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DOMICILE AND DIASPORA

ANGLO-INDIAN WOMEN AND THE SPATIAL POLITICS OF HOME

Alican Rlunt



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Domicile and Diaspora

Anglo-Indian Women and the Spatial Politics of Home

Alison Blunt



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Contents

	List of Figures	X
	Series Editors' Preface	xi
	Acknowledgements	xii
1	Domicile and Diaspora	
	An Introduction	1
	Domicile	5
	Diaspora	10
	Home, Memory and Nostalgia	12
	Methodology	16
	Chapter Outline	21
2	At Home in British India:	
	Imperial Domesticity and National Identity	23
	Imperial Domesticity	24
	Nationalist Domesticity	27
	Domicile and Domesticity	30
	'Land of Our Mothers'	41
	Home, Identity and Nationality	43
	Conclusions	50
3	Home, Community and Nation:	
	Domesticating Identity and Embodying Modernity	52
	Domesticating Identity	52
	Embodying Modernity	59

	Domestic Transgression Home, Community and Nation Conclusions	65 69 70
4	Colonization and Settlement:	72
	Anglo-Indian Homelands	12
	Homelands and Settlements	74
	Anglo-Indian Colonization and Settlement	78
	Colonizing McCluskieganj	82
	Anglo-Indian Home-Making	90
	Dreams of the Future McCluskieganj Today	96 98
	Conclusions	102
	Conclusions	102
5	Independence and Decolonization:	
	Anglo-Indian Resettlement in Britain	105
	Migration and Resettlement	106
	Britishness, Whiteness and Mixed Descent	113
	Documenting Paternity and Recolonizing Identity	118
	Unsettled Domesticity	124
	Embodied Identities and the Limits of Familiarity	130
	Conclusions	137
6	Mixed Descent, Migration and Multiculturalism:	
	Anglo-Indians in Australia since 1947	139
	Anglo-Indians in White Australia	142
	HMAS Manoora	147
	Anglo-Indian Migration in the wake of	
	HMAS Manoora	148
	From 'Race' to 'Culture'	152
	From White Australia to Multiculturalism	161
	Anglo-Indians in Multicultural Australia Conclusions	164 172
	Conclusions	1/2
7	At Home in Independent India:	
	Post-Imperial Domesticity and National Identity	175
	Staying on in India	176
	Nationality and Community	179
	Anglo-Indian Women in Independent India	185

			CONTENTS	ix
	Dress			185
Home and Work			189	
	Marriage			192
	Conclusions			200
8	Domicile and Diaspora: Conclusions			203
	Appendix 1	Archival Sources		211
	Appendix 2	Interviews and Focus Groups		215
	Notes			219
	Bibliography			260
	Index			278

Figures

1.1	Map of the Indian subcontinent	2
1.2	Loreto St Agnes, Lucknow	20
1.3	Dow Hill School, Kurseong	21
1.4	Dow Hill girls, homeward bound, 1950	22
2.1	Tiled Busti in Entally, Calcutta	37
2.2	Scene in Entally, Calcutta	38
3.1	'Women in the WAC(I) enjoying "time off" between lectures,	
	1944'	63
3.2	'A group of happy WAC(I) women in the lounge of their mess'	64
3.3	An Anglo-Indian wedding in Lucknow in the early 1940s	66
4.1	Cover illustration of the Colonization Observer, April 1934	85
4.2	McCluskieganj as mooluk and 'home, sweet home'	88
4.3	McCluskieganj as mooluk	89
4.4	The 'grit' of pioneers at McCluskieganj	92
4.5	Images of women at McCluskieganj	95
4.6	A bungalow at McCluskieganj today	99
4.7	A ruined bungalow at McCluskieganj	100
6.1	The arrival of HMAS Manoora at Fremantle, Western	
	Australia, 15 August 1947	140
6.2	Anglo-Indians on board HMAS Manoora	141
6.3	An Anglo-Indian family on board HMAS Manoora	142
6.4	Anglo-Indians on board HMAS Manoora	143
6.5	Selection of the May Queen at the Lucknow Club	157
6.6	The crowning of the May Queen at the Lucknow Club, 1957,	
	by the wife of the principal of La Martiniere Boys' School	158
6.7	The Australian Anglo-Indian Association Cultural Centre,	
	Padbury, Western Australia	169

Chapter One

Domicile and Diaspora: An Introduction

The photograph on the cover of this book was taken in February 1948, six months after Indian Independence and the Partition of India and Pakistan. It was taken outside a bungalow in a railway colony near Chittagong in what was then East Pakistan and is now Bangladesh (see Figure 1.1). It is a photograph of an Anglo-Indian girl, Felicity, with her ayah's daughter, 1 both dressed up in saris made from a pair of old curtains, and it was taken by Felicity's father, who worked on the railways. In many ways, this photograph could be viewed as a classic representation of British domesticity in India, forming part of a long tradition of British families posing with their servants and reproducing an empire within as well as beyond the home.² But this photograph differs in three main ways. First, it was taken after Independence, when many of the British elite had left India. For those who remained, either waiting for a passage home or, in fewer cases, 'staying on', family photographs could now less easily represent imperial domesticity and an empire within the home. Second, although the Bengali girl looks far less confident than two-year-old Felicity, they appear more similar than different in other ways. The Bengali girl is standing further back, with her hand to her face, and returns a far less assured gaze to her mother's employer. But both girls are dressed up in the same way, both are holding dolls, and both have been playing together. Finally, unlike photographs of British domesticity in India, Felicity is an Anglo-Indian rather than a British girl.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the term 'Anglo-Indian' referred to the British in India, and is still sometimes used in this way. But since the Indian Census of 1911, the term has referred to a domiciled community of mixed descent, who were formerly known as Eurasian, country-born or half-caste. Anglo-Indians form one of the largest and oldest communities of mixed descent in the world, and continue to live in



Figure 1.1 Map of the Indian subcontinent

India as well as across a wider diaspora, particularly in Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the United States. Descended from the children of European men and Indian women, usually born in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, ⁵ Anglo-Indians are English-speaking, Christian and culturally more European than Indian. Before Independence in 1947, the spatial politics of home for Anglo-Indians were shaped by imaginative geographies of both Europe (particularly Britain) and India as home. Although Anglo-Indians were 'country-born' and domiciled in India, many imagined Britain as home and identified with British life even as they were largely excluded from it. In many ways, Anglo-Indians imagined themselves as part of an imperial diaspora in British India. Indian nationalism and policies of Indianization gave a new political urgency to Anglo-Indian ideas about home and identity. Some Anglo-Indians who did not feel at home in India settled in a homeland called McCluskieganj, whereas

many more migrated after Independence. In 1947, there were roughly 300,000 Anglo-Indians in India and, against the advice of Anglo-Indian leaders, at least 50,000 had migrated by 1970, half of whom resettled in Britain in the late 1940s and 1950s. The second main wave of migration was to Australia in the late 1960s and 1970s once White Australia migration policies had become less restrictive.

In the 1935 Government of India Act, Anglo-Indians were defined in relation to Europeans in terms of their paternal ancestry and domicile:

An Anglo-Indian is a person whose father or any of whose other male progenitors in the male line is or was of European descent but who is a native of India. A European is a person whose father or any of whose other male progenitors in the male line is or was of European descent and who is *not* a native of India.⁷

Whereas Anglo-Indians and Europeans shared European paternal descent, Anglo-Indians were born in India and would, before Independence, and unlike most Europeans, expect to die there. Although written out of this definition, the maternal line of descent for Anglo-Indians usually included an Indian woman, often as far back as the eighteenth century. This gendered and geographical definition of what it meant to be an Anglo-Indian formed the basis for the definition that has been part of the Indian Constitution since 1950. Since 2002, the date that the legal definition was adopted in 1935 has been designated 'World Anglo-Indian Day', which is celebrated by community functions held in India and across the wider diaspora.

The legal definition is important in personal as well as official terms as it informs how many Anglo-Indians understand and explain their identity and community. For example, a teacher who grew up in Lahore before Independence and now lives in Lucknow told me about her family background by explaining the origins of the Anglo-Indian community:

I shall start from approximately three hundred years ago. The British came out to India and stayed there. Now some of them married. Well, there's no such thing as an Anglo-Indian that they married, they actually married the Indian girls. So the British and that Indian lady started up a line of Anglo-Indians. By the time my grandfathers came out, which was two hundred years after that, one came with the Welsh regiment and one came with the Irish regiment... there was a line of Anglo-Indian ladies.... They married a mixture of Anglo-Indians. Therefore we Anglo-Indians are a different strata.... I think I have two-thirds British blood in me, and one-third Indian, hence the way I dress, the way I speak, the way I live.

* * *