If you deny a community exists, then property, especially the many educational institutions that are under its purview no longer get special status. And by dissolving Anglo-Indian educational institutions the government does away with a large number of such spaces that offer a secular, well-rounded education that is affordable (either because fees are lower, but also because of the charitable and philanthropic work and scholarships on offer). There is a lot in the book (in particular see Ch. 13) about Anglo-Indian educational institutions and the generations of students of all communities and religions who've benefitted, many of them prominent in politics, business, academia and many other fields. They acknowledge the great debt they and the nation owe to generations of very dedicated educators whose sole objective was to provide the best education possible to their students; that they saw these students as building a better India, a democratic and secular India. It is unfortunate that some of these individuals, like Swapan Dasgupta have gone over to the dark side and become abject apologists for the current dispensation. Giving the government a tongue-lashing about the ending of nominated representation of Anglo-Indians, Sunanda Datta-Ray wrote, "Abolishing Anglo-Indian legislators is probably the first step, the true long-term target being the hugely popular Anglo-Indian schools on which the authorities dare not mount a frontal attack" (Datta-Ray, 2020). And what happens then? Majoritarianism spells disaster for millions of children and their families unable to pay the exorbitant fees of private, for profit institutions, leaving the field open for the ideologically-driven education establishments set up by Hindu ethnonationalist organizations.

Living as I do in Quebec where we have a nationalist government in power that uses 'identity' based on language and dress (clothing) as markers of belonging, we are also seeing deployment of legislation to curtail minority rights. Individuals wearing visible religious symbols – hijabs, kipas, turbans — are barred from holding public office, including teaching in publicly-funded schools. This legislation has been appealed and is making its way up the legal system and will most likely reach the Supreme Court of Canada, as it violates basic freedoms that are guaranteed in law. And English-

language colleges have just been told their enrolments must be capped in favour of Anglophone students, and their students must take more program courses in French, ostensibly to (1) make it harder for Francophone students wishing to improve their English as they live in a globalized world, to get admission to these colleges, and (2) to make it more difficult for Anglophone students to complete their college diplomas. In fact, as with India[7], there are many who feel the current ultra-nationalist government in Quebec would like to do away with English education completely in the province. However, with legal, historical minority claims, this is not easy to do in one fell swoop — and so a slow bleed, death by a thousand cuts. In both India and Quebec, attacking vulnerable populations, minorities, that are already marginalized does not augur well for the majority. Minorities are the canaries in the mine shaft and majorities need to realize majoritarian tyranny is disastrous for them too.

Barry doesn't shy away from other points in national history. During the Emergency of 1975-1977, Frank Anthony walked a tight line. Generally supportive of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi he added "a big 'but'" (p. 141). One can see him hedging his bets. Loyalty to a party and family who had accorded political recognition for Anglo-Indians, but alert to the threat to democracy. In throwing his support behind Indira Gandhi, however, he eventually lost out. After her defeat and that of party, the Congress in 1977, Anthony did not get renominated to parliament by the next Prime Minister, Morarji Desai.

The Anglo-Indians is a book that must be read. However, I found the haphazard referencing annoying and distracting. While I appreciate that the book wasn't written for academic purposes, it would have been great to have all sources listed in a bibliography. At times a piece in an anthology is referenced, while another piece from the same anthology that is also referred to in the main text, isn't. Often the flow could have been helped by placing some interesting, yet slightly off-topic point in a footnote, rather than keeping it in the main text. A comprehensive Index would have also been very useful. Given the size of the book it was easy to lose track of which page something or someone had first appeared. An incomplete index meant it wasn't always possible to go back and remind oneself of some details or context.

[7] This is with reference to the point about setting sights on Anglo-Indian educational institutions.

That said, *bon appétit*!

Dolores Chew *teaches History and Humanities at Marianopolis College, Montreal, Canada, where she is also Liberal Arts Program Coordinator. She is a Research Affiliate of the Simone de Beauvoir Institute, Concordia University, Montreal, Canada* d.chew@marianopolis.edu

REFERENCES

Andrews, Robyn, Uther Charlton-Stevens, Dolores Chew. (2019). "Reservations Need to Continue for Anglo-Indians." *The Hindu* 17 December. https://www.thehindu.com/opinion/op-ed/reservations-need-to-continue-for-anglo-indians/article30323462.ece

Anthony, Frank. (1969). *Britain's Betrayal in India: The Story of the Anglo-Indian Community.* Allied Publishers.

Charlton-Stevens, Uther. (2018). *Anglo-Indians and Minority Politics in South Asia.* Routledge.

Chew, Dolores. (2010). "Will the Read Anglo-Indian Woman Please Stand Up!" in Women of Anglo-India. Margaret Deefholts and Susan Deefholts (Eds.). New Jersey: CTR Inc. Publishing.

_____. (2002). "The Search for Kathleen McNally and Other Chimerical Women: colonial and post-colonial gender representations of Eurasians," in *Translating Desire: the politics of gender and culture in India.* NBrinda Bose (Ed). New Delhi: Katha.

Datta-Ray, Sunanda (2020). "Another Strike. Targetting Anglo-Indian legislators tragets broad, mixed culture." *The Telegraph* 10 January. https://www.telegraphindia.com/opinion/another-strike/cid/1734665

Deshmukh, Viwajeet and Ketayun Mistry. (2022). "Anglo-Indian Representation in the Indian Parliament." *International Journal of Anglo-Indian Studies* 22(1). file:///C:/Users/d.chew/Downloads/Deshmukh+&+Mistry_IJAIS_Volume+22,+Number+1,+2022.pdf