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**The Eurasian Problem
In Nineteenth Century India**

Valerie E.R. Anderson

*Department of History
School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS)*

A thesis submitted to the University of London in fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in History

2011

DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

The Eurasian ‘problem’ in nineteenth century India was a question of their national identity. People of mixed European and Indian ancestry, were seen by the British as ‘other’ than European but treated by them as ‘other’ than Indian. First legal proscriptions and later social mores acted to maintain a barrier between the British and Eurasians but the separation was never complete. The British administration needed Eurasian labour and European men continued to seek Eurasian wives, pulling Eurasians into the sphere of British influence. At the same time, eager to define and preserve the Britishness of its presence in India, the government and European ‘society’ pushed Eurasians away. Encouraged by the prospect of work to maintain a strong affiliation with British culture moulded through continued interaction and education, Christian and largely Anglophone Eurasians emerged at the end of the century ‘othered’ again. In the minds of many Indians, the Eurasians, working primarily as government servants, were firmly associated with subjugation and colonial rule.

In colonial India poor or Indianised Eurasians were somewhat of a problem for the British who sought to legitimise their rule with an illusion of European superiority. In late colonial and independent India Anglo-Indians were sometimes perceived as another kind of problem; an unwelcome hang-over from the British Raj. Thus, both their Indian and their European heritage were problematic. A small population with neither political power nor wealth, Eurasians were stuck in a liminal zone between the coloniser and the colonised. As such they were caught up in and buffeted by colonial hegemony, nationalist demands, and the need to put bread or *chapattis* on their tables. This thesis explores the everyday realities of marriage and family, education and employment, and shows how Eurasian agency in choosing their own lifestyles and affiliations, was gradually eroded by the colonial state.

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ABBREVIATIONS

BMJ: British Medical Journal
EIC: East India Company
EIR: East India Railway Company
EIRD: East India Register and Directory
FIBIS: Families in British India website
IMS: Indian Medical Service
IOFH: The India Office Family History website
IOR: India Office Records
ISMD: Indian Subordinate Medical Department
MAS: Modern Asian Studies
NAI: National Archives of India, Delhi
NCO: Non-commissioned officer
ODNB: Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
PRO: Public Records Office, Kew, UK
RAMC: Royal Army Medical Corps.
TNA: The National Archives, Kew, UK

GLOSSARY

Bibi	Indian Mistress
Cranny	Clerk
Griffin	Newly arrived government servant
Mestizo	Portuguese term for person of mixed race
Native	ethnic Indian
Statutory native	born in India but of European or part European ancestry
Topassee	soldier of mixed Indian and Portuguese descent

FOOTNOTES

Footnotes are given in full only when first mentioned in this thesis and in the Bibliography.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

That there were people of mixed European and Asian ancestry was not news to the colonial British; even before their arrival in India there was an established Portuguese presence and a considerable number of Indo-Portuguese *mestizos*.¹ The British made use of them, as translators in their dealings with Indian rulers and traders, as *topasees* supplementing their own soldiery, as *crannies* to staff the administration, and as Christian wives and mistresses.² Despite the long history of cooperation between Britain and Portugal, Portuguese in general and Portuguese *mestizo* in particular, were always considered by the British to be their inferiors; Gilchrist described them as ‘the most contemptible race to be found on earth,’³ Burton said:

It would be, we believe, difficult to find in Asia an uglier or more degraded looking race than that which we are now describing. The forehead is low and flat, the eyes small, quick, and restless; there is a mixture of sensuality and cunning about the region of the mouth, and a development of the lower part of the face which are truly unprepossessing, not to say revolting [...] In personal attractions the fair sex is little superior to the other.⁴

Nor was Britain unaware that British men were fathering Indo-British children. The British had arrived in 1607 like the Portuguese, without women. They had been the dominant European presence since 1765, and yet the Eurasian of British ancestry as something ‘other’ than British, something that had to be discouraged and controlled as a separate category of people, had not been a problem for almost 180 years. Very little reference was made to their racial origins before the 1780s.⁵

1 The Portuguese in India were mostly male and their intermarriage with Indians dated back to the beginning of the sixteenth century. The *mestizos* were Catholics, and their culture largely European. Subcategories of Portuguese along racial lines were never definitive, but the elite were always European born. To the British all Portuguese were a ‘mongrel’ race and the terms Indo-Portuguese, *mestizo*, and Portuguese were often used interchangeably. Luso-Indian was reserved for those the British thought were Indians masquerading as Portuguese.

2 Some Eurasian Catholic women were known to prefer the stigma of remaining ‘mistresses’ rather than relinquish control of their children’s Catholic faith to Protestant husbands.

3 J.B. Gilchrist, *The General East India Guide and Vade Mecum ... a Digest of the Work of the Late Capt. Williamson*, Kingsbury, Parbury & Allen, London, 1825, p. 186.

4 Richard Burton, *Goa, and the Blue Mountains*, Richard Bentley, London, 1851, p. 97.

5 Given the many derogatory references made to ‘half-breeds’ in the American colonies before this date, this is quite surprising. Numerous examples of this can be found, in reference to dealings and relations with the Iroquois

The earliest name for children of Britons born in India was 'Country-born.' According to Anthony, it was applied to those with solely European parentage as well as those of mixed ancestry, without distinction and, he claimed, there was neither stigma nor derogatory sting in the term.⁶ That conclusion seems unlikely given the early belief in environmental determinism (the enervating and degrading effect of India's climate), even though that did not conform to racism in its later incarnations. There would have been no need to distinguish between the 'home' bred and the 'country-born' if that status was without stigma.

Besides the Portuguese and British, numerous other Europeans were present in eighteenth and nineteenth century India and contributed to the growing Eurasian population, including French, Americans, Danish, Germans and Dutch. Each had different policies and attitudes with regard to miscegenation and their own Eurasians. Each contributed to linguistic, religious, social and cultural heterogeneity amongst Eurasians. However, increasing British political hegemony would limit the political sway of other European powers and subject many Eurasians to British influence. Within British India, some opportunities were open to Eurasians provided they were Anglophone, Christian, and appropriately educated.

Beginning in the 1780s the exclusion of Indo-British Eurasians, from both a European British identity and the separate 'domiciled' European category led to the formation of a distinct if never entirely separate community whose members, by an 1870 Parliamentary statute, were labelled 'Statutory Natives of India.'⁷ Thus, Eurasians had become an Indian minority.

Throughout the nineteenth century the British elite progressively distanced itself from the people of India and formed its own 'society' as an exclusive and privileged group which admitted members according to rank, pedigree, race, and behaviour. It was also perceived to be endangered by its very presence in India. Race as a determinate of character, aptitude, and even morality, became a central tenet of nineteenth century British colonial thinking. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, before the concept of race had firmly evolved along lines of colour and genotype (by about mid-century), 'environmental determinism' served to explain the

confederacy in New England over several decades prior to the American Revolution, in Fintan O'Toole, *White Savage; William Johnson and the Invention of America*, Faber & Faber, London, 2005.

6 Frank Anthony, *Britain's Betrayal in India: the Story of the Anglo-Indian Community*, Allied Publishers, New Delhi, 1962, p. 2-3.

7 Anthony, *Britain's Betrayal*, 1962, p. 2-3.

putative vigour of Europeans and indolence of Indians. The ‘enervating’ Indian climate was seen as a danger to European health, character and reproduction.⁸ ‘Society’ attempted to ensure conformity within its own ranks by sumptuary rules, rules of precedence, standards of behaviour in work and leisure, by social pressure, and by sanctions in the work place.⁹

For others domiciled in India, whose only claim to privilege was to have been born of at least one European parent, the nineteenth century saw the introduction of increasingly draconian guidance and policing, as well as (arguably) rewards for maintaining racial or at least cultural exclusivity. The lower orders had to be prevented from forming a bridge between the native and the European¹⁰ if the image of European superiority, the legitimisation of colonial rule, was to remain untarnished.¹¹

Reforms to the East India Company, as it morphed from trading concern into sovereign power, allotted power and influence by race. Corruption, greed, ‘nabobery,’ and even immorality would be minimised if Europeans in India retained their European culture and ties and the malign influence of ‘natives’ was reduced. Beside legislation, a rigid social code, centred on race, soon became apparent and was not confined to the governing elite. Cohn suggested that ‘by the post-Mutiny period the non-officials were the most virulent spokesmen of European superiority.’¹² Legislative reforms (particularly in the 1830s and 1880s) that allowed Indians some part in running their own country were grudgingly granted, and only to the extent that they would appease

8 Environmentalists believed European settlement of India was impossible because climate could modify racial characteristics. Since environment also encompassed education, it was normal practice for the children of the elite to be schooled in Britain and this, to a point, could compensate for the racial ‘degeneration’ caused by either environment or mixed parentage. This theory, although premised upon European superiority, at least offered a prospect of redemption; Indians could be turned into ‘Brown Englishmen’ and Europeans could take steps to minimise ‘Indianisation.’ See T.B. Macaulay, ‘Minute on Education, February 2 1835,’ in H. Sharp (ed.), *Selections from Educational Records, Part 1 (1781-1839)*, Superintendent of Government Printing, Calcutta, 1920, reprinted Delhi NAI, 1965, pp. 107-17; Peter Robb, ‘Children, Emotion, Identity and Empire: Views from the Blechyndens’ Calcutta Diaries (1790–1822),’ *Modern Asian Studies*, 2006, vol. 40 (1), pp. 175–201. Though it was largely superseded by Social Darwinism and Galtonism, environmental determinism never completely disappeared from British thinking; India would always be ‘enervating.’

9 A flavour of this can be found throughout Kipling’s *Plain Tales*; matrons and chums were expected to keep a chap in order. Men who mixed with natives came to a bad end, passed over for promotion and ruined by drink. Rudyard Kipling, *Plain Tales from the Hills*, 1887, (reprinted Penguin, London, 1987).

10 Typifying this attitude, Valentia warned that half-cast children embodied a link between the English and natives.’ George Viscount Valentia, *Voyages and Travels to India and Ceylon, 1802-6*, vol. 1, Rivington, London, 1811, p. 197.

11 Kenneth Ballhatchet, *Race, Sex and Class under the Raj, Imperial Attitudes and Policies and their Critics, 1793-1905*, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, London, 1980, p. 131; Christopher Hawes, *Poor Relations: the Making of a Eurasian Community in British India, 1773-1833*, Curzon, Richmond, 1996, p. 61.

12 He also points out that some European officials and missionaries took a more liberal stance on race. Bernard S. Cohn, ‘The British in Benares: A Nineteenth Century Colonial Society,’ *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 4 (2), 1962, pp. 169-199.

(or buy off) liberal disquiet and Indian dissent.¹³

In this hardening socio-political context, Eurasians' racial 'hybridity' became a problem.¹⁴ Early in the nineteenth century a racialised colonial order was established with the significant posts effectively reserved (by law or usage) for Europeans. Later, opportunities were opened up to Indians and the increasing number of Western educated Indians provided tough competition for posts. Nevertheless, where Indians remained excluded and Europeans could not be found, there were opportunities for Eurasians in government employ. However the economic base of the community remained in a constant state of flux and full employment for the community was not guaranteed, whether because opportunities opened up for Indians or because more Europeans were allowed into India. Eurasians did not fit neatly into any European or Indian category because they were simultaneously too European and too Indian.

Whether we talk of half-castes, East Indians, Eurasians, or in modern parlance Anglo-Indians, from the 1780s onwards, they acquired a separate, contested and negotiated identity. Separation, for the British, obviated ties to extended family in Britain;¹⁵ for the Eurasian it limited realisation of individual potential; and for Victorian moralists it provided object lessons on the dangers of miscegenation. It was an identity bitterly resented by some, prized by others, and vague enough to be manipulated to suit the ends of British colonial government. However loudly the British, from the start of the nineteenth century, protested that Eurasian 'half-castes' were 'the most rapidly accumulating evil,'¹⁶ almost a century later they were still 'to be found in every responsible office under government ... conspicuously employed & trusted.'¹⁷ Eurasians therefore remained, paradoxically, an asset of British colonial government.

13 The Charter Act of 1833 made the theoretical concession that natives of British India and natural-born subjects of His Majesty could no longer be disabled from holding any place, office or employment under the Company by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them. 3rd & 4th George VI, cap. 83. *The Indian Criminal Procedure Act Amendment Bill, 1883* (The Ilbert Bill) proposed dropping the law requiring that British subjects could only be tried by European judges. It was soon modified (1884) so that only the most senior native Judges could try a European and the accused could demand a half European jury.

14 Race and racial hybridity are of course disputed concepts. I use 'hybridity' only in its historical context.

15 Metcalf overstated the case claiming 'offspring were usually not recognised and the man abandoned the woman when he returned to Europe.' Thomas R. Metcalf, 'Imperial Towns and Cities,' in Peter J. Marshall (ed.), *The Cambridge Illustrated History of the British Empire*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2001, p. 247. However, the legal proscriptions described in my next chapter show that maintaining contact would have been very difficult for many.

16 Valentia, *Voyages*, 1811, vol. 1, p. 197.

17 The Wallace deputation to Parliament had just returned to India and Mr M.T. Carroll was addressing a meeting of the newly re-named 'Anglo-Indian Association of Western India.' *The Anglo-Indian Journal*, vol. 1 (2), 1897, pp. 7-9.

THIS THESIS

Empires have long since disappeared into the history books but Eurasians have not. In India today, the Anglo-Indian community is anxious to convey both its nativity and loyalty to India but, stigmatised by its past association with imperial oppression and ‘western’ lifestyle, it is sometimes viewed as an unwelcome residuum of colonialism. At the same time, the diaspora is successfully integrating across the anglophone world but a plethora of internet forums and genealogical studies suggest widespread concern that their community history is fading from memory. This thesis, therefore, attempts to show how and why Eurasians were involved with the nineteenth century British Raj, and why they could not generally favour their Indian ancestry and culture. I argue that their European-ness was reinforced by the colonial state and that their agency to choose otherwise would have cost them both their identity and their livelihoods.

In the next chapter I re-examine Eurasian ‘othering,’ concentrating on identifying the Acts, directives and standing orders that first differentiated Eurasians from their colonial British kin. I explore the effects these proscriptions produced, what motives have been identified and what others have said about them. I conclude that this approach shows how but not why Eurasian ‘othering’ was achieved since it looks at Eurasians in isolation, presuming them to be the main object of concern.

Chapter Three places Eurasian ‘othering’ in the wider context of British interests home and imperial. In so doing, I test whether Eurasians were the object of proscription or simply bystanders whose small numbers and lack of influence made them either invisible or expendable. I look at three powerful men (Henry Dundas, Richard Wellesley and Charles Cornwallis) to show how passionate interests outside India, influenced their actions and priorities whilst they held powerful Indian offices. I conclude that, whilst Eurasians were ‘othered,’ as a result of such men’s actions, their motives must be understood and interpreted in a wider context than hitherto in Eurasian historiography, particularly with respect to evolving British identity.

It is impossible to assess Eurasian roles and status without approximate numbers, and impossible to make quantitative assessments without establishing a baseline and so Chapter Four attempts to enumerate how many Eurasians there were and how such a diverse category was defined and delineated. Every source yielded different figures, and all had problems in reliably identifying the Eurasian population. However, I have been able to establish upper and lower limits for the size of the Eurasian population and to

highlight the artificiality of the concept of a monolithic Eurasian population.

Chapter Five explores the extent to which Europeans continued to form intimate relationships with Indian and Eurasian women. I show that interracial relationships were unlikely to have disappeared at the rate marriage and concubinage disappeared from documentary evidence. It is a comparative mass demographic study of India and England in one year (1881) based marriage records, census and military data from 1881 India and England. This approach minimises subjectivity, my own and that found in the records of interracial contact in nineteenth century India. It shows that significant numbers of Eurasians, rather than forming a separate endogamous community ‘mimicking’ European culture, would have been regularly exposed to European culture and social mores by their husbands and fathers.

Chapter Six explores the nature of these intimate relationships, legal and otherwise. Rather than limit marriage to a Victorian middle-class definition, I explore marriage, as it was understood by the institutions of church and state, and how it was lived by different communities and classes, in Britain and in India. I contend that, for the lower class majority of Europeans and Eurasians, the simple division between legal wife and mistress or concubine is inadequate, was a cause of financial hardship, and was a source of prejudice against Eurasians.

The remaining chapters address aspects of Eurasian identity connected with employment. ‘Employability’ asks what work nineteenth century Eurasians undertook or sought, what they had to do to get that work, what part the British took in moulding ‘useful citizens,’ and what agency Eurasians had in determining their own identity. I contend that Eurasian’s cultural agency shrank as the British restricted Eurasian identity to those whose culture, education and religion were considered appropriate to the employment opportunities they were willing to provide.

I consider the role of Eurasian women, once social pressures began to reduce the availability of European sutors and their agency in directing their own lives. There was concern amongst European men for the virtue of European and part-European women meaning they could not be left to the mercy of Indian men. I show there was a high rate of employment amongst Eurasian women, and that, unlike Indian and European women (unless of the lowest classes) Eurasian women continued to work after marriage. I conclude that this was a financial necessity if Eurasian families were to maintain a European lifestyle.

Chapter Nine asks why the question of Eurasian military service was so

contentious in the nineteenth century. I show that, despite the community's demilitarisation, they remained anxious and able to serve in some capacities. Community leaders, the Government of India, the military and Parliament, all engaged in recurring discourses on this subject, ranging from the community's biological competence to serve, to its loyalty to Britain, and the community's potential for economic and moral improvement through military service. This chapter, therefore, explores the construction and probing of what has been termed the 'internal frontier' of nationality.

The last chapter before my general conclusions asks what Eurasians got out of railway service, a sector of such importance that 'railwayman' became an alternative identity. I explore the diverse occupations and general benefits available to Eurasian railway employees and their families, and life in racially segregated railway colonies that placed Eurasians alongside Europeans rather than amongst Indians. I show that, despite earning less than the Europeans amongst whom they worked and often lived, the community gained security, status, acknowledgement that they were of European stock, and an opportunity to be of service to India. The price paid by their descendents has proven to be either physical or social isolation from an Indian national identity.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

*Have you heard the joke about the Anglo-Indian national library? They lost the book.*¹⁸

The Eurasians of India attracted little attention from Victorian and early twentieth century historians; most works contemporary with the British raj fail even to mention them. A corpus of academic literature now exists but little of this filters through into popular understanding. Much of it uses Eurasians to explore conceptual problems such as race, nation, and the nature of colonialism. A few histories by members of the Eurasian community are available and are ubiquitous sources for introductory summaries of Eurasian history in works on the twentieth century community. These sources were shaped by political and ideological issues of their own times and by each author's personal understanding of their own situation. They offer interesting insights into how Eurasians themselves viewed their own community, their identity, and the

¹⁸ Laura Roychowdhury, *The Jadu House: Travels in Anglo-India*, Black Swan, London, 2001, pp. 48.

political power-shifts that affected relationship with the larger British and Indian peoples. The three Eurasian authors cited most often are Cedric Dover, Herbert Alick Stark and Frank Anthony. Two authors, Dorris Goodrich and Christopher Hawes, have studied the formation of Eurasian communal identity early in the nineteenth century; standing outside the Eurasian community they offer a more dispassionate interpretation. Much else that has been written specifically about the Eurasians of India has explored the Anglo-Indians of twentieth century India and those who now form a diaspora throughout the anglophone world. For obvious reasons, a large liminal and marginal group, subjected to massive socio-political change (the end of empire, the departure of the British and life in independent India), has attracted the attentions of sociologists and anthropologists. Of particular note amongst these are recent works of Lionel Caplan, Alison Blunt and Laura Bear. Each has a multidisciplinary approach that explores the lasting practical and psychological effects of colonial history on post-colonial Anglo-Indian communities. Also relevant are the works of David Arnold on poor Europeans and industrial relations in nineteenth century India, and of Ann Laura Stoler on Eurasians in the colonial Dutch Indies. The work of each of these authors grounds many topics relevant to this thesis.

An Anglo-Indian and biologist, Cedric Dover (1920-1962) wrote on race and colonial oppression. First published in 1929 when Eugenicists were taken seriously in Britain and America, three years after Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, Dover sought to rebut historical prejudice and answer eugenicist arguments against the 'mixed-races.' It is surprising, given his long-term interest in racial discrimination, deriding the opinions of contemporary eugenicists, and championing American Black civil rights, that he identified Eurasians as a 'race,' and believed it was possibly a superior one.

He travelled widely, in Malaya, Britain, and the USA as well as India. Having grown up with the Indian independence movement, met Black American civil rights activists, and read Booker T Washington, he voiced the opinion that Eurasians had more in common with oppressed people of colour, wherever they lived, than they did with Europeans. He believed that Eurasians throughout the world shared a cultural identity but, as a Congress party supporter, he encouraged Eurasians to embrace an Indian national identity too.¹⁹

¹⁹ Anthony Christie, 'Obituary for Cedric Dover: 1904-1962,' *Man*, vol. 62, April 1962, p. 55. Dover wrote widely but his most relevant works are Cedric Dover, *Chimmerii? Or, Eurasians and Their Future*, Modern Art Press, Calcutta, 1929 and *Half-Caste*, Martin Secker and Warburg Ltd, London, 1937.

With regard to Eurasian exclusion from the British pale, Dover cited a 1786 directive, banning repatriation to Britain of Eurasian orphans, as the beginning.²⁰ He stressed one motive: disguised behind a smokescreen of fear that the Eurasians would follow the mulattos of Haiti and revolt, the real motive of the Company's shareholders was employment and wealth for their own relatives. His invective was directed primarily at English capitalists:

What... could be expected from England...in which semi-nude women worked, literally as beasts of burden, in the mines...in which thousands of half-starved children died every year through the most cruel forms of menial labour and the indifference of both parents and state.²¹

Dover was convinced that the Eurasians had suffered unjustly:

So, the community which had served the Father-land so well degenerated into a community of clerks, railway-men and telegraphists, forced to be content with employment in the subordinate grades of the Company's services. Oppression had won. But the thoughtful statesman knows that the final victory rests always with the oppressed.²²

There was chronological overlap between Dover and educator and writer Herbert Alick Stark (1864-1938), but Stark was born two generations earlier and so was very much a colonial subject. His *East Indian Worthies* (published in 1892) was a collection of 'brief memoirs... [which] originally appeared in the *Eurasian & Anglo-Indian Recorder*.²³ He used the term 'East Indian' because it was the designation which his subjects had chosen for themselves. Perhaps Morris' *Anglo-Indian Worthies*, published two years before and lauding the memory of another kind of Anglo-Indians (famous Britons like Munro, Elphinstone, and Lawrence),²⁴ stimulated him into placing the achievements of his community on record.

Stark took greater cognisance than Dover of his community's British ancestry and culture, as would be expected of a colonial government employee.²⁵ In 1909 he produced a school history textbook in which he wrote approvingly on what India had

²⁰ IOR/B/102, Court Minute Book, 14 March 1786; PWD India, *Original Papers Relative to the Establishment of a Society in Bengal for the Protection of Orphans, 1784*, London, Joseph Cooper, n.d., pp. 29-34.

²¹ Dover, *Chimmerii*, 1929, pp. 9-10.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 25.

²³ Stark wrote eight books, this was his first. Herbert Alick Stark & Walter Madge, *East-Indian Worthies*, n.p., Calcutta, 1892.

²⁴ H. Morris, *Anglo-Indian Worthies*, The Christian Vernacular Education Society, Madras, 1890.

²⁵ Stark was Inspector of European Schools, Bengal.

gained from British rule and encouraged his schoolboy pupils to be grateful to the ‘supreme power, whom providence has sent to be the guardian of the land and the friend of its people.’²⁶ A shift in Stark’s attitude became apparent in his later work *Hostages to India*. His analysis of the Company’s motives for excluding Eurasians is similar to Dover’s; retention of patronage with Haiti as no more than a convenient excuse.²⁷ His bleak description of Anglo-Indian history reflects his personal disillusion with the government he had served throughout his life:

To reduce a people to political impotence and social degradation, three measures are all sufficient. Deprive them of the means of livelihood. Deprive them of education. Deprive them of arms. These three cruel measures had been enacted against the Anglo-Indian race, and thus within the brief period of the ten years lying between 1786 and 1795, by standing orders of the great East India Company, Anglo-Indians, ever true as steel to their British connection, had been reduced to the status of a proscribed and down-trodden race.²⁸

Stark’s *Hostages* was first published in 1926, a few years after the Indianisation reforms of the Government of India Act of 1919, with a second edition issued just before the arrival of the Simon Commission. He believed Britain was failing to offer Anglo-Indians the protection due to a loyal community; that Indians ‘repudiate our consanguinity’ and he dreaded the community’s future under Indian rule.²⁹ In this context it is hardly surprising that he saw the ‘othering’ of Anglo-Indians or Eurasians as deliberate and calculated policy. Whilst he saw ‘Anglo-Indian’ as a communal identity (or even a race) ‘Hostages’ was suffused with anxiety over the unresolved issue of their national identity.

Frank Anthony (1908 – 1993) was an educationalist and politician who, for many years, represented Anglo-Indians in the Lok Sabha. Writing in the early 1960s his work reflects the upheavals and identity crises posed by India’s independence and the emigration of half the community. The remaining Anglo-Indians now had to decide whether they were essentially European, in which case many still wanted to leave, or loyal Indians with a history of devotion to public service. An already microscopic

²⁶ Herbert Alick Stark, *India under Company and Crown: Being an Account of its Progress and Present Administration*, Macmillan & Co, Calcutta, 1909, p. 106. This book was written when Stark was ‘Additional Assistant Director of Public Instruction, Bengal.’

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 54-5.

²⁸ Herbert Alick Stark, *Hostages to India, or the Life Story of the Anglo-Indian Race*, 2nd edition, Star Printing Works, Calcutta, 1936, p. 59.

²⁹ Stark, *Hostages*, 1936, p. 142.

community had shrunk further because so many had already chosen to leave. Those left, many of whom had actively chosen to stay, suffered increased prejudice from other Indians who saw them as foreign imperial lackeys,³⁰ thought they were staying only because they could not afford to leave, or were staying because they could not prove European ancestry. On the ‘othering’ of Eurasians, Anthony’s interpretation stressed the part he believed Valentia’s report of 1811³¹ had played in precipitating the community’s economic decline:

on the basis of that criminally ignorant report, an order was issued in 1808 discharging Anglo-Indians from all ranks of the British Army. ... Thereafter a dense impregnable wall of social and economic discrimination was drawn around the Anglo-Indians.³²

Valentia’s comments on Eurasians, whilst derogatory, were no more than passing comments similar to those made by others over the previous twenty years and their importance was therefore somewhat overstated.³³ He said nothing worse than had already been said by Cornwallis and the young men of Wellesley’s Fort William College. Anthony described the proscriptions that ‘othered’ Eurasians as ‘the first betrayal’ of the community, by the British. He quoted Stark extensively and was every bit as indignant and emotive:

Discrimination and deliberate oppression were, in the next few years, to be the return for their [Eurasians] vital services ... The complex of greed, baseless fear and brazen ingratitude was to be the guiding motive of policy towards the Community in the next few years.³⁴

Anthony worked for his community’s acceptance as Indians, even persuading the government to accept English as an Indian language, and yet his picture of the community’s ‘betrayals’ rests on unfair exclusion from the fold and eventual abandonment by the British. His attitude to the community’s identity and even

³⁰ The social & cultural problems caused by this perception of Anglo-Indians in post-independence India are explored by Noel P. Gist, ‘Cultural versus Social Marginality: The Anglo-Indian Case,’ *Phylon*, vol. 28, (4), 1967, pp. 361-375, by V.R. Gaikwad, *The Anglo-Indians: a Study in the Problems and Progress Involved in Emotional and Cultural Integration*, Asia Publishing House, London, 1967 and by Glenn D’Cruz, ‘My Two Left Feet: The Problem of Anglo-Indian Stereotypes in Post-Independence Indo-English Fiction,’ *The Journal of Commonwealth Literature*, vol. 38, 2003, pp105-123.

³¹ Valentia, *Voyages*, (4 volumes), 1811.

³² Anthony, *Britain’s Betrayal*, 1962, p. 22.

³³ As early as 1789, Innes Munro had been concerned that Anglo-Indian numbers in England were a threat to racial purity. Innes Munro, *A Narrative of the Military Operations on the Coromandel Coast*, privately printed, London, 1789, p. 50.

³⁴ Anthony, *Britain’s Betrayal*, 1962, p. 19.

nationality remained, therefore, somewhat ambivalent.

Dorris Goodrich (1920 -) was a sociologist with an interest in utilising ‘hybrid’ peoples to explore the formation of social groups. She set out to establish first *when* a Eurasian ‘group’ identity in India came into existence, and then *how* it came about.³⁵ She, like the authors from within the community, claimed that British policy deliberately and formally discriminated against Eurasians. Goodrich noted that the imposition of Eurasian identity coincided with Britain’s realisation that it now held an Indian empire. Goodrich hypothesised:

during this period [1784-1833] a transition was made; Eurasians ceased to be regarded, and subsequently ceased to regard themselves, as individuals claiming membership in the European community in India, and came to have an identity as members of a new social group – the Eurasian community.³⁶

Whilst it is true that a Eurasian community did emerge, there is plenty of evidence that many did not cease to regard themselves as members of the European community.³⁷ The weaknesses of this work, as a contribution to Eurasian history, are that it does not attempt to go beyond what Anglo-Indian authors have concluded about *why* Eurasians had been ‘othered,’ and it remained an unpublished thesis. Further, concepts such as race, hybridity and even culture have been studied, discussed, and their meanings shifted, since it was written, almost sixty years ago.

Christopher Hawes had spent twenty years in post-independence India, before writing *Poor Relations*.³⁸ Like Goodrich, he concentrated on the years around the turn of the nineteenth century when the Eurasian community began to be excluded from the British pale. He set out to examine, impartially, Anglo-Indian criticisms of British policy, British actions, and the motives that inspired them. He noted the subjectivity of Eurasian authors (such as those discussed above) whose agenda was to shame Britain and protect community interests. He stressed changes within British society, in Britain’s role as an emerging imperial power, and on competition for jobs from Western educated

³⁵ Dorris Goodrich, *The Making of an Ethnic Group: the Eurasian Community in India*, PhD Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, June 1952.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 6-7.

³⁷ Several Indian Census reports confirm that many Eurasians returned themselves (or were returned by others) as Europeans. For examples see W, Chichele Plowden, *Report on the Census of British India Taken on the 17th February 1881*, Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, 1883, p. 32; Jervoise Athelstane Baines, *General Report on the Census of India, 1891*, HMSO, London, 1893, p. 177; J.A.B. (ed.), ‘The Census of India, 1911: Christians by Race and Sect,’ *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, vol. 75 (4), March 1912.

³⁸ Hawes, *Poor*, 1996.

Indians. Unlike Goodrich, Hawes felt that: ‘... if ever a community could have wished for its own corporate dissolution, and for complete integration with its paternal society, it would have been the educated Eurasians of early nineteenth century India.’³⁹

Hawes main contribution is that his work brought Eurasian history from a ‘footnote to the historical account of British India,’ into the orbit of serious objective scrutiny. Frequently cited, ‘Poor Relations’ is something of a seminal work, after which many authors have written articles, chapters, and even books about the Eurasian community.⁴⁰ But for his death Hawes would likely have written a book on the nineteenth century community.

David Arnold’s work on industrialisation and labour relations in nineteenth century India pre-dates Hawes and is an exception to the ‘footnote’ treatment. He noticed something that many historians before him seemed to have missed. He said:

Current writing about the British in India would lead an otherwise uninformed reader to suppose that its European community consisted almost entirely of civil servants, army officers, planters and businessmen. That, no doubt, was how the Raj chose to see itself.⁴¹

The self-interest of the British elite, who wrote and preserved many of the sources available to us, often stressing their personal ‘contribution’ to history, is perhaps sufficient explanation of this. It is hard to write about people who did not leave us their own words. Arnold’s work has sought to address this problem. From the late 1970s onwards, he has explored the problems posed by poor whites, and often Eurasians, for the colonial state and, as Bear notes, he was one of the first historians to appreciate the significance of the discussions and sentiments prompted by the 1858 Commission on Colonization and Settlement. Many of the colonial state’s assumptions about racial competencies, whether for work or to withstand climate, disease, or degeneration (physical and moral) were explored by this commission and passed into common ‘knowledge’ by the press coverage it received. The main conclusions were that the British working-classes should be kept out of India because they were not to be trusted

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁴⁰ Examples include: Laura Bear, *Lines of the Nation*, Columbia University Press, 2007; Alison Blunt, *Domicile and Diaspora: Anglo-Indian Women and the Spatial Politics of Home*, Blackwell, Oxford, 2005; Elizabeth Buettner, *Empire Families: Britons and Late Imperial India*, OUP, Oxford 2004; Lionel Caplan, *Children of Colonialism: Anglo-Indians in a Postcolonial World*, Berg, Oxford, 2001; Michael H Fisher, *The Inordinately Strange Life of Dyce Sombre: Victorian Anglo Indian MP and ‘Chancery Lunatic,’* Hurst & Co., London, 2010; Durba Ghosh, *Sex And The Family In Colonial India; The Making Of Empire*, Cambridge UP, Cambridge, 2006.

⁴¹ David Arnold, ‘European Orphans and Vagrants in India in the Nineteenth Century’, *Journal of Imperial & Commonwealth History*, v.7 (2), 1979, pp. 104-127.

and their behaviour would damage perceptions of European superiority. The middle-class, who represented an ideal combination of breeding, morality and capital, would civilise India by example. Europeans would fund and direct India's modernisation. Foremost amongst these projects were the railways which would bring modernity and progress, and enable the European elites to govern from the hills. Arnold notes, ironically, that the railways' use of European and Eurasian subordinates provided 'the only real experience of white colonization' in British India. Tightly controlled within railway colonies where their behaviour was educated and policed by the state, these formed a labour aristocracy.⁴²

Arnold argues that 'in reacting ... strongly against ideas of 'otherness', historians may too readily overlook or unduly diminish the ways in which ideas of difference were mobilized, in ideology and in practice, in the service of an imperial power,'⁴³ and yet, elsewhere, he tends to lump poor whites and Eurasians together.⁴⁴ Even when it is comparatively simple to avoid do so, such as for midwives and nurses, which most would agree were almost exclusively domains of Eurasian employment, he uses the blanket-term 'poor Europeans.' He notes, however, that the poor whites jealously guarded their status because it offered some advantages and so for this reason, it is surprising that he rarely differentiates between these two colonial categories. Further, whilst acknowledging the contempt of the European elite for poor whites, he treats all Europeans as a single 'community,' whilst in the same sentence, he notes the factors that separated them. This confusion is also found in the sources. The ambiguity was experienced at the time and is relevant to contemporary definitions of race, as this thesis will show.

Arnold makes an important point about the mismatch, particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century, between the racial kudos of Europeans 'visible only as a super-race' and the commitment of European commerce to principles of *laissez faire*. He notes, for example, that Bombay Chamber of Commerce was oblivious to unemployed poor whites and Eurasians because they were surplus to requirements and

⁴² *ibid*; see also Arnold, 'Industrial Violence in Colonial India', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, v.22 (2), 1980, pp. 234-255; 'White Colonization and Labour in Nineteenth-Century India,' *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, v.11 (2), 1983, pp. 133-58; *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth-century India*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1993; 'Race, Place and Bodily Difference in Early Nineteenth Century India', *Historical Research*, v.77 (196), May 2004, pp. 254-273; and Laura Bear, *Lines of the Nation, Indian Railway Workers, Bureaucracy and the Intimate Historical Self*, Columbia University Press, Chichester, N.Y., 2007, pp. 26-34.

⁴³ Arnold, 'Race, Place and Bodily Difference'

⁴⁴ Arnold, 'European Orphans.'

therefore outside their remit. He shows very clearly how the state had little choice but to intervene (with vagrancy legislation, schooling, cantonments, workhouses, jails, asylums, and deportation) on a scale that the British government was not prepared to replicate 'back home'.⁴⁵ That Indians who travelled to Britain were shocked by the sight of poor whites is perhaps testament to the effectiveness of their efforts.

Arnold also explores beliefs about place, race and class through the prism of Western medicine in India, noting its close association and emphasis on military priorities: keeping soldiers alive and fit. Here is a transition that also will be examined in and illustrated in this thesis. The belief in racially determined difference, this time almost entirely physical, is clear. European doctors sought explanations for why some diseases were many times more likely to kill a European soldier than an officer or an Indian and, through exploring local outbreaks of disease, were influential in defining and identifying the safest areas in which to site garrisons.⁴⁶

Turning to the railways and industry, Arnold explores ways in which industrial violence by aggrieved employees or alarmed management, heightened racial tensions, since the former were Indians and the latter Europeans and Eurasians. This thesis will argue that his conclusion that 'racial aggression and retaliation [was] a primary source of industrial conflict' is unproven. In fact he argues that industrial violence had a forerunner in protests by rural labourers pre-dating the British raj, and has persisted for more than sixty years in independent India. Race was therefore part of the equation but as an amplifier rather than a root cause.⁴⁷

Like Arnold's work on the European poor, my thesis explores a section of British colonial society, albeit a section whose nationality, race and culture were contested, that occupied a liminal zone between the colonisers and the colonised. It was a section whose existence, nationality, race, and culture were all contested. I attempt to isolate the effects of racial classification from that of class. This is particularly clear in differences in pensions and allowances for soldiers' widows and differences in earnings for railway men. Like Arnold, I found this to be difficult because classification could be arbitrary and contingent on context; and yet it has proved to be worthwhile to highlight the difficulties encountered by those trying to live within poorly defined and mobile communal boundaries.

⁴⁵ Arnold, *European Orphans*.

⁴⁶ Arnold, *Colonizing; 'Race, Place*.

⁴⁷ Arnold, *Industrial Violence*.

For the authors I have discussed so far Eurasians' identification with the British and association with the colonial state (through work and education) are important themes. They also have an on-going significance for Eurasians today, especially those who form the Anglo-Indian minority community in contemporary independent India.

Lionel Caplan, for example, in *Children of Colonialism*, explores the situation of Anglo-Indians in Madras today. He intricately weaves the community's colonial history into the fabric of their everyday lives, showing how the legacy of British employment policies, education, stereotyping, and ultimate departure, have left the rump of a community with a culture and identity seen by other Indians as foreign and (as said) further disrupted by the permanent migration of so many abroad. Caplan takes issue with descriptions of Anglo-Indians and other *metis* groups as marginal to the two parent racial or ethnic groups because it does not allow for local circumstances, internal differences and boundaries within either parent group, and the existence of porous and imprecise 'racial cum social' categories.⁴⁸ It also presupposes that there are such things as pure cultures distinct from one another. Caplan argues for a 'cultural continuum' that 'highlights diversity and internal variation.' He notes that the situation in India was never simple because the boundaries of identity and culture that the colonial state sought to impose were porous and European, Anglo-Indian and Indian identities refused to stay wholly fixed and distinct. Even within the heart of each group, there was no single, all-embracing identity that could ignore differences in class, caste, religion or gender. Caplan also critiques the use of 'hybridity' solely as a cultural phenomenon whilst ignoring the fact that it also has racial overtones.

We cannot apply contemporary perceptions of race simply as a construct of use to colonisers, either retrospectively to situations where it was a reality in the everyday lives of many, nor to localities and situations where, as in India, some Anglo-Indians believe it still holds sway. Caplan's points about the porous and fluid nature of categories of people, whether by race or culture, which some mistakenly see as a postcolonial phenomenon, are unmistakably significant in the study of nineteenth century Eurasians. Caplan highlights the gap between theorists who deconstruct the concept of pure or distinct cultures and others, some of whom apply such thinking in attempts to identify an 'unmixed, pure 'Indian' identity.' Caplan clearly views the

⁴⁸ Lionel Caplan *Children of Colonialism: Anglo-Indians in a Postcolonial World*, Berg, Oxford, 2001.

Anglo-Indians as racially mixed and of a creolised culture but also as part of a continuum which should include them, racially and culturally, within an Indian identity.⁴⁹

I believe my thesis shows that nineteenth century Eurasians were indeed part of a cultural continuum, very evidently so in the first decades of the century, in which they might be included at the margins of either parent group. In my chapters on employment in the early decades, Eurasians amongst the Calcutta government clerks or Ranjit Singh's soldiers made clear choices to affiliate with one or other parent group. At the same time, others such as Hyder Hearsey and James Skinner exemplified the imprecision of what Caplan calls 'racial cum social' categories and were comfortable in both parent groups simultaneously. The concept of national identity came to the fore in twentieth and late nineteenth century efforts to find a unifying national identity that was Indian, together with British efforts to discourage any attachment to India in European colonists and settlers. The effect of this on Anglo-Indians who were by custom, practice and probably necessity closely associated with the European or coloniser cultural continuum continues to this day.

Ann Laura Stoler's work may stand here as representative of a broad trend in recent historiography. Her *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power* appeared in 2002, though her work on race and colonialism extends back over at least the previous decade.⁵⁰ Studying Eurasians of the Dutch East Indies in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century she argues that focusing on colonial states' attempts to control, define and police family life and racial boundaries can increase our understanding of the limits of any colonial power. Colonial discourses on 'métissage' can 'work as diagnostics of stress points' showing differences and similarities between colonial states. Thus,

⁴⁹ Other relevant works by Caplan include: 'Creole World, Purist Rhetoric: Anglo-Indian Cultural Debates in Colonial and Contemporary Madras', *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, v.1 (4), 1995, pp. 743-762; 'Gifting and Receiving: Anglo-Indian Charity and its Beneficiaries in Madras', *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, v.32, 1998, pp. 409-431; 'Iconographies of Anglo-Indian Women: Gender Constructs and Contrasts in a Changing Society', *Modern Asian Studies*, v.34 (4), 2000, pp. 863-892; and 'Colonial & Post Colonial Hybridities: Eurasians in India', *IIAS Newsletter*, No.30, 2003, http://iias.nl/iiasn/30/IIASNL30_16.pdf, (accessed Dec 2007).

⁵⁰ Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*, University of California Press, USA, 2002. Other relevant works by Stoler include 'Rethinking Colonial Categories; European Communities and the Boundaries of Rule', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, v.31 (1), 1989, pp. 134-161; 'Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Sexual Morality in 20th-Century Colonial Cultures', *American Ethnologist*, v.16 (4), 1989, pp. 634-660; 'Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers: European Identities and the Cultural Politics of Exclusion in Colonial Southeast Asia,' *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, v.34 (3), 1992, pp. 514-551; *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things*, Duke Univ. Press, USA, 1995; and 'Affective States', in David Nugent and Joan Vincent, *A Companion to the Anthropology of Politics*, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, 2004, pp4-20.

Stoler's work can inform a study of British India where attitudes to orphans highlight financial concerns as well as concern over racial 'contamination' and immorality. The discourses around military service highlight concerns over the legitimation of rule, the state's desire to maintain separation of European and Indian, and doubts about the loyalty (or otherwise) of Eurasians to white rule.

Stoler notes that state sponsored official data such as censuses make 'broad simplified sociological generalizations' recording only data of use to the colonial state as it made 'selective and strategic comparison' of what it saw as different polities. I have found this true of census data in nineteenth century India where 'Eurasian,' excluded non-Christians and those of maternal European ancestry, and was less a biological descriptor than a trope for a potentially employable 'European' cultural identity.

Stoler notes that few colonial histories allow for 'cultural renegades who refused to be counted amongst their kind' or for 'the severed lives that colonialism's racial policies produced.' These areas of research throw a harsh light on colonial attempts to police intimacy and family life and illustrate the centrality of race or nation to attempts to legitimise colonial rule. Perhaps to explain why such histories are the exception rather than the rule, Stoler moots that 'we have bought into colonial scripts' in which poor whites, mixed-race children and middle-class whites were ascribed certain attitudes and racially determined traits; she cites false-pride, impudence, and compassion respectively. Awareness of this underpins my approach to this thesis, particularly in the chapters on marriage and demographics, where I have attempted to get beyond the colonial scripts that present us with a surprisingly long-lived idea of what constituted marriage and who was (or was not) a Eurasian.

Amongst issues on which this thesis may cast light are the attitudes and identities of Anglo-Indians today. Alison Blunt's 2005 *Domicile and Diaspora* portrays two generations of Anglo-Indians, young adults in the run-up to Indian independence and those born about that time living in three different countries; India, Britain and Australia.⁵¹ She explores changes in their ideas of 'home;' home as homeland and home as the domestic sphere of culture and family life. Blunt found a continuing sense of Anglo-Indian identity defined by genealogy and a distinctively mixed European and Indian culture.

⁵¹ Alison Blunt, *Domicile and Diaspora: Anglo-Indian Women and the Spatial Politics of Home*, Blackwell, Oxford, 2005.

Blunt also discovered, amongst the community's elders in India, concern over acculturation as younger Anglo-Indians, especially women, were beginning to shift towards integration with intermarriage, mastery of Indian languages and changes in dress, all of which were helping younger Anglo-Indians to 'fit in' with increasing westernisation amongst other Indian communities. She showed that a dual allegiance to India as motherland and Britain as fatherland shifted in the interwar years from 1918 and continued to shift towards India, at least in the writings of Anglo-Indian political and community leaders. Many Anglo-Indians in India now see themselves as unequivocally Indian, their difference from other Indians no greater than that between a Kashmiri and a Keraline.

Blunt described the first wave of immigration to Britain in terms of an imperial diaspora coming 'home' motivated by fear or unwillingness to be ruled by Indians. Australia had been closed to most until immigration law changes in the late 1960s allowed the second wave of immigrants to choose the warmer climes of Western Australia. She records the culture shock experienced by many, unaware that in reality life in metropolitan Britain bore little resemblance to that portrayed by British expatriates. The heaviest burdens fell on women, many of whom had to learn for the first time how to cook, shop and clean for themselves. Anglo-Indians were surprised that neither Britons nor Australians seemed to comprehend their ethnicity; an on-going irritation in Britain where Anglo-Indians are a tiny minority amongst millions of South Asian origin. The community has become somewhat more recognised in Australia where they represent perhaps a third of South Asians and government and minority efforts to promote multiculturalism encourage pride in their heritage.

Unfortunately, by concentrating her research on Anglo-Indian associations, Blunt introduces a bias; she cannot fail to find people who continue to identify strongly by ethnicity. The Australian experience now, of community dances and other social gatherings, is not dissimilar to that in Britain a couple of decades ago. Since the Australian migration occurred more recently memories and connections with India and the Anglo-Indian community there are that much fresher. Anglo-Indian communal activities in Britain have all but died out except for occasional old-school reunions and genealogy interest groups, strongly suggesting that successful integration had replaced the nostalgia for India experienced by first generation migrants. Anglo-Indians in Britain have neither disappeared nor discarded their ethnicity which survives in the home and in bonds with family, but identities based on shared interests or experiences

now compete with affiliations based on ethnicity alone. Many Anglo-Indian associations stick hard to the Indian constitution's definition of their community; excluding those of maternal European heritage, the non-Anglophone and those not born or domiciled in India. Such associations therefore serve a similar function to that which they had in the colonial era; representing a sub-group of Eurasians and policing their culture and membership. Since Blunt notes that a decade ago 54% of its women were already marrying 'out' and many authors have described the mass exodus of over half of the community, it is perhaps time for such associations to think again.

Blunt's starting point of 1919 for shifting attitudes to home (India or Britain) was chosen because the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms were proposed in that year. I find this problematic as a baseline. Blunt implies that strong British attachment existed then because Britain was the dominant power. Whilst this is true it was also a period when many empire subjects would have felt an exceptionally strong allegiance to Britain prompted by involvement in World War One. Anglo-Indians had been allowed to enlist (something the community's leaders had craved for many decades) and did so in large numbers. Their identification with Britain may therefore have been skewed at this time of greater exposure to the British military and, like many Indian nationalists in the Second World War, by the belief they would be rewarded for services rendered.

Blunt notes that subsequently the community's allegiance towards India increased but the poorer and darker seemed to hold their European ancestry and culture more precious than the wealthier or fairer Anglo-Indians. Many successful middle-class families emigrated very early, but the poor had to pool resources to send a relative or two abroad in the hope that they would earn money for further passages. This class-difference may, therefore, simply represent a higher proportion of Anglo-centrics amongst the poor still in India, than amongst the upper strata of the community whose Anglo-centrics had long gone. Blunt suggests successful integration characterises the most successful Anglo-Indians in India today, implying that remaining apart is a factor in on-going poverty. But minority status has some advantages too (for example in education or for receipt of charity directed at Anglo-Indians), and so perhaps preserving their distinctive identity is simply more necessary to the poorer and darker.⁵²

⁵² Other works by Blunt include 'Imperial Geographies of Home: British Domesticity in India, 1886-1925', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, v.24 (4), 1999, pp421-440; and 'Postcolonial Migrations: Anglo-Indians in 'White Australia'', (Presented at King's College, London, 2000).

Concentrating on the nineteenth century, my thesis covers a period in which allegiance was complex but, in some respects, less problematic because there was less scope for personal, individual decisions with regard to nationality. Under crown rule everyone in British India was a British subject. Darcus Howe, a black Trinidadian expatriate who moved to Britain before his homeland achieved independence, has written on this 'empire' identity; he was born and raised in the British empire and always considered himself British. Though conscious of the fact that he was not to consider himself 'British' in the same way as his teachers from Britain, he did not identify with a Trinidadian national identity.⁵³ What complicated the issue for Eurasians in nineteenth century India, was their separate racial classification and the obstacles and privileges that came with it.

The earlier history of these conditions and allegiances has been traced in Laura Bear's *Lines of the Nation*, published in 2007. It is an in-depth social history of India's railways.⁵⁴ Concentrating on East India Railway and, therefore, Bengal she explores how its colonial bureaucracy shaped the lives of its personnel. Staff were selected and trained for management, supervisory and technical roles only if they possessed what British colonial society recognised as the right 'bio-moral' attributes, both inherently (as racial competencies) and by nurture (education, family background and behaviour). The most 'British' element of the Eurasian population was heavily involved in the railways becoming, in effect, a railway caste. Bear and Arnold both explore ways in which colonial racial beliefs impacted on the lives of subordinate or working-class Europeans and Eurasians but Bear provides more detail and nuance by honing in on a single industry; one that encompassed up to half of all anglophone Eurasians – those we now term Anglo-Indians. Bear argues that railway colonies were 'key sites for the construction and contestation of European identity,' since these were where many European and Eurasian employees were housed; but the project was complicated by the 'hybridity' of domiciled Europeans and Eurasians.⁵⁵ Education was also used by the colonial state and the railway to mould subordinates' cultural identity.⁵⁶

⁵³ Darcus Howe, 'I returned to Trinidad and just stared at my parents', *New Statesman*, 23rd April 2001.

⁵⁴ Bear, *Lines*.

⁵⁵ See also Laura Bear, 'Miscegenations of Modernity: Constructing European Respectability and Race in the Indian Railway Colony, 1857-1931', *Women's History Review*, v.3 (4), 1994, pp. 531-548.

⁵⁶ Laura Bear, 'School Stories and the Internal Frontiers: Tracing the Domestic Life of Anglo-Indian Citizens,' in V. Bénéï (ed), *Education and Nationalism in Europe, South Asia, China: Manufacturing Citizenship*, Routledge, London, 2005, pp. 236-261.

Bear uses an interdisciplinary approach, historical and anthropological, to show how the colonial state and railway administration applied theories of race to every aspect of this industry and in its expectations and treatment of its staff; striving to impose and sustain middle-class British and Christian ethics. Bear's study continues to the present day and the Anglo-Indians now living in a Bengali milieu. For Bengalis *jati* (communal identity) is firmly anchored to *desh* (geographical point of origin). Such foundations for Anglo-Indian identity have been weakened by the departure of the British (with whom they formed a kind of *jati*), and their decreased association with the railways (the colonies of which served as a kind of *desh*). They are left with the difficulty of claiming a *jati*, whether that is Indian or European, through archival evidence indelibly shaped but poorly recorded by the institutions of the colonial state.⁵⁷

I draw most heavily on Bear's work in my chapter on the railways but, at a time when Eurasians had been a more prominent and privileged section of the workforce and were not yet feeling the effects of Indianisation in this sector. What I show, by querying the employment archive is the financial cost attached to their racial classification in the wrong half of the workforce of Europeans and Eurasians.

I find little to disagree with in Bear's work on the Anglo-Indian railway caste. One exception might be the claim that their increasing Catholicism is driven by a need to validate their identity or to enhance their sense of community. Christianity has always been one of the foundations on which Anglo-Indian identity was built and, at least in India, religion is still very much part of most people's everyday lives, whichever their community. Rather than a means to enhance a sense of community, Christianity is a defining Anglo-Indian characteristic. The Catholic Church may be more attractive than the Protestant now because it is, I believe, the only Christian denomination in India which recognises and permits inter-denominational marriages; an important point for a much reduced and dispersed community.

The existing historiography, of which the above are a sample of the most significant contributions, explores the community's early history but then jumps forward to the final decades of the nineteenth century and the last half century of British rule, leaving a period of great change under-described. This thesis draws on this

⁵⁷ See Laura Bear, 'Public Genealogies, Bodies and Nations in Anglo-Indian Railway Family Histories', *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, v.35, 2001, pp. 355-388; 'Ruins and Ghosts: The Domestic Uncanny and the Materialization of Anglo-Indian Genealogies in Kharagpur', in Janet Carsten, *Ghosts of Memory; Essays on Remembrance and Relatedness*, Blackwell, Oxford, 2007, pp. 36-57.

historiography to examine issues of significance in the history of the Eurasians of India, especially the anglicised predecessors of the Anglo-Indian community, across the nineteenth century. It shows how growing British hegemony, and the racialised legitimisation of the colonial state, caused Eurasians to be categorised and treated as an awkward reminder of an earlier alternative and more flexible scenario. It also shows that Eurasians were presented with dilemmas affecting their freedom to mix elements of European and Indian cultures, to associate in society regardless of race, to secure employment, and with regard to their national identity, all of which was subject to scrutiny by the colonial state and its functionaries.⁵⁸

Revisiting the ground covered by Hawes and Goodrich was an essential starting point because recent developments in imperial history have shown that ideas travelled in both directions between the metropolis and the colony, and indeed between and across empires.⁵⁹ Exploring the fact that a British national identity was emerging simultaneously with Britain's Indian empire can no longer be ignored when examining both policy towards and problems within a colony.⁶⁰ Hawes touches on this but I have put some of the policy-makers at the centre in order to show how their specific concerns for one part of the empire, whether a colony or within the metropolis, could affect a community in another part.

The Eurasian histories by the Anglo-Indian authors cited are highly subjective. I attempt to counteract this by recognising the edicts, actions and mores of a racialised and imperial state, and by concentrating on quantifiable data, such as register entries, wages, and employment records. I illustrate, for example, how infrastructural development offered a working solution in which Eurasians, as a separate category, and the colonial state found mutual benefit. The expansion of the administration provided clerkships and survey work, appointments in posts and telegraph services, customs, medical support roles and, railways. Indian railway history comprises mostly facts and figures about miles of track, passenger numbers, goods moved and finances. My chapter

⁵⁸ Collingham shows how issues of health and genealogy, as well as choice of food, dress, and sexuality all became of interest to the state in legitimising British rule. E.M. Collingham, *Imperial Bodies: the Physical Experience of the Raj, c. 1800-1947*, Blackwell, Malden, USA, 2001.

⁵⁹ See, for example, Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (eds.), *Tensions of Empire : Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1997; Kathleen Wilson (ed.), *A New Imperial History : Culture, Identity, and Modernity in Britain and the Empire, 1660-1840*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004.

⁶⁰ For an in-depth study of identity formation in Britain and India during this period see Sudipta Sen, *Distant Sovereignty: National Imperialism and the Origins of British India*, Routledge, London, 2002.

contributes a detailed comparison of Eurasian and European railway employment that complements Arnold's work on labour relations and Bear's ethnography of the Eurasian railway 'caste.'

The benefits of government and quasi-government employment of Eurasians were that the state acquired a labour force (for subordinate posts) that was cheaper than Europeans, and Eurasians found employment roles for which their racial categorisation was an advantage. The disadvantage, in the longer term, was that Eurasians reaped such rewards only when (as Bear puts it) they possessed the right bio-moral character; that is, when they 'anglicised'. By examining a range of employment sectors, I show that close association with the colonial presence required anglicisation, but that led other Indians to see Eurasians as indistinguishable from Europeans and therefore foreign.

Changing historical understandings of the concept of race were constantly deployed by the state and its representatives and were particularly significant in determining how Eurasians were to be deployed, both excluding and including them in a British national identity as expediency dictated. British concerns about class, a major internal barrier that had been almost synonymous with race, applied equally to domiciled Europeans and Eurasians. Both groups were subject to moral scrutiny, tutoring and corralling in colonies to protect them from their own weaknesses and make them amenable to control. Racial 'degeneration,' whether through environmental factors such as climate, through education, or through mixed ancestry, was an additional concern that was believed to limit the roles these 'hybrids' could play. Later, but in a similar way, hybridity would largely exclude Eurasians from both the theory and practice of Indianisation and Indian nationalism, and led to the difficulties that exclusion left them with, at the dawn of the twentieth century. Concerns for caste excluded Eurasians, as did their Christianity and lack of knowledge of (and pride in) India's pre-colonial and mythical pasts. The community's geographic mobility and lack of social cohesion also 'othered' them from Indian identifiers that centred on *desh* and *jati*. The role and culture of Eurasian women was also very distinctive; western dress, employment outside the home, mixing with men, all contrasted sharply with the popular nationalist trope of the compliant Indian housewife as the embodiment of 'Mother India.' My chapter on women's work contributes some examples of the types of work Eurasian women undertook, the importance of their earnings to a poor community, and the special problems that the colonial state associated with their race and gender.

Any study of a 'mixed' population under colonial rule cannot but show that the older histories' tendency to polarise rulers and ruled into distinct and separate enclaves simply rehashes colonial thinking. It is, however, important to keep colonial thinking in mind. It allows us to understand the difficulties presented by the deployment of convenient interpretations of what we now understand to be mutable concepts. Concepts such as race and nation, ill-defined as they were, were applied to people in the division of power and wealth; there would be no point studying Eurasians if that were not so.

CHAPTER 2: EURASIAN ‘OTHERING’

LAWS, DIRECTIVES AND USAGES

Hawes in 1993, and Goodrich 40 years before, sought to establish how, when and why the Eurasian *community* came into being.¹ Authors from within the community, notably Dover, Stark and Anthony,² have looked at these issues too. All agree that the beginnings of a Eurasian community of largely British and Indian descent followed on the back of a series of ‘proscriptions’ formulated between the last decades of the eighteenth and the first few years of the nineteenth century. This chapter, re-assesses the link between ‘othering’ and discrimination against Eurasians, and will comment on the interpretations provided in earlier accounts.

In addition to legal proscriptions (table 1), informal ‘usages’ added to the pressure.³ The effects were to deny Eurasians a fully British identity, to deny them the same educational opportunities as their European relatives, to restrict opportunities for employment and financial reward, to promote downward social mobility, and to lower their status. Authors vary on the ‘proscriptions’ they consider most important and what motives and effects they had. All identify some of these directives as the push that set Eurasians apart, causing them to come together into a nascent community. In re-examining these data I show how each one affected the community but also that this approach cannot fully reveal the motivation behind the proscriptions.

1773: Confusion over National Status⁴

The 1773 Regulating Act was identified by Hawes and Goodrich as the first Act to differentiate between Natives of India and British Subjects.⁵ The terms imply exclusive belonging to one ‘nation’ or other, neither of which had evolved a truly national identity anyway. In the nineteenth century these national identities were nuanced by

1 Christopher Hawes, *Eurasians in British India 1773-1833: the Making of a Reluctant Community*, SOAS PhD Thesis, London 1993; Hawes, *Poor*, 1996; Goodrich, *Making*, 1952.

2 Dover, *Chimmerii*, 1929; Stark, *Hostages*, 1936.

3 Many such ‘usages’ were referred to by Ricketts when he was questioned by MPs, Peers and the Board of Control. ‘Petition of Indo-Britons to House of Commons,’ in *Hansard’s Parliamentary Debates*, vol. XXIV, May 4th 1830, pp. 377-387.

4 13 Geo. III, cap. 63 (Regulating Act 1773) in *The Law Relating to India and the East-India Company*, 4th edition, Allen & Co., London, 1842, pp. 26-38.

5 Hawes, *Poor*, 1996, p. 56; Goodrich, *Making*, 1952, pp. 138.

Table 1: Summary of Proscriptions seen as inimical to Eurasian Interests, 1773-1813		
Date	Instrument	Effect/content
1773	Regulating Act: ⁱ	Use of terms Natives of India <i>or</i> British Subjects? Eurasians not mentioned; status open to interpretation.
1786	Court of Directors' Directive; 14 March 1786 ⁱⁱ :	Bengal officers' illegitimate orphans cannot be returned to Britain. Many Eurasians but few European children illegitimate; severe effect on education, patronage, family connections for Eurasians.
1789	Recommendation of Cornwallis & Letter from War Office ⁱⁱⁱ	No officers or soldiers to be appointed as Europeans who could not prove that both parents were Europeans, 'without any mixture of the blood of natives of India.'. Eurasians could not serve in regular army - limited employment and status.
1790	Court of Directors' Minute in 1790? ^{iv}	Ban on land ownership for Europeans and Eurasians from 1790-1837 - effectively confined Eurasians to three presidency capital cities and under British surveillance.
1791	Court of Directors' Directives, EIC ^v	Bar on covenanted Company service, marine, civil & military for sons of natives [i.e. Eurasians] – further limited employment and status.
1793	Military Consultations, Fort St George & London ^{vi}	Lord Clive's fund for EIC military and families specifically excludes Eurasians and natives from claiming benefits and is payable in Britain only – discouraging intermarriage & producing pauper families.
1795	Court of Directors' Minute, 1794 ^{vii}	On recommendation of Cornwallis: no Eurasians to be combatants in EIC Armies except as sepoys or musicians – loss of employment, and reduced status <i>or</i> military Eurasians led into service of native rulers
1790s	Court of Directors' ^{viii} interpretation of Regulating Act of 1773	Eurasians increasingly seen by EIC as natives of India and not British subjects and so could not serve on Calcutta juries – further 'Indianising' Eurasians. Modified in 1827 to allow Christians to serve.
1803	Arthur Wellesley, August 1803, Military Proc. ^{ix}	Recall of all Europeans (especially British but including Eurasians) in Maratha service – Eurasians now European when expedient but could only serve Britain in 'irregular' service – EIC and regular army proscriptions against sons of natives remain in force.
1804	Regulations of Civil & Military Funds. ^x	Benefits not available to Eurasian and Native dependents. Financial hardship meant to discourage intermarriage and benefits seen as encouragement to the sin of miscegenation.
1808	'Commander-in-Chief's Order' ^{xi}	All Anglo-Indians to be discharged from all ranks of the 'British Army' - evidence suggests that this did not happen.
1813	Charter Act 1813 ^{xii}	Hindus subject to Hindu law, Muslims to Muslim law, British subjects to law of England. EIC judiciary decision that the latter meant 'British-born' left confusion over what law Eurasians subject to. Challenged in 1822 –legitimate Eurasians were British subjects but usage as natives of India continued; Eurasian Christians had no access of civil law with respect to marriage or property. ⁶

6 References for Table 1: (i) 13 Geo. III, cap. 63 (Regulating Act 1773) in n.a., *The Law Relating to India and the East-India Company*, 4th edn., Allen & Co., London, 1842, pp. 26-38. (ii) IOR/B/102, Court Minute Book, 14 March 1786; PWD India, *Original Papers, 1784*, pp. 29-34. (iii) WO4/297, War Office Out-letters, 6th May 1790, from George Younge to Lord Cornwallis, pp. 113 & 138. (iv) Governor-General-in-Council Fort William to Court of Directors, 6 March 1793, in Charles Ross, *Correspondence of Charles, First Marquis Cornwallis*, vol. 2, John Murray, London, 1859, p. 562. (v) IOR/B113/Court Minute Book, 19/4/1791 & November 1791, Standing Order, p. 17. (vi) IOR, Fort William - India House Correspondence and Other Contemporary Papers Relating Thereto, vol. 20, Military series, 1792-1796. (vii) Cornwallis to Dundas, 7 November 1794, in Ross, *Cornwallis*, vol. 2, Appendix LXXIII, p. 581. (viii) Uncertainty and confusion over the eligibility of Eurasians for jury service, resulting from the Regulating Act of 1773 resolving as they are by now classed as natives – at least for this purpose: *Law Relating to India and the East-India Company*, pp. 26-38. (ix) Arthur Wellesley of Wellington & John Gurwood (ed), *The Dispatches of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington, during his various Campaigns ...*, vol. 1, Parker, Furnivall and Parker, London, 1844, p. 769. (x) Madras Military Fund, *EIRD*, 1825,

subcategories, martial Sikhs and Highlanders, ‘primitive’ Irish, and ‘tribals,’ and yet the categorisation of Eurasians remained fluid. ‘British subject,’ a term that technically defined all within the British empire, was in reality shorthand for European ‘whites’ born in Britain or wherever their parents were temporarily domiciled. Native of India meant non-European. Confusion over what the terms meant for Eurasians was a difficult problem because their status was not addressed.

For education, employment, defence, marriage, and access to law, Eurasians could be categorised simultaneously, as European British Subjects, non-European British Subjects and Natives of India. In native states they were never certain whether they would be subject to Muslim or British law. British administrators were equally confused; did they have to include Eurasians in returns on British subjects or not? The fact that there was no *official* designation for anyone of mixed race until 1827 was a further complication. The inclusion of Eurasian widows and continued exclusion of native widows in Lord Clive’s Fund (from 1827) was the prompt for the British to define them.⁷

Uncertainty over Eurasians’ nationality persisted until the end of the British Raj. It has echoes today when many Anglo-Indians have adopted new countries, and others, despite Indian constitutional recognition as an Indian minority group, remain uncertain that they are accepted as ‘native’ by other citizens of post-colonial India. Eurasian national identity united Eurasians, in the sense that it posed a problem, but divided them along lines of language, ethnicity, gender, class, legitimacy, and other factors that define ethnicity or delineate community.

It is unlikely that the 1773 Act deliberately set out to strip Eurasians of British nationality since many Eurasians were still recognised as part of their extended British families, were still in government service, were still educated in Britain and were in every sense British. The indecision of the next fifty years on this point could have been

p. 471; Bombay Military Fund, *ibid.*, p. 484; Bengal Military Fund, *ibid.*, p. 463; Bengal Civil Fund, Charles Lushington, *The History, Design and Present State of the Religious Benevolent and Charitable Institutions ... in Calcutta*, Hindustanee Press Calcutta, 1824, appx.14, pp.lxxviii-lxxii); Bengal Mariners and General Widows Fund, *ibid.*, p. 286; King’s Military Fund, *ibid.*, p. 275. (xi) No primary source was found for this but it appears in several secondary texts – see below. (xii) 53 George III, Cap. 155 (The Charter Act, 21st July 1813) in Law Relating to India and the East-India Company, pp. 167–199 (pp.190-5 for references to British Subjects.

7 The Advocate General’s opinion was that there was no official name for those informally referred to as half-castes or country-born. They were designated ‘country born’ in the general order of 13th March 1827, but, after protests from Eurasian organisations, re-designated ‘Indo Briton’ for all public documents from 30 November 1827. Continued protests from various groups highlighted disunity rather than a single Eurasian community. See IOR/F/4/1115/29907, *Decision - Eurasian wives of European soldiers eligible for admission to Lord Clive Fund*, 1828.

deliberate since it would have been relatively easy to include a clause identifying them as either British subjects or natives of India. That lack of clarity was useful to the administration which could include or exclude Eurasians as circumstances dictated. Later changes to the laws and regulations governing Europeans in India led to increasingly frequent exclusion of Eurasians from the status of British subjects. The 1773 Act could, therefore, have been the first stimulus to Eurasian group formation.

1786: Eurasian Orphans to Remain in India⁸

On 14 March 1786 the Company's Directors in London resolved that the Bengal Military Orphan Society must not send orphaned children of officers to Britain for their education unless they were legitimate⁹ and of wholly European parentage. There had been arguments under this head in Bengal since the inception of the society. In November 1782, the managers had written to Commander-in-Chief Eyre Coote asking him to present their case to the Governor and Council. They addressed objections already raised by persons unnamed 'whose opinions we have always respected very highly.' Amongst the objections cited, one was explicitly racial:

the imperfections of the children, whether bodily or mental; that is whether consisting in their colour, their conformation, or their genius, would, in process of time, be communicated, by intermarriage, to the generality of the people of Great Britain; and by this means debase the succeeding generations of Englishmen.¹⁰

The Bengal officers countered the racial argument by pointing out that:

it might, we conceive, be safely presumed, from the silence of the Legislature on this head, that the evil apprehended by some persons here must be altogether imaginary ... children of the same complection (sic) in the West Indies and America who have been educated in England, have neither proved chargeable to society, nor disgraceful to the human species.¹¹

Anthony, Dover, Goodrich, Hawes, and Stark, all identify the 1786 directive, and the discussions that preceded it, as significant because it heralded a divergence in

8 IOR/B/102, *Court Minute Book*, 14 March 1786.

9 Legitimate meant born in Christian wedlock only, a concept the nature of which still varied according to location, class and creed in the UK. See later chapter.

10 Letter from the Managers to Eyre Coote, 18 November 1782, in PWD India, *Original Papers, 1784*, pp. 29-30.

11 PWD India, *Original Papers, 1784*, pp. 30-4.

prospects for European and Eurasian children.¹²

The effects of the directive were, perhaps, typical of the way in which Eurasians were excluded from following their fathers into Company service as ‘gentlemen’. There was no law preventing a father purchasing a passage to Europe for his Eurasian children and many continued to do just that; racial categories were flexible where there was wealth and influence. Once a boy was in England, however, his return to India could be blocked by the Company if it were contingent on Company employment. Thus, well-educated and wealthy Eurasians often stayed in Britain. A minority appear to have sought Company service and returned to India.

Employment prospects for those who had remained in India as children were effectively blocked by their lack of a British public school education and influential patrons. Most Eurasians were, of course, unaffected directly by this order since, as the children of lesser men, most would have stayed in India anyway, and had only rudimentary education, whether they were in England or India: their prospects were limited by class rather than access to patronage.

1789: All European Crown Army¹³

When appointed Governor-General in 1786, Cornwallis insisted on freedom to act as he saw fit and to overrule the Supreme Council when he wanted to; the India Act was amended accordingly. Edmund Burke objected when the bill was at committee stage; ‘the principle of the bill was to introduce an arbitrary and despotic government in India’ and it unreasonable to say that the decisions of one man could be better or fairer than the decisions of three (the Supreme Council). Nonetheless, the Bill was amended and the Governor-General was granted arbitrary powers.¹⁴ Commanding all Crown regiments posted to India, Cornwallis banned ‘officers and men born of black women’ because of ‘the injuries which would accrue to the discipline and reputation of HM’s troops employed in India’ and got retrospective War Office agreement.¹⁵ It was two years (1791) before the Company followed the War Office and placed an embargo on recruitment of Eurasian officers for its armies, but Cornwallis was able to deploy

12 Anthony, *Britain’s Betrayal*, 1962, p. 20; Hawes, *Poor*, 1996, pp. 55 & 138; Goodrich, *Making*, 1952, pp. 123-4 & 129; Dover, *Chimmerii*, 1929, p. 21; Stark, *Hostages*, 1936, p. 55.

13 WO4/297, War Office Out-letters, 6 May 1790.

14 Burke was referring to 26 Geo. III, c. Marshall, PJ, *The Writings and Speeches of Edmund Burke; - India: The Launching of the Hastings Impeachment 1786-1788*, vol. VI, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1991, pp. 66-73.

15 Quoted in; Hawes, *Poor*, 1996, p. 64.

Company troops as he wished without prior reference to London.

The motives behind the exclusion of Eurasians from covenanted and commissioned posts were complex. Valentia and later Stark, cite fear that Eurasians would follow the uprising in San Domingo where ‘mulattos’ played a prominent role, a theory dismissed by Hawes since Haiti’s revolution came later.¹⁶ Whilst Stark made a chronological error, fear of what could happen when colonists and settlers sought sovereignty was a contemporary issue close to the heart of many in England and of Cornwallis in India. He had, after all, been the Commander of defeated British forces in America in 1781. He had first hand, bitter experience of a settler army, aided by France, and utilising guerrilla warfare techniques adapted from Native Americans.

1790: Residence and Land Ownership Restricted¹⁷

A ban on land ownership and even rights of residence affecting both Europeans and Eurasians is cited by Anthony, Stark and Hawes.¹⁸ Stark and Anthony say Eurasians were obliged to live within 10 miles of a British settlement. Describing the situation of 1790, Ross states: ‘at this time no Europeans, except military officers and covenanted servants, were allowed to reside out of Calcutta, without a special license.’¹⁹ The Cornwallis’ reforms of 1790 determined:

no British subject (excepting King’s officers and the civil and the military covenanted servants of the Company) shall be allowed to reside beyond the limits of Calcutta, without entering into a bond to make himself amenable to the court of justice of the district in which he may be desirous of taking up his abode, in all civil causes that may be instituted against him by natives.²⁰

Eurasians were included in the residence and land ownership ban; James Skinner’s reward of a *Jaghir* (for military services) was withdrawn because of it and he had to plead for permission to reside outside Calcutta. Government reluctantly allowed him to exchange his pension for land near Delhi after a two year fight.²¹ The ban was restated

16 Valentia, *Voyages*, 1811, vol. 1, p. 197; Stark, *Hostages*, 1936, pp. 55; Hawes, *Poor*, 1996, p. 64.

17 Cornwallis elaborated on a prior order dating from 1790 in 1793 in an order banning even residence for British subjects outside the Calcutta area without explicit permission from government. The Governor-general In Council Fort William to The Court Of Directors, March 6 1793, in Ross, *Correspondence*, 1859, vol.2., p. 562; Hawes, *Poor*, 1996, p. 38; Zoe Yalland, *Traders and Nabobs: the British in Cawnpore, 1765-1857*, Michael Russell, Wilton UK, 1987, p. 89.

18 Anthony, *Britain’s Betrayal*, 1962, p. 18; Stark, *Hostages*, 1936, p. 64; Hawes, *Poor*, 1996, p. 38.

19 Ross, *Correspondence*, 1859, vol.2., p. 203.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 562.

21 James Baillie Fraser, *Military Memoir of Lieut.-Col. James Skinner*, vol. 2, Smith Elder & Co, London, 1851, pp.

in the Charter Act of 1813, though the boundaries had been extended:

nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to authorize the holding or occupying of any land or other immovable property, beyond the limits of the said several presidencies, by any British subject of his Majesty, otherwise than under and according to the permission of the Governments of the said presidencies.²²

Eurasians could sometimes use confusion about their nationality to advantage by asserting they were not Europeans and therefore not subject to this ban. Company policy however, was to ‘discourage’ Eurasians who were a ‘troublesome’ class.²³ This attitude is exemplified in the Governor-General’s response to George Sinclair who was ‘discouraged’ in his ambition to become an indigo planter in a native state in 1832, because he would likely be ‘productive of future embarrassment.’²⁴ Since Sinclair later set up his Indigo concern within Company territory, and ran it successfully for many years, the embarrassment did not reside in his business acumen.

The ban was rescinded in 1833²⁵ and notified by an Act of the Government of India, passed by the Governor-General in Council on 11 April 1837;

It is hereby enacted, that after the 1st day of May next, it shall be lawful for any subject of his Majesty to acquire and hold in perpetuity, or for any term of years, property in land, or in any emoluments issuing out of land, in any part of the territories of the East-India Company.²⁶

That still did not allow Europeans or Eurasians licence to reside or work in Native states, which were bound (or treated as though bound) by treaties requiring them to seek the express permission of the British before entertaining any ‘foreigner’:

it is an important principle of Imperial policy that the entertainment by Native States of foreigners, whether European British subjects or other Europeans or East Indians, should be controlled ... this

98-102.

22 53 George cap. 155, in n.a., *The Law Relating to India and the East-India Company* (4th edition), Wm. Allen & Co., London, 1842, pp. 194-5.

23 Hawes, *Poor*, 1996, p. 38.

24 ‘I have to apprise you that I am not an European ... there are no objections to a person born in this Country settling in any part of the British dominions it will not be requisite for me to obtain previous permission from Government.’ From George Sinclair to the Agent of the Governor-General, Saugor and Nerbudda Territories 22nd May 1832, in NAI, Foreign Dept./Pol.Cons. No. 86, 30 July 1832, *Discourage Mr Sinclair- an East Indian From Settling in Oocheyrah Jugeer as an Indigo Planter*.

25 The Charter Act, 1833, section LXXXVI stipulated that and natural-born Subject of His Majesty could buy, hold, and profit from land in British held territory, provided he was authorized (by the Governor-General) to reside there. *3rd & 4th George VI, cap. 83*.

26 n.a., Act No. IV of 1837, n.a., *The Law Relating to India and the East-India Company*, 4th edition, Wm. Allen & Co., London, 1842, p. 672.

principle is affirmed and maintained by the Government of India irrespective of our treaties.²⁷

Eurasians in Native states remained a ‘troublesome’ class, to be discouraged. and it was easier to eject Eurasians rather than upset relations with the British. In 1882 The Nizam of Hyderabad was asked by the Resident by what authority he had employed a Eurasian called Butler. Rather than answer, the durbar simply dismissed him.²⁸

Whether to prevent access by native durbars to European expertise, prevent exploitation of Indians by Europeans, or to discourage attachment to India rather than Britain, the effect was to urbanise the European and Eurasian population. Inclusion of Eurasians in the land ownership ban hit them disproportionately 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. It limited opportunities to diversify into employment or subsistence, other than in commerce or government service. Thus later proscriptions limiting government employment were particularly damaging to the Eurasian community.

1791: Embargo on Appointments to Covenanted Posts.²⁹

The Court of Directors in April 1791 decreed that ‘no Person, the Son of a Native Indian, shall henceforward be appointed by this Court to employment in the Civil, Military or Marine Service of the Company.’³⁰ This order is identified by Anthony, Dover, Goodrich, Hawes & Stark³¹ and follows from the 1789 War Office order with respect to the Crown Army. Hawes says, although very few Eurasians were henceforth appointed, the order was not retrospective and those already in post continued to serve.³² The wording of this order said no *appointments* would be made by the Court of Directors. A second order in November 1791 specified none could *serve* but it was not retrospectively applied. Ricketts noted in 1830 that though the regulations were modified in 1827, such that for civil posts the embargo applied only to first generation

27 NAI, Foreign & Political/Notes/Proc. nos.18-54, *Employment of ... East Indians by Native States, 1854-1885*, Orders issued to Punjab Government, 1876.

28 *Ibid.*, Hyderabad.

29, IOR/B/113, John Turing nominated as a Cadet for Madras – refused, *Court book* 19 April 1791, p. 17.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 17.

31 Anthony, *Britain's Betrayal*, 1962, p. 21; Dover, *Chimmerii*, 1929, p. 21; Stark, *Hostages*, 1936, pp. 57& 63; Hawes, *Poor*, 1996, pp. 62-6; Goodrich, *Making*, 1952, p. 130.

32 Hawes, *Poor*, 1996, pp. 62-6.

Eurasians, it continued 'by the established usages of the service.'³³

The Court of Directors' motives were un-minuted and there is nothing to suggest why being the 'son of a native Indian' should suddenly be a disqualification. What had changed, however, was that the court had a new chairman and deputy, both Dundas' men, John Smith Burges and Francis Baring.³⁴ Appointed less than a week before, together with Manship, they also formed: 'a Secret Committee agreeable to and for the purposes stated in the Acts of the 24th of His present Majesty's Reign Cap. 25 Sec 16 and of the 26th do. Cap 16 Sec 16 & 19'³⁵

These men were closely allied to politicians on the Board of Control who had sent Cornwallis to India to carry out reforms and 'clean-up' Company servants in India. Rather than the interpretation of Stark and Anthony that Eurasian exclusion was prompted by shareholder greed,³⁶ it is more likely the decision was essentially political. Sons of natives might reasonably have been expected to have had at best divided loyalties.

1793: Eurasian Families excluded from Lord Clive's Pension Fund³⁷

Hawes identifies 1793 as significant because the Commander-in-Chief then decreed widows could not claim on Lord Clive Fund, in India, *unless* they proved they were fully European.³⁸ Since soldiers were not permitted (by usage) to take Eurasian and Indian wives home 'on the strength,'³⁹ and could not afford to do so independently, this excluded non-European women (and their children) from the fund's benefits.

Lord Clive's Fund originally provided pensions to widows of soldiers of all ranks, with the proviso that they were: 'widows or familys (sic) of such objects as the said Court of Directors shall in their discretions think fit'.⁴⁰ In practice deciding who was 'a

33 J.W. Ricketts, *Report of Proceedings Connected with the East Indians' Petition to Parliament Read at a Public Meeting Held at Calcutta Town Hall*, 28th March 1831, Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, 1831, Appx.14, p. 35.

34 Amales Tripathi (ed.), *Fort William - India House Correspondence and Other Contemporary Papers Relating Thereto*, vol. 12, Public series, 1793-1795, Nat Arch India, Delhi, 1978, p. 1.

35 IOR/B/113, *Turing*, p. 17.

36 Stark, *Hostages*, 1936, p. 58; Anthony, *Britain's Betrayal*, 1962, p. 21.

37 Letter to Fort William, 25 February 1793, Reply f 27 October 1793, in A.C. Banerjee (ed.), *Fort William - India House Correspondence, 1792-6*, vol. 20, p. 391; Hawes, *Eurasians*, 1993, p. 210.

38 Hawes, *Poor*, 1996, p. 68.

39 IOR/F/4/557/13666, *Whether European Soldiers Should be Allowed to Send to England Half-caste or Native Wives or Illegitimate Offspring by Such Women*, 26 May 1817.

40 IOR/L/AG/23/2/1, quoted in Durba Ghosh, 'Making and Un-making Loyal Subjects: Pensioning Widows and Educating Orphans in Early Colonial India,' *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol. 31 (1), 2003,

fit recipient' had been left to the military with the Commander-in-Chief and Directors effectively rubber stamping applications that came with a commanding officer's recommendation. From 1793 the Directors insisted that payments no longer be made in India (except to widows proven to be Europeans).⁴¹ The Directors argued the fund had been meant only for Europeans, that it would be too expensive to pay out to Eurasians and Indians, and that payments would encourage vice.

The change of policy had been instigated by Cornwallis who, in 1793, used executive powers to impose his summary decision. Since he had the full support of the Board of Control and enough supporters amongst the Directors his ruling stood.

This left native wives and Eurasian wives and children dependent on local charities. St. Mary's Vestry, Madras said in 1805:

The limitation with respect to Native Women is not specified in the original contract and ... the subsequent Regulations of the Court of Directors tend unequivocally to demonstrate that Widows of Officers and Soldiers of whatever denomination, were on producing the requisite Certificates, entitled to the Pension...⁴²

They also argued there would have been no need for the fund in the first place, if Eurasian and native wives were not to be included, since extremely few European soldiers were married to European women.⁴³ The rules were relaxed by 1824, after which pensions, for all ranks, could be paid in India by sanction of the Governor-General. Widows had to produce marriage certificates and none was payable if their husbands had left substantial estates.⁴⁴

For Durba Ghosh the debates and regulations of Lord Clive's Fund and the Bengal Military Orphan fund (see above, 1786) were significant because they:

contributed to the ruling apparatus in Bengal by providing an embryonic definition of the status of colonial subjects which would later feed into definitions of citizenship. Through the criteria for receiving financial benefits, ideas about who belonged to the world of British subjects in colonial India began to

pp. 1-28.

41 Letter to Fort William, 25 February 1793 & Reply 27 October 1793, in A.C. Banerjee (ed.), *Fort William - India House Correspondence, 1792-6*, vol. 20, p. 391.

42 IOR/F/4/211/4716, Military Consultations, Fort St. George, 22 April 1805, *Eurasian and Indian Wives and Widows of Soldiers*.

43 In 1823 the Vestry supported 7623 persons, half described as Portuguese, a third as Musselmen, 540 Hindus, 573 Europeans and 734 dependents of Europeans who, by exclusion, would have been Eurasian and Native wives and children. Its funds were donated by the congregation and three large legacies from Claude Martine, whose wife was Indian, the Indo-Portuguese John Barretto and the Indo-British Charles Weston. Lushington, *The History*, 1824, Appx.13, Lord Clive's Fund, p. 341; IOR/F/4/211/4716, *Eurasian*, 1805.

44 Lushington, *The History*, 1824, Appx.13, Lord Clive's Fund, pp.liv-lvi.

emerge.⁴⁵

Ideas about who should be regarded as British were already circulating before the Lord Clive's fund debate, but this fund's rules prompted a concrete contribution to official definitions. A Madras General Order, dated 15 June 1827, required widows claiming pensions from the Lord Clive Fund, to swear an oath either that they were of European parentage *or* that they were 'Country-born' or Half-Caste, terms rapidly amended to 'Indo-Briton' after communal protests. This was the point at which government (and the community) realised that there had never been an official designation for people of mixed European and Indian descent.⁴⁶

The designation Indo-Briton implies a division of Eurasians into those of British and non-British descent. Some Eurasians argued that very point: '[we] would prefer any [term] which embraces all Classes of our mixed race and thus obviate giving umbrage to any party.'⁴⁷

1795: Eurasians Disarmed⁴⁸

In 1795 the Governor-General banned Eurasian recruitment into the army, save a few non-combatant posts. Within three years government was to reserve some positions, as fifiers and drummers in the Company's native Regiments, exclusively for wards of the various military orphanages.⁴⁹

In 1793 Cornwallis had been succeeded as Governor-General by Sir John Shore, chosen because he was trusted by Dundas, William Pitt (and even the King) to continue Cornwallis' reforms. Dundas told Cornwallis: 'Mr. Pitt and I ... agreed to recommend him to the Court of Directors as provisional successor to you' and the King told Dundas: 'to be Governor-General at Bengal, no one could have been so properly thought of as Mr. Shore, who will certainly more explicitly follow the Civil plan Lord

45 Ghosh, *Making*, 2003.

46 IOR/F/4/1115/29907, *Decision - Eurasian Wives*, 1828.

47 Letter from Nailor, Fonseca, Wilson and Jeremiah to the Governor in Council, in IOR/F/4/1115/29907, *Decision - Eurasian Wives*, 1828.

48 No one has cited an original directive from London though all but Dover cite the year and the action taken in India to debar Eurasians from any combatant role. Anthony, *Britain's Betrayal*, 1962, p. 21; Stark, *Hostages*, 1936, p. 58; Hawes, *Poor*, 1996, p. 64; Goodrich, *Making*, 1952, p. 131.

49 This was probably the first example of an occupation reserved for the Eurasian community. William Sheppey Greene, *A Code of the Pay Regulations of Various Military Establishments under the Presidency of Fort William*, Calcutta, 1810, p. 210.

Cornwallis has laid down than any other person.’⁵⁰

Cornwallis was in London when, in 1794, Dundas asked for his ‘opinion on the best mode of new-modelling the army in India, with a view to give safety and permanence to our Indian empire.’ Cornwallis recommended that ‘No persons who are not descended on both sides from European parents, can be admitted into the European branch of the service, except as drummers, fifers, or other musicians: nor can such persons be hereafter admitted on the establishment of European officers in Native troops, though those already in may remain...’⁵¹ In 1795, Shore implemented Cornwallis’ policy barring Eurasians from military service except in non-combatant roles. Apart from Dover, all authors note this as a significant move although their emphases and interpretations vary. Stark claims this policy was put into immediate effect but his claim that ‘Anglo-Indians in every branch of the army were *discharged* from service’ was disputed by Hawes.⁵² Stark and Anthony claimed that the Governor-General was forced into this action by greedy shareholders. Shore may well have been unwilling to implement this directive, since Europeans in the Company army were already close to mutiny over reforms, but it originated with Cornwallis and Dundas rather than shareholders.⁵³

Certainly Cornwallis was targeting Eurasians for the future, though not necessarily those already in the service, but the directive was a small part of wholesale reforms that Cornwallis and his faction were implementing. His larger aim was to ensure Company servants’ loyalty to Britain by reducing their attachment to India:

I do not conceive it possible that any system can be devised ... for the public good, unless, as a preliminary measure, the whole of our force in India ... shall be transferred to His Majesty’s service ... it will be of essential importance to the interests of Britain, that Europeans should be discouraged [from] settling in our possessions in India, I look upon it to be highly expedient that it should be a fundamental principle in the new system, not only to relieve the corps of European troops frequently, but also to secure the return of all military men, who may be entitled to any provision from the public, to their mother country, by rendering all pensions and allowances to them after they ... retire from the service, payable to

50 Dundas to Cornwallis, London, 17 September 1792, in Ross, *Correspondence*, 1859, vol. 2, p. 215-217.

51 Cornwallis to Dundas, 07 November 1794, *Ibid.*, Appendix no. LXXIII, p. 581.

52 Eurasians were still being appointed to and serving in the Madras Army in 1835. IOR/F/4/1544/61371, *Proposed Abolition of the Appointment of Sergeant Majors to Native Regiments of the Madras Army*, February 1835.

53 Anthony, *Britain’s Betrayal*, 1962, p. 21; Stark, *Hostages*, 1936, pp. 58-9 & 64; Hawes, *Eurasians*, 1993, p. 186; Goodrich, *Making*, 1952, pp. 130-3.

those only who shall actually claim them in Europe.⁵⁴

Since Eurasians usually lived and died their whole lives in India, and were of part Indian ancestry, it is reasonable to conclude that Cornwallis saw them as irredeemably attached to India in a way that Europeans were not.

That he did not bar them from serving as other ranks in native regiments might argue against the interpretation that he was attempting to disarm the community, except that Eurasians would have been unlikely to serve as sepoys; they were paid considerably less than European troops and, at the time, were formed into corps with shared communal and religious roots. A further argument against this proscription as an attempt to disarm Eurasians was that they were still free to serve in native states, sometimes achieving positions of great power and influence. Whether this was because the British were not in a position to impose their will in these states, or because they believed their own prejudice that Eurasians were not a martial race and therefore no threat, remains a moot point.

Under the British, whilst employment as bandsmen offered some security to Eurasian men, including pensions and, for their sons, education and future employment as bandsmen, these were limited opportunities for advancement, especially if posted to native regiments.⁵⁵

1790s: Eurasians not British enough to be Jurors

Disqualification of Eurasians from jury service stemmed from an increasing tendency to see them as *not* British subjects, something that grew out of usage rather than law. The 1773 Regulating Act had specified, in the Supreme Court Calcutta British subjects would be tried only by ‘British subjects resident in the town of Calcutta, and not otherwise.’ The better educated Eurasians had at first been treated as eligible British subjects. However, by the 1790s Eurasians were usually disqualified from Jury service.

Eurasians’ qualification to serve on juries was confused and inconsistent because the 1773 Act used the terms ‘British subject’ and ‘native of India’ but did not indicate what Eurasians were to be. Opinion settled at some point in the 1790s when, with respect to jury service, Eurasians were invariably considered by usage to be natives of

⁵⁴ Cornwallis to Dundas, 07 November 1794, in Ross, *Correspondence*, 1859, vol.2., p. 574.

⁵⁵ One father sought the Commander-in-Chief’s help in getting his two sons transferred from his regiment because they would have a chance of doing better in a European Corps., see IOR/Mss/Eur/F133/176, *Humble Petition of Master Sergeant Whiley, 47th Regiment Bengal Native Infantry*, 1857.

India even though in an 1822 ruling (Charles Reed v. Byjuant Sing) the Company's Supreme Court in Calcutta implied that legitimate Eurasians were British subjects.⁵⁶

Exclusion from covenanted and military service had precipitated a fall in Eurasian social status; government servants always enjoyed a higher status than non-officials even when of similar wealth and background. Decreased employment opportunities and the growth to maturity of more Eurasians denied a European education also promoted downward social mobility and further coloured perceptions. Thus social attitudes and usages rather than regulations or laws were now restricting the acceptability of Eurasians in the legal process. Eventually, in 1827 jury service was widened to include Christians, and thus Eurasians, but only as non-British subjects.⁵⁷

1803: Recall from Native States⁵⁸

Wellesley's 1803 Proclamation is cited in letters from European and Eurasian officers in their appeals to the government for pensions they believed it had promised.⁵⁹ Many Eurasian men wanted to follow their fathers into a military career. Of the three routes available, Crown forces, the Company's armies and the armies of native states, only the latter remained open at the start of the nineteenth century. Whilst such rulers and the British were at peace, many Eurasians rose to positions of responsibility and status.⁶⁰

Grey noted that any estimate of the numbers of Eurasian and European men serving native states was impossible, suggesting that to avoid the consequences of treaty violations many were hidden from the records or their identities disguised behind native names or titles.⁶¹ He estimated that there were upwards of 1,500 European and Eurasian officers serving native states in 1792.⁶² Hyderabad Records from 1806-7 indicate that substantial numbers of Europeans and Eurasians served in the ranks too, especially in

56 The ruling of 1822 established that illegitimate Eurasians were not British subjects, it did not explicitly say that legitimate Eurasians were British Subjects. n.a., Charles Reed v. Byjuant Sing, *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register*, vol. 13, February 1822, pp. 178-9; Goodrich, *Making*, 1952, p. 139; Hawes, *Poor*, 1996, p. 138.

57 Hawes, *Poor*, 1996, p. 138; 7 George IV. Cap 37, *The East Indies Juries Act*.

58 Wellington & Gurwood, *Dispatches*, vol. 1, 1844, p. 769.

59 NAI: Foreign Dept. Political Branch, 17th May 1804 Cons. no.78-9 - *Daniel Murrey asking for consideration on same footing as officers included in 1803 Proclamation*; Foreign Political, 12th July 1804, Cons. no.18 *Mr K B Stuart Scindia Service*; Foreign Political, 1804 9th August Cons. no.17, and 13th Sept Cons. no.12, *Thos Lloyd Marhatta Service*; Foreign Political, 2nd May 1805 Cons. no.108, *John Beckett Letter*.

60 James Skinner, Hyder Hearsey, John Holmes, Henry Forster, and William Palmer, are amongst the most well known.

61 Charles Grey & H.L.O. Garrett (ed.), *European Adventures of Northern India, 1785-1849*, J. Jetley (for AES), New Delhi, 1929, (1993 Reprint), p. 1-11.

62 *Ibid.*, p. 212.

the artillery.⁶³ Military service for native states was therefore an important source of employment and status for both Eurasians and Europeans.

Hostilities with the Marathas prompted Wellesley's Proclamation of 29 August 1803 recalling Britons and Eurasians from the military service of several Indian states. Expediency once again had changed the status of Eurasians; if they refused to return to British lines, they were to be considered traitors, implying they were once again British subjects. Many Eurasian soldiers were subsequently briefly employed by the Company, as irregulars, many units of which were disbanded at end of Maratha hostilities or in the Company army's reductions of 1808.⁶⁴ Hawes said the last to go were those Eurasians who were in the Nizam of Hyderabad's employ. From Sydenham's reports on the Nizam's armies in 1807 some had previously been in Maratha employ, then in irregular British units, recommended to the Nizam's Court.⁶⁵ They were finally replaced by seconded Company men in the 1820s.⁶⁶

Eurasians could continue in the service of Indian princes but the requirement for permission of the Company was more often extended to include Eurasians than it had been previously. Native rulers, who in the past might not have been required to seek British sanction before employing Eurasians, found themselves having to explain why they had not sought permission before employing them.⁶⁷ Even the most powerful native states were subject to Company policy, albeit softened by diplomatic considerations: '... conduct towards the state of Hyderabad must be regulated by principles of peculiar delicacy and care'⁶⁸

Where it was impossible to order the removal of Eurasian or European officers, they could be removed by less formal means, such as a bad character assessment leading to dismissal and replacement with the 'right sort' of man. The British advised the Nizam in 1806-7 on reforming his armies. Of Rodriguez, Captain of the 5th French Corps: 'He is of a cruel disposition and bears a bad Character. He is of a very Low origin...' Of Adjutant Martine: 'He bears a very bad character and is of a turbulent and

63 IOR/F/4/215/4746, *List of European and Eurasian Mercenaries Serving with the Nizam's Army...* vol. 2, 1806/7.

64 Once the Maratha emergency had passed, the Government remembered that Eurasians had been barred from covenanted and commissioned posts since 1791. Stark, *Hostages*, 1936, p. 83-4.

65 Such as Captain James Lloyd, who successively served Scindia, the Nizam and then as a British Irregular. IOR/F/4/215/4746, *List*, vol. 2, 1806/7.

66 Hawes, *Poor*, 1996, p. 113.

67 NAI, Foreign & Political/ Notes/ Proc. Nos.18-54/ *Employment, 1854-1885*.

68 Letter to Captain Sydenham from Sec. to Government, Fort William, Bengal Secret Cons., 8th January 1807, in IOR/F/4/215/4746, *List*, vol. 2, 1806/7.

refractory disposition'. Terribio, an Indo-Portuguese Captain, was described as quarrelsome.⁶⁹

The significance of the 1803 proclamation is obvious. When Eurasians might have been considered a threat, such as when in hostile foreign service, they were expected to become British but that status was removed, renewed, or left in abeyance, as expediency dictated. Increased British influence over more native states further reduced opportunities for military service.

1804: Charitable Funds controversies

Goodrich and Hawes both explore controversies around the formulation of rules for various civil and military charitable funds that, from 1804 onwards, excluded from benefit Eurasian and native wives and children (regardless of marital status and legitimacy). Financial hardship would serve to 'discourage vice and ... connections with native women'; benefits 'would encourage sin'.⁷⁰

Bengal Civil fund's rules (1804), covering widows and children, rather than exclude natives and Eurasians specifically, assumed that all civil servants' children and widows were European and legitimate. There had been much discussion in Calcutta on whether illegitimate children should be included, the position supported by the 'old guard,' or not, the view of the younger men educated at Fort William College. One vociferous 'young gun,' Charles Metcalfe, who went on to father three illegitimate Eurasian sons, said:

the Civil Fund, if loaded by the proposed extension of its objects to illegitimate Children, will tend to the destruction of public principles, the overthrow of established and sacred institutions, to the encouragement of prostitution and vice, to the disgrace of the character of this Settlement, and to the injury of the interests of our country.

Opinion was divided equally, but Wellesley, with Court of Directors' support, ruled against the inclusion of illegitimate children.⁷¹

Madras Military Fund regulations (1808) were very specific. Persons entitled to Benefits, stated Section III, were:

69 The Nizam was encouraged to dismiss Salvador Rodriguez, Antony Martine and Terribio, IOR/F/4/215/4746, *List*, vol. 2, 1806/7.

70 Hawes, *Poor*, 1996, pp. 66-70; Goodrich, *Making*, 1952, p. 134-6; Lushington, *The History*, 1824, appx.14, pp.lxviii-lxxii.

71 Lushington includes examples of correspondence on this matter; Lushington, *The History*, 1824, appx.14, pp.lxviii-lxxii

[1.] All widows and legitimate children of marriages contracted before 1st April 1808. 2. With regard to marriages contracted subsequent to the 1st April 1808, it shall be an indispensable qualification that both the parents of any and every claimant shall have been European, or of unmixed European blood, though born in other quarters of the world; four removes from an Asiatic or African being considered as European blood. 3. Legitimate children of those who were married subscribers on the 1st April 1808 (provided they be the offspring of such marriages), as also the legitimate descendents of those children, shall be entitled to the full benefits of the fund, either as orphans or hereafter as widows, notwithstanding the restriction contained in the preceding article. 4. Marriages subsequent to the 1st April 1808, with persons of mixed blood (who may not be included in the third article), exclude the widow and children from the benefits of the fund ...⁷²

In 1824, Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras, said ‘the proposed allowance to half-caste wives and children of European soldiers is in my opinion highly objectionable.’⁷³

Bombay Military Fund had similar regulations from November 1816. All marriages and legitimate children before that date qualified, but only the ‘unmixed’ or ‘four removes from the Asiatic,’ qualified thereafter.⁷⁴ Bengal’s Military Fund admitted illegitimate children but required fathers of ‘natural born children’ to make reasonable provision for them, or *risk* their exclusion. It also allowed men to provide a monthly sum for the mothers of 30 sicca rupees for native and 50 for European women.⁷⁵ The Bengal Mariners and General Widows’ Fund was less squeamish stating ‘This Fund affords provision to the widows and legitimate children of subscribers* belonging not only to this Presidency, but all British settlements ...’ The asterisk is followed by a footnote explaining that ‘The Members of this Institution are generally persons in the middling class of Society, and individuals employed in the different public offices and other situations under Government.’⁷⁶

The King’s military fund (for Crown forces) stipulated:

Every lady seeking relief from the Fund, on becoming a widow, at either of the three Presidencies, is required to embark for Europe, within two months, (or earlier if possible) from the death of her husband, after which period, the maintenance allowance ceases, unless it shall satisfactorily appear to a General or

⁷² *EIRD*, 1825, p. 471.

⁷³ Thomas Munro, ‘Minute On the Eurasian Population, 24th November 1824,’ in Sir A.J. Arbuthnot, *Selections from Minutes and Other Official Writings of Major-General Sir Thomas Munro*, Higginbotham & Co, Madras, 1886, pp. 558-560.

⁷⁴ *EIRD*, 1825, p. 484.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 463.

⁷⁶ Lushington, *The History*, 1824, p. 286.

Regimental Committee, that no opportunity of procuring a passage to Europe has occurred at such Presidency, within that time, in which case, an additional award may be obtained from the Committee to the period of the earliest possible departure of such widow. On the death of a subscriber at out stations remote from the several Presidencies, his widow is allowed a period of four months to repair to the nearest Presidency.⁷⁷

Eurasian wives and children were thus excluded by the insistence on a return to Europe. Besides restrictions on charitable funds, the Company's soldiers' marriage allowance from 1810 was only payable if the wife was of British birth. This rule was rescinded in 1824 but the allowance was then paid at half the rate of the pension and marriage allowance paid to Europeans and only for Eurasian (not native Christian) wives.⁷⁸

Goodrich identifies the 1804 Bengal Civil Fund debate as crucial; prior to this discrimination against Eurasians had come from London, with Company servants in India largely wanting all their children treated equally.⁷⁹ However, two points suggest otherwise. First, the directive on the Bengal Orphans, with objections that appear to have been raised in India, predated the debate by two decades. Secondly, Cornwallis' reforms, which disbarred Eurasians from covenanted posts, civil and military, predated it by a decade. Both proscriptions must rapidly have decreased the status and wealth of Eurasians and so in a society where position and connections meant so much, this cannot fail to have provoked increasing discrimination towards Eurasians prior to 1804.

1808: the Company discharges last serving Eurasians?

Anthony claimed an order was issued in 1808 discharging Anglo-Indians from all ranks of the British Army.⁸⁰ Stark also mentions that 'Anglo-Indians were thrown out of military service' citing (but without a source) an order from the Commander-in-Chief.⁸¹ Whether Stark and Anthony were referring to discharge of Eurasians recruited to make up numbers in the Company or Crown armies, or Eurasian irregulars serving alongside the Company army but remaining outside it, either way, Hawes found no evidence that discharges of Eurasians happened at this date. He found many remained in post and

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 275.

⁷⁸ Hawes, *Poor*, 1996, pp. 68-70.

⁷⁹ Goodrich, *Making*, 1952, pp. 134-6.

⁸⁰ Anthony, *Britain's Betrayal*, 1962, p. 22.

⁸¹ Stark, *Hostages*, 1936, p. 83-4.

cited examples.⁸² It is known that irregular units were disbanded at the end of Maratha hostilities; and that these were units in which Eurasians would have figured prominently. However, besides Hawes' examples, I have found evidence that, at least in Madras, Eurasians continued to serve in the Company's military.⁸³

1813: Charter Act

The Charter Act of 1813 decreed that British subjects were subject to English law. Eurasians were concerned about their legal standing. In Ricketts words: 'We are not recognised as British Subjects by the Supreme Court of Calcutta, if residing in the *Mofussil*.'⁸⁴ He complained that Christian Eurasians were subject to Muslim criminal law but there was no civil law applicable to their marriages, property or succession.⁸⁵ The Calcutta Supreme Court considered urban Eurasians British subjects but only when legitimate. Normal usage by Company civil and military servants, conflated Eurasian with illegitimate, and continued to assume that 'British' meant only British-born subjects, to the exclusion of all Eurasians.⁸⁶

The situation was no clearer to Residents and district administrators in the *mofussil*, as is evident in examples of their correspondence with the judicial department on the legal standing of Eurasians and Europeans, with respect to criminal proceedings, divorce, vagrancy, and (frequently) employment.⁸⁷ The answers they received indicate that in some cases, the power, influence or importance of native rulers, even as late as the 1880s, affected how individual cases were handled. Hyderabad, for example: 'was an exceptional case and it could go against British interests to upset the Nawab. The Nawab Salar Jung could not be pressed on this issue, i.e., it could not go through 'channels,' because he talked directly with the Viceroy.'⁸⁸ The widowed Eurasian wife

82 Hawes, *Poor*, 1996, p. 66.

83 See section on Madras sergeant majors in chapter 9 of this thesis.

84 J.W. Ricketts, *Report of proceedings connected with the East Indians' Petition to Parliament read at a public meeting held at Calcutta town hall, March 28 1831*, Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, 1831, Appx.14, p. 34.

85 *Ibid.*

86 Goodrich, *Making*, 1952, p. 138.

87 NAI, Foreign/ Internal/Part B/ Proc. nos. 464-465, May 1906 (A), *Whether Application for Divorce from East Indians are to be Treated Similarly as these from European British Subjects in Gwalior*; NAI, Foreign Dept./Pol. Cons. no.210, 18 July 1838, *Whether Rule of International Law Observed in Hyderabad State Should be Observed in Travancore & Cochin*; NAI, Foreign Dept./Judl. (A) Branch, Cons. colln. March 1867, No.5/7, *Whether Political Agents with Consent of Native Sovereigns in Central India, Rajpootana, &c., Should Adopt Measures for Removal of European Vagrant*; NAI, Bundelkhand Agency/ English Files/ Part I/ File 8/ 1866 to 1908, *Employment of Europeans and Eurasians in Indian States*.

88 NAI, Foreign & Political/ Notes/ Proc. Nos.18-54, *Employment, 1854-1885*.

of Awadh's King Ghazi Uddin Haidar spent twelve years until her death in 1849 petitioning for assistance from the British Resident for assistance to leave Lucknow; he did nothing rather than risk accusations of interfering in the royal household.⁸⁹ Eurasians were left in a difficult position because they could never be certain whether they would be treated as British subjects or as natives of India.

MOTIVES

The plausibility of some of the motives suggested for deliberate intent to 'other' Eurasians must be considered. It is tempting, because the proscriptions were collectively inimical to Eurasian interests, to infer malicious intent, but the motivation behind individual proscriptions is not always obvious.

Fear of Eurasians because of their race 'degeneracy' seems an unlikely motive. If it had been a factor, then legislation to discourage intermarriage and miscegenation should have been seen throughout the empire. Fear of close connections between natives and Eurasians with the latter as likely leaders of a revolt is also unlikely for two reasons. First, the Spanish American revolts had not yet occurred when the proscriptions began so the part played by 'mulatto' leaders siding with blacks was yet to happen. Second, Eurasians cannot have been seen as potential leaders of natives because the British believed Indians despised Eurasians. There was, however, a precedent for fear of settlers *per se* that fits very well with the chronology and effects of the proscriptions. This had less to do with race than with maintaining allegiance to Britain. Rather than fear of Eurasians because of their race, it was fear that European settlers and Eurasians together would follow the example of American settlers and take India for themselves. Once European loyalty had been secured, any Eurasian disloyalty could safely be ignored.

Greed is also cited as a motive for the proscriptions. Confining this to money, then naturally shareholders would have wished to maximise their profits. This would not have been served by cutting out the Eurasian and Indian workforce because it would have increased the number of more expensive Europeans needed. What could shareholders have gained from disbarring Eurasian and native claimants against charities? That money would never have found its way into the pockets of shareholders

⁸⁹ Malcolm Speirs, *The Wazikadars of Awadh*, Rupa, New Delhi, India, 2008, pp. 19-20.

wanting better returns. Where greed for patronage is suggested then, again, what was to be served by removing Eurasians or Indians from subordinate posts and the lowest ranks of the Company's armies? Shareholders were not looking for such lowly posts for their relatives and friends and had nothing to gain by excluding Eurasians from them.

Reforming and cleaning up the administration was an important motive behind many changes instituted in the 1773 India Bill and in much of the Parliamentary legislation that followed. British public opinion was concerned that Company servants might be enriching themselves dishonestly, and that expensive wars and battles were fought for that purpose. There was also concern that India itself, whether because of its climate or the influence of its natives, caused Europeans' characters and constitutions to degenerate. It may be argued that Eurasians were targeted by this motive but the despised Nabobs and others accused of dishonesty and warmongering were Europeans, not Eurasians.

Legitimation of rule can be linked to reform too. If every Englishman was to be seen as the embodiment of racial superiority then control over Europeans' behaviour, whether through regulations or social usages and coercion, was necessary. The right to reside in the *mofussil* was limited to the most senior officers, the highest social class, with the most to lose if they failed to perform the role of *burra sahib*. A privileged few non-officials could join them, not by right but only if their characters and ancestry passed muster. Confining lesser Britons and their Eurasian kin to cantonments and the main cities made them less visible and easier to control. Eurasians' nativity made their movements less controllable until later when British hegemony was more widespread and compliance might more often be rewarded with carrots such as employment.

The 'civilising mission' also began to influence events about this time. Certainly some wanted to proselytise the 'heathens,' calling for missionaries to be allowed into India, though these were hardly welcomed by the Company. However the influence of those who wished to civilise the behaviour of Britons, both at home and in India, was contemporaneous and consistent with the proscriptions. The difference of opinion between the older men and the younger ones (evident in the debate over the Bengal orphans) illustrates a change in standards of public behaviour in the officer cadre. The proscriptions might be viewed as an active effort to prevent Indian acculturation of Company servants. Besides this, charity and protection for the poor was a moot point, whether in Britain or India. A Governor of Madras, in 1824, was in no doubt:

It is easy to appeal to humanity; but it is often the harsh duty of Government to resist its call, and never more so than on the present occasion. If we leave the half-caste people to themselves, they will go on as they have done for the last forty years, increasing slowly, according to their means of subsistence. They will seek employment as servants, mechanics, shopkeepers, and merchants in the towns and villages on the sea-coast. When there is no longer room for them there, succeeding generations will be forced to look for a subsistence as bullock-men, peons, labourers, and ryots. This is what has happened to the descendents of the Portuguese on the west coast, and there is no reason why the same thing should not happen to the descendents of English soldiers, if it be not prevented by imprudent interference.⁹⁰

Was it a Christian duty to help Eurasians and poor whites or did that make them dependent and remove the incentive to work? Did a safety net for soldiers' families encourage the men to marry without permission? If Eurasians were first generation then they were also likely to be illegitimate and were those born in sin entitled to be treated as the 'deserving' poor?

If Parliament's 1773 and 1813 Regulating Acts were meant to discriminate against Eurasians then they would need to have mentioned them. Their exclusion from Calcutta juries by the 1790s was a matter of usage not legislation. Attempts were made to assign native status based on illegitimacy but Eurasians were not formally defined as Natives of India until much later.

The 1786 directive banning the repatriation of Bengal officers' orphans unless legitimate and wholly European, if considered alone, targets Eurasians. But the legitimate and wholly European children of lower class whites were also left in India. Cornwallis 1789 order that officers of the King's regiments should be wholly European was directed at weakening settler ties – embodied in the Eurasians 'mixed' blood. The 1790 ban on land ownership for Europeans and Eurasians was in keeping with other reforms designed to clean up the Company's reputation – reducing opportunities for provoking wars and for personal gain. It was never certain Eurasians were meant to be included and, generally at this early period, they were not. The 1791 directive barring sons of natives from covenanted Company service was justified by the presumption of Asiatic dishonesty.⁹¹ But race was assessed on appearance. If a fair skinned Eurasian presented in Britain, and no one mentioned or even knew his mother's

90 Thomas Munro, 'Minute On the Eurasian Population, 24th November 1824,' in Arbuthnot, *Selections*, 1886, pp. 558-560.

91 Metcalf quotes Cornwallis who described Indian officials as 'cruel instruments of rapine and extortion.' Metcalf says the British 'sought to make of the Indians a people uniquely predisposed to corruption, extortion and mendacity.' Metcalf, Thomas R., *Ideologies of the Raj*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994, p. 23-24.

ethnicity, how could the ban have been enforced?

Changes to the rules of Lord Clive's fund in 1793, and to civil and military funds in 1804, excluded both Eurasian and native claimants. But most private soldiers' families in Britain were similarly ignored by the army and thrown back on 'the parish.' That Europeans in India were supported was the unusual part but they were required to remarry within months or leave India. The 1795 recommendation of Cornwallis that no Eurasians could be combatants in Company armies did not disarm them but left them the option of service with native Rulers. Rather, it anglicised the Company's European force. Nor did Wellesley's 1803 proclamation disarm Eurasians; he used them as irregulars. The elusive 1808 order discharging Eurasians from the 'British Army' is probably a misreading of peacetime reduction of irregular corps.

A COMMUNAL RESPONSE

Withdrawal of recognition and assistance from the British authorities, together with increased social distance between European and Eurasian populations, and the growing numbers of distressed Eurasians, necessitated some kind of organised response from other Eurasians. They had no choice but to band together to help one another. Prominent men in Calcutta and Madras formed associations to represent the interests and concerns of Eurasians to Government, to organise charitable support, to educate their young, and to promote employment. The better educated, the better placed, and the philanthropic emerged as informal leaders. A Eurasian press grew to serve the interests of the community.⁹² Some churches, whether formally or informally, became predominantly Eurasian churches.⁹³ In other words, the exclusions drew Eurasians together into a nascent community with its own values, issues and institutions.⁹⁴

In 1805 the benefaction of St Mary's Church in Madras was amongst the earliest visible signs of communal activity with the vestry supporting the native wives and Eurasian children of soldiers dead or moved away.⁹⁵ By 1823 the vestry was supporting 7,623 persons. Besides contributions from the European and Eurasian congregation, it

⁹² *'The East Indian,'* for example, was established by Henry Derozio.

⁹³ This would primarily have been because Eurasians and the better off Europeans lived in different areas served by different churches.

⁹⁴ For greater details on the emergence of Eurasian communal institutions and activities see: Anthony, *Britain's Betrayal*, 1962; Dover, *Chimmerii*, 1929; Stark, *Hostages*, 1936; Hawes, *Poor*, 1996; Goodrich, *Making*, 1952.

⁹⁵ IORF/4/211/4716, *Eurasian*, 1805.

had benefited from large donations from three men representing the diverse roots of the Eurasian community. Charles Weston was an Indo-Briton, Claude Martin the French father of Eurasian children, and John Barretto a member of a prominent Indo-Portuguese family.⁹⁶ All three were renowned philanthropists.

Education was a major concern because so few could travel to England. Elementary provision, in small private schools or in church initiatives, provided only basic literacy and did not equip Eurasians (or poor whites) with the level of education required for advancement. Government initiatives addressed Muslim and Hindu education providing government-sponsored English-medium schools but these tended to be in the wrong parts of town for Eurasians (living alongside Europeans) to reach easily.⁹⁷ The community established the Christian but non-denominational Parental Academy in Calcutta. Set up in 1823, it was the earliest of the major private English-medium and overtly Christian schools, primarily to educate its own community. It was quickly followed by Calcutta Grammar School which was expressly Church of England.⁹⁸

Political organisations formed to represent the community though this was always problematic since so many Eurasians were government employees. An association of a few dozen men had petitioned government in 1818, thereby proving to those who wished to interpret it that way that Eurasians were troublesome and dangerous.⁹⁹ In Madras in 1827, over 200 Eurasian men were able to sign a petition to the Governor over the name by which they were to be designated.¹⁰⁰ They did not represent all and government heard from another Madras group claiming to represent a section of the community who held a different view. In 1830 John Ricketts was dispatched from Calcutta to London to present a petition with over 600 signatories, against the wishes of another Calcutta Eurasian faction who publicly denounced the action.¹⁰¹

In these few examples the existence of an emerging Eurasian community can be

96 Lushington, *The History*, 1824, Appx.13, Lord Clive's Fund, p. 341.

97 See discussions regarding a school for Eurasians in Karachi, NAI, Home/Public/Proc. no.52, *Bombay Govt. has Consented to Contribute Half the Expense of Erecting a School for children of English and Indo-British Inhabitants at Kurrachee*, October 1855.

98 Stark, *Hostages*, 1936, p. 91.

99 Referred to in a letter from John Jebb and James Pattison to Rt. Hon. Geo. Canning, dated 27th February 1818, in 'Report from the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company,' *House of Commons, Parliamentary Papers, 1832*, vol. 1, General Appx., p. 258.

100 There was a Madras association representing Indo-Britons in 1827; IOR/F/4/1115/29907, *Decision; Eurasian Wives*, 1828.

101 The Calcutta Association was formed in 1822; Hawes, *Poor*, 1996, p. 143.

seen. No one has argued otherwise. The question that remains unanswered is what were the motives behind orders, laws and ‘usages’ that caused such a dramatic change in the circumstances of India’s Eurasians?

PROBLEMS OF INTERPRETING MOTIVES

A recognisable Anglophone, Christian, ‘mixed-race’ community came into being as a result of the series of measures before and after the turn of the nineteenth century which excluded Eurasians from a fully British identity. The motivation of the Company’s Directors in effectively ‘othering’ Eurasians has provoked much discussion. Disagreement between authors who have explored Eurasian othering centres on emphasis and motives rather than effects but the true motives behind the proscriptions leading to Eurasian ‘othering’ are hard to find. The brevity of directives recorded in the Directors’ court minute books, of Army regulations and of the Governor-Generals’ standing orders obfuscate underlying motives, dissent and discussion prior to their enactment.¹⁰² Near contemporary collections of the writings of Wellesley, Cornwallis (both of which include Dundas’ writings) are more illuminating, revealing larger plans of which these ‘laws’ were a small part,¹⁰³ but even here, authors deliberately omitted names, said certain topics were best left for private discussions, or referred to topics (unspecified) which they had already discussed and did not commit to paper.

Departmental records from India are a rich source of information on how such laws were to be interpreted and enacted, revealing custom and practice, confusion and prejudices as well as the flexibility necessary in everyday administration. What they do not reveal is motivation. ‘Humble petitions’ from Eurasians, sometimes included in departmental records, reveal which issues led to concerted group action or caused division and dissent. Petitions, from individuals, such as the soldiers who left Maratha service in 1803, reveal the effects of the Governor-General’s proclamation on their military careers and financial security. Again, these are unhelpful for establishing motives for the proscriptions discussed above.

There has been no work on the beginnings of the Eurasian community in India

102 Directives, standing orders and regulations had the force of law though not the result of legislation.

103 Ross, *Correspondence, 1859, 3 vols.*; Richard Wellesley & Robert Montgomery Martin (ed.), *The Dispatches, Minutes, and Correspondence, of the Marquess Wellesley, 5 volumes*, W.H. Allen & Co., London, 1836 & 1837. *There was no similar contemporary collection of Dundas’ correspondence. Probably because his impeachment had caused so much controversy, his descendents held his papers privately for over a century. The Cornwallis and Wellesley collections however, contain many examples of Dundas’ correspondence.*

since Hawes' book was published. Since then, recent works on the British Raj have recognised that the relationship between metropole and colony worked both ways; British identity was itself undergoing rapid change and lessons learned in one part of the emerging empire might shape actions in another.¹⁰⁴

Addressing issues and personalities at home and elsewhere in the empire may help us better understand the motives behind the proscriptions that effectively turned Eurasians from British subjects into 'others.' In the next chapter, therefore, three men (Henry Dundas, Richard Wellesley and Charles Cornwallis) have been selected for discussion, from the many whose influence was felt in India around the turn of the nineteenth century. These three illustrate how events, priorities and personal experiences, at home or elsewhere in the empire, informed and affected what they did with regard to Indian reform; placing their actions in a wider context may throw light on their motives for actions that affected the Eurasians.

¹⁰⁴ See, for example: Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects; Metropole And Colony In The English Imagination, 1830-1867*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 2002; Catherine Hall & Sonya O. Rose, *At Home With The Empire: Metropolitan Culture And The Imperial World*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2006; Peter J. Marshall, 'A Free Though Conquering People,' *Eighteenth Century Britain and its Empire*, Ashgate Publishing, Aldershot, 2003.

CHAPTER 3: HIDDEN AGENDAS

INTRODUCTION

Legal proscriptions around the turn of the nineteenth century, discussed in the previous chapter, barred many Indians and Eurasians from East India Company employment. These are seen as the method by which Eurasian ‘othering’ was initially achieved. There is less agreement about the motivation behind them and whether they intentionally targeted Eurasians or not. At this time the priorities of the Board of Control and the Company’s Court of Directors were to secure the loyalty of Company servants to Britain, to improve the Company’s profitability, and, by removing native influence, believed to be a source of corruption and greed, to improve its image. Claims of ‘oppression’ and ‘cruel measures enacted against the Anglo-Indian race,’ whilst describing the effects of the proscriptions, do not fit comfortably with this picture. Most proscriptions were not aimed specifically at Eurasians and the damage caused to them was often incidental. Although the motives attributed to the Company’s Directors are plausible they do not offer a sufficient or complete explanation. Neither did all of the proscriptions come from the Directors. We have seen there was fear of Eurasians and settlers as potential fifth-columnists but fear generated by Mulattos’ actions in Haiti was not causal; some proscriptions were already in place before their revolt. Nor was the greed of shareholders and those who held patronage reason to exclude lowly soldiers or minor officials from Company service. If greed were a motive then surely Europeans were more expendable; Eurasian and Indian labour was much cheaper, if only because they were already in India. The positions occupied by non-Europeans were not those in which patronage played a major role.

Other than noting the rise of evangelical Christianity and the moral resurgence in Britain, no study has yet considered the effects of other profound changes within metropolitan Britain, in relation to British treatment of India’s Eurasians. Some of these were specific interests of very influential and powerful men. Classes of British people, who previously played little or no role in empire, were beginning to find themselves included. Scots demanded, under the terms of the 1707 Act of Union, greater access to English markets abroad. The 1800 Act joining Ireland and Britain came with the expectation of Catholic emancipation and inclusion. Ireland and Scotland had huge

economic problems and large dissatisfied populations that threatened the integrity of the United Kingdom. Britain was also rocked by two events of huge political importance; the lost war with the American Colonies and the protracted war with revolutionary France. All of these contributed to the reshaping (perhaps invention)¹ of a British identity, and to the mindset of those who served in the wider empire, at the very moment of Eurasian exclusion. The loss of America and the huge upheavals in Spanish America where settler, Mulatto and native populations rose against their European masters, in Haiti, Mexico and Peru contributed to an anxious reappraisal of Britain's imperial endeavours. Few previous studies have considered the personal interests of individual players, whether in Parliament, amongst the Directors, or in India, and how their personal agendas brought contemporary British issues such as these to bear on Company and government policy towards India and none have explored these issues in relation to the Eurasian population.

It is significant that the Eurasian 'problem' surfaced around in 1784 when the Parliament dominated Board of Control was set up to direct the Company. Whilst the Company's Directors may always have made decisions with their own pecuniary interest to the fore,² the same cannot be said of many British parliamentarians (other than the India interest group) for whom, even when deputed to oversee the Company, apparently unrelated issues were just as pressing. Henry Dundas, for example, chaired the Board of Control, but was also deeply committed to extending Scottish interests within the empire, subverting Irish Catholic disaffection,³ and strengthening Britain's commercial pre-eminence globally.⁴ Governor-General and Commander-in-chief Cornwallis' experiences in America, before he ever set foot in India, shaped his distrust of settler communities whose loyalties to Britain he distrusted. But, like Dundas, he thought Catholic recruitment would reduce dissent in Ireland and was happy to encourage raising regiments there for service elsewhere, including in India. Governor-General Richard Wellesley, also a Board appointment, was an Anglo-Irish peer, who later became Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. He believed empire was best served by stability at home so unrest in Ireland was high on his list of priorities. He championed

1 'Britain is an invented nation, not so much older than the United States.' Peter Scott, *Knowledge and Nation*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1990, p. 168.

2 They had to be major shareholders before they could be elected as Directors.

3 Peter J. Marshall, 'Britain and the World in the Eighteenth Century: IV, The Turning Outwards of Britain,' reprinted in Marshall, *Free*, 2003, Ch. XVI, p. 9.

4 Peter J. Marshall, 'The Eighteenth Century Empire,' reprinted in Marshall, *Free*, 2003, Ch.III, p. 191.

Catholic emancipation and any moves that were likely to improve the lot of impoverished Irish Catholics to improve their loyalty. The formation of Irish regiments, for example, brought employment and incomes.

This chapter considers these men and their involvement with some of these issues, thereby offering new insights into the motives for, and the timing of, the sudden *volte face* with regard to the place of Eurasians in India. They were in positions of great influence at this crucial point in the history of India's Eurasians, but it is possible to show that other considerations were far more pressing, to these men and to much of contemporary Britain, than the effects their actions had on the Eurasians. This approach brings historical context and so allows a more objective assessment of the motives behind the actions which set Eurasian 'othering' in motion.

CHARLES CORNWALLIS & SETTLERS

Cornwallis was a soldier from 1756 until his death in 1805. He held several military and civil positions, including second in command of British forces in the American Revolution, Governor-General of India and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. In India and Ireland, he was given plenipotentiary powers to represent Britain's interests.⁵ Whilst in Ireland in 1798, his 'great object' was 'consolidating the British Empire'.⁶ The same held true of his aims in America and India. Bayly noted 'he disliked and distrusted settlers, having no time for either loyalist or republican *banditti*'.⁷ He was to have little more time for non-official British in India, Indians in general, or the official British beyond demanding they did their duty without corruption. His remit in India was to reform the Company armies and civil service, end corruption and 'anglicise' the British presence. His powers to act independently and the trust of the King, the Prime Minister and Dundas, at a time when the Board was asserting its will over the Company's Directors, meant he did not hesitate to act independently in, for example, decisions about deployment of the Company's civil and military personnel,⁸ and in making war

5 In Ireland and India, in addition to civil duties he was also Commander-in-chief of the army. He was appointed, alongside Lord Liverpool, minister plenipotentiary of Addington's administration, negotiating a short-lived peace with Napoleon in 1802.

6 Cornwallis to Major-general Ross, July 1, 1798, in Ross, *Correspondence*, 1859, vol.2., p. 357-8.

7 C.A. Bayly and Katherine Prior, 'Cornwallis, Charles, first Marquess Cornwallis (1738-1805),' *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com>, (accessed June 2010).

8 When he complained to Dundas that the Court was specifying which posts its servants should occupy, Dundas pressed the Court to cooperate and allow the Governor-General to make his own decisions. Sir Cyril Henry Philips, *The East-India Company 1784-1834*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1940, p. 63.

with Mysore.⁹ Even the ‘permanent settlement’ of the land revenue system in Bengal, referred back to the Board for decision, had already been discussed with Dundas prior to his departure for India.¹⁰ Cornwallis’ personal experiences and prejudices had a marked effect on the administration of British India.¹¹ The official ‘othering’ of Eurasians of British descent began during his tenure as Governor-General.¹²

Cornwallis was British second in command in America from 1778 and local Commander when he surrendered to combined American and French forces at Yorktown. Despite local military superiority there, intelligence was poor, allowing the advent of French support to overwhelm the British. Loyalist militias, who could have significantly altered the course of the war, were disregarded by many British commanders, including Cornwallis but, unlike many of his fellow officers, Cornwallis made use of Native Americans to deflect rebel reinforcements.¹³ Though defeated, he was not publicly blamed for the loss of America but, as a professional soldier he felt humiliated by defeat at the hands of the rebel’s commander, George Washington who was, to him, a mere militia man. Cornwallis sought success elsewhere to recover and enhance his reputation, though he portrayed his offices as a painful ‘duty’ he would rather have avoided. His experience of rebellions and colonists, in India, Ireland and colonial America, had a lasting effect, colouring his attitudes towards anyone who might usurp British power.

For many Britons, America, like India, had represented a chance for second sons to amass a fortune, or even to gain land and establish themselves as settlers. Its loss removed those opportunities, unless willing to serve under a now foreign government. There were also ‘redcoats’ who had fought in America who needed to be disbanded, or redeployed. On top of that, many American loyalists had been ejected from the United States, some left for the West Indies, Britain, or India, and 40,000 crossed into Canada.

9 Although Cornwallis was criticised for this war in Parliament, and urged to conclude it rapidly, he continued until he could force Tipu’s submission to severe terms. Philips cites this as an example of ‘the futility of attempting to conduct the Company’s external policy from London.’ *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.

10 Philips believed Dundas’ role was to sell Cornwallis plan to the Board and the Directors. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

11 That Cornwallis arrived in India with a bundle of instructions from the Directors does not diminish this point. Dundas, Cornwallis and the Prime Minister are known to have met several times and corresponded regularly before his departure and to have ‘steam-rolled’ the Directors into passing resolutions in accord with their own political and economic agendas.

12 Eurasians of non-British descent, e.g. French and Portuguese, were already ‘othered’. There is also evidence that the prospects of British Eurasians were beginning to diverge from those of their European kin prior to his arrival but there had been no *official* attempts to differentiate between them.

13 Cornwallis to Clinton, 29 December 1780, in Ross, *Correspondence*, 1859, vol. 1, pp. 76-7.

American defeat also dented British confidence in its role as a world power. If a justification or explanation were needed that would assuage embarrassment, then it was that the rebels were themselves of British descent; there was therefore no defeat by a foreign people. This logic can be seen as a beginning of racial justification for British rule elsewhere. For Britain and Cornwallis, India offered the chance of recovering dented pride and reputation as well as a role for those Britons and Loyalists who could no longer be deployed in America. Cornwallis' Indian policies were influenced by his America experiences. Even before his return from America Cornwallis was offered India but declined twice,¹⁴ holding out until Parliament granted the Governor-General full powers without prior reference to London or the Supreme Council in India, and he was made Commander-in-chief of the armies, regular and Company.

In February 1786 Cornwallis wrote about his appointment as Governor-General of India: 'much against my will, and with grief of heart, I have been obliged to say yes, and to exchange a life of ease and content, to encounter all the plagues and miseries of command and public station'.¹⁵ We can safely conclude India was not his first love. He was Governor-General from 1786 to 1793 during which, although it had three Presidents, Dundas was the moving force behind the Board. Cornwallis' remit was to devise and implement reform of the administration, civil and military. He could not entirely avoid warfare, nor, without provoking a mutiny, was he able to institute many military reforms that he thought necessary. Nonetheless, he did institute widespread measures to 'clean up' the Company's reputation. The direction these reforms took was agreed with Dundas before he set sail,¹⁶ but he brought his own 'baggage' to bear whilst in India, especially his distrust of permanent colonists and settlers. He had also seen in America the effects of divisions within British command structures, and so was determined to unite the Indian military under one head.¹⁷ He also brought with him 25 years experience of the regular army's distressing attitudes to camp followers, marriage and soldier's families.¹⁸

Cornwallis was determined to fight corruption in India and, since he believed all

14 Bayly and Prior, Cornwallis, *ODNB*.

15 Cornwallis to Ross, 23 February 1786, in Ross, *Correspondence*, 1859, vol. 1, p. 215.

16 Raymond A. Callahan, 'Cornwallis and the Indian Army, 1786-1797,' *Military Affairs*, vol. 34 (3), 1970, pp. 93-97.

17 The regular army and the Company armies of Madras, Bombay and Bengal were effectively independent of one another.

18 Discussed below.

‘natives of Hindostan’ to be corrupt, he especially distrusted them and those Europeans with close connections to Indian influence.¹⁹ His solution was to anglicise the service. By definition, anglicising precluded Indians. It excluded Eurasians who could be considered both as settlers and Indians and so were doubly repugnant to Cornwallis. But it also meant change for British men serving in India and a weakening of their connections with India, in whatever form they may have taken. As early as 1787 Cornwallis wrote to Dundas about corruption, citing the Resident of Benares as a not untypical example; together with a salary of Rs. 1,000 a year from the Company, he was making Rs. 400,000 a year in ‘emoluments,’ and held a complete monopoly over commerce. Cornwallis did not believe the Resident to be unique; almost all collectors, he said, were deeply involved in private commerce. They affected this through a third party, either a relative or friend, not in Company service. To decrease corruption in India, and stop company servants’ distraction with private trade, he insisted they be paid well enough to rise above considerations of personal advantage and profit.²⁰ Higher salaries would allow Company servants an alternative and honest means to accumulate a ‘pension pot,’ shorten their stay in India, and facilitate their rapid return ‘home’.

Cornwallis separated judicial and revenue-collection functions into distinct branches of government and, since he supposed Indians were the main source of corruption, began the de-Indianisation of the administration. Ross paraphrasing Cornwallis’ attitude, and describing the legal system before his reforms, said European’s deficient ‘knowledge of the language or the habits of the natives’ meant that because ‘natives were the sole judges corruption generally prevailed to an unlimited extent.’ Cornwallis’ reforms of the legal system included restricting native judges to cases of fifty Rupees or less, and insistence that other civil and criminal cases must be heard by Europeans.²¹

Wellesley’s later establishment of Fort William College was a logical further step in reducing European reliance on Indians. Native tutors at the college were barred from teaching anyone but its students. The gradual change in status of Eurasians from European to ‘native’ follows quite naturally from Cornwallis’ anglicisation policies. Debarred, from Company service, from an English education (for most), from the college and the best tutors at Fort William, and increasingly from jury service, a

19 Cornwallis to Dundas, 14 August 1787, in Ross, *Correspondence*, 1859, vol. 1, pp. 269-272.

20 *Ibid.*

21 *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 193, 201-202.

racially-motivated gap was created between the Eurasian and Europeans, first in Bengal.

Cornwallis knew that British public opinion believed the Company's territorial gains were motivated by its military officers' desire for personal gain (prize money and booty). As with the civilian service, he believed anglicisation of the Company's European military servants was essential, paying them properly, addressing issues of status between the Company and regular army, and focussing their ambitions firmly on 'home' in Britain. In 1783 British officers in the Company's army were already complaining that their pay was lower, and promotion slower than their comrades (who were also considered senior) in Crown regiments.²² Ideally, Cornwallis wanted to merge Company's armies into the regular army. This would have allowed redeployment elsewhere in the empire, further lessening attachments to India. In 1789, fearing a growing settler community whose interests might differ from those of Britain (like his personal nemesis, the American rebels) he wrote to the Board of Directors:

it ought to be part of the political system for the management of India to discourage and prevent Europeans ... particularly European officers, from colonising and settling in this country; ... when they have reconciled their minds to relinquish all thoughts of returning to their native country, they will soon become indifferent, or ... even hostile to its interests; and many circumstances might in time arise ... in which a number of men of such dispositions might have it in their power to create serious embarrassment to Government.²³

Cornwallis succeeded in anglicising all ranks by barring the 'sons of natives' from European regiments except in the lowliest positions.²⁴ But by leaving open the prospect of service in native states, superficially undermining his own anglicisation policy, he achieved two further ends: defusing the resistance of fathers concerned for their Eurasian sons and improving intelligence about native rulers.

So far as his attitudes to Eurasians can be determined, race was most decidedly a factor but, as with European settlers, so was Eurasians' presumed allegiance to India rather than Britain. The relevance of race to some of the proscriptions inimical to Eurasians is complex and Cornwallis background as a career soldier must be considered here. He had been a regular army man for 25 years before he set foot in India, Whether in the military sense of movement of personnel, acquisition of transport, supplies and

22 R. Kumar (ed.), *Military System of East India Company*, Ajay Verma for Commonwealth Publishers, New Delhi, 2004, p. 171.

23 Cornwallis to Court of Directors, 6 March 1789, in Ross, *Correspondence*, 1859, vol. 1, pp. 550-2.

24 See previous chapter.

equipment, or with the additional business priorities of cost efficiency, he had a reputation as someone good at logistics and went on to become ‘Master-General of the Ordnance’ when he returned to Europe. As a logistics specialist, anything not directly connected with fighting men and their deployment was a waste of resources and a drain on the efficiency of the military machine.

The Directors’ decision that Bengal officers’ illegitimate orphans (usually Eurasians) could not be returned to Britain came a month after Cornwallis had agreed to go to India.²⁵ He may never have even met a Eurasian at this time but he did already have plans to weaken European officers’ ties to India. The 1790 ban on land ownership for Europeans²⁶ was a further step in weakening allegiances to India. It was never clear on what basis the ban could apply to Eurasians except that it became Company policy to control their movements. Two further proscriptions from Cornwallis, though undoubtedly framed in racial terms, were aimed at anglicising the Company’s servants by discouraging intermarriage and settling, rather than punishing their progeny. His 1789 recommendation that no military officers or soldiers with ‘the blood of natives of India’ could serve in the regular army²⁷ was by definition racially explicit, as was the Directors’ decision in 1791 to exclude sons of natives (i.e. Eurasians as well as Indians) from all covenanted Company service.²⁸ But, since Cornwallis did not prevent Eurasians from serving in the Princely states, and even used them to provide intelligence, this too can be seen as anglicising the Company’s European servants. He went on, after leaving India, to recommend that no Eurasians should be combatants in European regiments but he did recommend that they could serve as sepoy. Their imagined split allegiance, as both Indians and settlers, meant that, again Cornwallis’ motivation was not simply race.²⁹

The motivation for the one change that might appear to be solely attributable to race was also far more complex. From 1793, changes to Lord Clive’s fund for the Company’s military and families, specifically excluded Eurasians and natives from claiming benefits and payments to Europeans could only be made in Britain.³⁰ Whilst

25 IOR/B/102, *Court Minute Book*, 14 March 1786; PWD India, *Original Papers, 1784*, pp. 29-34.

26 Court Of Directors from Governor-General in Council Fort William, 06 March 1793, in Ross, *Correspondence*, 1859, vol. 2, p. 562.

27 WO4/297, War Office Out-letters, 06 May 1790.

28 IOR/B113, *Court Minute Book*, Standing Order, 19 April 1791, page 17, and November 1791.

29 Cornwallis to Dundas, dated 7 November 1794, in Ross, *Correspondence*, 1859, vol. 2, appx.LXXIII, p. 581.

30 A.C. Bannerjee (ed.), *Fort William - India House Correspondence And Other Contemporary Papers Relating*

this reduced many Eurasian and native dependents to pauperism, the further proscription on payments in India to Europeans clarifies the thinking behind this. Whilst legally free to do so, most soldiers, whether in the Company or regular armies, were not permitted to marry under army regulations.³¹ Any who married ‘off the strength’ were treated as single men and no provision was made for their families, regardless of race. This was just as callously applied in England as anywhere else. In Cornwallis’ time, England’s military families relied on Poor Law and parish relief whilst their husbands were away; the army refused to accept any responsibility for them or even recognise their existence. No doubt Cornwallis would have wished to treat all ‘off the strength’ families in India in precisely the same way. A logistics specialist and a career soldier would have seen this as efficiency since the priority was maintenance and deployment of an army. In India, however, there was no Poor law or parish relief to care for European women and children and the British could not be seen to abandon their own. The paucity of European women, along with Cornwallis’ desire to discourage settlers, meant that repatriation, with payments from Clive’s fund in England was both desirable and affordable. Whilst the abandonment of Eurasian and native dependents was harsh, it was meant to discourage the European men from further miscegenation and settling. Rather than a move directed against Eurasians and natives because of their race, this was entirely in keeping with the army’s attitude to all ‘off the strength’ families and followers. Cornwallis, the career soldier, could hardly have acted otherwise.

Cornwallis returned from India with his reputation as an administrator further enhanced. Appointed ‘Master-General of the Ordnance’ in 1795, he held a cabinet level but military post, with responsibility for military logistics, engineering, procurement, and field hospitals. He retained this office even whilst serving as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. He continued to be involved with Indian affairs until his return to India and untimely death there.³² Even when he was not in India, his interests and experiences are therefore relevant to this discussion.

In a letter to his friend Ross, days after his arrival in Ireland as Lord-Lieutenant, Cornwallis described his new post as ‘my idea of perfect misery.’ He could please

Thereto, 1792-1796, vol. 20, Military Series, National Archives of India, Delhi, 1969.

31 This can be contrasted with the situation under the Dutch in Batavia where even amongst civilians intermarriage could be prevented by law. Ann Laura Stoler, ‘Rethinking Colonial Categories; European Communities and the Boundaries of Rule,’ *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 31, (1), 1989, pp. 134-161.

32 Although he died soon after, his return to India was assumed even before he went to Ireland. He wrote to Ross on the subject in April 1797. Cornwallis to Major-general Ross, April 23, 1797, in Ross, *Correspondence*, 1859, vol. 2, p. 326.

neither the Protestant Ascendancy nor the Catholics. Of the Protestants, he complained ‘the violence of our friends, and their folly in endeavouring to make it a religious war, added to the ferocity of our troops who delight in murder, most powerfully counteract all plans of conciliation’.³³ He believed, like Wellesley, severe treatment of Catholics by the Protestant Ascendancy provoked Catholic dissent in Ireland. Protestants resented his failure to ‘understand their difficulties’ and Catholics resented the proscriptions he imposed on them and his harsh treatment of captured rebel leaders. Unlike Wellesley who was motivated by a desire to improve the lot of Irish Catholics, his motivation was pacification and the rule of law.

In 1797, before he had set foot in Ireland he was pessimistic about Britain’s ability to resist a French invasion: ‘Torn as we are by faction, without an army, without money, trusting entirely to a navy whom we may not be able to pay, and on whose loyalty ... no firm reliance is to be placed’.³⁴ And yet, by 1805, French hostility had prompted the staggering figure of one in five British men to enlist.³⁵ Once in Ireland he was immediately faced with violent rebellion (amounting to civil war) and a republican faction who saw their best hope for emancipation in a French invasion.³⁶ He wrote to Pitt that he distrusted the Irish Light Infantry, thought the militia formidable only to their friends, and the regular army regiments were skeleton forces of raw recruits.³⁷ He was even asked what troops he could spare for India. It is not surprising that he felt miserable. Cornwallis had pressed for the Act of Union of 1801 as a means to encourage Irish loyalty, not to provoke further revolt, but his continued involvement with Indian affairs was to provide a convenient and immediate pressure valve. If he could not spare loyal troops, and Catholic troops were of suspect loyalty when in Ireland, Richard Wellesley and Henry Dundas were happy to recruit them for service in India. Cornwallis had wanted more European troops there anyway and he shared their view that greater involvement of the Irish in British affairs would build loyalty to king and country. Irish recruitment is considered more fully in my discussion of Richard Wellesley.

33 *Ibid.*, pp. 357-8.

34 *Ibid.*, p. 329-30.

35 This included the army, navy, volunteers and fencibles. J.E. Cookson, *The British Armed Nation, 1793-1815*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1997, p. 95.

36 Several abortive attempts were made to land French forces in Ireland in 1797 and 1798.

37 Cornwallis to Pitt, in Ross, *Correspondence*, 1859, vol. 2, pp. 414-6.

After Ireland, and negotiating a brief peace with France, he did return to India for a second term as Governor-General but was to die soon after his arrival. Shore and Wellesley had continued his reform policies, but Wellesley's tenure had been expansionist and expensive. Cornwallis' second term priorities were to have been peace with the Marathas and cutting the Company's debt.

Cornwallis has been described by Bayly as a transitional figure rooted in an old fashioned unquestioning devotion to the monarchy but pointed forward to the new Victorian type of crown servant.³⁸ His numerous references to his personal sacrifices for the sake of duty taken together with his reforms of the Indian administration would support this. His obvious belief in European superiority can, perhaps, best be understood as a form of patriotism rather than racism as we understand it today. His belief in Indian inferiority underlay his policies designed to remove Europeans from their 'corrupting' influence. What is less clear is whether he saw Indians' 'corruption' to be a biological, racial quality, or a cultural one inherent in non-Christian society. The fact that during his administration, and afterwards when he was still consulted on Indian affairs, so many barriers appeared that excluded Eurasians from responsible government posts and from European society, might suggest the former. The fact that he believed Europeans could become corrupt through association with Indians suggests the latter.

RICHARD WELLESLEY AND IRISH CATHOLICS

Richard Wellesley was an Anglo-Irish landholder and peer. An MP from 1780 to 1797, he served as Governor-General of India from 1798 to 1805, as Foreign Secretary from 1809 to 1812, and in several high Irish offices from 1821 to 1835.³⁹ Though a prominent member of the Protestant Ascendancy, he was a longstanding champion of Catholic emancipation. In a letter to Lord Liverpool on the subject he said:

At the remote period of the year 1797, upon the eve of departure for India, I stated to the late Mr. Pitt my solicitude that he should direct his attention to the settlement of Ireland; and I expressed to him my conviction that Ireland could neither be happily settled, nor firmly united to Great Britain, without a concurrent settlement of the claims of his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects.⁴⁰

38 Bayly and Prior, Cornwallis, *ODNB*.

39 C.A. Bayly, 'Wellesley, Richard, Marquess Wellesley (1760–1842),' *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com>, (accessed March 2009); *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, New edition, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1908-1931 [1909]; Hugh Chisholm (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th edn, vol. 28, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1911, pp. 506-7.

40 Wellesley to Liverpool, 21 May 1812, Robert Rouiere Pearce (ed.), *Memoirs and Correspondence of Richard*

He made an impassioned speech in January 1812, stressing Catholic emancipation as vital to the safety of the empire.⁴¹ That spring he resigned his post as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs because he was ‘resolved to stand or fall with the Catholic cause.’⁴² In May, the Prince Regent invited him to try to form an administration. He failed to gain enough support because of his insistence on: ‘early and serious consideration of the executive government [of] the state of the laws affecting the Roman Catholics, with a sincere and earnest desire to bring that important question to a final and satisfactory settlement.’⁴³

As Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland from 1822 to 1828, he fought tirelessly for full Catholic emancipation. He was welcomed by all, Catholic rebel and Protestant landowner alike, as the best hope for an end to insurrection and oppression.⁴⁴ In 1828 he and his brother Arthur, Duke of Wellington, opposed one another over the ‘coercion bills’ with Wellesley claiming that draconian laws and oppression were the cause of insurrection and Wellington claiming that such laws were the only protection against the rebels.⁴⁵ Even after he resigned his post as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and after the Catholic emancipation bill had passed into law (1829), he continued to fight for Catholic rights until his death in 1835, complaining:

Entitled, by law, to admission into almost any office in the state, they have been, and are still, practically excluded from almost every branch of the executive administration of the Government ... It is impossible to suppose that a whole nation can repose confidence, or act cordially, with a Government, when so large a portion of the people are practically excluded from all share in the higher offices of the state, while their right to admission is established by law.⁴⁶

The Irish question was certainly a pressing one and a matter of national security. Whilst Irish Catholics could not serve in a British Army, they could and did choose to serve in other armies. Albrecht Dürer sketched Irish mercenaries in 1521,⁴⁷ and tens of

Marquis Wellesley, vol. 3, Richard Bentley, London, 1846, p. 238.

41 Richard Wellesley, *The substance of the speech of the Marquis Wellesley on the 31st of January, 1812, in the House of Lords, on the motion of Earl Fitzwilliam, respecting the present State of Ireland*, Longman Hurst, London, 1812.

42 Pearce, *Memoirs*, vol. 3, 1846, p. 212.

43 Minute of Mr. Canning’s Communication [as spokesman for Wellesley] to Earl Liverpool, 23rd May, *Ibid.*, p. 241.

44 *Ibid.*, Chapter XVI.

45 Debate in House of Lords on 10th June 1828, *Ibid.*, pp. 395-400.

46 *Ibid.*, p. 406.

47 Ian Heath, *The Irish Wars, 1485-1603*, Osprey Publishing, Oxford, 1993, p. 1.

thousands of Irish Catholics served in foreign (particularly Catholic) armies, often forming Irish Regiments. They fought for Spain and France against Britain and, as late as the Napoleonic era, many officers and men were Irish Jacobite recidivists and prominent freedom fighters. Napoleon had an Irish legion earmarked to lead an invasion of Ireland. But for all their apparent treasonable sentiments, once recruitment into the British army was opened to Catholics, they readily took up this option and far fewer were to be found serving in the armies of European Catholic powers. The motivation for most was, therefore, an economic one.⁴⁸

Even for some who did not support Catholic emancipation, Wellesley's passion for Irish recruitment would have had other appeals. They may not have been Anglo-Saxons⁴⁹ but the Irish were Europeans and the Company was always short of those for its European regiments. As he and Dundas argued, if the Irish took the King's shilling, then they would not be available to fight for Napoleon. Nor could they foment trouble and rebellion in Ireland if they were sent elsewhere. To Anglo-Irish landholders each new regiment meant up to a thousand fewer starving peasants on their estates. With army discipline, work, regular food, clothing and pay, the Irish Catholics might even become useful citizens! Each new regiment also represented another dozen or so second and third sons of the Protestant Ascendancy gainfully employed as commissioned officers, with the chance to cover themselves in glory, gold braid and prize money. Nor could it harm one's reputation if one offered to raise a regiment; men were ennobled for less.

Wellesley continued to fight for more Catholic emancipation by the series of enactments between 1778 and 1829 and opened many previously closed doors to Roman Catholics, including many Irishmen, for the first time in centuries. From 1793 onwards huge numbers of Irish Catholics were recruited into the British army for service all over the empire.⁵⁰ In 1794, for example, 22 Irish regiments were raised including some East India Company battalions and within two decades to 1813, a third

48 Harman Murtagh, 'Irish Soldiers Abroad, 1600 – 1800,' in Thomas Bartlett & Keith Jeffery (eds), *A Military History of Ireland*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996, pp. 294 – 314.

49 It was a commonplace that the Irish were a Celtic people, inferior to the Anglo-Saxon but, nonetheless, European and therefore superior to everyone else! Pearce said that, given better government, they would gradually improve, but he was also careful to caution that it would be 'worse than vain, to seek to depreciate the Saxon race, whose robust manhood, perseverance, energy, skill, indomitable courage, and dignity of character have made the English name respected in the remotest corners of the Earth'. Pearce, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, 1846, pp.XIV-XVI.

50 Protestants were more likely to have been kept in Ireland, as Yeomanry. The Anglo-Irish land and office holders relied on them to maintain law and order at home. Cookson, *British*, 1997, p. 164.

of the British army's manpower was Irish.⁵¹ With such a large increase in manpower, limitations on where it could be deployed, and a Governor-General actively seeking a role for the Irish in the wider empire, the Irish portion of European manpower in India rapidly became quite considerable.

Wellesley spent heavily on military activities in India resulting in the number of European troops there increasing from 13,000 in 1796 to 24,500 by the end of his tenure, and that was on a peacetime footing. The size of the Company's native army, officered by Europeans, also increased, from 57,000 to 130,000 representing a substantial increase in the number of covenanted posts which now included Irishmen, although rarely Catholics. Irish regiments and others reinforced in Ireland, with large Catholic contingents, were more likely to be posted abroad because there was opposition to having armed Catholics on their home turf. Scots and English regiments replaced them in Ireland. Those that remained in Ireland, though portrayed by Dundas and Pitt as a demonstration of Catholic loyalty, were posted away from their home counties and near English regiments who could keep an eye on them. Regiments with large numbers of Catholics were carefully deployed abroad; they were not used in America in case they joined the rebels, nor in Canada in case they supported the French. That left Europe, and the East and West Indies.⁵²

Wellesley was sent to India to continue the policies of Dundas and Cornwallis, cleaning up the administration, anglicising government and its servants, reducing costs and improving profitability. His seven years in India were, at the time, marked by disagreements with Dundas, Castlereagh (Dundas' successor) and the Directors, over his support for private trade, country-built shipping, and over territorial gains and associated costs.⁵³ But in 1841 the Company erected a statue in his honour and discussed his Governor-Generalship in glowing terms; he had brought peace and tranquillity to British India by adding 140,000 square miles of territory, yielding net annual revenue of over one million pounds sterling.⁵⁴ He had:

... laid the foundation of all good government by training up a class of men who would be found adequate

51 *Ibid.*, p. 126.

52 *Ibid.*, pp. 177-8; Letter from Dundas to Earl Camden, 22 April 1797, quoted in *Ibid.*, pp. 153-5.

53 Wellesley claimed in an 1803 letter to Castlereagh, to have reigned in his own support for private trade, except where absolutely necessary, and complied with the Directors wish to assert the Company's monopoly. Wellesley and Martin, *Despatches*, vol. 3, 1836-7, pp. 54 – 60; Philips, *East-India*, 1940, pp. 120 – 121.

54 Speech by Mr Weeding at the Company's General Court of Proprietors' Quarterly Meeting, 17th of March, 1841. Mr Martin at the same meeting claimed the territory and revenue gains were far greater. Pearce, *Memoirs*, vol. 3, 1846, p. 438, 443.

to the fulfilment of the high and responsible duties committed to their care. The foundation of the College of Fort William was indeed a master-stroke of policy.⁵⁵

Wellesley was also, wrongly, credited with founding the first Christian church in Calcutta and supplying it with ministers at a time when ‘the natives of India were unaware whether we had any religion or not.’⁵⁶ He left them in no doubt that the British were a Christian people by insisting on observance of the Sabbath and even banning the publication of Sunday newspapers.⁵⁷ He encouraged Company servants to improve their own behaviour with regular Church parade and a public show of piety and morality. He discouraged informal relationships with native women; if officials had to have female companionship then it should be in a Christian marriage, preferably with a British woman. He supported the exclusion of Eurasian and Native dependents of British men from the benefits of the various civil and military pension funds, and, with the Court of Directors’ support, ruled against the inclusion of illegitimate children. The opinion that financial hardship would discourage intermarriage and that miscegenation was a sin, was most strongly voiced by the young men trained at his brainchild; Fort William College.⁵⁸

Eurasian appointments to civil and military offices and as combatants in the Company’s armies had already been proscribed before Wellesley’s tenure, but Cornwallis and Shore had sanctioned Eurasians’ continued employment in native states. At Hyderabad: ‘The corps of Boyd and Finglass were taken into the service of the Nizam ... under the sanction of the Government of Bengal ... with a view of forming a counterpoise to the corps of Raymond.’⁵⁹ Wellesley began closing that door. These two commands under an American and an Irishman, to balance the French influence of Raymond, included Eurasian men at every level, though Wellesley lumped them all together as ‘Europeans’. Even before his arrival in India, he expressed to Dundas his

55 Speech by Mr Martin at the Company’s General Court of Proprietors’ Quarterly Meeting, 17 March 1841, *Ibid.*, p. 443.

56 Speech by Mr Martin at the Company’s General Court of Proprietors’ Quarterly Meeting, 17 March 1841, Pearce, *Memoirs*, vol. 3, 1846, p. 445. St Johns was completed in 1787, a decade before Wellesley arrived. n.a., *The Bengal Obituary*, Holmes & Holmes, Calcutta, 1851, p. 1. There were pre-existing Armenian and Greek Orthodox Churches (built in 1724 and 1781), *ibid.*, p. 310 & 313, and a Catholic one completed the year before he arrived, *Ibid.*, p. 302.

57 Pearce, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, 1846, pp. 351-6.

58 Lushington includes examples of correspondence on this matter; Lushington, *The History*, 1824, appx.14, pp.lxviii-lxxii.

59 Letter from Mornington (Wellesley) to Dundas, Cape of Good Hope, 23 February 1798, in Wellesley, *Despatches*, vol. 1, 1836, pp. 1-15.

doubts about the policy of relying on such adventurers.

Rather than follow his informant Kirkpatrick's suggestion, that French officers in native *durbars* (meaning French Eurasians too) be excluded and replaced with acceptable British subjects, Wellesley proposed sending in official Company detachments which *per se* excluded Eurasians. Gradually, this policy was implemented in all Princely states bound by treaty, squeezing Eurasians, as well as Europeans 'not in the service,' out of employment in the independent states. These men, Wellesley felt, could not be trusted because: 'I much fear that many British subjects might be found in India whose spirit of adventure would rather direct them to seek a new order of things, than to contribute to the maintenance of our power ... [and] there is scarcely a native court in India without its establishment of European officers.'⁶⁰ His doubts even extended to Company men with a proven track record if their associations with natives were deemed to be too close. He soon initiated a secret enquiry into the conduct of the Hyderabad resident, James Kirkpatrick, who had been his informant on the way out to India. Wellesley's brother Arthur had relayed the opinion of an out-of-favour Hyderabad official that Kirkpatrick 'was so completely under the influence of the [prime] minister it was to be expected that he would attend more to the objects of the Nizam's court than to those of his own government.'⁶¹ Being at home with native customs and people, especially if that involved family ties, was now a cause for concern. Dalrymple has noted that an old culture, in which men like Kirkpatrick had lived and worked an Anglo-Mughal accommodation, was being replaced with growing anglicisation. Spreading from the Presidencies outwards, the change was beginning to be felt in the *mofussil* even before Wellesley's time.⁶²

Unlike his brother the Duke of Wellington, who lurched from passionate support of Catholic emancipation, to coercion laws, and back again, Richard Wellesley never wavered in his support for Catholic emancipation, removal of legal proscriptions, and Irish participation, regardless of creed, within the British empire. His championing of this group, by increasing the numbers of Irishmen in India, would have taken jobs and opportunities away from Eurasians.

60 Letter from Mornington (Wellesley) to Dundas, Cape of Good Hope, 23 February 1798, in *Ibid.*, pp. 1-15.

61 Memorandum of Conversation between Meer Allum and Arthur Wellesley September 1800, in 1st & 2nd Duke of Wellington, *Supplementary Despatches and Memoranda of Field Marshal Arthur, duke of Wellington*, John Murray, London, 1858, vol. 2, p. 180.

62 William Dalrymple, 'White Mughals' in Indrani Chatterjee (ed.), *Unfamiliar Relations: Family and History in South Asia*, Permanent Black, New Delhi, 2004, pp. 122-60.

Wellesley's own arguments for inclusion of the Irish in the empire could be applied to all Britons since any disaffected group of subjects could represent a threat. This cannot be a man who would even have considered isolating and embittering Eurasians by legal proscriptions if he thought of them as British. Eurasians were a tiny minority in India but represented a majority of those of European descent. He could not fail to have been aware of the hardship his treatment of Eurasian and Native dependents was causing; their suffering was meant to discourage British men from entering into such relationships. He must have noticed that half the Eurasians were also Roman Catholics, a group normally dear to his heart. If as he argued the British empire would be strengthened by the inclusion of Irish Catholics then it seems improbable that he would have deliberately excluded another group of British subjects. He could not, therefore, have felt that Eurasians, even those of Indo-British descent, were as British as the troublesome minorities at home.

How much race influenced Wellesley's attitude to Eurasians is hard to assess. Ingram detected no evidence that Wellesley was in any way influenced by the doctrine of racial superiority. In terms of conquest, Ingram believed Wellesley was 'morally neutral' believing in force of arms to subdue a conquered people. Power, whether personal or national, was his justification and motivator.⁶³ Whilst he may have eschewed the racial justification for British success in India perhaps it was power, or rather their lack of it, that allowed him to disregard the increasing hardship and disaffection his policies caused for Eurasians.

HENRY DUNDAS, HIGHLANDERS AND OTHER SCOTS⁶⁴

Two major Scottish issues must be taken into consideration because the man central to all things Scottish at this time, Henry Dundas, was also the driving force of the Board of Control for Indian Affairs. The first issue concerns the Scots gentry. The Act of Union of 1707 promised Scotland a greater share in empire and global trade, i.e. riches, some had benefited but others had felt they had not. Highland gentry, those dispossessed because of their Jacobite support in the '45 and other clan chiefs affected by social change, also sought new purpose. Secondly, the clearances (highland and lowland) may have been of little interest to the East India Company Directors, unless they were Scots,

⁶³ Edward Ingram (ed.), *Two Views of British India: the Private Correspondence of Mr Dundas and Lord Wellesley, 1798-1801*, Adams Dart, Bath, Somerset, 1970, p. 12.

⁶⁴ Michael Fry, 'Dundas, Henry, first Viscount Melville (1742-1811),' *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com>., (acc. March 2009).

but were of great importance to the government, to Dundas, and to other members of the Board of Control. The British army was begging for manpower whilst Scotland's manpower was bleeding away to settle in the colonies.

Attempts by Dundas and others (such as prime minister, Pitt) to increase participation of Scots in the empire were therefore aimed at embedding Scotland more firmly within a British identity. Dundas and Pitt sought to 'promote patriotic feelings, and overawe any disaffected elements' through military discipline, in militias, volunteer units and the army. Noam Chomsky has said 'volunteerism means a mercenary army of the disadvantaged.'⁶⁵ To Dundas, it was a repository for Highland Scots and Irish Catholics, who might otherwise cause trouble; those who were 'excluded from the bearing arms on the right side' might otherwise 'become prey to the intrigues of traitors and enemies.'⁶⁶

Cookson paints a portrait of Dundas on the world stage. Whether quelling Irish rebellion, stemming Highland disquiet, or defending the empire from French aggression his strategies interlocked, harnessing possible sources of unrest and redirecting them to serve British interests.⁶⁷ Ingram selected a quote from George Canning to characterise him: 'Dundas is more active and diligent than any other, but also selfish and Scotch. [His interest is] pillage and patronage; pillage by conquest and patronage at home.'⁶⁸

Dundas served on the Board of Control from its inception in 1784 to 1801 but was an influential expert on Indian affairs for much longer.⁶⁹ He had been intimately involved with writing Pitt's 1784 India bill and in getting it through Parliament.⁷⁰ Even before he became President of the Board he 'consolidated his position,' often taking the chair, hand-picking his staff, and provoking resentment from the Board's official president, Lord Sydney.⁷¹ Dundas headed the Secret Committee (of the most senior Directors) from 1784, served as President of the Board from 1792 until 1801, but already 'by 1787, his ascendancy was openly recognised in numerous pamphlets, in

65 Noam Chomsky, 'Crises and the Unipolar Moment,' The Globalisation Lecture Series, SOAS, 27th October 2009.

66 Henry Dundas quoted in Cookson, *British*, 1997, pp. 67-8.

67 Cookson, *British*, 1997, pp. 34-5, 133-7 & 180.

68 Ingram, *Two Views*, 1970, page preceding introduction.

69 James G. Parker, *The Directors of the East India Company, 1754-1790*, PhD thesis, University Edinburgh, 1977, p. 434; Philips, *East-India*, 1940, p. 34.

70 *Ibid.*, p. 434.

71 Philips, *East-India*, 1940, pp. 34-35.

newspapers and in Parliament.⁷² His influence continued even after he left the board, through son Robert, until his death in 1811. Besides the Board, Henry Dundas had been an MP since 1774, was Admiralty treasurer between 1782 and 1800, Home Secretary in 1791 and, concurrently with heading the Board, Pitt's minister for war from 1794 to 1801. He returned to the Admiralty as First Lord from 1804-1806. He was also Keeper of the Privy Seal of Scotland from 1800 until his death in 1811.⁷³ Dundas was impeached in 1806, accused of misappropriation of funds, but acquitted.

Dundas' career in public offices spanned 37 years and, friend or foe, all agreed that Dundas had a remarkably busy and full political career. Some thought power had made him arrogant, others that his career was 'a slavery mocked by the name of power.' James Mill characterised his contribution to Indian government as merely the appearance of a great share but any advice he gave was either very obvious or wrong.⁷⁴ What is certain is that Dundas was a major player in extending Scottish interests within the empire. His efforts were not limited to his own family or even his own class. He sought office for the gentry, employment for the masses, and emancipation for Catholics. He was popular with his countrymen because, as the main source of patronage for Scots, he was able to supply them with increased opportunities in Britain and the empire.⁷⁵ He promoted the interests of Scots gentry, particularly in London, suggesting Scots for offices, patronising their sons, and supporting their efforts to raise regiments, thereby increasing their influence still more. His Scots interests did not go unnoticed, though he rebuffed claims that he exercised undue partiality for countrymen.⁷⁶ He claimed to have no more patronage than anyone else.⁷⁷ Whilst that was true, his position gave him great power to further the interests of others who might benefit in return for following his 'recommendations.'⁷⁸ Several fellow Board members were also relatives or friends who would have shared his interest in furthering the same

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁷³ Hugh Chisholm (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia Britannica (11th edn)*, vol. 18, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1911, pp. 102-3.

⁷⁴ Lovat-Fraser, *Dundas*, 1916, pp. 13-14, 67, 135.

⁷⁵ This viewpoint is also expressed in Cookson, *British*, 1997, p. 133. Philips, however, found the Scots already disproportionately prevalent in Company service long before the Board was formed. Philips, *East-India*, 1940, p. 35.

⁷⁶ Parker, *Directors*, 1977, p. 444; John Michael Bourne, *The Civil and Military Patronage of the East India Company, 1784-1858*, PhD thesis, University Leicester, 1977, pp. 176-8.

⁷⁷ As President of the Board, Dundas could personally nominate only 4-6 writers or cadets annually.

⁷⁸ Cookson, *British*, 1997, p. 133.

family or friends. Also, his cumulative *direct* patronage was greater than most because he spent almost four decades in public and political offices, including seventeen years on the Board.⁷⁹ Lovat-Fraser said:

He knew the qualities of his countrymen and recognised that he was safe in placing them in positions of responsibility ... they had those habits of command, that unlearnable self-estimate, which insensibly exacts obedience.⁸⁰

Nor was Dundas alone amongst the English; there were ten Scots in the Directors Court during his tenure at the Board of Control.⁸¹

Dundas also saw empire as a safety-valve for Irish disaffection.⁸² He felt that enfranchising Irish Catholics, giving them freedom of religion, and improving their prospects by employing them within the empire,⁸³ would relieve tension and unrest. Rather than look to republican France, the Irish would be grateful for their new freedoms and become useful to Britain. He argued for Catholic emancipation, in Ireland attracting the King's ire, and in Scotland sparking Gordon to incite destruction in Edinburgh and anti-papist riots in London.⁸⁴ Dundas believed Britain's global commercial pre-eminence was essential if national bankruptcy was to be avoided.⁸⁵ With the loss of America, India became more important than ever. Dundas' guiding principle was to reduce costs.⁸⁶ But, he also took the military threat from European competitors for India very seriously⁸⁷ and sought military reorganisation with increased deployment of British troops. Whilst he would not have supported the aggressive land-grabs of Clive, he did urge the Governor-Generals to secure British interests, particularly from potential French incursions. At a time when English troops were spread thin in India, the West Indies, and in Europe, there was, therefore, scope to

79 Bourne, *Civil*, 1977, p. 178.

80 Lovat-Fraser, *Dundas*, 1916, p. 19.

81 Philips, *East-India*, 1940, p. 36.

82 Peter J. Marshall, 'Britain and the World in the Eighteenth Century: IV, The Turning Outwards of Britain,' reprinted in Marshall, *Free*, 2003, Ch. XVI, p. 9.

83 Dundas discussed the involvement of Ireland in empire trade with Lord Hobart, Secretary of state for Ireland, before his appointment as Governor of Madras. Castlereagh, who followed Dundas as President of the Board, had also served as Secretary for Ireland. Philips, *East-India*, 1940, pp. 70 and 118.

84 He raised emancipation of Scottish Catholics as an MP in 1778 and of the Irish when Home Secretary in 1781. Lovat-Fraser, *Dundas*, 1916, pp. 6 & 38.

85 Peter J. Marshall, 'The Eighteenth Century Empire,' reprinted in Marshall, *Free*, 2003, Ch. III, p. 191.

86 Ingram *Two Views*, 1970, p. 4.

87 Kumar, *Military*, 2004, p. 170.

increase Scottish, Irish and Catholic participation.

During Dundas' tenure on the Board, each Governor-General was picked to carry through administrative reform.⁸⁸ Cornwallis, Shore and Wellesley were all understood the expectations of the Company's Directors, Pitt and Dundas.⁸⁹ All were in frequent communication with and supported by Dundas and, when they were carrying through India Office and government reform priorities, were supported in disagreements with the Directors.⁹⁰ This did not preclude disagreements when Governor-Generals made pragmatic decisions over conditions and situations that required local solutions, such as Wellesley's use of country-built ships. Indiamen were not always available when private traders (of many nationalities) needed to move profitable goods. Wellesley believed, in the absence of Indiamen, country-built shipping sailing to London offered a better return than leaving them to trade with foreign ports.⁹¹ Some Company's Directors had a vested interest in the British-built Indiamen and had countermanded his orders and Parliament, anxious to protect shipbuilding in Britain, agreed with them.

Dundas was the only Scot on the Board of Control until Lord Campbell joined him in 1790. They were joined in 1791 by the Duke of Montrose and Scots now made up half of the Board. By 1797 there were ten commissioners; three were Scots,⁹² and one Irish. For at least the next decade 40 - 50 per cent of the commissioners were Scots or Irish.⁹³ Even more had Scottish connections through marriage. Scots had also been well represented amongst the Directors over many years. Six of the 24 Directors in 1790 were Scots.⁹⁴ Dundas' kin were prominent on the Board and in Parliament too.⁹⁵ In 1799, for example, Dundas, his son Robert and two nephews by marriage, Caning and Portland, were all at the Board of Control. The Duke of Portland, who joined the Board

88 Dundas had been recommending Cornwallis as early as 1783. He had chosen Shore as a safe pair of hands to continue the reforms until Cornwallis could return to India. In the event, Cornwallis' return was delayed so Wellesley, Pitt's first choice and Dundas' second was made Governor-General in his stead. Lovat-Fraser, *Henry Dundas*, 1916, p. 13.

89 Dundas intimated a willingness to serve as Governor-General himself, but claimed Pitt wanted him to remain in England. Dundas to Cornwallis, 20 January 1797, in Ross, *Correspondence*, 1859, vol. 2, p. 321.

90 Disagreements between the Board and the Company were frequent but Governor-Generals were appointed by the Board to do its bidding. Philips, *East-India*, 1940, pp. 69-70.

91 From Governor-General Marquis Wellesley to The Court of Directors; *On the Trade of India*, Fort William, dated 30 Sept. 1800, Published Richardson & Budd, London, 1812.

92 Dundas' son Robert served on the Board of Control between 1897-1802.

93 The Irish were drawn exclusively from the Protestant Ascendancy at this time.

94 Parker, *Directors*, 1977, p. 442; Bourne, *Civil*, 1977, pp. 174-182.

95 Dundas' patronage of his kin was not particularly unusual in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century but I raise the subject to illustrate how effective it could be.

from 1795 to 1805 and was an MP from 1790 to 1809, was married to Dundas' niece Henrietta. Another niece Joan was the wife of George Canning; MP from 1793 to 1827, a Board member, Foreign Secretary, Forces Paymaster, and eventually President of the Board, and Prime Minister. Dundas half-brother Robert Dundas, Lord Arniston, was an MP from 1754 to 1787. Arniston's son Robert was an MP from 1790 to 1796 and his second son William served as Secretary for War from 1800 to 1804. Dundas' own son Robert was his private secretary from 1794, a Board commissioner from 1797 to 1802, and President from 1807 to 1811. Nephew William was, perhaps, more useful back in Scotland where he held senior legal positions. Also back in Scotland the Earl of Moray, who held various high offices and was a mason, was married to yet another niece, Lucy. Dundas was not only advancing relatives out of a sense of filial duty; they could be useful. He remarked to Cornwallis in 1799 that things would be easier on the Board with both his son and his nephew with him. He also remarked that in Hugh Inglis and David Scott, variously Chairman or Deputy Chairman of the Court of Directors between 1795 and 1801, it would be easier to get the Company to agree to his (and Cornwallis') priorities.⁹⁶

There had long been concern in the press about 'Highlanders, determined to immigrate to America to assist His Majesty's rebellious subjects in that bloody Region.'⁹⁷ War had ended in September 1781 but the peace treaty was not ratified until January 1784 and relations between the two nations remained poor. Still concerned that disaffected Scotsmen were embarking for America, where they might take up arms against Britain, in 1791 Dundas forbade ships carrying them from leaving port if they were bound for America.⁹⁸

Military service provided employment for both Highlander and Lowland Scots displaced by agricultural improvers and the clearances.⁹⁹ The Napoleonic Wars had provided a respite, mopping up vast numbers into the military and militias but with peace, many regiments were disbanded and men were again unemployed. Numbers

96 Ingram, *Two Views*, 1970, Page 10.

97 *Public Advertiser* (London, England), Thursday, January 2, 1783; Issue 15162.

98 As minister in charge of the colonies from 1791 this was within his remit. He also believed that Highlanders were particularly suited to military service.

99 The Highland and Lowland clearances of 1750-1850 left many thousands of Scots without work, disaffected, and a potential threat to law and order. The Act of Proscription of 1746, which had banned 'Highland garb' (except for the army) was repealed in 1782. The rehabilitation of barbarous clansmen as noble savages in Highland Regiments and the widespread adoption of Tartan as Scotland's national dress followed. Magnus Magnusson, *Scotland; the Story of a Nation*, Harper Collins, London, 2001, pp. 653-4.

were massive and the problem long lived: statistics of emigration published in 1853 showed ‘since the conclusion of the war, thirty eight years ago, there have left this country 3,463,292 emigrants.’¹⁰⁰ With so many unemployed, disaffected and desperate men leaving, the very viability of the Scottish nation was at stake.

At least seven Highland regiments were formed whilst Dundas was president of the Board absorbing several thousands of Scotsmen who would otherwise have had little choice but emigrate.¹⁰¹ Dundas believed Highlanders to be an untapped source of ‘martial’ men.¹⁰² The first Highland Regiment raised was the 79th. Formed by an exiled American Loyalist, Alan Cameron, on Dundas’ suggestion, specifically for service in India, it comprised 98 per cent Highlanders.¹⁰³ Other Highland regiments are known to have served in India during Dundas’ tenure. Not everyone was convinced. Eyre Coote, Commander-in-chief in India, expressed doubts about highlander’s suitability for service there. McLeod’s Highlanders arrived in 1782 and Coote complained: ‘on the first march ...after they arrived in the country, most of them were knocked up by the heat of the climate, which did not agree so well with regiments composed of men born in the North, as with regiments of men born in a more mild climate.’¹⁰⁴ Eyre Coote asked that no more Highland regiments be sent but was ignored and Montgomerie’s 77th Highlanders were due to embark for India in January 1783.¹⁰⁵

There is no indisputable evidence to suggest that Dundas abused his position to favour Scots but his long tenure, immense influence, care for his kin, and concern for his own nation, whether Scotland or Britain, did coincide with increased Scots, Irish, and Catholic presence in India and throughout the empire. His aims, besides patronising friends and relatives, were to unify Britain, and defuse dissent, not by coercion and suppression, but through a policy of inclusion. There is no evidence of any attempt to exclude any British group; that would have run counter to his professed aims. But his stress on unity and inclusion of all British identities, Catholic, Scots, Highland, Irish, necessitated exclusion of someone else. The obvious and much vaunted ‘others’ of the

100 *The Inverness Advertiser*, 26 July 1853.

101 For a detailed consideration of Scottish military recruitment and Dundas’ role in this see Cookson, *British*, 1997, pp. 126-152.

102 *Ibid.*, pp. 137-8.

103 *Ibid.*, pp. 135-6.

104 n.a., ‘Parliamentary Intelligence, House of Commons,’ *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* (London, England), Saturday, February 1, 1783; Issue 4278.

105 n.a., ‘House of Commons,’ *General Evening Post* (London, England), Tuesday, January 28, 1783; Issue 7636.

time were republicans, the French, and Indians. The first threatened the British state, the second her independence, and the third her empire. If Dundas did not suggest that Eurasians were 'foreign' and dangerous he appears to have done nothing to dispel the idea. If room was to be found for more home-grown men to serve then, even with expansion, someone had to make room. Eurasians were part-Indian, sometimes part-French, some were Muslims, many were 'born in sin,' and some even looked foreign. The objections of their fathers were easily demolished; they were the 'nabobs,' corrupted by the East, men who kept heathen women, sometimes more than one. Eurasians could not fight back; they were unorganised and too heterogeneous at this stage to be a united threat. If the Directors proclaimed that no sons of natives could serve the Company, that illegitimate children should not be supported by the Company, there was no one to argue otherwise.

GENERAL DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

From the previous chapter, it is clear the Eurasians and Europeans in India drew apart between 1786 and 1813. This was the point at which the 'half-caste' of India became 'visible' in England and at which signs of an emerging Eurasian community in India can first be detected. Reactions to 'racial 'mixing' were often strong and usually negative, but whether that translated into official action to deliberately disadvantage Eurasians in India remained unclear. The historiographical discourse, particularly from Anglo-Indian authors, is unconvincing because motivation cannot be established from the proscriptions, most of which do not mention Eurasians. Equally, inferring motivation from effect is not valid. The broader approach of this chapter was necessary, exploring the interests and motivation of some of the key decision-makers in Indian affairs, to determine whether the proscriptions they enacted (regardless of effect) were aimed at Eurasians, or not.

This was a period when minorities within Britain were beginning to be integrated within an evolving British identity and greater attention needs to be paid to this change. Irish insurrection, Scottish dissent and even the Spithead navy mutiny, all threatened the integrity of Britain from within. Three men, with great influence over Indian affairs, Cornwallis, Wellesley, and Dundas, were in positions from which they could serve wider British interests that each held dear. They each used India as a conduit through which various disaffected elements of the British population might emerge as useful and loyal Britons. The India Act gave them direct access to India, with power to act virtually

independently of the Company, and, important as trade was to Britain, they also viewed India as an extension of the British state.

Of the three, probably only Cornwallis intentionally acted to ‘other’ Eurasians. But, whilst promoting wider British interests, they all added significant impetus to concerns pertinent to the Eurasians’ position in India. Each promoted his own interests in one or other of the indigenous British minorities by creating employment opportunities for them within the wider British empire. The motives behind the apparent ‘othering’ of Eurasians are therefore shown to be complex. Legislation or directives that appear to have been designed to hold Eurasians back may rather have been intended to promote other groups, or simply to reform the colonial British themselves. Such motives cannot fail to have informed other decision-makers who were reshaping Britain and British India, but they have not previously been factored into discussions about the proscriptions and the beginnings of a Eurasian community. This is probably because their relevance only becomes apparent when the interests and personal missions of the men concerned are considered in this broader context.

Once the proscriptions were enacted, whatever the motivation may have been, their effects were especially inimical to Eurasians who, at the time, were isolated and without community support. They created the Eurasian ‘problem’. Extreme voices were also rallying ill-feeling towards Eurasians and calling for measures to exclude them from Britain and from British society in India. Authors began to write about Eurasians as ‘a problem’. Maria Graham noticed Eurasian numbers in Calcutta and Madras, writing in 1813: ‘the numbers of half-caste, and therefore (if I may use the expression), half-parented children, exceed what one could imagine.’¹⁰⁶ Valentia constructed connections between racial degeneration through miscegenation, and Spain’s inability to hold onto its empire.¹⁰⁷ Williamson guidance to griffins warned that Eurasian beauty was short-lived and Eurasian women were prone to madness.¹⁰⁸ Gilchrist’s reworking of Williamson removed his advice to griffins to take a *bibi* to help them learn the customs and languages of India.¹⁰⁹ Anglo-Indian genre fiction began to feature duplicitous ‘half-

106 Maria Graham, *Journal of a Residence in India*, 2nd edition, Archibald Constance & Co, Edinburgh, 1813, p. 128.

107 Valentia, *Voyages*, 1811, vol. 1, p. 197.

108 Insanity also appears in the 1810 edition, Thomas Williamson, *East India Vade Mecum*, vol. 1, Black, Parry, and Kingsbury, London, 1810, p. 459.

109 Gilchrist, *Vade Mecum*, 1825.

castes,'¹¹⁰ dusky sirens, scheming Indian relatives, and plucky British chaps (or white women) 'ruined' by association. Travelogues (such as Valentia and Graham) reported the degraded condition of 'half-castes' without reference to its cause, and advised that English education was unnecessary or unkind because it raised their expectations and made them miserable.¹¹¹

Jon Wilson's 'The Domination of Strangers' has suggested that to establish their colonial dominance the British cast Indians in the role of the stranger.¹¹² Such psychological distancing was not unique to India or even to subjugated colonies. In a way, it allowed the British to attempt to redefine those in their midst who had previously been strangers; Catholics, the Irish and the Highlanders were white and born and bred in Britain. In India, the stranger role was also applied to others; neither white settlers who without a home in Britain did not conform fully to notions of Britishness, nor Eurasians whose mixed descent was an additional problem, could be fully included if Britishness meant attachment to the British Isles. Wilson's two step domination, which was quite evident in the rules described in the last chapter, was to systematise laws, regulations, and boundaries, and to impose a colonial (and foreign) viewpoint on India – supposedly rewarding Indians with long periods of peace, prosperity, and progress – but essentially impersonal. In this, the aim (misguided though it was) was to grow in India's diverse cultures, a utilitarian society of colonial subjects fit for Britain's purpose. The three men discussed in this chapter had personal agendas but if the effects of their legislation appeared personal to those affected, this was incidental.

The official proscriptions were short-lived, with almost all removed by 1833, but they brought about a far more racially hierarchical colonial society than before. To be trusted with high office, a British education, firm links with 'home,' and unsullied European values and interests were basic necessities. Eurasians with neither a British education, nor property, and with Indian ancestry, were perceived to be inferior. Social mores were deployed to promote European-ness and preserve European advantage. Through these means even after official barriers to Indian and Eurasian employment were removed, the Eurasian remained 'a problem'. The community began as the

110 In one example, a white woman marries 'a black' and her half-caste daughter later visits havoc on her younger European sibling, in n.a., 'Reminiscences of a Returning Indian,' *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register*, London, Parbury & Allen, vol. 18 (new series), September 1835, pp. 17-29 & 81-94.

111 More than one author suggested half-castes could only be happy with their own kind - 'A Lady,' *Reminiscences of a Half-Caste*, in *The East India Sketch-Book*, vol. 1, Richard Bentley, London, 1833, pp. 1-95.

112 Jon E. Wilson, *The Domination of Strangers: Modern Governance in Eastern India, 1780-1835*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2008.

Eurasians' own solution to that problem; its continuance and its form were, as will be seen in the following chapters, a pragmatic amalgam of the needs of its members, and the expedients and exigencies of the Raj.

CHAPTER 4: POPULATION STATISTICS

INTRODUCTION

It is impossible to assess Eurasian roles and status or to make any quantitative assessments without establishing a baseline for their approximate numbers. But enumerating British India's Eurasian population, even with extensive records of Raj bureaucracy, is surprisingly difficult. Census returns of Eurasian numbers, reports by the clergy, historians and other government sources such as education reports and employment enquiries, all had problems in reliably identifying this 'Eurasian' population and defining who should and should not be included. Early census efforts are particularly inaccurate and the later ones acknowledge their own inaccuracy and suggest reasons for the difficulties. The fact that figures are so unreliable, and that they were so difficult to collect is of itself, informative. Exploring the sources reveals both the difficulties in collecting the data and the artificiality of the concept of a monolithic and separate Eurasian population, whilst establishing a range within which the baseline figure must fall.

CENSUSES AND OTHER ESTIMATES

In 1813 the Scots missionary and clergyman Claudius Buchanan was employed as a Company chaplain and served as vice-principal at Fort William College. He criticised the Company's attitude to the spiritual needs of people of European descent and Protestant persuasion in India; in 1813 it provided 488 surgeons and assistant surgeons but only 35 chaplains across British India. He was particularly concerned for the unofficial population, for those in small stations, and for the Eurasians of British descent. He put the number of 'half-cast descendants of the English' in 1813 India at '100,000, and upward, most of whom are brought up, at least nominally, as Protestant Christians.'¹ We know that around half the Indo-British Eurasians were Catholics and Buchanan excluded them from his calculations so this gives a figure of 200,000 Indo-British Eurasians in 1813. Besides these, there was a large Catholic Indo-Portuguese population, a smaller number of Indo-French and other mixed populations in British controlled territory. In Bombay presidency for example, Buchanan found 27,783

¹ Rev. Claudius Buchanan, *Colonial Ecclesiastical Establishment; Submitted to the Consideration of the Imperial Parliament*, 2nd edition, Cadell & Davies, London, 1813, p. 117-119.

Protestants, including 20,000 Eurasians, but quotes an 1811 study including Catholics that showed 65,100 Christians in the same territory.² Buchanan's estimate of Protestant and largely Indo-British Eurasians was larger than any other, but not impossibly large and his estimates were still respected and quoted as late as the 1870s.³

Another early report was on Bombay Island in 1826. Reprinted by Martin in 1837,⁴ it gives some idea of the number of Indo-Portuguese in British territory. Elsewhere in the same volume Martin states that in Bengal, Madras and Bombay Presidencies, 'the Roman Catholics (descendants of the Portuguese and French, or converts to their faith) amount ... to 600,000: they are sunk in a state of idolatry not far removed from Hindooism. There are 50,000 Portuguese, or converts to their religion, assuming Portuguese names, in the territories under the Bombay Presidency.'⁵ Of these, 8,020 were identified in 1826 as Indo-Portuguese⁶ and the rest as converts. The British were distributed across Bengal, Madras and Bombay presidencies roughly in the proportions 5:4:3⁷ so the Indo-British would have been distributed in the three presidencies in similar proportions and the Indo-Portuguese, following the work, would have been similarly distributed. Applying these relative proportions throughout the three Presidencies, 8,020 in Bombay, would equate to 96,240 Indo-Portuguese Eurasians in 1826 British India. Bearing in mind that Portuguese Eurasians may have had more freedom to seek work in native states, this might well be an underestimate of their numbers. Eurasians of British descent are not recorded in the 1826 Bombay census but they were certainly present; the Orphan Schools at Byculla had 284 children on their rolls at a similar date, most of who were Indo-British Eurasians.⁸

Martin also reprints an 1837 census of Calcutta,⁹ though it excludes the outlying

2 *Ibid.*, p. 159.

3 Henry Waterfield, *Memorandum on the Census of British India 1871-72*, Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, 1875, p. 9.

4 Robert Montgomery Martin, *History of the Possessions of the Honourable East India Company*, vol. 1, Bengal, Madras & Bombay, Whittaker & co., London, 1837, p. 262.

5 *Ibid.*, fn.5, p. 275.

6 The number of Indo-French was small compared to the Indo-Portuguese so they are disregarded as a separate entity.

7 These proportions come from William Walker, (From the *Times of India*, 25 November 1861.) reprinted in *Tom Cringle's Letters on Practical Subjects, Suggested by Experiences in Bombay*, Education Society's Press, Byculla, 1863, pp. 111-3. Buchanan actually used the ratio 5:4:2 for Eurasians and 2:3:1 for European Protestants.; the latter ratio was very variable and dependent on the distribution of Irish (Catholic) Regiments. Buchanan, *Colonial*, 1813, p. 158-9.

8 'Bombay Education Society,' *The Asiatic Journal & Monthly Miscellany*, vol. 28, September 1829, p. 353.

9 Martin, *History*, vol. 1, 1837, pp. 366-7.

suburbs of Kidderpore (where the orphan schools were full of Eurasian children),¹⁰ Gardenreach, Seebpore, Hourah, Cossipore, Sulkea and ‘the other side of the Mahratta Ditch.’ It was conducted by house tax assessors.¹¹ This census unlike the earlier one of Bombay, acknowledges the existence of Indo-British Eurasians. If Calcutta was home to half of Bengal’s Indo-British Eurasians,¹² then in 1837 the Indo-British population (applying the same proportions used above to enumerate the 1826 Indo-Portuguese) would have numbered about 22,781; 9,492 in Bengal, 7,594 in Madras and 5,695 in Bombay presidencies. These are very low totals compared with Buchanan’s.¹³ Even official decentennial censuses from 1871 onwards recorded at least twice that number, and the population was not growing that quickly. Calculating the Indo-Portuguese population from this census, the numbers would be 6,362 (Bengal), 5,089 (Madras) and 3,818 (Bombay) giving a total of 15,269. Again, this total is unrealistically low; compared with the 1826 study above (96,240), and the total (30,272) identified in the 1871 census. The Portuguese had been in India for over three centuries and, without European wives, had intermarried freely so the number of Indo-Portuguese cannot have been so low. For these reasons this census is not included as a source for my calculations.

A census of Bombay *mofussil* Europeans in 1851, like the 1826 Bombay Island census, is very reticent on the subject of Indo-British Eurasians, perhaps because they were considered to be outside its remit. Only one ‘East-Indian’ wife appears.¹⁴ Europeans and Eurasians were spread throughout Bombay presidency and, besides those in Bombay proper; there were European populations at 24 *mofussil* ‘stations’ in the presidency. We know from other sources that one of them, contemporary Karachi, had a sizeable enough Indo-British population to warrant a government assisted school.¹⁵ It is unclear why Eurasians were not separately enumerated in this census and whether their number was integrated with the European or native communities but,

10 Ricketts estimated there were 800-900 Eurasian children in the Upper and Lower military orphanages of Calcutta in 1830. Stark and Madge, *Worthies*, 1892, p. 54.

11 Cuthbert Finch, ‘Vital Statistics of Calcutta,’ *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, vol. 13, (2), 1850, pp. 168-182.

12 Calcutta was home to 60 per cent of Bengal’s Eurasians by 1931 but this percentage included all the suburbs, which the 1837 census did not. N.a., *Abstract of tables giving the main statistics of the Census of the Indian Empire of 1931, with a brief introductory note*, Government of India, Calcutta, 1932, subd. table 2.

13 Buchanan, *Colonial*, 1813, p. 158-9.

14 The term ‘East-Indian’ was more or less synonymous with ‘Eurasian.’

15 NAI, Home/Public/Procs., no.52, October 1855, *Bombay Govt.*, 1855.

obviously, this census cannot be used as a source for Eurasian numbers.

The 1871 census of India provides some idea of the geographical distribution and number of Eurasians (meaning Indo-Britons) and Indo-Portuguese. Indo-Portuguese was a separate category but their low total (30,272) and absence from Bengal and Madras indicates a problem with these mutually exclusive classifications. Many Indo-Portuguese who did not recognise distinctions between themselves and other Portuguese could have identified themselves as European¹⁶ and some, especially government and railway employees, aware that their employers classified them as Eurasian, were believed to have returned themselves as such.¹⁷

The distribution of Indo-British Eurasians also seems unrealistic since the ratio of returns from the three presidencies was Bengal 5: Madras 6: Bombay 1. Bombay Eurasians (3,691) were probably being returned as Indo-Portuguese (29,737). The Bengal count (20,195) is also low compared with Madras (26,426), but if other north Indian provinces are included with Bengal, Awadh, Punjab and the North West Provinces (together 25,445) the relative proportions are more realistic. The category 'other mixed races' (14,279) included those of Indo-European descent other than Portuguese or British, but also many other 'mixes' of Indian and foreign ancestry. Almost all of these were returned from Bombay.

All the 'mixed race' categories together yield an 1871 total of 108,402. This is low compared to my calculation, based on the 1826 Bombay census, of 96,240 Indo-Portuguese in India, and Buchanan's earlier estimate of 100,000 Indo-British Protestants. It also implies that 44 per cent of all mixed-race people lived in Bombay Presidency. The figures, however, were not challenged by the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association's own estimates.¹⁸ This association, in protecting the status of the largely Indo-British community it represented, was careful about whom it considered to be 'Eurasian' and readily discounted the illiterate, the non-Anglophone, and even the illegitimate. It would have had no interest in inflating the numbers when government support was inadequate for those already classified as Eurasian.

The enumeration of mixed-race categories in British India dropped from 108,402 in 1871 to 62,085 in the 1881 census. Commenting on the Bombay count the returning

16 The number of Indo-Portuguese claiming Portuguese nationality would only have been small since there were only 426 returned as Portuguese in British India. Waterfield, *Memorandum*, 1875, p. 29.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 28.

18 n.a. *Annual Report of the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association*, Calcutta, 1879, Appx. E, p. 32.

officer stated: 'The Eurasian community is, I believe, much more numerous than here represented ... there is great confusion between this class and the European.' Certainly the census wording had caused problems in distinguishing between the two. Europeans born in India were meant to be recorded as 'European British subjects' but many entries were abridged to either 'British Subject' or 'European' including, it was believed, many cases 'in which the persons concerned were of distinctly mixed race.'¹⁹ That would not have been a problem unique to Bombay.

Even more significantly, the 1881 census does not report any Indo-Portuguese in India after lumping most of them in with native Christians or 'Goanese'. It was claimed that few would have identified themselves as Indo-Portuguese anyway. The change may have been sparked by petitions from the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association, complaining that Indo-Portuguese, styling themselves 'Eurasian,' were mostly native Christians and the descendants of their manumitted slaves with Portuguese names.²⁰ Their remit was to promote the interests of the Anglophone and largely Indo-British Eurasians. At the time, the government was undertaking another review of schooling and education provision for the domiciled European and Eurasian population, and so it was in their interest to focus government attention and funding on their community. Downplaying Indo-Portuguese claims to a European heritage was therefore in their interest and the British agreed: 'Goanese' conveyed to the British a population of cooks and domestic servants, uniformly Roman Catholic and in Western dress, but essentially native Christians with no real claim to a mixed-race status.²¹ There were 47,038 Goanese recorded but this was a geographic and language category, not a racial one.

Bombay's 'Indo-Portuguese' were re-defined as two classes of native Christians: a higher class whose education and employment had allowed them parity with the Portuguese, and a lower class whose native ancestors had been forcibly converted.²² We know from their names that some Indo-Portuguese became (through marriage, education and employment)²³ part of the 'Eurasian' community but the total number of Eurasians in 1881 (62,085) is not proportionately increased from the 1871 count of

19 Plowden, *Census of India 1881, 1883*, p. 38.

20 Letter to the Secretary to Government of India, Home Dept., No.81, Calcutta, 17th July 1880, reprinted in n.a., *Annual Report of the Eurasian*, 1880, 34-40.

21 Plowden, *Census of India 1881, 1883*, pp. 38-9.

22 *Ibid.*, pp. 38-9.

23 I found 100 of 535 EIR's employees in 1881, described as Eurasian or Indo-British, still bore Portuguese names. See following chapter.

63,685: 30,272 Indo-Portuguese and 14,445 classified in 1871 as of ‘others mixed race,’ ‘disappeared’ into the category of native Christian.

In Baine’s report on the 1891 census many Eurasians were enumerated as natives and the report demonstrates the central importance of religion in the government’s perception of Eurasian identity. The author of the Madras report listed every caste name entered in the schedules including ‘Eurasian Hindoo.’ But ‘... caste terms ... modified by prefixes or affixes ... [were not] considered satisfactory.’²⁴ Thus, any Eurasian who thought himself a Hindu had to be returned either as Eurasian or Hindoo, not both. The idea that a Eurasian might profess another religion was met with incredulity and removed from the records:

... there were a few instances, altered on scrutiny, of Buddhists amongst European and Eurasian Christians. Some ... may be set down, perhaps, to the example of a high official, who pronounced for Buddhism, on the ground that there was less to be said against it, he thought, than against any other form of religion.²⁵

There was continued confusion over terminology such as ‘Portuguese’ and ‘East-Indian.’ Both terms were still widely used, and yet, enumerators were instructed that ‘Native Christians, for instance, may be returned as Portuguese, East Indians, Madrasi, or by their caste if recognised.’²⁶ So any Eurasians still using the terms ‘East-Indian,’ and Indo-Portuguese who used the term ‘Portuguese,’ would have been enumerated as native Christians. The term ‘Goanese,’ again lumping the Indo-Portuguese and native Goans together as ‘natives,’ continued in use for this census.

The number of Eurasians, which Baines assumed was correct, was 79,790. He did not find it surprising that Madras Eurasians (26,600) outnumbered those of Bengal (15,000) but remarked that in Bombay (total 8,500) ‘there are no doubt a good many Goanese or others with Portuguese patronymics.’²⁷ Baines thought it would be interesting to compare the last two enumerations to see if the Eurasian population was increasing but did not attempt to do so.²⁸ However, the 1881 total of 62,085 rose to 79,790 just ten years later; an overall growth of 28.5 per cent, representing a spectacular

²⁴ Baines, *Census of India, 1891*, 1893, p. 307.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

growth rate of 2.54 per annum. Since in the same period the UK population was growing at 1.3 – 1.5 per cent and India's at 0.4 (see below) this impossible growth rate serves to illustrate the inaccuracy of censuses.

GROWTH

We may not be able to establish the size of the Eurasian populations in nineteenth century India but it is worth establishing a range of possibilities from published figures, to look at growth rates. Blusse and Booth state that India's population grew slowly in the nineteenth century due to famines and epidemics, such as malaria in the north, cholera in the south, and smallpox at the earlier dates. They estimate annual growth of India's population at only 0.4 per cent until 1920 and 1.5 per cent thereafter.²⁹ It would be pointless to estimate the European growth rate, as they were largely transient, but annual population growth in England between 1841 and 1851 was about 1.3 per cent. It is likely the Eurasian population (without making allowance for exogamous marriage) would have grown faster than the indigenous Indian population but not as fast as populations in Europe. I am, however, looking for a baseline, so the following calculations use the low population growth rates of India. Taking Buchanan's figure of 100,000 Protestant Eurasians, without making allowance for the Roman Catholics he ignored, and adding in 96,240 Indo-Portuguese gives a starting figure for 1813 of 196,240 Eurasians (British and Portuguese), which has been worked forwards to 1911, increasing year on year by 0.4 per cent. Besides these, the census totals for 1871 and 1881 are worked both forwards and backwards to reveal figures for each decade from 1813 to 1911. Other figures are included for comparison, but not worked through to other dates. Reading across table 3 (below) then reveals the range of values within which the size of the Eurasian population would likely have fallen at that date.

²⁹ Anne Booth, 'The Colonial Legacy and its Impact on Post-Independence Planning in India and Indonesia' in Lionel Blusse, Anne Booth, et al., *India and Indonesia from the 1920s to the 1950s: the Origins of Planning*. E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1987, p. 2.

Table 2: Census of India; Eurasians Enumerated by Province, State and Agency.³⁰				
	Number of Eurasians.			
	1891	1901	1931	per cent Growth 1891-1931
Provinces.	71,877	73,879	114154	58.8
Ajmer-Merwara	636	341	1232	93.7
Andamans	111	71	-	-
Assam	383	575	650	69.7
Baluchistan	147	124	379	157.8
Bengal	15,162	20,893	27573	81.9
Bombay	8,809	6,889	16219	84.1
Burma	7,022	8,449	19200	173.4
Central Provinces and Berar	2525	2605	5065	100.6
Coorg	212	295	84	-
Madras	26,671	26,209	28694	7.6
Punjab and North-West Frontier	3,155	2,498	3786	20
United Provinces	7,044	5,230	11272	60
Bihar and Orissa	-	-	6638	-
Delhi	-	-	1010	-
Gwalior	-	-	131	-
Sikkim	-	-	2	-
Western Indian States Agency	-	-	428	-
States and Agencies	8,167	13,151	15936	95.1
Baroda State	108	57	63	-
Central India Agency	373	572	736	97.3
Hyderabad State	2,507	3,292	3370	34.4
Kashmir State	5	23	123	-
Cochin State	270	1,494	1717	535.9
Travancore State	532	1,489	790	48.5
Mysore State	3,931	5,721	8309	111.4
Rajputana Agency	441	503	828	87.8
ALL INDIA.	80,044	87,030	138,298	72.8

30 Baines, *Census of India, 1891, 1893*, pp. 177-82; H.H. Risley & E.A. Gait, *Report On The Census Of India, 1901*, Government Printing Press, Calcutta, 1903, p. 219; Goodrich, *Making*, 1952.

Year	Calc. from Buchanan and Martin		Calc. from 1871 Census ⁱⁱ		Calc. from 1881 Census ⁱⁱⁱ	Caplan and Buettner
	Indo-Portuguese ^{iv}	Indo-British Protestants ^v	Indo-Portuguese	Indo-British	Indo-British	Anglo-Indians
1813	91354	100000*	24021	48773	45691	
1821	94331**	103245	24800	50356	47170	
1831	98180	107450	25809	52617	49288	
1841	102179	111826	26859	54540	51090	
1851	106340	116381	27951	56762	53171	
1861	110671	125464	29089	61193	57323	
1871	115179	130573	30,272 [#]	63685 [#]	59656	
1881	119870	141305	31505	66279	62085 ^{##}	
1891	124752	147061	32788	68979	64614	80,000 ^{vi}
1901	129833	153049	34123	71788	67246	87,000 ^{vii}
1911	135120	159283	35513	74710	69985	100,400 ^{viii}
<p>* Buchanan's figure for 1813 ** Calculated backwards from 1826 Bombay Census [#] from 1871 Census report ^{##} from 1881 census report³¹</p>						

31 References for table 3: (i) These are raw figures with no allowance made for exogamy, and no attempt to count Eurasians other than those classified as of Portuguese or British descent. Other than figures extracted from Census returns and other sources, all calculations are based on an annual population growth rate of 0.4 per cent until 1920 and thereafter 1.5 per cent. These low rates of growth are in line with the growth rate for India. Blusse and Booth, *India*, 1987, p. 2. (ii) These columns are calculated from the 1871 census return, annually reduced by 0.4 per cent for earlier dates, increased annually by 0.4 per cent after 1871 until 1920 and thereafter increased by 1.5 per cent in line with Blusse. Waterfield, *Memorandum*, 1875, p. 52; Blusse and Booth, *India*, 1987, p. 2. (iii) This column is calculated from the 1881 census return, annually reduced by 0.4 per cent for earlier dates, increased annually by 0.4 per cent after 1881 until 1920 and thereafter increased by 1.5 per cent in line with Blusse. Plowden, *Census of India 1881*, 1883; Blusse and Booth, *India*, 1987, p. 2. (iv) The figures in this column are calculated from the 1826 census of Bombay published in Martin. Martin reported that of 50,000 Roman Catholics in Bombay, 8020 were identified as Portuguese and the rest as converts. He reported that there were 600000 Roman Catholics in India as a whole so, if the ratio of Portuguese Eurasians to native converts remained the same, this would give the figure of 96240 Indo-Portuguese for 1826. This figure is increased annually by 0.4 per cent from 1826 until 1920 and thereafter increased by 1.5 per cent in line with Blusse. Martin does not recognise that there would be Indo-French and Indo-British amongst the Catholics. Martin, *History*, vol. 1, 1837, p. 262; Blusse and Booth, *India*, 1987, p. 2. (v) Buchanan reported there were 100000 Indo-British 'Protestants' in 1813 India. He implied an equal number of Roman Catholics which would give a starting figure very much higher than this. He took no account of the Indo-Portuguese. Whilst Buchanan's estimate appears high when compared with later censuses, his other figures (for the number of European residents and troops) are consistent with other contemporary sources. Buchanan, *Colonial*, 1813, p. 117. (vi) Caplan, *Children*, 2001, p. 67. (vii) Caplan, *Children*, 2001, p. 67. (viii) Caplan, *Children*, 2001, p. 68.

RESULTS

Table 3, constructed using statistics gleaned from the sources discussed above, and extrapolating over time, has allowed for comparisons which illustrate some of the inconsistencies in the censuses, as well as allowing the production of a range, at any given date, for the size of the Eurasian population of India. In 1813 there were between 45,691 and 100,000 Indo-British and between 24,021 and 96,240 Indo-Portuguese, giving a Eurasian total of between 69,712 and 196,240. A century later in 1911 there were between 69,985 and 159,283 Indo-British (newly renamed Anglo-Indian) and, though they disappeared from the census returns, between 35,513 and 135,120 Indo-Portuguese, together totalling between 105,498 and 294,403 Eurasians. Applying Blusse and Booth's population growth rates for India to Eurasian groups shows growth over the century of at least 59 per cent. Official figures from censuses (see table 2) confirm that this is a very conservative estimate; many states and provinces exceeded this figure in just 40 years.

However unreliable the counts, at least they yield a range within which the true figures are likely to lie. But importantly, examining census reports has also illustrated how, in a supposedly racial classification, culture and religion became increasingly important. We know the British administration was concerned about the 'Eurasian problem' but by re-classifying the Indo-Portuguese and non-Christian Indo-Britons as natives, perhaps half the problem (with its attendant embarrassment) disappeared from official view.

CHAPTER 5: EUROPEANS AND MISCEGENATION

INTRODUCTION

In thim times a man lived an' died wid his Rig'mint;
an by natur' he married whin he was a man.¹

Many men, in Europe or India sought nothing more from women than they could get from prostitutes. The military authorities worked on this premise since 'celibate' meant unmarried rather than chaste. There were many such women kept exclusively by the better off, shared by a few men, on the street, or in brothels, whether regimental or opportunist. Lock hospitals were not peculiar to India. Venereal disease attracted attention from governments and military authorities because they reduced the efficiency of the armies they were paying for. Thus, women in port and garrison towns in England were also subject to confinement and inspection under contagious diseases legislation between 1864 and 1886.² Increased venereal disease rates amongst British troops in India are taken as evidence that more men there turned to prostitutes. But this does not necessarily follow, since counts are based on treatment episodes, not the number of men, and, even if they were, statistics do not necessarily reflect behaviour. Treatment episodes would still have increased or decreased relative to fluctuations in both prevalence and virulence over time and probably with sanitary arrangements and climate.³ Besides, there was no shortage of prostitutes in England: 75,000 are thought to have worked in London and every garrison town had a good supply, and yet, as I show in this chapter, the number of soldiers in England who chose marriage was more than the army permitted.

Arrangements with prostitutes are not my concern in this chapter; men who relied on prostitutes in England would do the same in India. I am concerned with longer term relationships that, had they occurred in Britain, might have been considered marriages

1 Kipling, *Plain Tales*, 1887, p. 186.

2 Although aimed at prostitutes, the English 'Contagious Diseases Acts' from 1864 allowed any woman to be arrested, examined for venereal disease, and detained until 'cured.' It applied in 18 towns with an army or navy presence, and included fortnightly examinations for registered prostitutes, and up to 9 months incarceration. The moral argument in England, that the law treated women severely while 'allowing men to sin with impunity,' seems to have been less persuasive in India. It was repealed in England in 1886

3 This issue is explored in greater detail in Ballhatchet, *Race*, 1980.

or their equivalent. Moving on from total numbers (to which marital status is irrelevant), my aim is to consider one aspect of the Anglo-Indian community's identity that its members hotly contested: the alleged irregularity and illegitimacy of its origins. I show roughly how many there were who might have had regular relationships with Europeans. This establishes, for the discussions of later chapters, one route for Eurasians to be influenced in behaviour and standing by their intimate but continuing connections with the British. A further chapter takes this further by examining the norms of cohabitation.

Despite social mores, political pressure and legal impediments putting distance between them, Indians Eurasians and Britons continued throughout the nineteenth century to form intimate relationships, many lifelong, and to produce Eurasian children. Historians variously describe the majority of these women as mistresses, prostitutes, servants and even slaves. Many intercultural and interracial relationships do not figure in official sources and therefore are not recognised as marriages. Marriage forms acceptable in some parts of Britain, or in some strata of British society, or made available under British law at home, were not recognised in British India. I assert that, but for official attitudes to miscegenation, many such relationships could or even should be considered irregular but valid marriages. Therefore, where appropriate, the words 'marriage' and 'wife' are used in that sense in this chapter.

The disappearance of Native and Eurasian mistresses and wives from the wills of British officers and civil servants has been well noted and cited as evidence that interracial relationships fell dramatically after the first decades of the nineteenth century and were never again frequent occurrences.⁴ Whilst this may have been the case for the upper echelons of British-Indian society, it is likely that such relationships continued unabated amongst the lower orders that formed the majority. Rather, as legislation and regulation increased and racist attitudes hardened, it was recognition that fell away and relationships became far easier to dismiss as insignificant.

Most of the British in India had no social standing to speak of, no political power to lose and no prospect of lucrative promotions to damage by associating with Indians.⁵ Nor would they have had much to bequeath. They were common soldiers (see table 6), many of whom would never return home, even had they wished to. They were neither

4 Durba Ghosh disagrees with this interpretation, citing an increase in the number of wills filed by indigenous women, the partners of European men, filed after 1800. Ghosh, *Sex*, 2006, p. 136.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 130.

the public face of the Raj nor its ambassadors. Lack of social standing, and the paucity of European women, means relationships between Indians Eurasians and Europeans were certain to have continued. British attempts to 'other' Eurasians, and classify them as statutory natives of India, were never going to cast them completely from the British sphere as long as there were Britons who had nothing to lose, and Eurasians or Indians who had something to gain, by continuing to associate with each other.

In 1858, 12 per cent of soldiers in India could expect permission to marry.⁶ The same stricture applied in 1881 when 3 per cent of 'other ranks' arriving in India and 6 per cent of those leaving were accompanied by wives.⁷ Soldiers in England were subject to similar regulations and yet calculations (table 5) based on 1881 England census data show army proscriptions on marriage were only partially successful; regulations were not uniformly applied by commanding officers and soldiers often married, against regulations, 'off the strength.'⁸ Further, the age demographic of soldiers in India was very different to that in England and, since regulations differed for younger and older soldiers (as well as for different ranks), this must be taken into account when considering marriage in India.

Data has been collected for England from an on-line database which includes both indexes and scanned images of enumerators' returns of the 1881 census. This was queried using the simple filters male, married and (for military data) soldier. Comparable data for India has been collected from 1881 census reports, army returns, and other official statistics for India.⁹

It is apparent that army regulations and commanding officers' attitudes do not describe the reality for soldiers serving in England. There was no legal impediment if a soldier wished to marry without permission. Stocqueler said in 1857: 'I have seen many

6 'Report from the Select Committee on Colonisation and Settlement (India); [1st – 4th reports] with Minutes of Evidence taken before them, 1858.' *The North British Review*, vol. 30, February-May 1859, Article VII, pp. 441-446.

7 Excluding officers and their wives, 329 women accompanied 9554 men on troop ships to India. 9452 men and 581 wives returned to England. n.a., 'Statement no.141 Showing the Particulars of the Troops Conveyed to and from India, Year to 31st March 1882,' in *Statistical Abstract Relating to British India From 1876/7 to 1885/6*, vol. 21, Her Majesty's Stationary Office, London, 1887.

8 'On the strength' meant a soldier's commanding officer was willing to allow his wife and children to travel and live with the regiment, to draw rations, and to live in the barracks. Married men were later paid more than single men and allocated married quarters. Wives and children 'off the strength' were ignored by the army and the men treated as single. When the man was posted his family might be paid a travel allowance so that they could reach his home town and be supported by parish relief.

9 TNA, *Census Returns of England and Wales*, PRO, 1881; Plowden, *Census of India 1881, 1883*; n.a., *Statistical Abstract Relating to British India From 1876/7 to 1885/6*, vol. 21, Her Majesty's Stationary Office, London, 1887.

means adopted to prevent men marrying: I have known officers reason with, persuade and threaten, nay, as a precautionary measure, actually confine, but generally speaking to no purpose; the deed [marriage] is but rarely postponed, and still more seldom is the inclination subdued.’¹⁰

Official returns, likewise, could not describe the situation in India where the proportion of soldiers older than twenty, and so more likely to want to marry, was higher than in England. We cannot use the regulation figure of those married ‘on the strength’ to project actual marriage statistics for enlisted British soldiers serving in India. If soldiers in England married without permission then they must also have done so in India. 1881 Census data for India records the number of British-born men, soldiers or otherwise, and of British-born women. Army returns give figures of soldiers, their wives and children ‘on the strength.’ Neither shows the number of wives not on the strength, or not British-born. Ecclesiastical returns also tell only a partial story since they record only one form of marriage that, even in Britain (see next chapter) many did not subscribe to.

I argue that marriage rates for soldiers in India are likely to reflect, possibly exceed, that of married soldiers in England, corrected for age. Any disparity between this projected rate and marriage entries in the ecclesiastical returns from India then demands some consideration of alternative scenarios. There was a shortfall of European women in India, both for the number of men who formally married, and for the number of men who may have wished to marry, but this does not mean they found marriage impossible. Whilst many without a European wife would undoubtedly have been content to use prostitutes, keep mistresses, pray, drink, or go pig-sticking, these were not the only alternatives. There was no shortage of Indian and Eurasian women. Whilst they may have been invisible, unthinkable or undesirable to Victorians who recorded the nineteenth century Raj, the silence on this subject now seems rather loud.

I have therefore looked at European numbers and demographics (military, civilian, and female), established how many men were permitted to marry, how many European women were available, and how many marriages appear in ecclesiastical returns. I go on to compare the demographic of European men in India with their counterparts in England to explore how many were likely to have entered into marriage-like relationships with Eurasian or Indian women. The reasons for any discrepancies

¹⁰ Joachim Hayward Stocqueler, *The British Soldier: an Anecdotal History of the British Army, from its earliest formation to the present time*, Wm. S Orr & Co, London, 1857, p. 274.

between these figures and the number of marriages in the ecclesiastical returns are then explored in the next chapter.

SOLDIERS – OTHER RANKS

Excluding boys under fourteen and men over sixty, the 1881 census of England and Wales included almost 30,000 individuals described as ‘soldier’ amongst a general population of almost seven million adult males,¹¹ an underestimate of military men since those with a rank or trade (e.g. captain, bombardier, sergeant or gunner) were returned as such. However, I was seeking a minimum figure for military men, so this can be ignored. I found over half of the men were married against one in seven soldiers (table 5)¹² showing serving soldiers were far less likely to marry than civilians but the figure was still higher than regulations permitted.¹³

Excluding the younger soldiers had a radical effect on the figures. Of soldiers over 30 years of age, in the 1881 census of England and Wales, I found two in five were married. Restricting the search parameters to specific garrison towns revealed further differences. Two in five of those garrisoned at Colchester were married, one in five at Aldershot, but only one in six at Yorkshire garrisons had wives. Aldershot had many raw recruits undergoing basic training, whereas guards regiments were garrisoned at Colchester. There were, therefore, great variations in marriage rates with age, between regiments, and between different types of army establishments.

In England, about a quarter of all men between fourteen and sixty years, were under 21, an age at which less than 3 per cent of civilian men, and a mere 0.4 per cent of soldiers, were married.¹⁴ However, the age demographic of European soldiers in India, was quite different to that of Britain: the 1881 census of India shows that only about 2 per cent of European soldiers serving there were under 21. To get a baseline to which we can compare European marriage rates in India it is therefore necessary to put

11 These age limiters were chosen because boys of 14 could marry and could serve as soldiers, whilst men over sixty were unlikely to have been fit enough to continue as serving soldiers.

12 The marriage rates I have found for the general population of England in 1881 differ from those quoted by Plowden. His figures, however, would have been based on a sample whereas mine are the totals from the whole census, and our decadal groups differ; I have taken 21-30,31-40, etc whereas Plowden’s groups are 25-34, 35-44 etc. See Abst.XXXVII, England and Wales, 1881 - Percentage on Civil Condition, in Plowden, *Census of India 1881*, 1883, p. 92.

13 As few as 6 per cent of soldiers in England were permitted to marry, Ballhatchet, *Race*, 1980, p. 35.

14 Of 684094 males born 1861-3, only 3 per cent (20,568) are indexed as married in the 1881 English census. There is also a substantial error rate, illustrated by the 3000 ‘married’ boys under 14. TNA, *Census*, 1881.

teenagers to one side. Of men over twenty in England, around 70 per cent were married, as were 20 per cent of soldiers; and for men over 30 the rates were nearer to 80 and 40 per cent respective.

English civil registers for 1881 record 200,600 marriages (about 3 per cent of the adult population) in that single year. Since 70 per cent of the general population (aged over twenty) were married but only 20 per cent of soldiers in this age range, their marriage rate was less than 1 per cent annually.

India in 1881 had about 59,000 European British troops with about a 10,000 annual turnover on troop-ships to and from India.¹⁵ Only 3 per cent of soldiers in India (excluding officers) took wives with them¹⁶ but 6 per cent were accompanied by wives when leaving. Figures for the year before and the year after are similar, suggesting that 6 per cent had wives 'on the strength' by the time they left India after a six year tour of duty. Half of the soldiers' wives going to England, an extra 1,720 women were therefore married in India.¹⁷ Who were they? Some would have been daughters who, having travelled out with fathers, matured and married whilst in India. But, bearing in mind 75 per cent of soldiers were under 30, their daughters were unlikely to be the source of many of these extra wives.¹⁸ That 170 daughters travelled to India that year but 850 daughters left is testament to their parents' youth.¹⁹

Even had all soldiers' daughters travelling to India matured enough to marry there, this would still account for less than a thousand of the 1,720 extra wives 'on the strength' after a six year tour so, to achieve the 6 per cent of soldiers who left married 'on the strength,' we are left with a minimum of 700 women, every six years, who can only have come from outside the regimental families. Further, if the soldiers behaved as

15 This is close to the average size of the British military presence which for 1876-1886 numbered 58780 p.a. – 'Abstract no.135 Regiments and detachments of all arms embarked for service in India from the United Kingdom and from the Colonies during each of the under-mentioned years,' and 'Abstract no.132, Terms of engagement of the non-commissioned officers and men of the different arms among British troops in India (excluding Regiments on Passage Out and Home) on the 1st January of each under-mentioned Years, in n.a., *Statistical Abstract Relating to British India From 1876/7 to 1885/6*, vol. 21, Her Majesty's Stationary Office, London, 1887, p. 206.

16 In 1881, 375 wives arrived with the army's 'other ranks'. Allowing six years for complete military turnover at 10000 troops & their wives per year, and excluding officers, this represents 2250 soldiers' wives from Britain in India at any given date.

17 It is highly unlikely that many wives of ordinary soldiers, left behind in England, could have afforded to make their own way to India.

18 9524 men were accompanied home by 581 women on troop ships from India. 'Statement no.141 Showing the Particulars of the Troops Conveyed to and from India, Year to 31st March 1882,' in n.a., *Statistical Abstract Relating to British India From 1876/7 to 1885/6*, vol. 21, Her Majesty's Stationary Office, London, 1887.

19 Other ranks seeking a wife had two particularly fruitful routes; they might have approached the orphanages or met girls when invited to 'socials' at the numerous railway institutes.

we know their counterparts in England did and married with or without permission then rather than 6 per cent, we might expect that, after correcting for age, almost 16 per cent of British soldiers in India, that is 8,600 excluding officers, would have enjoyed some form of family life in 1881, giving a total of 5,313 (886 per annum) wives, neither British-born nor ‘on the strength.’

Besides age, rank affected a soldier’s right to marry. Since most European regiments in India were infantry and their structure did not vary much, we can look at a single regiment to get an idea of how many European non-commissioned officers (NCOs) of each rank there were in India. As their rank rose, army regulations (and their earnings) permitted marriage for a larger percentage of other ranks; all first class NCOs (warrant officers), half of sergeants, a quarter of corporals and 10 per cent of privates who had completed their first tour, could anticipate permission to marry ‘on the strength.’²⁰ According to the UK defence forum about a third of the current army comprises NCOs²¹ but the nineteenth century army had less because there would have been less need for technical experts.

An 1804 muster roll for the 94th Regiment (The Scots Brigade) included 53 commissioned officers, four NCOs 1st Class (later styled warrant officers), 66 sergeants, 84 corporals and 817 privates and drummers.²² The relative proportions of each rank changed little over the century. Thus, in 1881, one in six of the 59,000 European other ranks would have been NCOs: 230 first class NCOs (warrant officers), 3,800 sergeants, and 4,840 corporals, amongst whom a total of about 3,500, by virtue of rank could have expected to marry and have families carried ‘on the strength.’ Besides these, a further 2,000 privates amongst the 20,000 who had completed their first term of engagement, were eligible to seek permission to marry. Thus, by strict adherence to army regulations for each rank, about 5,500 ‘other ranks,’ could have contemplated army support for their wives and children. This would have represented about 9 per cent married ‘other ranks.’

We now have a considerable disparity between several alternative figures; the 6 per cent who returning to England as married men, the 9 per cent permitted by marry by rank, the 12 per cent permitted by army regulations, and the near 16 per cent (over

20 Charles Allen, *Plain Tales from the Raj*, Abacus, London, 1975, pp. 191-2.

21 Currently, half the men in an armoured reconnaissance regiment will be NCOs, whereas only 2 in 7 men in an infantry battalion are NCOs. General Sir Mike Jackson, ‘The Role of the Non Commissioned Officer in the British Army,’ *UK Defence Forum*, cream paper no. 46, June 2003, (acc. June 2009), http://www.ukdf.org.uk/assets/downloads/CP_46TheRoleoftheNonCommissionedOfficer.pdf.

22 Muster Roll of Scots Brigade, 1804, FIBIS, <http://www.new.fibis.org.>, (transcription, accessed June 2009).

9,000) that their counterparts' behaviour in England suggests might have been 'married' regardless of regulations.

Some of these men would certainly have left wives behind in England, before they set sail for India, but because of the mens' ages, this would not have been very many. Of British soldiers in India, four in five were still under 30 and half of those were under 25. Nor would there have been much time to have married before they left England as three in five had been soldiers for six years or less and (with up to 10,000 of 59,000 moved and replaced annually) many would have served most of that time in India.²³ Even if we work with the Army regulation figure for marriage of 12 per cent overall for 'other ranks,' assuming that the army transported all wives and children who were 'on the strength' back to England when their husbands left, there were huge numbers of potential wives missing. If 12 per cent were married, but only 6 per cent took wives back to England, this would suggest a figure of more than 3,500 missing wives. The figure was probably much higher, if soldiers in India behaved as their counterparts in England did: the 14 per cent of soldiers of all ages who were married and in England, would translate to 16 per cent in India (because of the narrower age demographic), leaving about 5,500 female partners (and partnerships) unaccounted for. It is not reasonable to accept that such a large number of men whose counterparts in England claimed to be married, would have been blind to all possibilities except prostitutes or temporary mistresses. These were, after all, readily available in England too, but many still chose marriage 'off the strength.'

CIVILIANS AND OFFICERS

In 1881, besides military other ranks, there were 90,000 Europeans in India (army officers, government and quasi-government officials, non-officials professionals, missionaries, and women and children) amongst whom the British-born numbered 14,000 civilian men (over 21), 9,600 women (over age fourteen), 4,811 boys and 3,297 girls, and a further 50,000 other British subjects, men women and children, who were

²³ 'Abstract no.134, Past Services of Non-Commissioned Officers and Men ... amongst British Troops in India,' Troopships in the years before and after 1881/2 carried very similar numbers, 'Statement no.141 Showing the Particulars of the Troops Conveyed to and from India, Year to 31st March 1882,' in n.a., *Statistical Abstract Relating to British India From 1876/7 to 1885/6*, vol. 21, Her Majesty's Stationary Office, London, 1887, pp. 208-9.

born outside Britain. Logic suggests most of these were India-born.²⁴

The 12,600 males and 6,498 females who spoke European languages other than English were likely European nationals but, amongst these, 6,306 males and 4,217 females were Portuguese speakers and most would probably have been Eurasians of Indo-Portuguese ancestry. The number of males and females born in Europe, therefore, would probably have been closer to 6,300 and 2,300 respectively, but I have not attempted to identify and remove Portuguese Eurasians from my calculations.

Excluding children, military ‘other ranks,’ and their wives ‘on the strength,’ this gives an adult European civilian population of about 49,000 men over age 21 and not subject to military regulations and 24,500 women over age fourteen. In England, of men between the ages of 21 and 60, two thirds were married.²⁵ If those in India behaved in this way, then civilian Europeans and army officers would have taken around 33,500 wives, marrying 963 of them in 1881 alone, a shortfall of 9,000 European women. Brown’s statistical study of marriage rates in 1864 suggests Europeans in India of high social status, were more likely to marry than their counterparts in Europe. Comparing the general population and the peerage of England to members of the Bengal Civil and Madras military funds, Brown found, army officers in India married later, but a higher percentage married than in the general population in England, and civilians in India were also more likely to marry and did so at a younger age.²⁶

EUROPEAN WOMEN

Having looked at the size and demographics of the European male population of India, the number of married men, and the number who might be expected to marry, I now turn to the pool of European women available to them, to quantify any shortfall. This presupposes that, all else being equal, a European man’s first choice would always be a European wife, a premise far from proven!

A percentage of the European men arriving unaccompanied in India were already married. Soldiers’ wives not ‘on the strength,’ and many who were, were left behind and could not afford to make their own way to India and many wives of the wealthy

24 ‘Ages of the British-Born Population,’ in Plowden, *Census of India 1881*, 1883, Abst.XCV, pp. 469-70.

25 I have chosen this age range because so few European men in India were over 60, and a disproportionately low percentage was under 21.

26 Samuel Brown, ‘On the Rates of Mortality and Marriage amongst Europeans in India,’ *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, vol. 27 (4), 1864, pp. 566-579.

chose England for much of their time. The existence of a wife in England would not, necessarily, have prevented husbands from seeking long-term alternative arrangements in India but we should, perhaps, exclude such men from our calculations of those seeking a relationship akin to marriage.

To get an idea of how many wives were in England whilst their husbands might have been in India, in the absence of a direct method of enumerating them, I looked at figures for India-born children in the 1881 England census. This does not represent a total for such wives, but many would have had children in India and those who remained in England were often accompanying them. Some would have been childless or mothers of adult children but these cases there probably a minority since they had less need to live apart from their husbands.

There were 13,175 India-born children in the 1881 England census.²⁷ I examined households of a 5 per cent sample and found two children per woman, an average family unit in 1881.²⁸ I found two fifths of India-born children in England were living with neither parent,²⁹ a third lived with both parents, and 17 per cent were with mothers but not fathers. This suggests 1,120 men, probably still in India, had wives in England.³⁰

Most men went to India young and single. I have shown (see table 5) that, corrected for age and whether military proscription applied or not, two fifths might be expected to marry if they behaved as their counterparts in England did. But there were comparatively few European women present (table 6), married or single;³¹ just three to every eleven men, including the wives living in England (see table 7). Even if every adult European woman in India were a wife, it would mean only two thirds of men who would have married had they been in Europe, 27 per cent of all the European men in India, could anticipate marrying a European woman. The remaining 14,500 who might have sought a wife had to make other arrangements. In fact 14,500 is an underestimate since we know some European women remained unmarried. They travelled to India at

27 Some would have been Indian not European but the number is so small it can be ignored.

28 This was the average of surviving children living with parents in 1881, not the number of children produced; those deceased and living apart, would have added considerably more. Francis M.L. Thompson (ed.), 'People and Their Environment,' *The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750-1950*, vol. 2, Cambridge University Press, 1996, p. 34.

29 Some were with other relatives, a few in children's homes or working, but most were school boarders.

30 The 23,100 British women in India with 19,608 children gives a very different ratio of women to children but I only counted the England resident women actually with their children so there is no direct comparison. Of those in India at least a thousand were unmarried, many had children boarding in England, some had adult children, some were childless, and others not yet completed their families.

31 'Ages of the British-Born Population,' in Plowden, *Census*, 1883, Abstract XCV, p. 469.

great expense, often with the aim of finding a husband, but did not succeed. Expensive and unnecessary luxuries, they went back to England as the 'returned empties.'³²

In purely economic terms, Williamson's 1810 *Vade Mecum* estimates the annual outlay on a European wife (for a man of quality) at about £600, whereas a native woman suitable for longer-term relationship could be kept well for £48 a year.³³ Innes Munro's estimates were £360 and £30-48 per year respectively. Munro said a whole zenana of Indians would be cheaper than one English 'lady.' The joke suggests he was assuming longer-term arrangement rather than prostitutes: a zenana was exclusive and accommodated in a household.³⁴ Neither Williamson nor Gilchrist mention the 'bargain basement' of officers' daughters, European and legitimate Eurasian, on offer at the military orphanages, who came with a 'marriage portion' of one or two thousand Rupees given by the Orphan Society.³⁵ Nevertheless, amongst the younger European elite, yet to earn a good wage, there was still considerable scope and incentive for relationships with Eurasian and Indian women.

The presence of 'fishing fleet' women was an irrelevance to common British soldiers who belonged, like Indians, effectively to another race.³⁶ Amongst the permanently poorer European men who might have wanted a European wife choice was severely limited by the policies of Company and Crown to keep working-class European settlement to a minimum:

India offers no field for popular emigration ... A settler in the East Indies may be said to resemble in many respects a planter in the West. He introduces capital and skill, but avails himself of native labour. Colonisation, in fact, must originate in India from the upper and not from the lower classes of society; and the true function of a European there, is not that of a labourer but as a director of labour.³⁷

Government had little choice but to import working-class men as soldiers but did not want a surfeit of working-class European women. There was never an adequate supply of lower-class European women, not even after the cost dropped with the opening of the

32 Suresh Chandra Ghosh, *The Social Condition of the British Community in Bengal; 1757-1800*, Brill, Boston, 1970, p. 64-5.

33 Williamson, *East India*, 1810, pp. 173-175 & 414-415.

34 Innes Munro quoted in Ghosh, *Social*, 1970, p. 70-1.

35 N.a., 'The Bengal Military Orphan Society,' in *The Calcutta Review*, vol. 45 (90), 1867, p. 303.

36 Although talking about England in the seventeenth century Stone's conclusion that the English practiced a 'very high degree of social and economic endogamy' is apt. Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800*, abridged edition, Penguin, London, 1979, p. 50.

37 n.a., Select Committee on Colonisation, *The North British Review*, 1859.

Suez Canal.

The low pay of soldiers, restricting their ability to support a family, did not necessarily discourage them. Whether European, Eurasian or native, working-class women often earned their own keep and contributed to the family income. In England this was shown to increase marriage rates.³⁸

There were several ways European other ranks found European wives in India. Besides regimental daughters widows of crown troops were obliged, because the army ceased to support them, to remarry within six months.³⁹ But Quinney's account says private soldiers would find it hard to compete: 'The [private's] widow, who was rather a good-looking female, evinced early symptoms of an anxiety again to enter the matrimonial state, but nothing under the rank of a conductor seemed good enough in her estimation, and one of that rank she actually obtained.'⁴⁰

Also near the garrisons, were predecessors' discarded wives, left behind when a regiment or a man moved on. Whether these were mistresses or wives is a matter of semantics and class perspective. Serial monogamy was perfectly acceptable amongst the 'respectable' working-classes in England, especially in garrison towns and ports where men came and went, often for many years leaving their 'wives' and children to cope as best they could. As Walkovitz put it: 'Poor residents [of Plymouth ...] adhered to standards of sexual and social behaviour that were in sharp contrast to conventional Victorian mores.'⁴¹ In the later decades of the century, there were also working-class European widows and daughters of railway men and, at all dates, single working-class women arrived in India as servants to wealthier families:

Whenever a lady has carried out an European female servant, whether old or young, ugly or beautiful, a speedy separation has usually taken place: many, indeed, have deserted their mistresses while touching at Madras ... Bonds, contracts, or agreements, are all cancelled ... the necessity for upholding the British character, however much formerly neglected by some persons in power, is now so well understood, that, without absolute compulsion, no magistrate would commit an European woman upon a charge of neglect

38 Bedfordshire had the highest marriage rates and the highest rates of women 'earning money in industrial occupations'. In Herefordshire the rate of marriage was half, and of paid industrial employment for women less than half. W. Ogle, 'On marriage Rates and Marriage Ages with Special Reference to the Growth of Population,' *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, vol. 53, 1890, pp. 253-89.

39 Stanley, *White Mutiny; British Military Culture in India, 1825-1875*, Hurst & Co, London, 1998, p. 14.

40 Thomas Quinney, *Sketches of a Soldier's Life in India*, David Robertson, Glasgow, 1853, p. 94.

41 For further examples of this in Plymouth see Judith Walkovitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society; Women, Class and the State*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1982, pp. 199-204.

of duty, inebriety, insolence, or other such impropriety.⁴²

It is reasonable to conclude that many of the European women in India were either already married, of a different social class, or looking for a wealthier catch than a common soldier. So there remained considerable scope and incentive for relationships with Eurasian and Indian women.

EURASIAN AND NATIVE WOMEN

I have identified a shortfall of European women of about 14,500 in 1881 and suggested that since so many men had little hope of returning to Europe, they sought family life in India. Stanley said: 'Soldiers coveted marriage as a route to both solace and respectability.'⁴³ They had plenty of opportunities to meet and marry Eurasian women.

Men could visit orphanages to find wives amongst the older girls. Anthony said most European men in India found wives amongst the orphan girls who were raised with that purpose in mind.⁴⁴ William Butterfield chose his wife Elizabeth Daniels when visiting Madras Military Female Asylum in 1834.⁴⁵ Eliza Gaghan, Margaret Garvey, Mary Gibbons, Elizabeth Gill and Elizabeth Grimes were also removed for marriage although no record appears of these events in the ecclesiastical returns. Staff-sergeant Thomas Quinney, who visited Bombay's Central School, said:

'When the children are orphans they frequently become the wives of young men who manage to obtain a character from their commanding officer, and are thus introduced to the secretary (generally the chaplain ...), who admits them to the school-room as casual visitors. This usually ends in a matrimonial engagement. In such instances, however, the girl must be married before she is allowed to leave the establishment.'⁴⁶

Not only was there plenty of opportunity to meet Eurasian girls, some came with a financial sweetener. Of the Lower Military Orphan School, Bengal, Lushington reported in 1824:

The female wards, when arrived at a suitable age, are chiefly disposed of in marriage to Non-

42 Gilchrist, *Vade Mecum*, 1825, pp. 184-5.

43 Stanley, *White*, 1998, p. 67.

44 Anthony, *Britain's Betrayal*, 1962, p. 16.

45 *Madras Military Female Asylum Records*, transcription at <http://www.new.fibis.org>, (accessed August 2009); n.a., 'Marriage Announcements,' *East India Register*, vol. 1, 1835.

46 Quinney, *Sketches*, 1853, p. 52.

Commissioned Officers, and Privates, Drummers, &c. in the King's and Company's Regiments, and to other persons of reputable character. To those who become the wives of Soldiers, an allowance of four rupees per mensem each is paid from the public Funds.⁴⁷

Soldiers (especially NCOs) were invited to Railway Institute social events: 'Some BORs [British other ranks] fought both army regulations and prejudice to marry Eurasian girls, usually encountered at the Railway institute dances that did much to lessen the isolation of the British soldier.'⁴⁸ It was harder to meet native women, with native settlements and town bazaars usually off-limits to soldiers, but contact with the Eurasian community was not curtailed. The social gulf between British other ranks and Railway families, was easier to bridge than that between these men and spare European 'society' ladies. Railway girls and orphans were obvious and readily available sources of female companionship for British soldiers.

There is evidence to suggest that fewer Europeans, even of the lower classes, married Eurasians towards the end of the nineteenth century. In 1881 troopships brought 375 women to India with the other ranks and returned 628. Thus 253 wives were added to the strength whilst in India who, for economic reasons alone, are unlikely to have been Europeans. Numbers were similar in the next year, and are likely to have been similar in the previous decade, but in the subsequent three years more wives were brought out from England and the extra numbers returning declined to under a hundred.

Officers' wives who arrived on troopships left in similar numbers with no change in pattern over time.⁴⁹ No regulations restricted officers' marriages and wives were entitled to travel with them, but there were social pressures that discouraged senior men from choosing unsuitable Eurasian or native wives. Moreover, officers and covenanted men were entitled to furloughs 'home' during which many acquired European wives. The opening of Suez also contributed to the practicability of taking a European wife. These factors support the view that interracial relationships amongst the upper echelons of British society fell away at an earlier date.

47 Lushington, *The History*, 1824, pp. 257-265.

48 Allen, *Plain Tales*, 1975, pp. 191-2.

49 'Statement no.141 Showing the Particulars of the Troops Conveyed to and from India, Year to 31st March 1882,' and 'Abstract Statement no.140 of the numbers conveyed by the Indian troop service since its formation in 1866-67,' in n.a., *Statistical Abstract Relating to British India From 1876/7 to 1885/6*, Her Majesty's Stationary Office, London, 1887. The latter gives only a ten year summary of total numbers without a breakdown to show relative numbers of men, wives and children.

ECCLESIASTICAL RETURNS

The European demographic in India, allowing for age, rank and occupation, suggests 40 percent of men would have wished to form long-term relationships (see table 7). To maintain such a rate would have required about 1.7 per cent to marry each year; in 1881 India (table 6) that represents about 1,800 marriages per annum but there were only about 1,500 marriages in the Ecclesiastical returns. This figure, over time, would maintain only a 34 per cent marriage rate of the European men within India.⁵⁰

The difference between the two fifths predicted and the third recorded, may represent a failure to marry but contemporary sources, Stanley and Brown, suggest Europeans in India were more likely to marry.⁵¹ Most men went to India before marriage, and those who married on furlough returned with wives, at least until the children were sent home, and so are accounted for. The disparity could therefore signify irregular marriage forms which do not appear in ecclesiastical returns. But, even leaving aside predicted behaviour based on that of men in England, we are left with the fact that the number of marriages in the ecclesiastical returns for India exceeds the number of European women there. About 7,600 men in India, 7 per cent of them all, were therefore in legal marriages that could only have been to Eurasians or Indian Christians.⁵²

These figures could be reduced by the presence of endogamous Eurasian marriages amongst the returns, but Eurasians were classed as statutory natives and as such, unless marrying a European, most would have been entered in registers of native Christian marriages.⁵³ Since these remained in district offices all over India and many native Christians acquired European names, exploring these registers would be neither practical nor helpful.

The 1881 India census counted 62,085 Eurasian men, women and children.⁵⁴

50 The number of marriages returned was initially obtained by taking the average from two online databases, *FIBIS*, <http://www.new.fibis.org>. and *IOFH*, <http://indiafamily.bl.uk>. It was later confirmed by a manual count of entries in the ecclesiastical indexes.

51 Stanley, *White*, 1998, p. 67; Samuel Brown, 'On the Rates of Mortality and Marriage Amongst Europeans in India,' *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, vol. 27 (4), 1864, pp. 566-579.

52 The women would have been at least nominally Christian to have been married under the laws underpinning the Ecclesiastical returns.

53 The Indian Christian Marriage Act XV of 1872 (Rule 6) defined a British Subject as (1) A subject of Her Majesty, born, naturalized or domiciled in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and (2) the child or grandchild of any such person by legitimate descent. Everyone else was, by default, either foreign or native. Nothing is said in the Act about Eurasians further removed from direct British ancestry than a grandfather. Native marriages were (by Rule 7) recorded in a separate register and certified entries were sent to District registrars but not forwarded to England.

54 This figure is the English speaking total minus those classed as British. Plowden, *Census*, 1883, vol.2, p. 14.

Working on a total marriage rate of 52 per cent, as in England for the adult general population, we can infer that amongst 20,695 Eurasian males, 10,761 could have been married.⁵⁵ To maintain that number would have required 311 marriages per annum, spread across the European and native Christian registers. Race is rarely recorded in indexes of the Ecclesiastical returns but careful examination of individual records for 1881 identifies some endogamous Eurasian marriages and further reduces the percentage of Europeans legally married whilst in India. However, this inaccuracy, a maximum of 311 entries per year, will only serve to increase the likelihood of irregular marriages of Europeans.

COMPARISONS

Suresh Ghosh found 1,581 'European marriages' in Bengal returns to the Court of Directors between 1757 and 1800 amongst 2,626 Writers and Cadets, 3,500 non-officials and about 10,000 European troops. About a quarter to an eighth of all Europeans in Bengal, therefore, formally married there. Rates of marriage, by status were one in four writers, one in ten cadets, between one in ten and one in forty five Military other ranks, and an eighth of non-officials.⁵⁶ The wording 'European marriages' is carefully chosen since Ghosh's describes the ubiquity not of celibacy but of 'marriages in all but name.' The fact that amongst a hundred men the author found one in eight married and I found three or four in every ten to be married including one in eight definitely married to Eurasians or Indians, is not necessarily contradictory, since we are concerned with different time periods. In this earlier time, there were even fewer European women, a lack of clergymen who might have performed marriages, and more likelihood of inter-faith relationships without 'European' marriages.

My figures are in keeping with those of Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras, for those who would marry if they could afford to. In his 1824 argument against pensioning 'half-caste' women he said:

If we change that system for one of giving a permission not only upon marriage, but upon the number of children, we shall encourage the production of a great and helpless population, and increase a hundredfold by our ill-judged humanity the distress it was meant to diminish. If we suppose that a half or a third of the

⁵⁵ Plowden does not breakdown the Eurasian population by age but there is other data showing that Eurasian children had a higher mortality rate than Europeans resulting in smaller families with 1 rather than the 2 or 3 children characteristic of European families. From this (and Eurasians not being transient) I divided Eurasians into approximately 1/3 each adult male, adult female, and children.

⁵⁶ Ghosh, *Social*, 1970.

European soldiers marry half-caste women, there will be in India ten to fifteen thousand wives with their children to maintain at the public charge. But this is not all – there will in twenty years be several successions, because the number of men will be renewed two or three times over in twenty years.⁵⁷

Munro's comments were written in the year that Eurasian wives were admitted to some military pension funds.⁵⁸

CONCLUSIONS

In 1881 the number of European men formally married to Eurasian and Indian women was at least 7,600, with a similar number, if they behaved like soldiers and civilians in England, cohabiting. This would mean, late in the century, that one in seven European men continued to form interracial relationships.

I have shown that in England rates of marriage amongst soldiers, whilst less than those amongst the general population, were higher than army regulations permitted and conclude that, if they ignored regulations to marry, so too would soldiers in India.

I found only sufficient European women in India and wives in Europe, to partner a quarter of the men and yet, the ecclesiastical returns show legal marriages sufficient to maintain a 34 per cent marriage rate. The difference, therefore, indicates marriages with non-European women. In reality, this figure would be higher since no allowance was made for unmarried European women in India.

Based on the behaviour of their peers in England, I expected to find in India, up to one in six of privates and NCOs and over two thirds of other men married; about 40 per cent of European men. I found just over a third married according to ecclesiastical returns. It is possible that the difference represented European men in India sacrificing a basic human need for home, family, and companionship, completely changing their behaviour compared with their counterparts in England, and remaining unmarried. More likely this portion of European men in India formed *de facto* marriages, with Eurasian and Indian women.

One in seven European men in 1881 was likely to have had a Eurasian or Indian spouse, half legally married and documented, and the remainder living as man and wife. These figures represent a tiny proportion of Indian women but, even if *de facto* marriages are excluded, a substantial proportion of the much smaller Eurasian

⁵⁷ Thomas Munro, 'Minute On the Eurasian Population, 24th November 1824,' in Arbuthnot, *Selections*, 1886, pp. 558-560.

⁵⁸ Lushington, *The History*, 1824, Appx.13, Lord Clive's Fund, pp.liv-lvi.

community. Exogamy therefore facilitated close and continuous cultural ties between the European and Eurasian populations.

The speculation about numbers involved in ‘regular’ relationships matters because a norm of respectability, in parallel with Europeans, was keenly espoused by later generations of Eurasians. Further exploring the basis for this, two main questions, arising from this chapter, will be addressed in the next. Firstly, what was understood by the concept of marriage? Because different races, faiths, denominations, nationalities and social classes were involved, I will explore various understandings of ‘marriage,’ besides the legal and practical issues. Secondly, what happened to Eurasian and Indian women and children when a husband died, when he was posted elsewhere, or when he could not or would not continue to support them.

TABLES

Table 4: British soldiers in India – Crown and Company armies.⁵⁹			
Year	men	year	men
1794	16000	1857	39800
1805	24500	1881	59000
1837	37000	1906	74500

⁵⁹ ‘Abstract no.130, Strength and deaths of the European Army in India, at different periods of age, 1881,’ and ‘Abstract no.132, Terms of Engagement of Non-Commissioned officers and men,’ in n.a., *Statistical Abstract Relating to British India From 1876/7 to 1885/6*, vol. 21, Her Majesty’s Stationary Office, London, 1887, pp. 202 & 206; R. Holmes, *Sahib: The British Soldier in India*, Harper Collins, London, 2005, p. 216.

Table 5 (a): Marriage rates and age-general male population and soldiers.⁶⁰										
born	age	Genl. male Population England			Soldiers in England			Soldiers in India		
		all	married		all	married		all*	Predicted married	
			Number	%		number	%		number	%
1867	14 yrs	265011	189	0.07	127	0	0			0
1864-6	15-17	729785	1067	0.15	781	2	0.26			0.26
1861-3	18-20	684094	20568	3.00	6286	26	0.40	1255	5	0.40
1851-60	21-30	1966386	913557	46.46	14718	1353	9.19	43927	4037	9.19
1841-50	31-40	1477531	1181774	79.98	5448	1925	35.33	12267	4334	35.33
1831-40	41-50	1102520	922886	83.16	1249	669	53.56	828	443	53.56
1821-30	51-60	772339	625511	80.99	240	119	49.58	74 ⁶¹		49.58
Table 5 (b): Marriage rates for age ranges-general male population and soldiers.										
1821-67	14-60	6997666	3665552	52.38	28849	4094	14.19	57096	8856	15.51
pre 1861	21-60	5318776	3643728	68.51	21655	4066	18.78			
pre 1851	31-60	3352390	2730171	81.44	6937	2713	39.11			
Table 5 (c): Age demographics-general male population and soldiers.										
		General population			Soldiers in England			Soldiers in India		
% of popn	under 21	24 %			25 %			2.20 %		
% of popn	21-30	28 %			51 %			77 %		

60 Absolute numbers are from source data. Percentages and the predicted number of married soldiers in India are my calculations. TNA, *Census*, 1881; figures for soldiers in India are taken from 'Abstract no.130, Strength and Deaths of the European Army in India, at Different Periods of Age, 1881, in n.a., *Statistical Abstract Relating to British India From 1876/7 to 1885/6*, vol. 21, Her Majesty's Stationary Office, London, 1887, p. 202.

61 This figure is for Army Pensioners, Plowden, *Census*, 1883, vol. 1, p. 470.

Table 6: European population of India; 1881.⁶²				
	Men over 21	Women over 14	Boys <21	Girls <14
British born (other ranks)	59000	9600	4811	3297
Others - British born	14000			
British but born elsewhere	25000	25000 women and children ⁶³		
		13500	11500 children	
			6785 est.	4715 est.
Other Europeans	12615 ⁶⁴ males	6498 females		
	10128 est. adult	4770 est. adult	2487 est.	1728 est.
subtotal	108128	27870	14083	9740
Total	159821 persons			

⁶² These data are taken from *Ibid.*, Where a figure is my calculation, derived from such data, this is clearly indicated

⁶³ Without absolute numbers, the figures which follow from this total were calculated by splitting the total of women and children 25000, in the same ratio as for the British-born population; 54 per cent women to 46 per cent children and amongst children 59 per cent boys and 41 per cent girls – the disparity caused by including girls over 14 as adults.

⁶⁴ In the absence of age data for this group, these numbers who were children were calculated by splitting the total of females in the same ratio as for the British-born women and girls; 12897 women & girls = 26.6 per cent girls, so for European others girls = 26.6 per cent of 6498 females = 1728. If boys and girls present in same ratio as British born girls and boys then boys they were in the ratio of 59:41. Girls numbered 1728 = 41 per cent of children so boys = $1728/41 \times 59 = 2487$.

Table 7: Shortfall of European Women, India 1881			
All European men	108128		
All European women	27870		
	number	Expected per cent married	Number expected to marry
soldiers	59000	15.51 ⁶⁵	9151
Other European men	49128	68.51 ⁶⁶	33657
Total number of men who might be expected to marry (% of total)	42808 (40.5 %)		
European women in India	27870		
Wives in England	1120		
Shortfall	13819		

65 See table 1. This percentage is that needed for troops in India, corrected for age, to match marriage rates amongst soldiers in England.

66 See table 1. This percentage is that needed for civilians and officers in India to mirror marriage rates amongst the general population in England.

CHAPTER 6: LAW AND MARRIAGE

INTRODUCTION

‘Oh Soldier soldier will you marry me
With your musket fife and drum?’¹

Marriages between Eurasians of the same denomination were easily achieved but a common assumption about the marital status of mixed unions in nineteenth century India is that they were overwhelmingly *un*-married relationships; a viewpoint disputed by Anglo-Indian authors such as Anthony who insisted: ‘...nothing is further from the truth. The Community has developed along quite formal and legitimate lines.’² Anthony’s perspective was informed by a wish to rescue his community’s reputation from stereotyping as universally illegitimate³ though he conceded Eurasians were no more or less moral than their British contemporaries, against whose behaviour he measured that of his own community.⁴ I believe the assumption that European men simply used Indian and Eurasian women as temporary mistresses, rarely ever having considered them as wives, needs a re-examination. It is a viewpoint extrapolated, from middle-class, exclusively European understandings of the concept of marriage,⁵ to all marriages. Elite British men in India should have been certain where the line between mistress and wife was drawn, the laws they drew up certainly were, but even an Accountant-General, Mr Tucker, admitted regretfully, that after many years in India: ‘we lose our English ideas, and our English affections; until, in fact, we forget the distinction between a concubine and a wife.’⁶ Tucker’s comment implies a blurring of boundaries and if a concubine was not distinct from a wife then she was more than a concubine.

Restricting marriage to something accepted by the courts as legal, or by the church as a religious rite, does not bear scrutiny even when applied to nineteenth

1 Traditional song; the soldier extracts everything he can from the girl before he tells her he already has a wife and leaves.

2 Anthony, *Britain’s Betrayal*, 1962, p. 11.

3 ‘They might claim British fathers, but bore the stigma of illegitimacy.’ Ghosh, *Social*, 1970, p. 90.

4 Anthony, *Britain’s Betrayal*, 1962, p. 17.

5 A point Lionel Caplan has also made. Caplan, *Children*, 2001, p. 2.

6 Mr Tucker; quoted in John Clark Marshman, *The Life and Times of Carey*, vol. 1, Longmans & Roberts, London, 1859, p. 203.

century marriage forms in Britain. Scotland's informal exchange of vows before witnesses persisted into the twentieth century when at least 12 per cent of marriages recognised as valid, had neither documentation nor the sanction of any clergy. Nor were these civil marriages; there were none in Scotland until 1939!⁷ Civil marriage was possible in England and Wales from 1837. It could be an unpleasant ordeal as registrar's offices were normally sited in workhouses. Nonetheless, in 1864, this route was chosen by 23 per cent of Welsh couples, just 3 per cent of Londoners and (in 1880) 40 per cent of couples in Northern England.⁸ But this marriage form was not available in colonial India.⁹

Elsewhere in Europe there were valid, legally binding forms of marriage such as the so called 'German left-handed marriage' between couples of unequal social standing. A British variant, where mixed-race or working-class women might be selected by British 'gentlemen,' sometimes even sanctioned by court-order, was found in West Indian colonies at least prior to 1830.¹⁰

Thomas Metcalf describes interracial relationships in India thus:

before the mid-nineteenth century a high proportion of army officers and civil servants kept Indian mistresses. Books of guidance for young men going to India assumed that they would do precisely that. Critics of what was alleged to be the prudery of later generations have assumed that liaisons were conducive to good race relations. Some well-documented instances do indeed leave no doubt of deep mutual affection, but in many cases such relationships were highly exploitative of the women involved, since offspring were usually not recognised and the man abandoned the woman when he returned to Europe.¹¹

Conversely, Stanley, also describing the first half century, claimed: 'The Company's soldiers had always demonstrated a greater willingness to stay in India after

7 Centre for the History of Medicine, *The Scottish way of birth and death*, at <http://www.gla.ac.uk/departments/scottishwayofbirthanddeath> (accessed July 2009).

8 Olive Anderson, 'Incidence of Civil Marriage in Victorian England & Wales,' *Past and Present*, no.69, 1975, pp. 50-87, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/650296>, (accessed 5 December 2008).

9 Although marriage involving Europeans in British India could take place outside a church and without clergy, it was still a Christian marriage and the flexible arrangements were merely a pragmatic solution to the paucity of clergymen and churches.

10 Augustus Beaumont noted that in Jamaica such arrangements had been popular with 'half-caste women but they had latterly found them demeaning. He fought a duel over a court order placing an unmarried *mestizo* girl in the care of an unrelated white man. Beaumont was a middle-class Chartist fighting for the working-classes and people of colour who were oppressed by laws and institutions of state manipulated by powerful men to their own benefit. Augustus Beaumont, 'The Late Fatal Duel in Jamaica,' *The Morning Chronicle*, London, Friday, August 9, 1833; Issue 19954.

11 Thomas R. Metcalf, 'Imperial Towns and Cities,' in Marshall, *Cambridge Illustrated*, 2001, p. 247.

discharge, partly from having married Eurasian or native women' and Kipling's returning soldier pined for his 'neater, sweeter maiden in a cleaner, greener land'¹²

No doubt Metcalf's view is correct with respect to Victorian prudery and the exploitation of women, although others would dispute his assertion that the children were usually not recognised, and some would argue that the women were not simply abandoned.¹³ Metcalf's is however a partially-sighted view of the British that would not apply to all, without regard to the heterogeneity of the British presence, particularly in terms of class. Stanley's point, more rarely expressed, concerns the relationships and choices of working-class British soldiers who were the majority of the British in India. By the misapplication of Metcalf's views, to all British in India, a reader might infer that man and mistress was the only relationship possible between European men and Indian or Eurasian women. Of course, there were sex workers: street prostitutes available to anyone; brothel prostitutes for casual hire or attached to specific regiments; and more exclusive prostitutes reserved for specific customers but these are not the subject of this chapter. Whether *bibis*, kept by one man should be regarded as sex-workers is questionable and depends on whether their condition is considered completely dissimilar to the permanence of marriage, because their contracts were temporary, and how important it was that they lacked acceptability in British 'society.'

Post-mutiny political change meant many ordinary British men no longer had the stability of Stanley's Company soldiers who had enlisted for long Indian service. After the mutiny, not only were short service enlistments more common, but regiments, all now Crown regiments, were more frequently re-deployed anywhere in the world. If men could not find a way to marry with permission, could not afford to pay for their families to travel with them, had not served out their enlistment, and the army refused to allow them to transfer to corps remaining in India, what else could they do but abandon their families? It does not follow that hardening official attitudes to intermarriage would necessarily have altered personal behaviour or choice. The charge of exploitation might more properly be applied to the government that made laws and policies, than to men who were just as exploited as Indian and Eurasian women.

12 Stanley, *White*, 1998, p. 285; Rudyard Kipling, 'Mandalay,' *Barrack-room Ballads*, Methuen & Co., London, 1892, pp. 50-53.

13 Durba Ghosh and Hawes point to willing acknowledgement of illegitimate children. Father's baptising their illegitimate or natural children abound in ecclesiastical returns; Hawes found 54 per cent of children baptised at St John's, Calcutta, between 1767 and 1782 were illegitimate Eurasians. As to abandonment, there are numerous examples of European men providing for their Indian mistresses when they returned to Europe, either financially or by ensuring that a friend took over their care. Hawes, *Poor*, 1996, p. 4-5; Ghosh, *Sex*, 2006, p. 110.

Even limiting Metcalf's view to the class of men he was considering, army officers and civil servants, he does not take into account different conceptions of marriage, different understandings of the social standing of 'mistresses,' nor what the women themselves may have thought their particular relationship signified. Indian women did not necessarily share the understanding of middle-class Europeans that a mistress was not a wife. Nor does Metcalfe's view highlight the legal and social impediments that made interfaith and interracial, marriages difficult or impossible.

The influx of evangelical Christian missionaries, particularly after 1833, magnified the problem; marriage to them was a religious institution, a contract with or before God, for some it was a sacrament, so marriage could hardly be made with someone who was, in their eyes, a 'heathen'. Their voice became prominent in metropolitan society and influential in Parliament. The 'moral laxity' of the previous century became unacceptable in genteel society and the morality of the country's representatives in India, became a public concern. But this concern was not simply for the sanctity of a Christian institution. Immoral means 'inconsistent with accepted moral principles; not consistent with principles of personal and social ethics, sexually improper.'¹⁴ This is how Victorian moralists viewed interfaith and interracial marriage, and the Eurasians who embodied miscegenation.

Company Directors in 1784 expressed concern over what they called the 'imperfections' of the children of European men by Indian women: '... whether bodily or mental; that is whether consisting in their colour, their conformation, or their genius...'¹⁵ There was a perception of something inherently, irredeemably wrong with Eurasians who existed because of the moral laxity of their progenitors. This implied an innate moral laxity characteristic of a whole community. The mantra, that 'half-castes' exhibited the worst characteristics of both parent races and few of their virtues, was common in contemporary literature. Ronald Hyam said this attitude sprang from the Cornwallis and Wellesley reforms which increased the social gulf between Britons and Indians, and discouraged miscegenation.¹⁶ It was later fed by 'scientific' racism. Charles Darwin said: '... the degraded state of so many half-castes is in part due to reversion to a primitive and savage condition, induced by the act of crossing, as well as to the

¹⁴ *Chambers Dictionary*, 9th edition, 2003.

¹⁵ PWD, India, *Original Papers*, 1784, pp. 29-30.

¹⁶ Ronald Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality; the British Experience*, Manchester University Press, 1990, pp. 116-7 & 213.

unfavourable moral conditions under which they generally exist.’¹⁷

Existing heterogeneity in Eurasian ancestry added further layers of discrimination. Raikes, former North-West Provinces’ commissioner and judge, spoke with the authority of long Indian experience and high office. Raikes directed his attention to the failings of Indo-Portuguese Eurasians, describing Indo-Portuguese clerks ‘anywhere in India’ as: ‘... vegetating rather than living, with the vices of the European added to the superstitions of the heathen.’ Rather than limit himself to personal experience he also pronounced on events a century before he had ever set foot in India. Madras was lost to France because the British force, led by ‘an ignorant Swede’ was half composed of *Topasses*: ‘...a black, degenerate, wretched race of half-caste Portuguese, utterly destitute of fighting qualities.’¹⁸ In short, ‘Eurasian,’ became shorthand for illegitimacy, immorality, weakness and criminality; more so when of Portuguese stock. This affected the status of Eurasians in nineteenth century India, justifying their exclusion from high-ranking positions, and diminishing their worth in Indian eyes.

The conflation of immorality with Eurasian rested on three premises: that Europeans in India subscribed to contemporary middle-class values and marriage practices and Eurasians did not; that illegitimacy was so widespread amongst Eurasians that the labels were effectively interchangeable; and that since inter-racial sex was unnatural¹⁹ the products of such unions were also unnatural. Such stigmatising prejudice against the Eurasian community led to resentment and social difficulties.

The largest single group of British men in India were enlisted working-class men, privates and NCOs. In 1895, besides Royal Artillery, Engineers and Cavalry, there were 51 British infantry battalions in India.²⁰ They were joined, in the second half-century, by skilled working-class civilians, supervising and implementing infrastructural change. In 1881 there were at least 4,500 British-born working men employed across Indian Railways.²¹ It is the 65,000 working men, rather than of the tiny elite (numbering 3,000 to 4,000) whose values shaped Raj reportage, whose behaviour represents the lived

17 Charles Darwin, *The Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication*, vol. 2, 2nd ed., D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1892, p. 21.

18 Charles Raikes, *The Englishman in India*, Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1867, p. 6-7 & 53.

19 ‘some gentlemen, of a singular (and I think unnatural) taste, preferring them to white women. For my part, I consider them at best as a filthy inanimate set of creatures, having a strong smell; ... enough to disgust any man with a sound nose.’ Innes Munro, *A Narrative*, 1789, pp. 49-50.

20 n.a., *Thacker’s Indian Directory*, Thacker Spink and Co, Calcutta, 1895.

21 This figure is a low estimate derived from partial data on the occupations of British born men identified in Plowden, *Census of India 1881, 1883*, p. 470.

experience of the British in India and their interactions with Indians and Eurasians.

Most of this chapter explores various ‘marital’ relationships formed between British men and Indian or Eurasian women. The first and second sections consider marriage law, customs and practices. Rules governing or applied to the behaviour of Europeans and Eurasians are considered alongside the customs and practices of the societies, classes and creeds from which they were drawn. The last section considers the implications of these findings for the Eurasian community. What emerges, in a Raj filled with common soldiers and railwaymen rather than gentlemen, is a sizable ‘grey’ area in which many marriages were neither legally sanctioned, nor void. As in England amongst the respectable working-classes, and in Scotland across all classes, these relationships sat between legal marriage and the world of mistresses and prostitutes.

LEGAL MARRIAGE

Legislation

The Government of India, whether Company or Crown, divided the population into Europeans and Eurasians, exclusively Christian, and Indians who professed indigenous religions or were converts. It recognised pre-existing codes of personal law, customs and practices signifying marriage, studied works of Hindu and Islamic law, and consulted with *pandits*, *maulvis*, and *vakils*. It was slow to produce marriage legislation that applied to Europeans and Eurasians. The faith of Armenian and Syrian Christians was considered indigenous, that of Roman Catholics and of Protestant sects was not.

Legislation for non-indigenous marriage did not appear until the Indian Marriage Act of 1851 but its scope was limited to prevention of the clandestine marriage of minors and clarifying the legal powers of registrars to conduct marriages. The Governor-General decided, case by case, whether he ‘thought it desirable that evidence should be transmitted to England,’ and the validity of dissenters’ marriages by non-conformist ministers (not considered to be in holy orders) was not addressed.²² Even after the Indian Christian Marriage Act of 1872 there was still confusion over the validity and legality of many marriages involving Europeans or Eurasians in India.

The English Marriage Act of 1753 (the Hardwick Act) was the first to stipulate the conditions of a legal marriage in England: ‘... with banns or a license, with parental

²² ‘Act for marriages in India, 14 & 15 Victoria, Cap. 40, 24 July 1851,’ in Francis Lestock Beaufort, *A Digest of the Criminal Law of the Presidency of Fort William*, 2nd edn, Thacker & Co, Calcutta, 1859, pp. 625-636.

permission for minors, before witnesses and an authorized clergyman, in a church, during specified hours, and by recording the event in a Marriage Register.²³ An authorized Clergyman had to be ordained by a bishop in the established church. The only exceptions were Quakers and Jews. It did not apply in Scotland where irregular marriage continued to be legal; a loophole that attracted English couples to wed at Gretna Green.²⁴ Marriages of Catholic recusants and non-conformists, though valid, were not legal unless performed by an Anglican clergyman according to the rites of the established church. Civil registration of English marriages, introduced in 1836, remained unenforceable before 1855. Durston says that in England Civil courts recognised only church marriages but Anglican canon law recognised publicly exchanged vows (spousals) and co-habitation as valid marriages. Durston claims most people seem to have mistakenly believed a clergyman was needed to perform a valid marriage.²⁵ In England, pre-Hardwick, what constituted a marriage was confused so it is not surprising that confusion was exported to India but, contrary to much of contemporary European opinion in India, the Hardwick Act did not apply there.

Buchanan, an Anglican clergyman, had highlighted the absence of clarity on the validity of British marriage in India, in 1813. He claimed the majority of marriages involving Britons in India did not meet the requirements for a legal English marriage.²⁶ He may have been unaware that there was no legal requirement that they should.

‘The Justice of the Peace and Parish Officer’ was an influential, multivolume work, regularly updated between 1754 and 1875, whose aim was ‘supplying the justice of the peace and parish officer [sic] with as much law as is necessary for the execution of their respective offices.’²⁷ Its editors, including (in 1837) Thomas and Joseph Chitty, were barristers and legal writers of great repute. The 28th edition addressed the legal status of marriage involving British subjects in India.²⁸ They found no specific legislation governing marriages of British subjects in India and claimed: ‘A marriage

23 Leah Leneman, ‘The Scottish Case that Led to Hardwicke’s Marriage Act,’ *Law and history review*, vol. 17 (1), 1999, at <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/lhr/17.1/leneman.html> (accessed January 2009)

24 This anomaly is ironic, given that a Scottish bigamy case had led to the enactment of the new law.

25 Chris Durston, ‘Unhallowed Wedlocks,’ *The Historical Journal*, vol. 31 (1), 1988, pp. 45-59.

26 Buchanan, *Colonial*, 1813. Buchanan was also vice principle of Fort William College.

27 Richard Burn & George Chetwynd, *The Justice of the Peace and Parish Officer*, v.2, 23rd edn., Longman Hurst, London, 1820, p. vi.

28 Although all Indians in British-Indian territory were also British subjects, in this context the term was only applied to those born or naturalized in Britain. It may, or may not, have applied also to Eurasians of British paternal descent, and to other Europeans who had sworn an oath of allegiance to the British Monarchy.

celebrated out of England, according to the *lex loci* [or law of the place] is recognised in this country [England] as a valid marriage, and not affected by the marriage Acts. What is called the Marriage Act does not follow subjects to foreign settlements.’²⁹

Since no legislation had followed, the Chitty’s assessment still stood in 1850. Buchanan’s concerns were echoed in that year by the Parliamentary Commission on East-India marriages: ‘... questions of a very serious character arise with respect to the validity of marriages heretofore solemnized; and, consequently, doubts may exist, both as to the *status* of individuals, and rights to property.’³⁰ Despite the commissioner’s plea that legislation ‘should be brought before Parliament as soon as it can conveniently be done,’ only the limp provisions of the 1851 Act resulted. It was to be two decades before the (still inadequate) Indian Christian Marriage Act of 1872. Since the 1851 Act did not say otherwise, a marriage acceptable under Indian personal law, or pre-Hardwick English law, remained valid under contemporary English law.

Whether Company or Crown Government of India took the same standpoint is another matter. Both expected government sanction to be sought before a European British subject married, but this was not required by any law. The Chittys discussed the validity of a Catholic marriage between British subjects at Madras for which no Governor’s licence had been sought.³¹

“... the question ... is whether it would have been a valid marriage here [England] before that act passed.” And his lordship [sic] lays down, that “a marriage between British subjects, celebrated in a British settlement, according to the laws of this country, as they existed before the Marriage Act,” is ... valid.³²

British (or rather English) authorities seem to have accepted Catholic marriages of British subjects in India on the same basis as they did in England; before Catholic emancipation (pre 1829), such marriages were considered valid but not strictly legal.

The Chittys also claimed that, for British subjects under English law, a marriage between a Catholic and a Protestant was void if conducted by a Catholic priest.³³ It

29 Joseph & Thomas Chitty, *The Justice of the Peace and Parish Officer*, 28th edition, vol. 5, Lincoln’s Inn, London, 1837, p. 248.

30 Parliamentary Papers, [1203] East India marriages, ‘*Second Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire Into the State and Operation of the Law of Marriage, East India Marriages*,’ 1850, p. v.

31 One of the participants, later accused of bigamy by a British colonial court in Newfoundland, had claimed the marriage was void because he had not sought government sanction. Chitty, *Justice*, 1837, p. 250.

32 *Ibid.*, p. 250.

33 *Ibid.*, p. 249.

seems unlikely that many would have been aware of this and so, in India where clergy were in short supply but Catholic priests easier to find, where half of Eurasian or native Christians were Catholics, there may have been many voidable marriages.

Although the Chittys do not discuss it, they make reference to *de facto* marriage; legally defined as “in practice but not necessarily ordained by law.” Besides Catholic marriages, various forms of *de facto* marriage were recognised and practised amongst the working-classes in England, especially in garrison towns and ports, and so it must have continued amongst soldiers in India, even though government refused to recognise these relationships as marriages.³⁴

Whereas an interfaith couple could obtain a civil marriage in England from 1837, there was no such facility in British India. Registrars, officers, and magistrates could only conduct marriages according to the Anglican creed. There was never a British-Indian law that enabled marriage between European Christians and any Indian other than another Christian and, even then, most clergymen would expect a couple to belong to the same denomination.³⁵

Officers (civil and military) could also refuse to marry a couple, based on their assessment of the groom’s or, more likely, the bride’s character. We know from the writings they have left that some officers were against marriage *per se*, for soldiers believing that wives and families were a nuisance (previous chapter). Some believed that Indian or mixed ‘blood’ was of itself a sufficient character flaw to refuse; Gilchrist lamented Eurasian women’s tendency to go insane³⁶ and the Eurasian woman of easy virtue was a widespread stereotype.

Two further significant differences between lawful marriage in India and England are also documented by the Chittys; an English Act of 1828 made some fundamental differences to the effects of long term spousal absence and to what constituted bigamy in England.³⁷ Previously, anyone whose spouse, even if living, had been abroad for

34 Until the Hardwick Act, English courts accepted that a promise between a man and a woman to live as man and wife constituted a legal contract of marriage. New legislation was slow to alter working-class public opinion. Eve Tavor Bannet, ‘The Marriage Act of 1753: “A Most Cruel Law for the Fair Sex”’, *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 30 (3), 1997, pp. 233-254.

35 In theory the 1851 Act allowed anyone to marry but the use of Anglican liturgy, glibly presumed to be inoffensive to all would have been an obstacle to many non-Anglicans and non-Christians. ‘Act for marriages in India, 14 & 15 Victoria, Cap. 40, 24 July 1851,’ in Francis Lestock Beaufort, *A Digest of the Criminal Law of the Presidency of Fort William*, 2nd edn, Thacker & Co, Calcutta, 1859, pp. 625-636.

36 Gilchrist, *Vade Mecum*, 1825, p. 208.

37 9 Geo. IV cap. 31, 1828 Act, Chitty, *Justice*, 1837, pp. 246-7.

over seven years was free to remarry.³⁸ After the 1828 Act a missing spouse had to be thought dead or a second marriage was considered bigamous.³⁹ Before the 1828 Act, any second marriage involving a British subject that occurred outside the jurisdiction of English law, was not punishable as bigamy; after the Act, it was.⁴⁰ The difference in this and the previous point is that there was no qualifying period; the 'missing' spouse could marry as soon as they left English jurisdiction. The Chittys said the 1828 Act had not been extended to India. The British, in Indian Presidency towns, were subject to English law but only as it applied when those settlements were founded. Since the 1828 Act was not extended to India English men or women in India were still free to remarry and, if they stayed abroad, a second marriage was not bigamous.⁴¹

Lack of Clergymen

Anglican marriage early in the century could be difficult to achieve because there were few Anglican clergymen in India. Buchanan calculated in 1812, there were 35 Anglican chaplains to serve British India and: 'Of fifty one stations only eight are supplied with Chaplains.' He noted that civil magistrates or army officers conducted marriages and burials, that baptism was frequently deferred and, foreseeing that the validity of marriages might be questioned, suggested: 'It is possible, that some circumstance may arise which will make it necessary for an Act of Parliament to pass, to give validity to the marriages in India, solemnized by laymen, for the last fifty years; as was done in the reign of Charles the Second, after the Usurpation.'⁴²

Buchanan was (unsurprisingly) exaggerating the problem since he was asking that the establishment of Anglican clergymen in India should be increased. He based his calculations of the necessary numbers of Anglican clergy, on a population that included the whole of the European and Eurasian populations, a large proportion of which was Roman Catholic. He also ignored other Protestant clergy and Native Christian clergy. In 1836 a report on the ministry in Bengal in *The Times* claimed:

It appears by an official statement, that in the presidency of Bengal there are, exclusive of the chaplains

38 *Ibid.*

39 Section 22, Polygamy and Bigamy, Chitty, *Justice*, 1837, pp. 246-7.

40 *Ibid.*, pp. 246-7.

41 English marriage Law did not apply to 'Gentoos and Musselmans' and nor would the Church have agreed with this technicality.

42 Buchanan, *Colonial*, 1813, pp. 189-190.

paid by the Government, 31 Roman Catholic ministers and missionaries; 28 Episcopalians; 21 Baptists, connected with the Serampore mission; 15 Baptists, connected with the Baptist Missionary Society; 10 Independents; 9 American Baptists; 7 Armenians; 3 General Baptists; 3 Presbyterians (Scotch); 3 Presbyterians (American); and 2 Greek; making, altogether, 132.⁴³

By 1881 the situation had changed little. From 132 clergymen in Bengal in 1836, there were now 381 British clergymen to cover all of British India.

National Status

How a marriage was recorded depended on denomination and, later, national status. Hawes points out that the terms ‘British Subject’ and ‘Native of India’ were introduced in the Regulating Act of 1773 and says the question of whether Eurasians were British subjects or not became open to interpretation from then on because the Act said nothing about their status.⁴⁴ Inconsistent interpretation created problems for Eurasians after 1872, as it determined where their endogamous Christian marriages might have been registered. The Act required two registers; one for marriages of British subjects from which ecclesiastical returns were transmitted to London, the other recording marriages of native Christians stayed in India at district level. There was no register for Eurasian marriages. The only guidance in the Act was that those born, naturalised or domiciled in Britain, and their legitimate children and grandchildren were British subjects. Illegitimate Eurasians were not considered British under this Act. If one parent had been a Eurasian, British-born antecedents were further removed, or the necessary paperwork to prove legitimacy was not produced, then which register to use depended on individual clergymen’s decisions. Eurasian endogamous marriages could appear in either register.

THE CHURCH

I now look at Christian doctrine and denominations, because even marriages between two Christians could be problematic, and will also discuss data missing from the ecclesiastical returns because Foreign, indigenous and non-conformist churches were reluctant to make returns to British authorities.

⁴³ *The Times*, Tuesday, 2 August 1836, p. 7, Issue 16171, col. B.

⁴⁴ Hawes, *Poor*, 1996, p. 138.

I begin with the established churches of Britain because, though the days of church as state had gone, the separation was not complete. The monarch swore to defend the faith and the state presumed everyone was a member of the established church unless there was reason to believe otherwise. The difficulties this presented for non-conformists is also considered. Catholicism is the subject of the next section. The state and society were far less tolerant of Catholicism than of Protestant non-conformists. Differences in doctrine meant that Protestant and Catholic marriage held a different significance. Authorities outside Britain's control, the Pope and the King of Portugal, determined the shape of Catholicism in India. Lastly, I have included a separate section on Scottish churches and customs. The divisions amongst Scottish Protestants, particularly the absence of bishops in the Free Church, posed special legal difficulties. Scottish law was also far more flexible in its understanding of the concept of marriage. The Syrian, Armenians and Goan Catholic Churches were considered indigenous religions so, provided a couple was also indigenous, their rites were respected in the same way as any other indigenous religions.

The Established Church and Other Protestant Denominations

Before 1833 the Company only rarely allowed British missionaries into India. Its own chaplains were there to minister to the official community, which often left non-officials, Eurasians, and officials in remote stations, with little access to a clergyman of their own. The gap was sometimes filled by a Catholic priest, alternatively there were some Baptist, Armenian, and Lutheran clergy, who conducted marriages, none of which was officially recognised by the government. Thus:

The Reverent Reichardt [of Heidelberg] ... in 1825 ... was ordained by Bishop Heber. Having been previously a Lutheran minister, he received ordination from the Bishop, in order that he might be a recognised minister of the English Church, and also that his ministerial acts might be of legal force, as in India the marriages of Dissenting ministers are not considered valid in point of law.⁴⁵

Likewise: 'Iriou, ordained in Germany ... beginning to doubt the validity of his orders ... applied to Bishop Wilson of Calcutta for re-ordination. This ordination was held January 31, 1835.'⁴⁶ Many non-conformist clergy would not have taken such a step.⁴⁷

45 n.a., *History of the Church Missionary Society in Bengal*, Church Missionary Society, 1846, p. 74.

46 Rev. Rasmus Andersen, *The Church of Denmark and the Anglican Communion*, A paper read before the Scandinavian Episcopal Church Association, Department of Missions of the Episcopal Church, n.d.,

There were ongoing theological debates in the Anglican Church about the status of Lutheran bishops and apostolic succession which meant the validity of marriages performed by Lutheran clergy ordained by German bishops was in doubt. There were also periods of tension between Danish Lutherans and the Anglican Church, which accused them of proselytising and allowing caste divisions, which led to periods when their whole congregations were not recognised.⁴⁸

As in England, dissenters, Catholics and Jews sometimes married, and had their families baptised, in the Established Church to ensure their status did not prove problematic for marriage, legitimacy, inheritance or work. John Hammerdinger was baptised within months of his birth in Buxar in January 1818 and his parents are described as Jews, not converts. In Calcutta, Martha Isaacs renounced Judaism and was baptised in 1779, four days before she married Alexander Higginson, a Member of the Board of Trade. Three adults John Vendrick in 1789, Paul Raphael in 1844 and John Charles in 1766, all renounced Judaism and were baptised Anglicans. Since these baptisms were not followed by marriage, their motives may have been work related. William and Louisa Caustaut, though already married in a Catholic ceremony in Chandernagore, had an Anglican marriage in 1823 at Dum Dum.⁴⁹

For non-Christians, sudden conversion could be a pragmatic step. Helen Beg, 'mistress' of Alexander Speirs (British Resident, Gwalior, 1847) bore him eight children, remained Muslim during their 30 year relationship, but was finally baptised and married under British law an act which would certainly have simplified probate. He had intended returning to Scotland with his family just before he died and, under Scottish law, children became legitimate on their mother's marriage.⁵⁰

Catholicism

Most of the Irish soldiers in India were Roman Catholics. Whereas Catholic marriages in England, Scotland and Wales were not fully recognised in law until 1829, they were

<http://anglicanhistory.org/lutherania/denmark.html> (accessed August 2009)

47 William Carey, head of the Baptism mission at Serampore and Sanskrit Professor at Fort William College, married in 1808 in Danish territory. Earlier, he had taken Danish nationality to prevent the British authorities deporting him. The marriage was a Baptist one, invalid in English law, and does not appear in British ecclesiastical returns.

48 Rev. George U. Pope, *The Lutheran Aggression; A Letter To The Tranquebar Missionaries, Regarding Their Position, Their Proceedings, And Their Doctrine*, American Mission Press, Madras, 1850, http://anglicanhistory.org/india/pope_aggression1853/ (accessed August 2009)

49 IOR/N/1/10 f.555, *John Hammerdinger*; IOR/N/1/2 f.152 & N/1/2 f.144v, *Martha Isaacs*; IOR/N/1/66 f.180, *Paul Raphael*; IOR/N/1/4 f.85, *John Vendrick*; IOR/N/1/3 f.9, *John Charles*; IOR/N/1/12 f.531, *Caustaut marriage*.

50 Speirs, *Wazikadars*, 2008, pp. xl-xli.

legal in Ireland long before: they were a matter for the Church and not subject to the same laws as they were elsewhere in Britain. In an 1817 House of Lords debate, an Anglican bishop complained:

...the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland, with respect to marriages, exercise a power which the Protestant clergy are forbidden by law to exercise. A Protestant clergyman is subject to certain pains and penalties, if he marries any persons whose banns have not been three times published in the churches of their respective parishes, or without a licence is shown him, which dispenses with the publication of the banns. A Roman Catholic clergyman marries his parishioners without any banns, and is liable to no penalties.⁵¹

Full Catholic emancipation came to England in 1829.⁵² The Emancipation Act removed: ‘... certain Restraints and Disabilities ... imposed on the Roman Catholic subjects of His Majesty, to which other subjects ... are not liable: and whereas it is expedient that such restraints and disabilities shall be from henceforth discontinued.’⁵³ It was directed mainly at quelling Irish discontent by allowing Catholics to sit as members of parliament and to hold civil and military offices. It also meant British Catholics going to India were now more socially diverse and could include officers and covenanted servants.

Divisions within the Catholic Church also affected the validity of marriages. Portugal’s monarch had Papal authority in all matters relating to Eastern dioceses, including appointing clergy, but the Pope’s Vicars Apostolic, present in India against the wishes of Portugal, had established an alternative Catholic clergy. Company and Crown used both Portuguese and papal priests leaving congregations to choose which authority they recognised. Full working agreement was not reached until 1886. By then, the Vicars Apostolic had spent a quarter century declaring marriages under Portuguese authority invalid. Since the Company paid many Portuguese priests to act as civil and military chaplains, this had serious implications for the legality of many Catholic marriages.⁵⁴

51 Dr. Robert Fowler, Bishop of Ossory, ‘Roman Catholic Question,’ *Hansard (Lords Debates)*, vol. 36, 16 May 1817, p. 636.

52 James Stuart Olson & Robert Shadle, *Historical Dictionary of the British Empire*, Greenwood Publ. Connecticut, USA, 1996, p. 7.

53 George IV, ‘A Bill for the Relief of His Majesty’s Roman Catholic Subjects,’ *Hansard*, 24 March 1829.

54 The Treaty of Tordesillas (1494), Pope Alexander VI had divided up the non-Christian world into East and West, 370 degrees west of the Azores. The West (except Brazil and Newfoundland) was in Spanish care. Portugal was to care for the East, including India. Both were obliged to proselytise Catholicism and were therefore entitled to appoint clergy without reference to Rome. Robert Bruce Mullin, *A Short World History of Christianity*, Westminster John Knox, Louisville, Kentucky, 2008, p.150. The British government did not recognise the Treaty and refused to support one side more than the other. Kenneth Ballhatchet, *Caste, Class and Catholicism in India 1789-1914*, Curzon, Surrey, 1998, pp. 2-5.

There are further difficulties. Registration of births in England was introduced in 1837 and made compulsory in 1855 but, throughout the British Raj, there was no compulsory registration of births in India.⁵⁵ The India Office Library's description of ecclesiastical returns cautions they are incomplete and this is especially true of Catholic returns. These only began, in 1835, 130 years later than Anglican ones.⁵⁶ Catholic clergy were often French, Italian or Portuguese and⁵⁷ may not have felt obligated to make returns to the British government. A glance through the French marriage index from Chandernagore, for example, shows marriages which are not included elsewhere, even though they involve British subjects, as well as some which are included in Bengal returns.⁵⁸ Likewise, marriages at St. Thomas' Mount Portuguese Mission Church, some involving serving British soldiers, are usually not included in British ecclesiastical returns.⁵⁹

Government's 1852 offer of an extra Rs 200 per month to Catholic bishops in India who made 'sacred returns' was met with distrust; this sizable incentive moved only four of the sixteen bishops to comply,⁶⁰ implying that at most a quarter of Catholic marriages and births were returned.

Scottish Understanding

British law never was monolithic. Scotland's right to its own law was enshrined in the Act of Union of 1707. Scotsmen abroad in the British – not English – empire, serving with Scottish regiments, or working for Scottish firms or missions, might reasonably have assumed that Scottish law applied to them, their property, and their dependents. It did not.⁶¹ They were governed by English law and, later by laws written specifically for India. Whilst England's courts took cognoscence of Scots law and were willing to make allowance for Scots in England it was considered 'almost impossible' to show like

55 British Library, *Sources from the India Office Records Ecclesiastical Records*, <http://www.bl.uk/reshelp/findhelpsubject/history/genealogy/indiaofficerecordsfamilyhistory/ecclesiastical/eccrecords.html>, (acc. October 2008).

56 *Ibid.*,

57 Ballhatchet, *Caste*, 1998, pp. 14-15.

58 Those I have classed as British subjects had British names and reserved occupations (such as commissioned officers) or were their children. *Chandernagore Civil marriage index*, Centre d'Archives d'Outre-Mer at Aix-en-Provence, France, <http://www.new.fibis.org>, (accessed August 2009); *IOFH*, <http://indiafamily.bl.uk>, (accessed August 2009).

59 *Marriage register of St Patricks R.C. Church, St Thomas Mount*, <http://www.new.fibis.org>, (accessed August 2009).

60 Ballhatchet, *Caste*, 1998, p. 20.

61 This was still the case in 1926. Earl Winterton, 'Indian and Colonial Divorce Jurisdiction Bill – 2nd reading (Lords),' *HC Deb.*, 01 December 1926, vol. 200, pp. 1212-14.

consideration in India. Despite a large body of Scots lawyers and judges there, it was thought unreasonable to apply two systems of law for Europeans.⁶² Since so many Scotsmen served in India it is worth noting some of the relevant differences in Scots, English and British-Indian law, especially personal law governing marriage, divorce, legitimacy and inheritance.⁶³

Scottish law recognised marriages in the established (Episcopalian) Church of Scotland, in the Free (Presbyterian) Church and, until 1939, irregular marriage remained legal. Irregular marriage took three forms: declaration (spousals) before witnesses, sexual relations after a marriage promise, or publicly living together as man and wife. Irregular marriage remained legal for so long, because it was considered preferable to 'living in sin.' As late as 1914, 12 per cent of all Scottish marriages were irregular and so Scots in India would likely have behaved similarly.

The Indian Christian Marriage Act recognised only marriages performed by a clergyman who had been ordained by a bishop and so Free Church marriages (since there were no bishops in the Free Church) were illegal,⁶⁴ as were all the irregular forms acceptable to and common amongst Scots. Thus, a wife and child recognised and perfectly respectable amongst Scots would be described as a mistress and illegitimate child in India or England.

Divorce in the nineteenth century was rare but there were striking differences between Scots and English divorce laws. Under English law, adultery was grounds for a man to divorce a wife, but not vice versa. Scots law allowed women as well as men to petition on grounds of adultery. An English divorce, mid-century, cost about £2,000, whereas in the 1890s a Scots one could cost as little as £12.⁶⁵ Lastly there was a jurisdiction conflict. In 1861:

⁶² *Ibid.*,

⁶³ Recent research by Probert has suggested that the English conformed strongly in seeking marriage by Anglican rites. However, her research was not concerned with the mobile communities of seaports or garrison towns, did not explore regional differences and specifically excluded Scotland & Scottish law. Rebecca Probert, *Marriage Law & Practice in the Long Eighteenth Century*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2009.

⁶⁴ When the Free Church broke away from the Established Church in 1843, a third of all Scots became dissenters. Its ministers were considered laymen because they were not ordained by bishops. In India, they could perform irregular marriages within British lines, if authorised by a commanding officer. Such marriages 'would be good for some purposes only, but not for all, especially as relates to real estate.' Parliamentary Papers [1203], 'Second Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire Into the State and Operation of the Law of Marriage, East India Marriages,' 1850, pp.v-vi & 24.

⁶⁵ The cost of an English divorce dropped after the Matrimonial Causes bill of 1857. John D. Baird, Divorce and Matrimonial Causes: An Aspect of "Hard Times," *Victorian Studies*, vol. 20 (4), Summer 1977, pp. 401-412; *The Scottish Way Of Birth And Death*, Centre for the History of Medicine, Glasgow University, <http://www.gla.ac.uk/departments/scottishwayofbirthanddeath>, (accessed August 2009).

Lolley, having married an English wife, went across the border and procured a divorce in Scotland. If he had married again in Scotland, the second marriage would have been lawful, and his children legitimate; but, returning to England and marrying here, he was convicted for bigamy and sentenced to transportation, and his children of the second marriage were illegitimate.⁶⁶

Illegitimate children in England had no automatic right to a share in their father's property, when he died. In Scotland, legitimate and illegitimate children enjoyed identical inheritance rights, provided the father had acknowledged his paternity. Illegitimate birth in English law was a burden for life that could not be undone whereas, in Scottish law, illegitimate children became legitimate on their mother's marriage.⁶⁷

INDIAN CUSTOMS AND THE LEX LOCI

The Chittys, maintained that any form of marriage in India that was according to the *lex loci* (or law of the place) had to be recognised in England as valid. I argue, therefore, that prior to the 1872 Marriage Act, if Europeans entered into Islamic or Hindu marriages that satisfied Indian legal and doctrinal experts, then those marriages should have been valid, even when not recognised in English law.

There was a contradiction between that viewpoint and the Chittys' other finding (see above) that for those already married in England, a second marriage outside England did not constitute bigamy. The 1828 Act could have removed some of the confusion had it been extended to India, but only for those returning to England. In India up until the 1872 Act, any Englishman who had undergone marriage according to *lex loci* should have been considered to have undergone a valid (if not legal) marriage. Instead such relationships were frequently diminished, bracketed together with relationships with sex-workers, and dismissively labelled 'convenient arrangements.'

Islamic Rites

Before the 1753 Hardwick Act there was no legal definition of what constituted marriage in England and it said nothing about marriage in India. Before the 1872 Indian Christian Marriage Act neither Company nor crown legislated against British subjects in India marrying non-Christians. There was therefore nothing, in English or British-

⁶⁶ Hansard, *House of Lords Debates*, 11 March 1861, vol. 161, p. 1690, http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/lords/1861/mar/11/motion-for-select-committee#S3V0161P0_18610311_HOL_10, (accessed June 2009).

⁶⁷ J.A. Haythornthwaite, *Scotland in the Nineteenth Century; an Analytical Bibliography of Material Relating to Scotland in Parliamentary Papers, 1800-1900*, Scholar Press, Aldershot, 1993, p. 167.

Indian law, to prevent or void inter-faith marriage prior to 1872. Any proscription was therefore either doctrinal or social. Evangelical Christians arrived in early nineteenth century India with a mission to save ‘heathens,’ not to marry them. Whether through their influence, or that of the increasing number of European women, although its legal status remained uncertain,⁶⁸ inter-faith marriage became effectively void in the eyes of the British ruling elite. This was not necessarily the case when viewed from a Muslim perspective, or that of British working-classes, or even outside of Calcutta ‘society.’⁶⁹

Muslim marriage customs included two types of *nikah* contract, one temporary and one permanent, both of which were legally binding under Islamic law. Rizvi’s 1988 explanation of Muslim marriage in India is informative:

Marriage is a contract in Islam. At its core is *nikah* – it comprises:

1. Incantation of holy verses (*segħa*),
2. Seeking permission of intended bride in front of 2 witnesses (*wakil*)
3. A prenuptial financial guarantee to the bride (*mehr*)

Nikah-e-daimi was permanent, conferred property rights (both ways) and divorce, though possible, was difficult.

Nikah-e-inqatai [or *mutah*] was less binding and without property rights. It still needed all elements of *nikah* but a pre-arranged term was agreed – anything from hours to life. A man could buy out early on payment of *mehr* to his wife but remained responsible for his children’s upkeep. Neither party had rights over the other’s property. *Nikah-e-inqatai* is now thought to be rare.⁷⁰

It does not appear that both parties had to be Indian, nor even that both should be Muslim. Interpretation of Muslim law was in the remit of local experts and, for many, marriages between ‘people of the book,’ Muslim, Jewish or Christian, were possible.

I am not aware that the substance of *nikah* changed during or since colonial times, although the common ground shared by the Abrahamic religions has shrunk. In the nineteenth century, Europeans and Hindus, alike, are known to have entered into such contracts with Muslims.⁷¹

Indian women who underwent a *nikah* ceremony would have considered themselves legally married. European men who married by *nikah-e-inqatai* might, on

68 The commissioners posed the question ‘what is the status of mixed-marriages?’ Parliamentary Papers [1203], ‘*Second Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire Into the State and Operation of the Law of Marriage, East India marriages*, 1850, p.VII.

69 Washbrook has shown British ‘rule’ was more informed by local custom and practice in Madras than elsewhere. David Washbrook, ‘South India 1770-1840: The Colonial Transition,’ *MAS*, vol. 38, (3), 2004, pp. 479-516.

70 B.R. Rizvi, ‘Marriage system among the Muslims of Kargil,’ in B.B. Goswami, J. Sarkar, & D. Danda (eds), *Marriage in India: Tribes, Muslim and Anglo-Indians*, Anthropological Survey of India, Calcutta, 1988, p. 236.

71 Ghazi-ud-din Haidar’s fifth wife, Mumtaz Mahal, was a Hindu although she had been converted to Islam before her marriage- Speirs, *Wazikadars*, 2008, p. 15; Mrs Meer Hassan Ali, agreed a *nikah* contract to marry her Muslim spouse, and remained Christian- Rosemary Cargill Raza, ‘Meer Hassan Ali, Mrs (fl. 1832),’ *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com>, (acc. May 2008); and Colonel William Gardner (also a Christian) insisted that his Muslim marriage was perfectly legal - William Lineus Gardner, 5th March 1835, quoted in William Dalrymple, *Begums, Thugs & White Mughals; the Journals of Fanny Parkes*, Sickle Moon, London, 2002, p. 220.

grounds of ignorance, be excused if they considered their temporary 'spouses' to be mistresses. However in British-Indian society, a *nikah* marriage of either description was generally portrayed as neither legal nor binding if the man was a European. We know of some European men who exploited differences in understanding between different faiths and cultures. Dyce Sombre, a Eurasian heir to a large fortune, raised a Catholic but amongst Muslims, was shocked to find in the late 1830s that a European employee, General Ventura: '... disavows his marriage & says she was only kept by him; and an Armenian priest just mumbled over something which he did not recognise.'⁷² But, whilst European men may have exploited legal loopholes to deny they had ever married, we also know of others who insisted they were married, regardless of what British opinion, and later British-Indian law, said. Colonel Gardner protested to the editor of the *Mofussil Akhbar* in 1835 that those who questioned the legality of his marriage were in error: '...a Moslem lady's marriage with a Christian is as legal in this country as if the ceremony had been performed by the Bishop of Calcutta; a point lately settled by my son's marriage with the niece of the Emperor.'⁷³

Whilst in 1835 Gardner correctly assessed the legal status of his marriage, his viewpoint was not attuned to the *milieu* of British society and, after the 1872 Act, the only valid and legally binding marriages involving Europeans were those between two Christians. Officially, inter-faith marriage did not exist. However it did not die out completely. Amongst the working-classes and soldiers marriage was often defined by cohabitation rather than by contracts sanctioned by church or state. There were few European women of their class to replace Eurasian and Indian 'wives' and no reason to change their behaviour and customs. Even amongst the European elite, examples could still be found of men who defied convention and continues to form 'mixed' marriages.

In 1900, before Henry Gordon Waterfield of the Afghanistan Geological Survey married May Majeedie Wahiduddin, daughter of a Muslim, she had to be baptised a Christian.⁷⁴ Waterfield belonged to an elite family in India; his father wrote the 1871 Census report and was a Colonel and ICS man, his brothers were Bengal Lancers and ICS men. Before joining the Survey, Waterfield had been assistant district

72 Armenians were, of course, Christian, but the example would hold true of Muslim marriages too. Nicholas Shreeve, *Nawab to Nabob; The Diary of David Ochterlony Dyce Sombre*, Bookwright, West Sussex, 2001, p. 234.

73 William Lineus Gardner, 5th March 1835, quoted in Dalrymple, *Begums*, 2002, p. 220.

74 IOR/N/2/280, f.288, *Waterfield marriage entry*, Madras Presidency, 29th March 1900.

superintendent of Police, Peshawar.⁷⁵ His family, in India for at least three generations, returned home for education and retirement but, like their wives, were India-born. This record of intermarriage was only evident because his wife (on baptism) did not change her name to a European one. It is tempting to conclude from his three brothers' remote postings, the family may not have conformed to social mores expected of their class in Presidency cities. Name changes, isolation, and Victorian biographers' reticence may have hidden far more intermarriage amongst the elite.

Hindu Rites

For much of the nineteenth century, the legal status of inter-faith marriage between a European British subject and a Hindu was precisely the same as that between a European British subject and a Moslem; ambiguous! Hindu marriage, rather as English marriage had been prior to 1753, was a community affair. Even today, in India, legal registration is not necessary to validate a Hindu marriage:

Sect. 7. Ceremonies for a Hindu marriage.-

(1) A Hindu marriage may be solemnized in accordance with the customary rites and ceremonies of either party thereto.

(2) Where such rites and ceremonies include the saptapadi ... the marriage becomes complete and binding when the seventh step is taken.

Sect.8. Registration of Hindu Marriages.

(5) ... the validity of any Hindu marriage shall in no way be affected by the omission to make the entry.⁷⁶

Caste rules would usually have proscribed intermarriage because communities were unlikely to accept Europeans as equals or converts.⁷⁷ But amongst those of low or no caste, with more to gain than to lose, the same cannot be said. Hindu widows had little to lose. Ambitious fathers may also have balanced a daughter's loss of caste against a European son-in-law's connections and patronage and some Hindu women underwent Christian baptism to marry Europeans. Maria Suffolk, a converted 'Hindoo,' was baptised the day before her marriage to John Howard Wakefield, a Lieutenant in the 17th Bengal Native Infantry. This may have been an example of a political marriage, since she was ward of the Rana of Kumasin and her father was Keero, late Muzeer to

75 Waterfield, *Memorandum*, 1875; *Thacker's Indian Directory*, Thacker Spink and Co, Calcutta, 1895, pp. 207, 504, 841, 914, & 1641.

76 Sudhir Shah, *The Hindu Marriage Act (Act 25 of 1955), An Act to Amend and Codify the Law Relating to Marriage Among Hindus*, 18th May 1955, <http://www.sudhirlaw.com/HMA55.htm>, (accessed November 2008).

77 The Arya Samaj founded in the late 1860s had a basic set of precepts that would not have excluded Europeans who wished to convert to Hinduism.

the Rajah of Busseher.⁷⁸ Their son George, though baptised two months before their Christian marriage, was not described as illegitimate.⁷⁹ This case is strongly suggestive of a pre-existing ‘marriage,’ acceptable to a well placed Hindu family and (to some extent) to the British. Thomas Strange’s interpretation of Hindu law was that a son born of parents from the same caste was legitimate because sex between equals was the same as a marriage.⁸⁰ Wakefield and a Rana’s ward were obviously not of the same caste but they could have been considered equal, validating a prior Hindu ‘marriage’ and their son’s legitimacy.

Records are less detailed for Mary Meeran, described as Hindu on her marriage in 1834 to Private Henry Life, of the 1st Bengal European Regiment.⁸¹ In contrast to the Wakefields, the baptism entry for baby Life declares his illegitimacy. He was born six weeks before his parents’ Christian marriage, but baptised days after the event.⁸² This couple was of a lower social status and the clergyman who conducted their son’s baptism did not consider that, in Hindu law, they were already considered married; proof of that status being the conception of a son by a man and woman of equal status.

Whilst considering Islamic rites I noted the *milieu* of British society in India had changed by the 1830s. There was scope for European men to deny *lex-loci* marriages with non-Christians and, after 1872, British law voided the concept. But the law did not always work that way. Interfaith (therefore *de facto*) marriages were occasionally recognised, as the Fowle-v-Fowle divorce case in 1879 illustrates.⁸³

In 1856 Edward Fowle left his Burmese ‘wife’ Mahkin, travelled to Europe, and married Charlotte Webster.⁸⁴ They travelled to Burma in 1859 but Charlotte left for England in 1861. In 1876 Charlotte sued for divorce (after returning to Burma) citing Fowle’s adultery with Mahkin, with whom he had lived for the past sixteen years. The appeal judge said it was:

... a case of the clearest and most systematic adultery ... it amounts in fact to a putting by the respondent

78 IOR/N/1/33, f.9, *Wakefield marriage*, Barielly, 9 January 1832.

79 IOR/N/1/32f.19, *George Wakefield baptism*, Barielly, November 1831.

80 Sir Thomas Strange, *Elements of Hindu Law: Referable to British Judicature in India*, Payne and Foss, London, 1825, p. 101.

81 IOR/N/1/39, f.137, *Life Marriage*, Chunar, 22 October 1834.

82 IOR/N/1/38, f.269, *Egbert Life Baptism*, Chunar, November 1834.

83 J. Markby, Chief Justice, Rangoon, appeal, *Fowle vs. Fowle Divorce Petition and Judgment*, 14 September 1878, <http://indiankanoon.org/doc/1231396>, (accessed May 2009).

84 Whilst Mahkin may have been a Buddhist rather than a Hindu, British law classified Buddhists, Jains and Sikhs as members of Hindu ‘sects.’

of Mahkin for many years together, as completely as possible, into the place of his wife. She managed his house, she bought and sold for him, and was ... the "lady of the house"; she bore him children, she left her money in his hands and "helped him generally in his business in everything", and this without any disguise whatever. Mr. Fowle says, indeed, that he had quarrels with her, but he had also quarrels, at least as bitter, with his [British] wife, and perhaps these differences may be taken as making the position more completely quasi-conjugal. ... we doubted ... that Mr. Fowle would have consented to sacrifice a woman who was useful to him, and to whom he had become used, in favour of another who had never made him happy, and to whom years of separation had made him indifferent.⁸⁵

This shows that an irregular, interfaith and interracial relationship such as this one had some standing under British law as a form of marriage. The judge said that 'such convenient arrangements were very common amongst his [Fowle's] class in India' but he also seemed to recognise it [as completely as possible] as a *de facto* marriage of more merit than his *de jure* marriage.⁸⁶

Lastly, there may have been some scope even amongst devout Hindus for the justification of irregular or temporary arrangements between their daughters and Christian men:

...the ruling on 24 March [2010] by the Indian supreme court [sic], which decided there was no legal impediment to co-habitation as the deity Krishna lived with his lover Radha ... In this instance, the actress Khushboo was being accused of criminal behaviour including "promoting immorality" by a group of hardline Hindus. Her "crime": she gave a magazine interview saying that sex before marriage and co-habitation was being practised by a lot of educated Indians.⁸⁷

Such an argument could have been used in the case of a couple whose disparate religions made it impossible to marry formally, such as a Hindu and a European Christian.

OTHER CONSIDERATIONS

Slavery?

Chatterjee asserts many interracial relationships were between master and slave.⁸⁸ It is

85 J. Markby, Chief Justice, Rangoon, appeal, *Fowle vs. Fowle Divorce Petition and Judgment*, 14th Sept. 1878, <http://indiankanoon.org/doc/1231396>, (acc. May 09).

86 According to Bear (Roychowdhury), the court found evidence of infidelity but not of adultery because Mahkin was not a European. Contrary to Bear, I did not find the woman's race to have been used against her and, if anything, she was assessed by the same standards of behaviour to the foul Mr Fowle, as was his English wife. Roychowdhury, *Jadu*, 2001, p. 152.

87 Poorna Shetty, 'Flexible faith: Religion needn't always be a Brake on Progress,' *guardian.co.uk*, published and accessed Saturday 8 May 2010.

88 Indrani Chatterjee, 'Colouring Subalternity: Slaves, Concubines and Social Orphans in Early Colonial India,' in

true that many relationships were not formal ‘marriages,’ and so they are absent from ecclesiastical returns, but, the evidence in wills, baptisms of ‘natural’ children in the ecclesiastical returns, and published work throughout the nineteenth century, suggests that many of these relationships were quite different from the master-slave scenario. Chatterjee claims historians have brushed aside the political and economic context in which Indian women, held in a state of slavery by a European ‘plantocracy,’ were productive labour – producing further generations of slave labour.⁸⁹ I agree that the consequences for the legal, economic and social aspects of colonialism of interracial relationships and the Eurasians they brought into being have been glossed over and romanticised. However, Chatterjee’s portrayal of Indian women with European men, as ‘sex slaves,’ her discussion of which she confines to ‘the first century of colonial rule in India,’ does not seem to me to be universally applicable to such relationships in the nineteenth century.⁹⁰ One cannot counter romanticism with demonisation. The conditions of Chatterjee’s ‘slaves’ are not sufficiently different from those of contemporary Indian or European endogamous marriages, to constitute such an emotive categorisation. Women and children were subordinate to men, except in matrilineal societies, regardless of their status as slave, wife or family.

Indian wives were required to embrace practices such as *purdah*, polygamy, and occasionally *sati* to address their husbands by title, eat only their husband’s leftovers, and produce sons. Their sole purpose, in essence, was to enhance their husband’s experience of this life and the next. Amongst Europeans, a woman gave up all property rights on marriage, frequently paying for the privilege. She too was expected to produce children, or die in the effort, and had no legal rights over her own children. If she showed disobedience, too much emotion or even intelligence, an irritated husband could have her incarcerated for life as ‘insane.’ Husbands had ‘conjugal rights’ making rape within marriage perfectly legal. Whether Indian or European, a man might chastise or violently abuse his wife with impunity. If her husband chose to disinherit her, a European wife could, like Hindu widows, be reduced to menial labour or begging for charity to survive. This is not to say that husbands of either nation did not generally

Bhadra, Gautam, *Subaltern Studies X*, Oxford India Paperbacks, New Delhi, 1999, p. 76. Chatterjee’s argument is not unlike that of Acton who saw prostitution in London as akin to a white slave trade. William Acton, *Prostitution, Considered in its Moral, Social & Sanitary Aspects*, John Churchill, London, 1857.

89 Chatterjee, *Colouring*, 1999, pp. 49-97.

90 Chatterjee does not specify dates but, from her sources, her first century of colonial rule seems to extend into the 1870s.

respect their wives and treat them well, but simply to point out that all women slave or free, were subject to laws that upheld the whim and will of men.⁹¹

Chatterjee also over-states her case in regard to terminology and imbues it with slave significance. Chatterjee sees lock hospital women as slaves because they are described as *belonging* to a regiment but the men *belonged* to a regiment too. Her discussion of the purchase of Indian child-slaves by European ‘rescuers,’ extending into the 1840s, is overly cynical. Children did need to be rescued, and not only in India. Whilst acknowledging that eighteenth century Europeans had kept slaves in India, ‘slave’ was not a legal status that survived far into the nineteenth century. Slavery, as a legal status, was abolished throughout the British empire in 1833,⁹² and, for at least two decades before that, Indian courts had been unwilling to enforce slave contracts.

Class and Social Mores

Besides legal and religious considerations, social mores significantly constrained personal agency but, for different classes of Europeans in India and even the same class, in India rather than Europe, expectations were different.

The median age of marriage in England differed according to class and occupation: in 1884-5 the average age at which miners married was 23.5 years, whereas for professional men it was 29.6 years.⁹³ In India, evidence that European men of all classes were marrying younger caused concern (see last chapter). Women married much younger in India with girls of fourteen frequently discharged from orphanages on marriage. Company regulations and marriage legislation for India acted to constrain early or inappropriate marriages but the fact that such measures were taken shows that there was a continued desire for such marriages. The result, inevitably, was to drive such relationships underground and, if anything, to increase the likelihood of irregular *de facto* marriages.

‘Gentlemen’ were expected to maintain a foothold in metropolitan Britain, to uphold family name, character, public image and the gravitas that attached to their

91 Amanda Vickery’s study of elite women in Georgian England shows that the unhappily married ‘boiled with indignation’ when subjected to masculine tyranny, but, the husband’s will was almost always his legal right. Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman’s Daughter*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2003, pp. 72-81 and 285.

92 The Slavery Abolition Act of 1833 gave manumission to all slaves in the British empire.

93 Ogle, *On Marriage*, 1890.

offices. They cared for their children and provided for their futures and, if they could not, then their colleagues, families and peers stepped forward. The archives suggest that most were willing to conform or at least to be discrete. This was not always the case. Waterfield and Wakefield (see above) went against the flow of public opinion and married Indians. Richard Birch, Military Secretary in Bengal from 1852 to 1861, was married to ‘an aged half-caste of vast rotundity.’⁹⁴ All three held senior posts despite the character flaws shown in their choice of unsuitable wives, but all three could afford to be ‘eccentric’ because they were particularly well connected.

The lower classes were expected to get drunk, to wench, to disrespect and upset the natives, to avoid work, and catch venereal diseases. Archive evidence of these behaviours will not disappoint but, like the assumption that Eurasian women were all ‘easy,’ it rests on an exaggerated stereotype constructed by the Victorian middle-class.⁹⁵ Amongst working-class soldiers and civilians there were respectable, god-fearing men who, contrary to the opinions of their betters, were capable of the full gamut of emotions, who took responsibility for their own actions, and who felt the basic human desire to raise and nurture a family.

Stanley says that knowing the racial sensitivity of contemporary Britain, many with Eurasian or native wives felt they could not return to Britain.⁹⁶ Working-class British society was no less prejudiced than their superiors but, in India, had less reason to avoid intermarriage. Quinney, a contemporary soldier, noted many men had nothing to go home for, their prospects were better in India: ‘Foreign service seems to me to be the most desirable for various reasons ; two of which are, that a soldier is more respected abroad than at home, and generally finds himself better provided for ; in India, especially, this is the case.’⁹⁷ So intermarriage was not necessarily preventing a return home. Rather, settling in India was an attractive alternative; a Eurasian or Indian wife was an additional reason to stay and not the cause of continued exile. There were opportunities for discharged soldiers to gain employment, as subordinates in government and quasi-government employ. A high proportion of Company soldiers had

94 Stanley, *White*, 1998, p. 246.

95 See for example J. S. Buckingham, *Select Committee on Drunkenness*, Evidence Presented to the House of Commons, Benjamin Bagster, London, 1834; Samuel Couling, *Our Labouring Classes: Their Intellectual, Moral, and Social Condition*, Partridge and Oakey, London, 1851; George Huddleston, *History of the East Indian Railway*, Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta, 1906, p. 242; Walkovitz, *Prostitution*, 1982.

96 Stanley, *White*, 1998, p. 237.

97 Quinney, *Sketches*, 1853, p. 145 & 176.

a pre-enlistment skill to offer.⁹⁸ Even skills developed in the army could transfer to civilian employment as gunners and guards on trains, in supervisory roles, and in the police.

Peer Group and Social Pressure

Racist attitudes, present in all classes of British in India, seem to have been a less effective obstacle to interfaith or interracial 'marriage' for the working-classes, and for the best-connected British-Indian families, than amongst those who were most anxious to make themselves a name. Pressure from government, social equals or employers to conform to particular codes of behaviour could only be effective if two conditions were met. Firstly, failure to comply with social norms had to promote fear of adverse consequences. Secondly there had to be exposure to a steady input of drip-fed cultural propaganda. Both of these behavioural modifiers became less effective as they moved to the extremes of British-Indian society.

Financial Constraints

For the upper strata of British men a mistress was not a wife and in writings, thoughts, and the legislation they produced, these men projected their values and morals onto a class who did not necessarily share them. Working-class economic factors would have been enough to restrict most to one woman in one household. If he had a wife already, but chose to live with another, then, in working-class thinking, she became his *de facto* wife and wife number one would chose another man and become his *de facto* wife. Even for a sailor with 'a girl in every port' relationships may have been concurrent over time but they were also in a monogamous cycle since he could not be in two ports at the same time. The upper echelons whose marriages failed could turn to divorce before a second legal marriage. The middle-classes understood discretion and might afford a separate *pied à terre* for a mistress.

EFFECTS ON THE EURASIAN COMMUNITY

The Family

For most of the British elite in India, interracial or interfaith marriage presented moral

⁹⁸ Stanley, *White*, 1998, pp. 12-13.

or social dilemmas, damaged a man's reputation and promotion prospects, and posed regulatory and legislative difficulties. Discretion (or deceit), anonymising Indian wives and keeping them outwith the boundaries of 'society' had a potential benefit, but there remained a moral and practical imperative to acknowledge any children.

It flies in the face of a culture of discretion but many British fathers acknowledged illegitimate children in ecclesiastical records. These are littered with the names and ranks of men christening 'natural' children, who were occasionally European but more often Eurasian. This is a striking difference between metropolitan and colonial culture. In England, Parish Officers often had to chase reluctant fathers and serve Bastardy Orders to get an admission of paternity. Birth registration or baptismal documentation of illegitimate children in Britain usually bore only a mother name and a blank where the father's details should have been, a situation that was reversed in India.

European men were encouraged by both Portuguese and British authorities to formalise their Indian marriages by payments to have their children baptised and raised as Christians.⁹⁹ This is the evidence on which writers base the assertion that intermarriage was, in effect, a deliberate policy.¹⁰⁰ The counter-argument is that the authorities sought not to increase the number of inter-racial liaisons, but merely to acknowledge their inevitability and to support those willing to put the arrangements on a formal and moral basis. Certainly the argument falls flat after 1835 when such payments were abolished.¹⁰¹ But whilst payments were in place they worked in two ways; they provided some financial support for the families of the poorer European men and they tore those families apart.

Orphanages and Education

The practice for elite British-Indian society to part with children at an early age, sending them to Europe for education, is well and sympathetically documented. Officers with Eurasian children, even those not sent to Europe, also parted company at an early age. Chatterjee highlighted European men's legal rights to stipulate the removal of their

99 The Portuguese and the British rewarded their men on each child's baptism. The payment of a 'pagoda,' a Madras coin worth about Rs. 3.5, was sanctioned in a Directors' communiqué to the President of Madras on 8th April, 1687. IOR, Letter Book no.8, pp. 290 & 493, quoted in E.L. Hedin, 'The Anglo-Indian Community,' *The American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 40 (2), 1934, pp. 165-179.

100 Stark, *Hostages*, 1936, pp. 2 & 15; Anthony, *Britain's Betrayal*, 1962, p. 12; Austin D'Souza, *Anglo-Indian education; a study of its origins and growth in Bengal up to 1960*, OUP, Delhi, 1976, pp. 9 -11.

101 Ballhatchet, *Race*, 1980, p. 99.

children from the influence of native mothers, and said it was: ‘commonplace to stipulate that a son born of a concubine be handed over to the Orphan Fund, together with the property, and a pension [was] to be granted to the mother during her lifetime by the Fund.’¹⁰²

Much less has been said about the vastly poorer European soldiers, and their Indian and Eurasian ‘wives,’ who also parted with their children at a tender age. The Bengal Military Orphan Society agreed in 1784 to care for the children of other ranks.¹⁰³ The objectives of the Lower Military Orphan School were:

... to encourage the European soldier to enter the marriage state ; to relieve him from the heavy burden of rearing a large offspring with very scanty means; and by the comfortable maintenance and education of the children, to attach him to the service [Company Army] by ties which did not previously exist; to rescue the children themselves from the vice and intemperance of the barrack, at a tender age in which they have not yet imbibed evil habits ; and having saved them from profligacy, distress, and premature decay, to render them useful members of the community by rearing them up in the principles of the Christian religion, and by educating, and respectably settling them in life.¹⁰⁴

‘Orphan’ included not only children who had lost one or both parents, but any child of an enlisted European soldier. The removal of Eurasian and ‘poor white’ children from their families, sanctioned by Company regulation, was never a subject of legislation; theoretically, it was voluntary, and could be viewed as a Company benefit, enabling soldiers to educate their mostly Eurasian children as Europeans. On death, hardship or a distant posting, this would no doubt have been a lifeline, but orphanage education was both an entitlement and a requirement.

Other ranks, rather than thoughtlessly abandoning their children, were compelled to abandon them into the care of military orphanages. Madras had paid its men a pagoda, on christening of their mixed-race children, since 1678¹⁰⁵ and the Bengal Military Orphan Society adopted a similar practice (for European enlisted men and NCOs), with government contributing Rs.3 per month (from birth) for each child, but, it was on the understanding that their children were to be given up into the care of the orphanage:

102 Chatterjee, *Colouring*, 1999, p. 76. In the case of officers, the handover of children was either a choice, sometimes dictated by economic hardship, or a condition specified in a will after the officer’s death.

103 PWD, India, *Original Papers*, 1784.

104 n.a., *Bengal and Agra Annual Guide and Gazetteer*, pt. III, 1881, p. 331.

105 The pagoda payment was not formally abolished until 1835 in Madras. Ballhatchet, *Race*, 1980, p. 99.

The Orphan School Allowance having been granted by Government, for the Children of European Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates, borne on the School Rolls, upon the express condition of the Children being sent to the Orphan School at the Presidency on reaching the age of three years ...¹⁰⁶

Not only were children and parents often thousands of miles apart but the children were required to stay at the orphanages until the completion of their education. If parents refused to comply:

the Station Committee[was] to enforce the Regulation or to strike the Children off the Rolls; discontinuing in such case to draw their Orphan Allowance, and putting the Guardians or Parents of Children thus unauthorizedly detained beyond the limited age, under stoppages, until the whole Allowance which may have been issued to them be recovered.¹⁰⁷

Families who refused to part with children were placed under considerable financial pressure. The payment from birth to age three, at Rs.3 per month, represented at least Rs. 108 per child to pay back, the equivalent of £437 today.¹⁰⁸ In addition, the parents lost the ongoing monthly Rs. 3, and had to maintain and educate their children without any assistance, from within their own resources.¹⁰⁹ A European infantryman received pay of 1s1d per day in 1856 and his stoppages could amount to a maximum of 7s per week. A rupee was reckoned to be the equivalent of 2s. Thus, rather than abandoning their children without a second thought, soldiers were effectively forced to give them up into the care of a state sponsored institution because they could not afford to chose otherwise.

The idea of removing the children of soldiers, and of civilian poor who might have made similar arrangements through their church, a charity, or a mission, is entirely consistent with similar arrangements in Britain and other colonies. Middle-class concerns for the welfare of children born poor or of mixed race were widespread. Like children and adults admitted to workhouses in England, the right education would

106 'General Order of the Governor-General, (G.O.G.G.), 27 January 1821, Orphan School allowance for Children, how to be drawn,' *The Calcutta Annual Register*, 1821, Part III, Public Documents, Military Regulations, p. 32.

107 *Ibid.*

108. TNA, *Currency Converter*, <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/results.asp#mid>, (accessed October 2009).

109 Government had paid money for children on the orphan school rolls, whether old enough to attend or not, to the secretaries of the state orphan committees. These secretaries then credited the school with the allowance for each child already in the school. Monies for children on the school rolls for future admission, but who were under three years of age and still living with their parents, was payable by the secretaries to the parents. The system was cumbersome, since regiments could be many hundreds of miles remote from presidency towns, and resulted in delays. The change instituted by the January 1821 G.O.G.G. was to redirect the money to regimental paymasters who would be nearer to the men and their families, to speed up its distribution to the parents of younger children.

redeem soldiers' children. They could be 'turned into useful members of society' only by their removal before they began 'imbibing the evils of barrack life.' Thomas Coram's 'Foundling Hospital' had been rescuing the 'exposed and deserted' children of London since 1739, though it had never sought to force parents to give them up. Like the Bengal orphanage, it reared them as Christians and through education, hoped to respectably settle them in life.

The removal of children to orphanages was not, at the time, unique to India but the element of compulsion was perhaps tested there as a similar system is later found, justifying the removal of working-class children in Britain and of Euro-Aboriginal children in Australia. British 'Home Children' were part of a movement that began in 1869 and ended in 1939. During this period 100,000 children were removed from working-class families, orphanages, workhouses and the streets of Britain and sent to Canada. Many more were sent to Australia, New Zealand and Rhodesia. In 1931 the Australian government passed The Aborigines Act which allowed any aboriginal child to be removed from his or her family and given a 'white' education. All 'half-castes' were to be similarly educated and encouraged to marry whites such that by the third generation, no trace of native origin would be apparent. That Act was not rescinded until the 1970s!¹¹⁰ The fact that black and 'half-caste' children in Australia and working-class children in England were subjected to the same treatment shows that Eurasians in India were not removed solely because their mothers were Indian or half-caste, but also because their fathers were working-class.

Rekindling or maintaining family ties after a decade or more of separation was difficult or impossible. Orphanage records, such as those of the Madras military orphanage frequently claimed that mothers' whereabouts, even names, were unknown. Fathers' names and occupations were normally listed but their whereabouts were often 'dead' or 'gone to Europe,' by the time a child was discharged. With such scanty information, the high mobility of troops, and the sheer distances often involved, it would have been almost impossible for many discharged inmates to find their parents.¹¹¹

Mothers had little opportunity to intervene for several reasons. If a soldier's wife

110 Barry McMillan, '24 Frames,' *The Furrow*, vol. 54 (11), 2003, pp. 616-618.

111 In this, the Indian orphanages were quite different from Thomas Coram's Foundling Hospital in London. When children were taken in by that institution, careful records were kept, as were keepsakes, that might aid an eventual reunion of mother and child.

(legal or otherwise), she would rarely have been in a position to pay back the orphan allowance. Her husband's word was law and if he had agreed the terms on which he received the orphan allowance there was little chance she could have changed his mind. In the absence of a father, if she had no documentary proof that she was legally married, the child's mother, an Anglican, had a suitable education and lifestyle, and had sufficient means, she would be very unlikely to gain access to her child.

We can now see that the removal of Eurasian and 'poor white' children was fundamentally different from the middle-class or elite experience of separation. For parents, the Company benefit that assured their children of some kind of care and education would sometimes have been as welcome as the free Company doctor on the other end of a bone-saw. It is true that orphanages relieved financial hardship, were the only safety-net for many military families, and that the army's logistics and efficiency improved by removing child camp followers. This does not alter the fact that the system destroyed families.

If European officers' families suffered because they were separated from children undergoing European education, at least they could anticipate the prospect of being reunited eventually. That was less likely to happen for soldiers families. Their children were to be moulded into second class Europeans. Without their native or Eurasian mothers, they were to imbibe European values and cultural mores. Without their lower-class fathers, they were to be protected from the evils of their barrack-room homes. The skills they were taught were determined by what the government thought would make them useful to it. Since they were also removed from parental influence for perhaps a decade, they also lost their families and with them, much of their own identity.

Obstacles to Marriage

With so many obstacles to marriages between Britons and Indians or Eurasians, removal of many children to the care of orphanages, the anonymising of mothers and the peripatetic nature of many fathers' lives, it is no surprise that family life was markedly less secure in mixed families than those of endogamous European or Eurasian families.

Irregular 'marriages' were as much the result of necessity as simply the result of immorality. Within British India, there were insurmountable obstacles to legal marriages between Christians and Muslims or Hindus. Secular marriages were possible in England from 1837 but in official British India there was no such thing as a secular

marriage until the 1872 Special Marriages Act and, even then, it required both parties to renounce any religious persuasion so it still did not provide any legal way (under British law) for two people professing any faith to marry.¹¹²

Immorality was a concept often used by the British elite to describe the behaviour of their ‘other ranks,’ to characterise interracial relationships, and to assign the presumption of illegitimate ancestry onto the Eurasian population. But, from their own perspective, applying values prevalent in the working-classes in England, the ‘failure’ to marry legally, was an acceptable part of working-class culture. It was also, at least in part, a failure on the part of British-Indian legislators who did not provide the means to realise legal inter-faith marriage.

The Exceptions

Regardless of laws and regulations, relationships akin to marriage were sometimes able to survive as long as formal marriages and ties of kin could be maintained for several generations. Whilst it is difficult to identify which ‘marriages’ survived until death in sources that often fail to name or even mention specific women, examples can be found. Durba Ghosh identified several relationships between European men and Indian women that had grown from master-slave or master-servant relationships into what she termed ‘conjugal’ relationships. Whilst Ghosh sees the men’s claims to hold the girls in great affection as attempts to justify their exploitative behaviour, they could equally well have been genuine expressions of affection.¹¹³ Either way, they were long-term relationships in which men provided for their ‘companions’ as they would have provided for wives. Ghosh describes the equitable fifteen year relationship with Punna Purree that Thomas Pearce described as a marriage. John Deane’s will admitted a twenty year relationship with Mussumaut Matloob Brish.¹¹⁴ The relationship between William Palmer and Faiz Baksh lasted 35 years, that of William Gardner and Mah Munzel Ool Nissa forty.¹¹⁵ None of these appear exploitative.

Stability was a notable feature of some European and Eurasian families of pre-

112 The Special Marriages Act of 1872 demanded an oath that participants were ‘neither Hindu, nor Mussalman, nor Christian.’ This remained on the statute book until replaced by India’s Special Marriage Act of 1954. In the Dutch East Indies (Batavia), mixed marriages involving European men (not women) were sanctioned in 1898. Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*, University California Press, USA, 2002, p. 101.

113 Young men in Britain behaving in the same way with servant-girls and actresses prompted the Hardwick Act of 1753 to prevent young men ruining their family names with unsuitable marriages.

114 Ghosh, *Sex*, 2006, pp. 113-8.

115 *Ibid.*, pp. 119-121; Hawes, *Poor*, 1996, p. 8.

annexation Lucknow and of Hyderabad. Here, Company rules and social pressures that adversely affected the stability of interfaith and interracial families were less effective. Speirs' genealogical study highlights the freedom of choice that the Nawab's award of a large pension gave to one Eurasian family in Lucknow.¹¹⁶ Llewellyn-Jones found that under the nawabs the average stay of Europeans there was fourteen years. Multiple members of the same family were often employed by the durbar, or in running commercial ventures such as 'Europe' shops. Good pay and pensions, granted to those in the Nawab's favour, enabled family stability. Families such as the Bragancas stayed for about 50 years, the Orrs about 60 years and the Quieros family for 115 years.¹¹⁷

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter pays little heed to endogamous marriages between Eurasians. Other than finding where these were registered, finding a clergyman, and the complication that half of Eurasians were Catholics, marriage was relatively unproblematic for endogamous Eurasians to achieve. The problems for Eurasians who married Indians were broadly similar to those of Europeans who married Indians; their relationships would most likely have been *de facto* marriages. Unlike intermarriage between European men and Indian or Eurasian women, the children's nationality would, in law, have followed that of their fathers. Eurasian women who married European men of high social status (rich, very senior and well connected) could expect to become second-class Europeans, excluded from European society, but able to anticipate a decent education for their children and a move to Britain when their husbands returned there. Social pressure worked, with increasing efficiency over the century, to diminish their numbers. Eurasian women who married working-class Britons did not move category in the racial hierarchy. If anything, military regulations, Company and Crown, destabilised their families and enforced a Eurasian identity on their children. Working-class European husbands who chose to stay in India became 'domiciled European,' a category barely discernible from Eurasian.

I do not draw any conclusions about the 60 per cent of Europeans who neither married nor lived *de facto* marriages. Men looking for purely temporary arrangements

116 Speirs, *Wazikadars*, 2008.

117 Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, 'A Fatal Friendship; the Nawabs, the British and the City of Lucknow,' *The Lucknow Omnibus*, OUP, New Delhi, 2001, pp. 27-9.

had plenty of options: they could visit the bazaars, overawe a comely servant, 'rescue' a girl being sold into slavery, pay a mother for her daughter, or find a *bibi* through a servant's recommendation. Many women would also have been satisfied with temporary arrangements or even permanent but limited relationships, especially if their goal was financial security. My interest, in this and the previous chapter, is the 14 per cent of European men in India, likely to have chosen to live as married men with Eurasian or Indian women towards the end of the nineteenth century.

Ongoing intermarriage between Europeans and Indians added new first generation Eurasian lineages to the community and ongoing intermarriage with Eurasians also fed into and out of existing lineages. A British man entering an established Eurasian family reinforced the community's cultural connections to Britishness. Conversely, a British father might also bring connections into a family that would enable a Eurasian son or daughter to leave the community as a European.

Of the 14 per cent, half were in documented legal marriages. The difficulties inherent in divorce meant legal marriages were long-term arrangements; regardless of whether both parties continued to share a home they remained legally bound. The other half, those in *de facto* marriages, has been the subject of this chapter. I have found a myriad of *de facto* marriage forms and, whilst by their very nature specific examples are few and quantitation impossible, I found hard evidence of such long-term relationships. The effect of the peripatetic nature of soldiery was the same for the soldiers in England and India. Naturally the increased mortality rate in India would have cut short many relationships but that does not alter intent. Therefore, I feel perfectly justified in extending the 'marital' behaviour of Englishmen in England to the same men in India.

Whilst my approach to marital behaviour makes no allowance for racism modifying the desire of Englishmen to find wives, I contend that other characteristics, peculiar to women, would have tempered the effects of prejudice. External agency, such as family objections, threats to promotion, or social 'death,' would only ever have modified the behaviour of men who had something to lose. Most did not.

I have shown that for much of the nineteenth century, there was no specific legislation defining what a legal marriage was for India's Europeans and Eurasians. In some parts, namely the three Presidency towns, the *lex loci* was English Law, but only as it stood when the settlements were founded. In the *mofussil* there was no relevant English law until the final decades and, even then, it was unclear to whom it applied. I conclude that interfaith marriage was kept as difficult as possible even though

mechanisms existed in Britain, and amongst some Indian communities, which could easily have facilitated it such as English civil registration after 1837 and Scotland's traditional marriage forms which remained valid until 1939. Muslim imams and communities in India were sometimes able to sanction marriages between 'people of the book.' Admittedly caste laws would have precluded many marriages between Europeans and Hindus and Catholic marriage was a sacrament but, with these exceptions, there need have been no additional impediments to interfaith marriage.

British and European marriage customs and practices have been explored giving an insight into how Europeans actually behaved at home and, by extension, were likely to have behaved abroad. As well as British law, custom and practice, I also looked at some marriage customs acceptable in Indian societies, customs by which Indian and, to some degree Eurasian, women would have been guided. The views of legal and religious authorities on what constituted a marriage, and their attitudes to interracial and interfaith relationships, have been considered. By exploring understandings of the concept of marriage I have shown that there was no one form for all and that relationships not recognised by British-Indian law or by the clergy, could, perhaps should, have been considered valid *de facto* marriages.

I considered the effects all this would have had on Eurasian family life and conclude that, by narrowing the concept of marriage to a degree that did not apply in England, government, deliberately or through omission, discouraged interfaith and interracial marriage. I identify some of the possible reasons. Government acted *in loco parentis* to control the behaviour of young men whose choice of wife would in England have been controlled by parental pressure. In line with orders of precedence, cantonment Acts and less formal social norms such as 'clubability,' control over marriage shored up the racial boundaries between the rulers and the native population and kept British employees' loyalties firmly focused on Britain. Of paramount importance was the need to protect what they imagined to be the superior character of the English nation from racial and cultural contamination.

I identify many conditions under which an irregular marriage would have been held valid in Britain and, had they not involved a European, in India. I therefore conclude that the status of 'mistress,' 'illegitimate,' and even 'orphan,' were unnecessarily imposed on many Eurasian and Indian spouses and descendants. The effect was not only to lower their status relative to their European counterparts, but also to distort family life and bonds of kinship. By making the interracial family a temporary

arrangement in law, bonds of kinship and even nationality were weakened. Taken together with the insistence that Eurasians had to live as Europeans if they had any hope of obtaining work, the separate and shoddy category of the 'Eurasian community' was reinforced.¹¹⁸

Finally, I believe the legal and social difficulties of interracial relationships would eventually have led to unwillingness to risk all on the word of an Englishman, and an increase in Eurasian endogamy. Rather than solely a British tendency over time to shun Eurasians as potential wives, perhaps the fall off of interracial relationships also marked an under-acknowledged example of Eurasian agency. Sometimes, at least in personal relationships, it must have been the Eurasians who turned away from the Europeans.

¹¹⁸ 'Shoddy,' as in the textile, because of the labels attached, the lack of access to a full European education, and the pressure to live like Europeans on a fraction of their salaries. It is the categorisation, like 'untouchable' or 'criminal tribe,' not the people, that was shoddy.

CHAPTER 7: EMPLOYABILITY

INTRODUCTION

A major focus of British concern for Eurasians in the nineteenth century was how to ensure that they became ‘useful citizens.’ There were several reasons for this concern. Firstly, Eurasians should not become an embarrassment by exposing the myth of European superiority. Laws, directives and usages introduced at the end of the eighteenth century had severely curtailed employment opportunities for Eurasians and added to the numbers of people who appeared to be Europeans living in the bazaars of native cities, impoverished, uneducated and unemployed. That could not be permitted to continue because their predicament made it obvious that Europeans were not all ‘heaven born’ *and* because they exposed a ruthless side of the British who did not look after their own. Secondly, Eurasians must not present a challenge to British hegemony. Again this was a two edged problem; either like their counterparts in America they might challenge (or help to challenge) the British for authority in India *or* their poverty and weakness, by demonstrating that Europeans might be defeated, could encourage Indians to rebel. Thirdly, if properly handled, they could prove a useful living lesson to show Indians the advantages to be had from a European style education, Christian morals and cooperation with the British administration. Fourthly, there was an ever increasing diversity and number of jobs within the British sphere that needed to be done, by people whose European blood meant they could be controlled and trusted, without the expense of importing large numbers of British working-class men and women. For these very utilitarian reasons Eurasians had to be prepared to live and work in a manner considered to be appropriate to those of European descent and yet remain excluded from the power and status of the European elite.

At the century’s beginning some Eurasians were being openly raised by their parents to live by Muslim mores and conventions; even when raised Christian, many were schooled to be acceptable and employable (or marriageable) within an Asian milieu and not necessarily to fit in with European society which they might never meet. There were Eurasian and European men in positions of authority in independent Indian states often employed to bring European knowledge to the durbars or to be intermediaries between the state and the Company. Some European and Eurasian fathers

were happy to facilitate a daughter's marriage regardless of the man's ethnicity and to seek positions for Eurasian sons in native durbars or to set them up in business. Eurasian owned businesses and estates could thrive as well as any in native territory; their intermediate ethnicity might even have proved advantageous. Besides such success stories there were also numerous uneducated children in the bazaars, unscrupulous fortune hunters, adventurers and paupers. By the end of the century most of those still identified as Eurasian were either employed under the British or dependent on government or Christian charity.

'Railwayman' was to become the stereotype for those Eurasian men who had been most carefully and deliberately anglicised. Since this was such a culturally and numerically significant sector I explore it in a separate chapter. Military service involved comparatively few Eurasians but was a highly contentious issue throughout the century and so it too forms a separate chapter. In a community required to maintain a European lifestyle on salaries that, whilst often larger than those of their Indian colleagues, were usually smaller than those of Europeans, money earned by women made a significant difference to family income. Women's employment had social significance as well and so this too forms a separate chapter.

This chapter aims to illustrate how towards the start of the century Eurasians could exercise relatively independent agency in the choice of lifestyle and employment and, as the century progressed, in what way that agency was constricted or alienated. I explore this transition in terms of the provision and aims of education and training, increasing British influence over the affairs of native states, and the moulding of Eurasians in British India for, public service employment. Whilst I include lists of occupations, my aim is to explore perspectives on appropriate employment and culture for a community that was effectively forced into a middle-ground, literally and metaphorically, between colonial British and Indian identities.

EURASIAN AGENCY

For most Europeans, at the beginning of the nineteenth century elements of an 'Indian' lifestyle remained superficial and easily discarded when fashions swung against orientalism. Herbert Edwardes may have posed in native clothes and sported a heavy

beard but he remained essentially British.¹ Richard Burton no doubt found it difficult, but even he was able to slot back into a European lifestyle. Some may have needed a little re-education, such as an early ward of the first Lawrence Asylum: ‘a small European boy who was lately found up in Cabal, and is supposed to be the son of some soldier of the destroyed army. He has been brought up as a Mussulman, and made to believe his father was such, and is a very bigot.’²

For Eurasians brought up amongst native communities and with little or no contact with Europeans, it might be argued that the European elements of their lifestyle were the more readily discarded. Early on, many Eurasians lived a lifestyle that freely mixed Indian and European cultural influences. Hyder Jung Hearsey, who Pearce coyly described as a close relation of British Lieutenant Colonel Andrew Hearsey,³ was close to his British relatives and had several Indian wives. He was educated at Woolwich before serving Awadh, the Marathas under Perron, with George Thomas and from 1803 brought 5,000 men he had raised over to the British. The large pension he was awarded stands testimony to the respect he commanded, and yet he had concurrently several Indian wives and as MacMunn recorded: ‘... he had a *Pachesi* board tattooed on his abdomen and ... his wives played *Pachesi* (Homeward Bound) thereon while he slept!’⁴

As the British presence grew and its incursions into India annexed many native states, imposed its ‘protection’ on others, and kept all under scrutiny, freedom of choice in lifestyle enjoyed by both Eurasians and a few Europeans diminished; people were to be native *or* European, not both. Eurasians came under pressure to choose. In Bellary, for example, as British influence and presence grew Mallampalli has said: ‘Race consciousness ... as in other colonial settings, was generated structurally, through the ordering of the urban landscape and through relationships of power and economic dependence.’⁵ But in princely states when British influence was less profound, racial zoning of towns unknown, and Eurasians economically dependent on native employers or customers, there was no reason for them to eschew Indian mores and customs.

1 The National Portrait Gallery, London, holds portraits of Edwardes in Native dress by both Alfred Crowquill and Henry Moseley.

2 William Hodson & George Hodson (ed.), *Twelve Years of a Soldier's Life in India*, John W. Parker & Son, London, 1859, pp. 41-2.

3 Hugh W. Pearce, *The Hearseys; Five Generations of an Anglo-Indian Family*, William Blackwood & Sons, London, 1905, pp. 38-48.

4 George Fletcher MacMunn, *The Martial Races of India*, Sampson, Low, Marston & Co., London, n.d., p. 269.

5 Chandra Mallampalli, ‘Cosmopolitanism in the Hinterland? Bellary District Through Fresh Lenses, 1800–1840,’ *Indian Economic Social History Review*, vol. 46 (2), 2009, pp. 183-210.

Indeed, according to Grey, it was a condition of employment in the Punjab, under Ranjit Singh's patronage, that Eurasians and Europeans adopt the local culture.⁶ Their descendents would, naturally, have been more conversant with Punjabi than European lifestyles.

Saksena's study includes many more Eurasians than Europeans immersed in Indian literary culture; about 90 per cent of that book concerns only Eurasians of various descriptions.⁷ He includes biographical sketches of members of many of the better known and independent Eurasian families, mostly dating from the first half of the century, showing that their lifestyles were as much Indian as European.⁸ James Skinner is a good example. A first generation Eurasian, of Scots-Indian parentage, he served both Marathas and the British as a soldier. He was known by the Mughal title Nasir-ud-Daula 'Sikandar' Bahadur Ghalib Jang and by his British rank Lieutenant-Colonel James Skinner, CB. He was a Christian with (simultaneously) fourteen Indian wives, though his three sisters all married British 'gentlemen.' He spoke English and several Indian vernaculars, and wrote his memoirs in courtly Persian.⁹ He wrote on the castes of India (*Kitab-i tasrih al-aqvam*), on the rulers of the Punjab *Tazkirat al-umara*, and he wrote Persian poetry.¹⁰ He was a philanthropist who built a church, a mosque and reputedly a Hindu temple, and a generous host serving Indian food, offering hookahs and hosting *nauches* for European, Indian and Eurasian guests. Skinner was treated with respect by all communities despite his 'hybrid' race and culture.¹¹ Yet he felt that his race, no obstacle to his Maratha service, was a major hurdle obstructing his progress amongst the British.¹²

Besides using titles rather than names, some Europeans and Eurasians felt free to choose English, Indian or mixed names for their children. A great-grandson of a British

6 Grey & Garrett, *European Adventures*, 1929, p. 12.

7 Ram Babu Saksena, *European & Indo-European Poets of Urdu and Persian*, Newul Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1941.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 30.

9 Skinner's volume of military memoirs *Tazkirat al-umara* was subsequently used as a source for the 2 volume biographical work by Fraser, *Military*, 1851.

10 Saksena, *European*, 1941, p. 95-6.

11 Fanny Eden described him as very black but better society than any of the white colonels she met at Delhi, he was an intimate friend of James Baillie Fraser and his brother, a firm favourite of the British Commander-in-Chief Lord Lake, and the loyalty of his troops was legendary. Janet Dunbar (ed.), *Tigers, Durbars and Kings; Fanny Eden's Indian Journals 1837-38*, John Murray, London, 1988, p. 135. Fraser, *Military*, 1851, vol. 1, introduction and vol. 2, pp. 99-102.

12 Hawes points to the financial success Skinner enjoyed, helped by his status as a native, and implied that his complaints were unfounded. Hawes, *Poor*, 1996, pp. 99-101.

Colonel (William Gardner) and an Awadhi Nawab, was named Suleiman Shikoh Gardner and amongst the Colonel's other great-grandchildren were the brothers Arthur and Jehangir, and Suleiman's sister, known as both Ellen Christina and Ruqqia or Razia Sultan Begum.¹³ The Gardners, with a large estate, an established reputation, sufficient funds, and royal connections, could afford a degree of independence. But later in the century, the Indian and mixed names of the family given in the 1820s and 30s, had given way to more uniformly European names such as James, Maggie, John and Marguerite. The same was true of lesser known families; Padavartha Frederick born at the beginning of the century named his son, born 1840, Peter Kingsley.¹⁴ Whether Eurasians began to feel more empathy with European culture or changed their naming practices to fit a British perception of how Eurasians should behave is unclear.

Eurasian interest in Indian cultures survived longer in native states than under the British. Shadwell Plough, the fourth generation of his family to serve Alwar state, was nominated Captain by the Raja at the tender age of ten, and was still writing Persian poetry in 1897.¹⁵ He was able to hold rank only because he was a native of a princely state and his ties to the British were minimal; Eurasians dependent on British approval for their employment had long since learned to drop or hide Indian cultural links. 'Going native' was a character fault and government employees, at least subordinate ones, had to be of good (i.e. British) character.¹⁶ Lawyer Alexander Speirs, earlier a schoolmaster at the prestigious Oak Grove School in Mussourie, at the turn of the twentieth century felt it necessary to conceal his Eurasian partner and two illegitimate daughters from his employers and most of his family.¹⁷ Hill schools had been established to save European children from supposed physical degradation and Indian immorality, and so public knowledge of his irregular, Muslim family would likely have led to dismissal. Eurasians in British India well understood the part they were required to play; one as close to the European ideal as possible. Medical subordinates in Madras, for example, were required to produce testimonials 'as to character and respectability' and those who achieved the higher ranks were reminded 'they are expected to live as,

13 Saksena, *European*, 1941, p. 103.

14 *Extract from the Register of Marriages*, Church of St. Stephen, Ootacamund, 19th April 1876.

15 Saksena, *European*, 1941, p. 84.

16 'Colonial conditions ... put Indian Civilization itself on trial as the principal impediment to modernity and self-rule.' Nicholas Dirks, *Castes of Mind*, Princeton University Press, USA, 2001, p. 255.

17 Speirs, *Wazikadars*, 2008, pp. 180-82.

and to associate with gentlemen of their own station in life, and at all times to maintain the honor (*sic*) and dignity of their profession.’¹⁸

To hold a Eurasian identity under the British was not simply a matter of ancestry; individuals had to be Christian¹⁹, have a European-style education, be literate, moral, and European in lifestyle and tastes. Maintaining an acceptably European lifestyle might be difficult. Eurasians’ generally lower earnings presented practical dilemmas: ‘So far as he strives to conform himself as the “European Christian” of government and ecclesiastical rule, he has to starve his belly to cover his back.’²⁰ Thurston noted government service Rule 39 under which men in chronic debt should be sacked, and he lambasted the poorest Madras Eurasians, some earning as little as Rs 6 a month, for want of thrift; ‘clothes must of necessity be forthcoming – no mere dhoti, languti, or sari, but clothes of European device, if not of the latest fashion.’²¹ For Thurston, Eurasians were poor and in debt not because they were low paid but because they were stupid, irresponsible and unable to ‘subordinate animal appetite to reason, forethought and prudence.’

If they had been born in native states, or the remote *mofussil*, Eurasians unwilling or unable to work with the British were sometimes able to continue living lifestyles that elsewhere were discouraged or made impossible. In the first half of the century large numbers of Eurasians were living in native states, either the descendents of Europeans who had families locally, or of Eurasians who had sought employment in a native durbar or some other means of livelihood free from the proscriptions of British India. Besides those in or reliant on military service, native durbars employed Eurasians and Europeans in various capacities. An 1848 return lists 29 including eleven military officers and NCOs, two astronomers, eight medical personnel, a civil engineer, two teachers, a forester, an artist, commercial and political agents and an agent in England.²² At that time returns of Eurasians employed by durbars were not consistently demanded but as early as 1830, in a petition to Parliament, community representative John Ricketts

18 William R. Cornish, *A Code of the Medical and Sanitary Regulations for the Guidance of Medical Officers Serving in the Madras Presidency*, vol. 1, Government Press, Madras, 1870, p. 78.

19 Exceptions to this were made for Jews and Parsis who could be treated, for education and employment purposes, as Eurasians.

20 n.a., ‘Anthropology and Eurasians,’ *The Anglo-Indian Journal*, vol. 1 (13), 1898, pp. 3-4.

21 IOR/V/25/900/8, Edgar Thurston, ‘Eurasians of Madras and Malabar,’ *Madras Government Museum Bulletin: Anthropology*, vol. 2 (2), 1898, p. 76.

22 Viscount Jocelyn, ‘Return of Europeans in Military or Civil Employment of the Native States of India,’ *House of Commons Papers, Accounts and Papers*, vol. XLVIII.313 (69), 7 February 1848.

claimed that rules governing the movements of Europeans and Americans were also applied to them meaning they could not be employed without special permission of ‘the Supreme Government.’²³ By the 1880s durbars and British officials were still confused about whom to report and who required government sanction, though durbars were more uniformly expected to request the permission of the British administration before employing anyone who was not wholly native in their own state.²⁴

Eurasians were entitled to live in their natal states provided they could prove they were not British subjects but even so, treaty clauses sometimes forbade not only durbar employment but any work or even residence by foreigners within the state. The meaning of ‘foreigner’ was disputed as was the application of such rules to Eurasians but, when the British complained, native rulers sometimes placed the importance of maintaining peaceful relations above individual rights or treaty stipulations. Hyderabad for example, dismissed a Mr Butler ‘as if the fact of his being Eurasian was sufficient explanation in itself.’²⁵ Conversely, mindful of the Nizam’s power and strategic importance, the British were careful not to appear too proscriptive in their dealings with him; they claimed to be protecting the Nizam from ‘scamps and loafers,’ by insisting on prior British sanction for all European and Eurasian durbar appointments.²⁶

Another legal obstacle to Eurasian agency within native states was the Vagrancy Act of 1849. Intended to discourage European deserters, adventurers, arms dealers, drunks, and undesirables, from becoming an embarrassment by entering native states or overstaying their usefulness in India, it was also applied to Eurasians if that was the interpretation of local British officials.²⁷ It exacerbated the Eurasians’ difficulties of moving between states and provinces to look for work. Rumours that there might be opportunities somewhere between Bombay and Madras, perhaps in the Nizam’s territories through which they had to pass, prompted unemployed men to travel in search of work. Without visible means of support they were, technically vagrants.

23 Stark and Madge, *Worthies*, 1892, p. 50.

24 Government sanction to employ a European or Eurasian in any significant post could only be granted by the Governor-General. Minor posts (such as bandsmen, gardeners and mechanics) could be sanctioned by the provincial Governors. NAI, Baghelkhand Agency/Political/English Files, Procs. no. 23, I, *Annual return of Europeans and Eurasians Employed in Native States*, 1882.

25 NAI, Foreign/Political/ Notes, Procs. no. 29, ‘British Resident, Hyderabad, to Foreign Secretary,’ *Employment of Europeans and East Indians by Native States*, October 1883.

26 *Ibid.*, ‘Foreign Secy. to Offg. British Resident, Hyderabad,’ *Employment*, 29 August 1872.

27 The Act was to apply to ‘all British Subjects’ which terminology was open to interpretation in the case of Eurasians. Cap 17 of Act 1, Victoria 28, *The Vagrancy Act*, 1849.

Forcible removal of those who had committed a crime, stated to be a rarity, could also extend to the unsuccessful, once they had exhausted local charity, and were reduced to begging for their food and drink. Magistrates and Residents complained about shouldering the cost of the removal of vagrants, shunting them onto the next district to save funds, rather than facilitating their removal to a major city where there may have been work to be had.²⁸

In 1830, in an address to Parliament on behalf of the East-Indians of Bengal, John Ricketts outlined specific difficulties affecting Eurasians,²⁹ some caused by the spread of British influence and others that might be solved by that influence. Inconsistent application of restrictions on their employment in the *mofussil* caused difficulties for those seeking employment in native states. There was inconsistency with regard to their status as European or native; those employed by the Marathas Holkar and Scindia in 1803, were to be treated as traitors if they did not return to the British lines, and yet the Company refused Eurasians employment in positions of responsibility because they were the sons of natives. In the *mofussil*, they were Christians but subject to Muslim criminal law, without recourse to the Supreme Court at Calcutta, and they had no civil law whatsoever governing their marriages, inheritance and property. Their professional practises were stymied by European prejudice which meant Eurasian doctors and lawyers, educated in Europe, found it difficult to practise in India though they were able to do so in England. All of this, Ricketts implied, was peculiar to the British; natives did not distinguish between ‘East-Indians’ and Europeans, and other powers (Dutch, French, Spanish and Portuguese) were much more liberal in their treatment (and utilisation) of Eurasians.

James Skinner died in 1841 but already European ancestry, education and lifestyle were conflated (by the British) with competence, respectability, efficiency and trustworthiness. In Skinner, and others such as the Calcutta ship-builder James Kyd, their achievements and wealth were seen as exceptional, not examples of Eurasian potential. In fact, Skinner’s father, a Scots officer with the Company, bound him in 1794 for seven years as apprentice to a printer. His brother-in-law, a ‘gentleman in Company service,’ saved him from the bazaars into which he had retreated by placing him as a writer with a law firm. But for the intervention of his godfather who introduced

28 See NAI, Central India Agency/English files, no.355, 6 May 1867, *Measures to be Concerted With Native States for Removal of Vagrant Europeans*.

29 Stark and Madge, *Worthies*, 1892, pp. 49-54.

him to General De Boigne and Maratha military service, he had been destined to become an anonymous Eurasian *cranny*.³⁰ The British had many such places for Eurasians, increasingly so after 1833, but it was rarely in native states or the army. Eurasians were to become a pool of cheaper, ‘semi-European’ labour for the Raj.

MOULDING USEFUL CITIZENS

Schools and orphanages for the children and descendants of European men had a long but patchy history in India. The Catholic church, various Protestant missions and congregations, and the government of Portuguese India had always made some provision, well-to-do families had kept governesses and teachers for their own children until they could be removed to Europe, and some (employed in native *durbars*) had even entrusted the education of their children to native *munshis*. There were also small schools run by chaplains attached to European regiments. To these the domiciled European and Eurasian communities added, by communal effort, philanthropic individuals and fees, schools to provide a basic British-style Christian education in India at modest ‘free schools’ for the children of poorer Europeans and Eurasians, and, for the better off, an education modelled on English public schools at such Institutions as the Parental Academical, Doveton’s College and La Martinière.³¹ The various Military and Civil Orphan Schools at Bombay, Madras and Calcutta were established specifically for orphans of the *official* British community, soldiers and civil servants, from 1784 onwards with some support from the East India Company. The initial impetus came from serving officers, concerned for their own children, contributing a regular amount from their pay to care for the orphans of their deceased comrades.³² The scheme was later extended to the ‘other ranks’ and funded jointly by government, a contribution from the officer’s fund, the men and charitable donations.³³ The officers felt they and the Company owed a duty of care to children awaiting passage to Britain as well as to

³⁰ Fraser, *Military*, vol. 1, 1851, pp. 106-8.

³¹ The Parental Academical Institution in Calcutta was steered into existence by the Eurasian leader John Ricketts in 1823. Renamed several times, it moved to Darjeeling in 1864. A Eurasian officer who had served Hyderabad, John Doveton, was a prominent philanthropist. With a huge legacy from him in 1855, the Parental Academical was renamed Doveton’s College and a sister establishment, Doveton’s Protestant College, was set up at Madras. La Martinière schools were founded by the legacy of Frenchman Claude Martin who had served Awadh and the EIC. La Martinière, Calcutta opened in 1836 and in Lucknow in 1845. For a detailed history, see D’Souza, *Anglo-Indian*, 1976.

³² PWD, India, *Original Papers*, 1784.

³³ The Orphan funds were widely advertised in both the Indian and metropolitan press and attracted donations from the British in India and at home as well as from wealthy Indians and Christian congregations. Fathers received an allowance from the fund on the understanding that they gave up both child and cash by the time the child reached 3-5 years of age. Gilchrist, *Vade Mecum*, 1825, pp. 208-9.

those who could not be returned to the care of their own extended families back home.³⁴ Bengal's Military Orphan Upper School began in 1784, Madras' Military Orphans' Asylum in about 1789 and the Bombay 'Central Schools' effectively in 1826.³⁵ Each had different criteria for admittance, care varied according to rank, race, gender and legitimacy, and the children were classified accordingly. Places were allocated in separate establishments for boys and girls, for officers and other ranks' children, for the disabled and for babies 'at nurse.'³⁶ Eventually children were placed in apprenticeships or positions that varied according to the status of their fathers.

Officer's children and their mothers received generous pensions and from 1820 were returned to Britain.³⁷ Despite the rule forbidding it, some of those returned to England would appear to have been Eurasians; the five children of Major Henry Bellew were accompanied to England by their mother Anna but she was only permitted to remain until 1856 when her youngest turned eighteen which implied that their mother was either Eurasian or native.³⁸ After Bellew's death in March 1842 his eight year old son Henry was immediately enlisted into the Garrison Band at Madras which also implies that the boy was Eurasian. Presumably the family secured their pension and passage after a few months since he was discharged in October and the family travelled to England. He returned to India in 1855 as an assistant surgeon. His elder brother Patrick had done the same a year previously.³⁹ Company officers' sons could expect to follow their fathers into civil or military service, if they were European and so wished, otherwise pension provision was sufficient to provide an English education appropriate to their class. Early in the century the Eurasians boys could not gain Company employment in India⁴⁰ but were able to work in Britain or elsewhere in the East. Ghosh

34 See PWD, India, *Original Papers*, 1784, pp. 29-30.

35 *Ibid.*, The Madras Orphan Asylum grew on the much older support offered by the congregations and communities of Madras with some help from government dating from about 1787 and property at Egmore granted in 1789 - Frank Penny, *The Church in Madras*, vol. 2, Smith Elder & Co., London, 1904, p. 524-6; The Bombay Education Society began in 1815 but the schools did not open until 1826 - n.a., 'Bombay Education Society,' *The Asiatic Journal & Monthly Miscellany*, vol. 28 (sep), 1829, p. 353.

36 At Madras the disabled were cared for by the Friend in Need Society and babies 'at nurse' were at Poonamallee, IOR/F/4/1558/63799, *Military Male Orphan Asylum*, July 1835, pp. 36-7.

37 The families of covenanted civil servants were also well provided for; 'by marrying a member of the Civil Service, she secured a husband with at least £300 a year, and at his death, would be entitled to a pension from the Civil Fund to the same amount.' W.H. Carey, *The Good Old Days of Honorable John Company*, (first publ. 1882), abridged edition, Quins Book Co., Calcutta, 1964, p. 83.

38 IOR/L/AG/23/7/7, *Alphabetical List of Orphaned Children of Officers of the Bengal Army, 1820-1857*.

39 'Bengal Army Medical List,' *New Calcutta Directory*, Military Orphan Press, Calcutta, 1862.

40 Once the official embargo on their employment was removed social mores maintained the difficulties for Eurasian sons of officers who, if they wished to remain in India, had to accept subordinate posts or find non-government

claims boys of the upper school: ‘... might be sent as writers to Eastern Company outposts such as Bencoolen (Sumatra) or Batavia. The prohibition in 1791 on accepting Eurasians into the Company’s covenanted service did not preclude sending them farther eastward.’⁴¹

The daughters of officers were raised in the expectation of a good marriage to a British civil or military officer. When marriage to Eurasians became a character flaw in men of rank, girls were left indefinitely in the orphanages, sometimes becoming teachers to the younger girls.

The children of ‘other ranks,’ received care and education considered appropriate to their class and race which meant they were being prepared for subordinate positions. Regardless of race, they were prepared for employment in India.⁴² Many of the entries for boys in the Madras Military Male Asylum in July 1835 state that they were being prepared for ‘employment in the public service.’ The Bengal boys in 1784 were expected to stay until they were about 12 when ‘they are fit for, and obtain admission into, the Service, as Privates, Fifers, Drummers, Marines, Overseers, or otherwise.’⁴³ There had to be some flexibility with regard to the age at which a boy was considered ready to leave. In Madras in 1835 fourteen year old Terrence Reynolds, son of a private who had died at sea, was not quite ready: ‘Can read pretty well, knows the fundamentals of Arith. (sic) and a little of English Grammar, writing poor.’⁴⁴ In 1796, the Military Orphan Press was founded [at Calcutta] to train boys in the printing trades. It was hoped that the profits of the press could be used to provide the girl orphans with dowries when they married. Although the press printed much of the government’s materials, it rarely made a profit until it was taken over by the colonial authorities in 1863.⁴⁵ In Madras presidency, the government established the Madras Asylum Press at Egmore in 1800. It printed the Madras Asylum Almanac: ‘a valuable source for the history of Madras.’⁴⁶ Boys, who simply could not be placed, were cared for indefinitely.⁴⁷ William

work.

41 Ghosh, *Making*, 2003.

42 The boys were to be ‘disposed of, either by settling them as Clerks, or binding them apprentice to Captains of Ships, Tradesmen, Handicrafts, &c.’ PWD, India, *Original Papers*, 1784, p. 53.

43 *Ibid.*, p. 53.

44 IOR/F/4/1558/63799, *Military Male*, July 1835, pp. 36-7.

45 Ghosh, *Making*, 2003.

46 A. Ganesan, *The Press in Tamil Nadu and the Struggle for Freedom, 1917-1937*, Mittal Publications, Delhi, 1988, p. 4.

47 Long-term care of the disabled had been anticipated from the start and was in operation (at Madras) in the 1830s.

Pendleton's father had died when he was four years old, his mother was Indo-British and he was legitimate, but after sixteen years in the Madras Asylum, at twenty, he was still there because he was almost blind. Cornelius Fisk, the illegitimate son of a private and a native woman, had been there just as long because he was 'weak and debilitated.'⁴⁸

The children's fathers were all European 'other ranks,' from privates to sergeant majors. Their mothers' race could be European, but most were Indo-British or native and there was a mix of legitimate and illegitimate children. The children of other ranks were often not orphans at all; barrack life, ignorant fathers and native mothers were all considered unsuitable for raising Christian children and, though the fathers' pay was enhanced when they had children, they were required to give them up to the orphan schools.

Ghosh portrayed this system (the education of Eurasian and European children for government employment) as affirmation of 'the class and race positions of the children.'⁴⁹ No doubt that was one aim, but it was also a deliberate nullification of parental and personal agency. A Eurasian boy born to a private soldier was required to be given up to an orphan school and he would (in the early days at least) become a military drummer. For a girl, neither parent nor daughter could decide which British soldier she would marry. Her only other option (in the early days) was to earn her keep as a seamstress. For orphan boys whose fathers were not connected with the military education might be geared towards clerking or trades such as printing and later as railway fitters, as the government deemed necessary. All would speak English, wear European clothing and be Christians. That many parents did not see the orphan school system as an affirmation of anything can be seen from their actions. Some would hide their children with relatives, or would desert their posts, or pretend their children had died rather than part with them.

If duty was a motive for those who set up the orphan schools and advancement a motive for the fee-payers of Doveton's and La Martinière, the government and clergy had distinct priorities for the children. For the clergy, the evangelical lobby and the missionaries, the children had to be educated to become good moral practising Christians. Because the British presence early in the century was largely restricted to

PWD, India, *Original Papers*, 1784, p. 53; IOR/F/4/1558/63799, *Military Male*, July 1835, pp. 36-7.

48 IOR/F/4/1558/63799, *Military Male*, July 1835, pp. 36-7.

49 Ghosh, *Making*, 2003.

those in government service, the military and civil orphanages were influenced by the established Church and were naturally Protestant institutions. The Company did acknowledge that many of its lower ranking servants, especially military other ranks, were Catholics and it paid some Catholic priests to minister to them but provision for Catholic orphans was initially left to that Church.⁵⁰ For government (Company and Crown), the spiritual care of orphans of European descent was of variable importance, but the production of useful citizens who could serve the government in various subordinate roles represented a return on their investment.

The change from Company to Crown rule prompted a restructuring and re-examination of expenditure and expectation, but duty to dead colleagues and their children was still a factor: ‘when the [children] are left helpless, their fathers dying on the battle-field, sealing with their blood their country’s dominion, the charge of such children becomes a sacred duty of the State.’⁵¹

Throughout the century the British presence in India had grown in geographical reach and in political hegemony but also in diversity and numbers. By the middle of the century there was concern for substantial numbers of poor and orphaned children, many several generations removed from their European ancestry, whose future was under scrutiny. Walker estimated that in 1861 there were 2160 such poor or orphaned boys and girls, aged over eight, being educated in India. His suggestion was to remove them all to Britain where they could be ‘well fed, clothed, and educated in a fine healthy part of Yorkshire ...rosy as pippins and merry as crickets.’⁵²

There were other suggestions too. An experiment in 1854 took several Madras orphans, trained as compositors, to Australia as farmers.⁵³ Events in the 1857 mutiny probably led some who presented evidence to the House of Commons during the Fourth Report on Colonisation and Settlement (India) in 1858, to suggest that European military pensioners and their Eurasian families should form the nucleus of colonies dispersed throughout the *mofussil* who could be called to arms rapidly in times of crisis.⁵⁴ The government’s preference, whether because of old fears of racial

50 n.a., ‘Catholicity in India,’ *The Rambler*, vol. 8 (XLVIII), December 1857, pp. 385-99.

51 William Walker, (From the *Times of India*, vol. 25, 1861) reprinted in *Tom Cringle’s letters on practical subjects, suggested by experiences in Bombay*, Education Society’s Press, Byculla, 1863, pp. 111-3.

52 *Ibid.*

53 Henry Cornish, *Under the Southern Cross*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1978, (First Imprint Madras, 1879), pp. 263-70.

54 House of Commons, *Fourth Report from the Select Committee on Colonisation and Settlement (India)*, no. 3, vol.

degeneration in Britain or the pragmatic need to fill subordinate posts with loyal Eurasians, rather than encouraging European settlement, remained educating Eurasians in India to become useful citizens of that country.

Experimental communities were set up eventually and some comprised Eurasians rather than European pensioners. Examples include a colony near Bangalore, at Whitefield, Sausmond, and Duckworth in the 1880s, and later at McCluskiegunge. They would be separate and self-sustaining⁵⁵ but their role as a local source of emergency militia was rather superseded by the spread of the railways, whose Eurasian and European staff provided a well dispersed and highly mobile militia ‘volunteer’ force. But suggestions for Eurasian colonies continued to appear. One helpful lady, writing to *The Deccan Post* in 1898, pleaded with the more energetic amongst the Eurasian community to consider mass emigration to America or Mexico where they would found a colony and get rich. Instead of:

sitting and sponging upon some friend or relative. Such a man in the Western hemisphere is always advised in the Western vernacular to ‘hustle.’ [My] heart longs to free you from the bondage of social distinction that binds your people. In America each one of you have equal rights, moral, social and civil, with every other citizen. As your wife can tell you, it only depends upon individual worth the position a man occupies.⁵⁶

Whilst the century saw the government’s remit expanding to encompass improved communications, transport infrastructure, health and education, all of which increased demand for European expertise, the intention to limit the European presence (especially the working-classes) remained intact. This was achieved through limiting European recruitment to ready trained and experienced men, encouragements for them to return home, such as pensions paid at a relatively young age, free passage, short service enlistment in the army, and short term contracts with railways, alongside the introduction of specialist training within India. But, even after ‘Indianisation’ and the creation of the provincial service in the 1880s, the domiciled Europeans and Eurasians continued to be an important source of subordinate staff. Until the end of the British Raj, they remained either in situations for which Indians were considered to be

8, pt. 2, 1858.

55 IOR/R/2/Box 1/15, File 151, *Settlements of Anglo-Indians and Eurasians near Bangalore*, 1883; IOR/R/2/Box 2/21, File 558, *Settlement of Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association at Whitefield, Sausmond and Duckworth*, 1885; Kuntala Lahiri-Dutt, *In Search of a Homeland: Anglo-Indians and McCluskiegunge*, Minerva, Calcutta, 1990.

56 Mrs John D. Miles, ‘Letter to the Deccan Post,’ *The Anglo-Indian Journal*, vol. 1 (13), October 1898, p. 4.

untrustworthy (such as engine driving) or simply in departments where they represented a European (or part-European) presence. Various discourses, appeals, reports, enquiries, and government sponsored publications give a flavour of the types of employment for which Eurasians were deemed suitable, the pressures and changes over time, and the effects of and responses to race-based employment strategies.

EMPLOYMENT IN BRITISH INDIA

John Ricketts' evidence to Parliament, delivered in March 1830 described the Calcutta community of his day.⁵⁷ He confirmed that the majority of the community at Calcutta were employed as clerks in government offices but he believed there were as many as 500 Eurasians who, but for the proscriptions barring them from holding covenanted or commissioned posts, were perfectly qualified for more responsible Company employment. He gave examples of Eurasians still in Company service and occupying commissioned and covenanted posts, and a handful in the 'King's Army,' taken into the service before the proscriptions of the 1790s.⁵⁸ There were also many who had left Maratha armies to serve the British in irregular units, and in the more recent Nepal war. Outside of government employment, he named several successful businesses that were Eurasian owned and run⁵⁹ and mentioned Eurasians employed as preachers, missionaries, architects, indigo-planters, carvers, gilders, and teachers.

If as Hawes suggests, for the British in India 'official employment took the place of birth, wealth and land at home'⁶⁰ as a signifier of self-worth, then it is unsurprising that educated Eurasians constantly agitated for greater inclusion and opportunity within government employment. A British officer talking about Indian appointments (those made in England, but the sentiment holds true for appointments in India too) said:

57 See Stark and Madge, *Worthies*, 1892, pp. 49-54; J.W. Ricketts, *Report of Proceedings Connected With the East Indians' Petition to Parliament Read at a Public Meeting Held at Calcutta Town Hall, March 28 1831*, Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, 1831; Hansard, 'Petition of Indo-Britons to House of Commons,' *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, vol. XXIV, May 4th 1830, pp. 377-387.

58 These were Colonel Sir Robert Stevenson, Quartermaster-General of the Bengal Army, Major Hearsey of the Bengal Cavalry, Mr James Achmuty of the Civil Service, and Major Deare, Captain Rutledge and Lieutenant Mullins, all of the Royal Army. Stark and Madge, *Worthies*, 1892, p. 51; Hawes, *Poor*, 1996, p. 158 & 169.

59 Traders and mariners in the Calcutta-China trade, Baretto's House, Lackersteens, Brightmans, Bruce, Vrignon, and Allens, besides the Kyd Brothers' dockyard - Stark and Madge, *Worthies*, 1892, p. 52. Eurasian owned businesses would later suffer in competition with increased commerce and trade in the hands of Europeans who had stronger connections to London and who were members of racially exclusive Chambers of Commerce. See R.K. Renford, *The Non-official British in India to 1920*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1987.

60 Hawes, *Poor*, 1996, p. 36.

I hear that the new system for India is to throw open Addiscombe and Haileybury to public competition : that this public competition will be fair and open, and free from jobbery and patronage, I suppose no sane person in the 19th century, acquainted with public morals and public bodies, would believe for an instant.⁶¹

Nevertheless, Eurasians were an important part of the machinery of the state in the mid-century and until Indianisation began to take effect. Forbes-Mitchell, writing about the Eurasian poor, said in 1900:

in 1857 beyond the Presidency Towns ... the majority of the [Customs & Surveys] posts now held by Natives were held by Anglo-Indians & Eurasians, & many of those posts carried good salaries, ranging from Rs.150 to Rs.500 per month.; ...the Rupee was then worth 2/2d, whilst living in the upper provinces cost less than half what it does now.⁶²

Their place in the developing Indian railways is considered in a separate chapter (following) because ‘railway people’ became such a complete alternative identity for a vast swathe of the Eurasian community, to the extent that it replaced the early nineteenth century stereotype of the Eurasian *cranny*. The occupations filled by Eurasians were, in fact very diverse. The crannies remained, although pressured by Indian competition once Macaulay’s education reforms⁶³ and ‘Indianisation’ of the Provincial service began to produce results. In 1840 90.56 per cent of clerks in Calcutta’s government offices had been Eurasians and only 0.44 per cent were Indian. By 1890 only 18.17 per cent were Eurasians and 81.85 per cent were Indian.⁶⁴ But the community’s flexibility is illustrated by a description of the Madras community in Risley’s 1901 Indian Census report:

The most noticeable point about the statistics is the great variety of the occupations in which Eurasians are engaged. None of the other communities selected approach them in this respect. The list gives 52 callings followed by seven persons or more and 6.3 per cent. of the community live by others which are followed by even less than this number. Excluding subsistence on endowments and scholarships (most of the persons comprised under which are the inmates of the orphan and other asylums ...), there is no occupation in the list which is followed by as many as 8 per cent. of the community. The popular idea that

61 ‘Camp, near Peshawur, August 6th, 1853,’ reprinted in Hodson and Hodson, *Twelve Years*, 1859, p. 136.

62 W. Forbes-Mitchell, *The Gospel of Regeneration of the Anglo-Indian and Eurasian Poor*, Thacker, n.p., 1900, p. 100.

63 Henry Sharp (ed.), *Selections from Educational Records*, Part 1, (1781-1839), Superintendent of Government Printing, Calcutta, 1920, (Reprint: NAI, Delhi, 1965, pp. 107-17).

64 Coralie Younger, *Anglo-Indians: Neglected Children of the Raj*, B.R. Pub. Corp., Delhi, 1987.

Eurasians are mainly employed as fitters or clerks or on the railways is therefore clearly inaccurate.⁶⁵

Accountant	Jewel-smith	Railway: Auditor
Attendant lunatic asylum	Joiner	Railway: Chargeman
Baker	Labourer	Railway: Engine-driver
Bandsman	Livery-stable keeper	Railway: Engineer
Bill-collector	Mechanic	Railway: Goods-clerk
Blacksmith	Moulder	Railway: Guard
Boarding-house keeper	Painter	Railway: Locomotive inspector
Boatswain	Petition-writer	Railway: Parcel clerk
Boilersmith	Compositor	Railway: Prosecuting inspector
Carpenter	Compounder	Railway: Shunter
Chemist's assistant	Contractor	Railway: Signaller
Clerk, government	Police inspector	Railway: Stationmaster
Clerk, private	Porter	Railway: Store-keeper
Commission agent	Printer	Railway: Ticket-collector
Copper-smith	Proof-reader	Railway: Tool-keeper
Crane attendant, harbour	Reporter	Railway: Block-signaller
Draftsman	Rivetter	Railway: Carriage-examiner
Electric-tram driver	Saddler	
Electric-tram inspector	Schoolmaster	
Engine-driver, ice factory	Sexton	
Evangelist	Spring-smith	
Filer	Stereotyper	
Fireman	Steward	
Fitter	Telegraph-clerk	
Hammerer	Watch-maker	
Harness-maker	Watchman	

Three years before, Thurston's study of Madras Eurasians listed the occupations of a

⁶⁵ Risley and Gait, *Census Of India*, 1901, p. 219.

⁶⁶ IOR/V/25/900/8, Thurston, *Anthropology*, 1898, pp. 74-5.

sample of 130 men. There were 69 distinct occupations (see table 8 below).⁶⁷ Elsewhere in Madras Presidency, Thurston found less variety in their occupations; in Calicut his sample of 96 men (including 29 tailors) followed eighteen occupations⁶⁸ but even that statistic shows flexibility. Stereotypes such as ‘Eurasian fitter’ were locus specific; the fitter in Madras, the tailor of Calicut, maybe the clerks of Calcutta, and have no more validity than looking at an army camp and stereotyping the British as soldiers.

Even though Eurasians diversified greatly in the nature of the work they undertook, it cannot be denied that, for many, government and the public services remained both the major employer and the goal. Diversification in the work done did not mean a move away from government sponsored employment. Firstly, Eurasians were educated to believe that British rule was essential to India and that the public services and utilities being developed were to everyone’s benefit, bringing modernity, wealth and progress.⁶⁹ Secondly, the government wanted (needed) to employ them. Statistics on Eurasian employment in 1931 (see table 9 below) show how Eurasian employment dovetailed with the needs of government. For employment, transport was the huge growth sector for men as teaching (under liberal arts) was for women.

Continued reliance on government employment made the community particularly vulnerable to the effects of change in British policy and attitudes. Caplan noted: ‘Anglo-Indians were ...alternately preferred and promoted or thwarted and victimized. This kind of oscillation was especially evident in the occupational realm.’⁷⁰

Risley’s 1901 Census report states that ‘practically the whole Eurasian community can read and write in English.’ The report also shows that almost 30 per cent of Madras’ Eurasians were illiterate, a contradiction that could be explained away because ‘Native Christians have in some cases returned themselves as Eurasians.’ There was also a regional difference in the occupations followed by Eurasians, with those of Madras and the Malabar *mofussil* providing ‘most of the tailors, carpenters, agriculturalists and coffee estate employés [sic] in the list.’⁷¹

67 IOR/V/25/900/8, Thurston, *Anthropology*, 1898, pp. 74-5.

68 *Ibid.*, p. 98.

69 Stark’s short history schoolbook is an example of the way respect for the Raj was taught in English-medium schools. Fisher reiterated this point and its effects on the aspirations of many Indians early in the nineteenth century. Stark, *India*, 1914; Michael H. Fisher, *Counterflows to Colonialism: Indian Travellers and Settlers in Britain 1600-1857*, Permanent Black, Delhi, 2004, p. 338.

70 Lionel Caplan, ‘Colonial & Post Colonial Hybridities: Eurasians in India,’ *IIAS Newsletter*, no.30, March 2003, http://iiias.nl/iiasn/30/IASNL30_16.pdf, (accessed December 2007).

71 Risley and Gait, *Census Of India*, 1901, pp. 168, 181 & 219.

Occupation	Males per cent	Females per cent
Agriculture	3.05	2.38
Exploitation of minerals	1.70	0.21
Industry	10.26	6.89
Transport	32.07	4.61
Trade	9.03	6.33
Public force ⁷³	5.35	0.12
Public administration	9.89	3.81
Professions and liberal arts	8.07	38.15
Own means	4.75	6.72
Domestic service	2.93	6.61
Insufficiently described, unproductive or unaccounted for	12.86	24.16
Totals	100	100

Beyond the nineteenth century the liminal position of Eurasians, outside or rather caught between the main polarities of ruler and ruled, trapped many in an unenviable position. Their association with the European community meant concessions designed to appease or de-fuse nationalists did not include them. Their status as statutory natives of India also excluded them from the benefits attached to being British. The use of the community made by the state in times of unrest further alienated them from other Indian communities. The most damaging problem for the community was their ill-defined and flexible dual status at a time of enmity between the colonial British and the Indian peoples. This was made explicit in a Commons debate in 1925. The Under Secretary of State for India, when asked to clarify the status of Eurasians (by then termed Anglo-Indians) answered:

For purposes of employment under government and inclusion in schemes of Indianisation members of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled-European community are Statutory Natives of India; for purposes of education and internal security, their status, so far as it admits of definition, approximates to that of European British Subjects.⁷⁴

⁷² Goodrich, *Making*, 1952, p. 267.

⁷³ 'Public force' would have included police, militia and the army.

⁷⁴ Earl Winterton, 'House of Commons Debate, 21 December 1925;' *Hansard*, vol. 189, cc1925-6; Sujit Mukherjee,

He admitted that defining the community had ‘always been a matter of some difficulty’ but would neither admit it caused the community any difficulty, nor was he prepared to discuss the effect it had on their eligibility for the Indian Medical Service.

The 1880s’ reforms created the provincial service as a separate arm of government in which Indians were to play a major role in their own government. The imperial service, recruited in the UK and with the British monopolising all the senior grades, remained intact. The provincial service was numerically dominated by Indians but still largely headed by Europeans. Since it was open to all, some Europeans who failed the entry examination in the UK, travelled to India, crammed, and sat local examinations there. In 1887 the House of Commons was reminded that the promise of employment irrespective of colour or caste was not being met. Appointments to superior posts in the Registration, Telegraph, Police and Public Works Departments, went almost exclusively to: ‘persons of British birth, whose only qualifications appeared to be that they were poor relations of high officials....promotion is alleged to be by favouritism, and to the almost entire exclusion of Eurasians and Natives from higher posts.’⁷⁵

	Year	Indians	Eurasians
Deputy Magistrates and Deputy Controllers	1862	145	67
	1922	319	12
Sub-Judges and Munsiffs	1862	56	23
	1922	293	0

Eurasians were once again in a difficult position because, as one author noted, Indianisation, meant *de-Anglo-Indianisation*.⁷⁷ In 1857 most customs and surveying posts in the *mofussil* were monopolised by Eurasians, by 1922 the majority were held by Indians.⁷⁸ By 1922, the Bengal Provincial Service employed 3,030 (91.5 per cent)

Forster and Further: the Tradition of Anglo-Indian Fiction, Orient Longman Ltd, Bombay, 1993, p. 169.

⁷⁵ Mr Bradlaugh was M.P. for Northampton), ‘House of Commons Debate,’ *Hansard*, vol. 321, c66. 9th September 1887,’

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ Anthony, *Britain’s Betrayal*, 1962, p. 3.

⁷⁸ Forbes-Mitchell, *Gospel*, 1900, p. 100.

Indians, 198 British (6 per cent) but just 75 Eurasians (2.5 per cent).⁷⁹ It was not simply rapid expansion, beyond the rate of expansion of the Eurasian community; Younger found (table 10) that absolute numbers decreased too, as the number of Indians rose.

Dual status did not help Eurasians to hold onto jobs in competition with Europeans or Indians. This was understood in the 1880s but the India Office, even in 1925, found no evidence that Anglo-Indians (Eurasians) or domiciled Europeans ‘suffer any disabilities’ because of their classification.⁸⁰ Caplan had more success in explaining why the Eurasian community appeared to be suffering downward social mobility:

... in the ‘early’ colonial period, Anglo-Indian males were relatively free to follow a range of activities. For a time from the end of the eighteenth century they were excluded from many civil and most military services under the government, but by the middle of the nineteenth century they were allowed favoured if restricted access to positions of intermediate responsibility in central government sectors (such as railways, telegraphs, and customs) and, from the early years of the twentieth century, in the wake of nationalist pressures, they were increasingly exposed to competition from members of the wider society in virtually all areas of their ‘traditional’ employment spheres. These last developments exacerbated the extent of poverty within the Anglo-Indian fold.⁸¹

THE POOR, PAUPERS AND VAGRANTS

Arnold notes a tendency in Raj historiography to portray the European community as consisting ‘almost entirely of civil servants, army officers, planters and businessmen’ when in truth, it was very different. He defined nearly half the European and Eurasian population of India as poor whites and divided these into three categories:

1. Soldiers and sailors
2. Semi-skilled workers, intermediaries in government departments, private European enterprises and those in some kind of service relationship with the dominant whites.
3. Orphans, vagrants, prostitutes, convicts and lunatics.⁸²

I would add that there is a tendency in Raj historiography to ignore Eurasians altogether, to include them as a footnote, or to unwittingly accept a Victorian perspective of their insignificance. Arnold is an exception, but when concentrating on the Eurasian community, in which considerably more than half were both poor by Arnold’s categorisation, and second class white-*ish*, it is even more important to explore

⁷⁹ Younger, *Anglo-Indians*, 1987, Appx.

⁸⁰ Earl Winterton, ‘House of Commons Debate, 21 December 1925,’ *Hansard*, vol. 189, cc.1925-6.

⁸¹ Lionel Caplan, ‘Colonial & Post Colonial Hybridities: Eurasians in India,’ *IAS Newsletter*, no.30, March 2003, http://ias.nl/iiasn/30/IASNL30_16.pdf, (accessed December 2007).

⁸² David Arnold, ‘European Orphans and Vagrants in India in the Nineteenth Century,’ *Journal of Imperial & Commonwealth History*, vol. 7 (2), January 1979, pp. 104-127.

the world of the poor and the pauper.

Despite infrastructural development, ‘reserved’ occupations, government measures to improve access to education and training for Eurasians and ‘poor whites,’ and community self-help initiatives, the 1901 Census of Madras indicates that poverty was still a substantial problem in the Eurasian community: ‘... 17.8 of the ‘actual workers’ in the list live on endowments, on their relatives and friends, in convents, in lunatic asylums, in jail or by begging ...’⁸³ Bombay also still had a problem with poverty and unemployment for which churches, the Anglo-Indian Association and government offered practical help; the Association had an ‘Anglo-Indian Temporary Relief fund – to provide suitable clothing for those found employment by Council - and who are in straightened circumstances.’⁸⁴ Poverty in Bengal, particularly Calcutta, had always been a feature of the ill-educated ‘poor white’ communities but offices in the Raj’s capital had provided significant employment for the educated. By the end of the century, the availability of cheaper Indian clerks, the much derided Bengali *babus*, spread unemployment to an even broader section of the Eurasian community.⁸⁵

I have discussed (see Eurasian agency, above) the impact of the Vagrancy Act of 1849 on Eurasian vagrants seeking work.⁸⁶ Added to this, were difficulties presented by rulebooks, laws and social pressures that sought both to uphold a divide between Europeans and the ‘degenerate half-caste,’ and to ensure that Eurasians’ European descent and lifestyle would be rewarded. There was not much room for Eurasian agency or self-help initiatives within the British pale. But those who chose, willingly or unwillingly, to live amongst Indians, by Indian standards, doing ‘native’ work for Indian pay, in solving their own problems, *became* a problem; they had let the side down.

From the end of the eighteenth century when exclusion began to force the community into being, and onto a path of downward social mobility, closing doors into the better paid jobs, the racial divide became an economic reality. Eurasians were not just a separate racial category but were, as a community, confined wholesale into a pool of working-class labour. From the outside, portrayals of Victorian working-class

83 Risley and Gait, *Census Of India*, 1901, p. 219.

84 Editorial, ‘Anthropology & Eurasians, & Relief fund,’ *The Anglo-Indian Journal*, vol. IV (3), 1901, p. 6.

85 Younger, *Anglo-Indians*, 1987.

86 The act was to apply to ‘all British Subjects’ which terminology was open to interpretation in the case of Eurasians; Cap 17 of Act 1 Victoria 28, *The Vagrancy Act*, 1849.

communities appear undifferentiated, except for the division into deserving and undeserving poor but, from within, self-worth and wealth competed and did not always equate. This was how some in the Eurasian community were able to accept and perhaps welcome the move from the stereotypical *cranny* to re-cast their working identity as railwaymen or public servants, taking pride in technical skill or in providing a public service. Nor was it always clear further down the social scale that it was more acceptable to live on charity than to live even as a native might, building his own home, however humble, or retaining both family and independence. James Skinner came from a well connected family but his early choice to live in the bazaar, performing odd jobs for a pittance, was more palatable to him than the printer's apprenticeship his father had arranged, and that was one of the stock trades to which Europeans believed Eurasian boys were best 'suited:' 'I worked with anyone who would hire me well. For several days I got my living by carrying loads, or pulling the driller for the native carpenters, at the rate of two annas a day ... thus supporting myself.'⁸⁷ Skinner did not intend this as a permanent situation, he was trying to run away to sea, but nor was he too proud to work in the bazaar doing whatever he could. The concerns frequently expressed about Eurasians and poor whites living like natives in the bazaars show that, whether through choice or necessity, he was far from unusual. Men and families who survived on this basis were not paupers but poor and an embarrassment to British imagining of the European male.

Prostitution was a state whose definition was contentious, and tended to be an almost interchangeable label with 'working-class woman' in England, and 'Eurasian woman' in India. In England a paternalistic and dogmatic middle-class decided who was and was not a prostitute.⁸⁸ But in India, all three presidency capitals were seaports, a great many towns had garrisons, or highly mobile railway traffic-department men. One might, therefore, expect some Eurasian women to live by the same 'serial monogamy' that characterised a section of the working-classes in similar towns and ports in Britain.⁸⁹ Some undoubtedly were prostitutes⁹⁰ but many of these women were neither that nor paupers, but pragmatic working-class women⁹¹ living by working-class

⁸⁷ Fraser, *Military*, vol. 1, 1851, pp. 106-7.

⁸⁸ Walkovitz, *Prostitution*, 1982, pp. 199-204.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 199-204, and *Europeans and Marriage*, this thesis,

⁹⁰ Ballhatchet, *Race*, 1980, p. 133.

⁹¹ Because many Victorian women were reliant on a husband to provide for them, when he was moved on, if she

mores that embarrassed a middle-class morality that, in India, had been transformed into a racial hierarchy.

Poverty was often blamed on the individual but sources from the 1820s and 1830s on indigent British subjects at Anjengo near Cochin, illustrate the dramatic effects Company policy and political events could have on a community. The Company had set up a factory there in 1693, hoping to break the Dutch monopoly and profit from direct trade in locally grown pepper.⁹² Wars disrupted trade for many years until in 1813, after almost 120 years, the Company closed its factory. The British deserted the town, leaving an enlarged population, including many Eurasians, destitute of commerce.⁹³ Within months, the Resident at Travancore, began personally funding poor relief of Rs. 80 a month, for about sixty destitute British subjects, as well as two schools and a native doctor, expenses that fell to government only from 1827.⁹⁴ Anjengo had rapidly become a backwater with serious health issues:

Anjengo dates its fall from the removal of [the factory] since which time it has been sinking rapidly from the absence of all commerce and the consequent total want of employment for the population and it is perhaps impossible to convey a faithful idea of the present state of disease, poverty and filth.⁹⁵

That government agreed to continue payments⁹⁶ is of interest because it was so unusual. Two lists of recipients of government aid, a total of 60 adults and 27 children, were prepared. In both, almost all bear Portuguese names. They were listed by the Resident in 1827 as either 'common poor' or 'secret poor.'⁹⁷ For the former, no details beyond names, and the amount paid to each of them, are given. The 'common poor' included men, women and children, and were mostly listed without surnames. The 'secret poor' were all female, many of them elderly (eight were aged between sixty and eighty), or listed with dependent children. Of 58 'secret poor' no fewer than nineteen were described as widows, seventeen as children, nine as orphans plus two church

could not follow, she would have to make alternative arrangements with another man.

92 Anjana Singh, *Fort Cochin in Kerala, 1750-1830; the Social Condition of a Dutch Community in an Indian Milieu*, Brill, Leiden, 2010, p. 20.

93 Anjengo, in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, vol. 5, 1908-1931, p. 384 & vol. 24, p. 314.

94 IOR/F/4/1174/30663, *Continuation of Certain Charitable Payments to Indigent British at Anjengo, 1827 – 1829*, pp. 6-7.

95 A.S. Nair & C. Logan, 'Colin Paterson and his Medical Report of Travancore (1842),' *Journal of Kerala Studies*, vol. XXXIII, 2006, pp. 82-113.

96 The payments were questioned again in 1830 but were still in place in 1842. *Ibid.*; IOR/F/4/1351/53620, *How it Happens That Sixty Destitute British Subjects are to be Found at Anjengo*, 1830-31.

97 IOR/F/4/1174/30663, *Continuation*, 1827 – 1829, pp. 6-7.

beggars and a ‘Musselwoman.’ The remaining eleven were not described. Almost all ‘secret poor’ had Portuguese forenames but unlike the ‘common poor’ they also had surnames. That the Resident, and later the Company felt an obligation to support these ‘poor’ indicates that they were somehow considered ‘deserving’ and, ‘secret,’ since all were women and children, may indicate they were either the families of dead or departed company servants or the effluvia of a redundant military brothel.⁹⁸ Nearby Cochin also suffered economic depression as a result of Company policy. Dutch Eurasian families there, who had sworn allegiance to Britain on the understanding that they could continue in private trade, were reduced to penury by the destruction of the fort and diversion of shipping elsewhere. Those who asked for permission to move to Serampore were refused travel permits. Eurasian poverty in Anjengo and Cochin was not the result of their own ineffectiveness, but of Company policy.⁹⁹

Eurasian poverty was also, often, a matter of perspective; by comparison with the European community rather than with the mass of the people of India. If Europeans were innately superior, and Eurasian shared a variable share of that genetic advantage, then there was something inherently wrong with the ‘half-castes’ to explain their poverty. In 1898 Thurston asserted ‘the evil of early marriage,’ a proposition countered by the Bombay Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association ‘–we believe this is open to question. It is challenged, if not flatly denied, by the Pastors of these poor people.’ They found Thurston’s suggestion of celibacy as a cure for hoards of children brought up in poverty, hunger and dirt ‘strangely flippant.’¹⁰⁰ The Association did not deny that poverty was a major problem and it did apportion blame to some members of the community. It counselled against the ‘man-nets’ of costly court-cases, living beyond one’s means, and alcohol abuse. This was a call for self-help and temperance to cure poverty.¹⁰¹ But Thurston’s enquiry did not stop at cultural contributors to the problem of Eurasian poverty. Military service was often posited as the cure-all and Thurston’s subjects were assessed, physically measured and, by extrapolating his findings to the whole, the Eurasian community was pronounced inadequate, physically and inherently,

98 Patterson reported endemic and chronic leprous and venereal ulcers around Travancore. He blamed the prevalence of virulent syphilis and gonorrhoea on the Rajah of Travancore’s sepoys, though they were not deployed at Anjengo. Nair and Logan, *Colin Paterson*, 2006.

99 Anjana Singh’s excellent book exploring the fate of Cochin under the British has recently been published. Singh, *Fort Cochin*, 2010.

100 IOR/V/25/900/8, Thurston, *Anthropology*, 1898; n.a., ‘Anthropology & Eurasians,’ *The Anglo-Indian Journal*, vol. 1 (13), 1898, p. 3.

101 n.a., ‘Anthropology & Eurasians,’ *The Anglo-Indian Journal*, vol. 1 (13), 1898, p. 1-2.

to the task of military service. Even the Eurasian insane were portrayed as an inevitable consequence of miscegenation.

Insanity was believed to be especially prevalent amongst Eurasians and Parsis. Measured in the 1891 census, the average rate of insanity amongst Eurasian men was 112 in 100,000 compared to an average for India of 33 in 100,000 and for Eurasian women, the insanity rate of 69 in 100,000 compared with an Indian average of 21 in 100,000. Both Eurasians and Parsis were literate, including the women, and both had ‘a distinct and predominant foreign strain in their blood.’ This was not all bad news, however, since it placed them between the ‘high ratios ... that prevail in Western countries and the dead level of sanity amongst the masses of the ... East.’¹⁰² European sanity statistics were not measured in India because any sufferers were routinely shipped back to Europe to ‘recover their sanity’ and to keep them beyond the eyes of natives.¹⁰³ Class was an issue since an expression of anger from an official or his *memsahib* might be interpreted as irritation and the same anger from an enlisted man could be evidence of an unsound mind.¹⁰⁴ Eurasian insanity had a cultural element too. The charge of lunacy against David Dyce Sombre in 1840s’ London hinged on whether he was predominantly Asiatic or European; his belief that his wife was having affairs (considered impossible for a high-born European woman) would be entirely normal in an Asiatic, but profoundly irrational (and insane) in a European.¹⁰⁵ Similarly, religion played a part; Mrs Jane Cheetham, the ‘half-caste’ widow of a British officer, also in London, was declared a lunatic and incapable of managing her own affairs because she professed beliefs consistent with Roman Catholic dogma; that her husband’s death was only a temporary separation.¹⁰⁶ It was relatively easy for Englishmen to have troublesome people locked up with little proof that they were insane.¹⁰⁷ From perceptions of the Eurasian as ‘other,’ with race, culture, class and religion (Catholicism) as markers of difference, to the Eurasian as mad, was not a great leap for a Victorian mind to take.

102 Baines, *Census of India, 1891*, 1893, pp. 241-2.

103 IOR/F/4/1311/52160, ‘Bengal Medical Board Suggestion that Experimental Sanatorium at Cherrapunji be Used Only by Eurasian and Native Insane not Europeans - Report of Asst Surgeon Wm Rhodes, 1830 – 1832, pp. 7-18.

104 Waltraud Ernst, & Detlef Kantowski, ‘Mad Tales from the Raj,’ *Society*, vol. 22 (3), 1985, pp. 31-38.

105 See David O. Dyce Sombre, *Refutation of the Charge of Lunacy*, n.p., Paris, 1849.

106 Edmund Burke (ed.), ‘Commission of Lunacy to Inquire into the State of Mind of Mrs Jane Cheetham,’ *Annual Register*, vol. 85, July 1844, p. 11.

107 Peter McCandless, ‘Dangerous to Themselves and Others: The Victorian Debate over the Prevention of Wrongful Confinement,’ *The Journal of British Studies*, vol. 23 (1), 1983, pp. 84-104.

Gilchrist pronounced on the Eurasian daughters of officers in the Calcutta orphanages of 1825, strongly advising his readers against marrying them: ‘it is probably owing to reflection, as much as to their arriving at puberty, that so many of these unfortunate girls become insane.’¹⁰⁸ An anonymous novelist was more insightful:

A thousand slights,—an infinite succession of those butterfly-kicks which wear the spirit to death ... brought constantly before her the misfortune of her birth. Enchained by the strong links of prejudice, even the intelligent and the good looked down on the girl as one of a race born of shame.¹⁰⁹

It did not occur to many Europeans who observed Eurasians that, rather than suffering from racial degeneration, some may have been driven mad when subjected to a toxic combination of racial prejudice, hopelessness and economic hardship.¹¹⁰

We cannot know what the Eurasian community’s expectations were, nor whether they were as distressed as the community leaders claimed in the press and in petitions because, as Stevenage put it: ‘a blanket of anonymity was spread over the “other ranks,” except for the hero and the villain,’¹¹¹ If we might cast some of the insane as villains, then clearly they were distressed. The educated Eurasian elite believed the community was unfairly denied parity with Europeans. One might reasonably suppose that those who worked alongside highly paid Britons were aggrieved by the disparity in their rewards and the unlikelihood that they would receive equal consideration for promotions. But many Eurasians worked alongside natives who were equally aggrieved by the disparity in their rewards and by the unlikelihood that they would receive equal consideration for promotions against Eurasian and European competition. Low pay and the difficulties that presented to those who wished to live as they thought Europeans should, were distressing only if the Eurasians judged themselves against the standards of the British elite in India, with whom most are unlikely to have had much everyday contact, and ignored the plight of their Indian co-workers. The pay of Eurasians and lesser Britons was ostensibly the same, though Britons enjoyed better ‘fringe’ benefits

108 Gilchrist, *Vade Mecum*, p. 208.

109 A Traveller (anon), *The English in India and Other Sketches*, Longman, Rees, Orme & Co, London, 1835, p. 196.

110 An interesting comparison may be drawn with a study of African-Americans who are more likely to have mental illness than white Americans but, when corrected for socioeconomic status, the apparent racial difference disappears. George J. Warheit, Charles E. Holzer III, Sandra A. Arey, ‘Race and Mental Illness: An Epidemiologic Update,’ *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, vol. 16 (3), 1975, pp. 243-256; Porter also addresses issues of power, othering and helplessness in relation to the Victorian’s understanding of madness - Roy Porter, *A Social History of Madness; Stories of the Insane*, Phoenix, London, 1996.

111 P.H. Stevenage, *A Railway Family in India*, BACSA, London, 2001, p. 5.

and prospects of promotion, so the potential for tension and dissatisfaction was less pronounced. We know that at no point in time, even in times of crisis, did the Eurasian associations, ever attract more than a tenth of the Eurasian community, though they supposedly represented their interests. Other than those in outright destitution, British and Eurasian community leaders may have been more distressed by the poverty of those Eurasians and Europeans who lived in the bazaars than were those who experienced it.

CONCLUSIONS

The nineteenth century was a period of great change for the Raj and for India's Eurasians. They began the century officially excluded from all but the lowliest employment under the British, Eurasians ended it under increasing competition from Indians educated to serve the state and prepared to work for less pay. There were reserved occupations at the beginning and at the end. However, the type of work Eurasians undertook, its variety, and their preparation for it (education and training) had all changed.

Eurasian agency with regard to both work and culture decreased as British hegemony spread. Legal obstacles to Eurasian employment were largely removed but subtler, covert obstacles remained an insurmountable barrier to the most lucrative positions. Education and conditions of work required a culture and lifestyle closely akin to that prescribed by the administration and British society; the Raj had to be peopled by British gentleman, brown or white, not country-born, half-educated Eurasians. At the same time, British society excluded Eurasians, ridiculed their imperfect 'mimicry' and largely accepted that they were their inferiors.

Those who did not 'mimic' the British adequately were removed. If they were too poor they could be re-designated native Christian by Europeans who believed no Eurasian could possibly accept the lifestyle of a native. Alternatively, they could be rounded up, if caught young enough, removed from their parents, and educated. But throughout the century, the British were embarrassed by this particular 'Eurasian problem.'

Infrastructural change and growth in the state had created many more jobs under government. Eurasians were needed to fill those considered too lowly for Europeans but too responsible for Indians. Whilst this presented opportunities for Eurasians to prosper, within limits, it also tied them to the Raj and limited their chance of integrating into

Indian society. Confusion over Eurasians' status as British subjects and statutory natives, European for some purposes and Asiatic for others, was never addressed by government. Similarly, whether they were beneficiaries of empire of its victims is a matter of perspective.

CHAPTER 8: WOMEN'S WORK

INTRODUCTION

Generally speaking, Eurasian men earned less than Europeans in India. Although after 1833 the higher salaried covenanted posts were open to them, most were unable to travel to England for competitive examinations or the European education necessary to secure them. Even in provincial service examinations in India, Eurasians fared badly against better educated Indians and incoming European candidates. Their awkward status presented difficulties where opportunities created for Hindu and Muslim Indian communities excluded them. A European lifestyle, part of Eurasian identity, was expensive: decent housing, servants, Western dress and furnishings, a carriage, and Christian (and European-style) schooling for the children, all added to their cost of living. For these reasons, female employment was important in many Eurasian families.

Eurasian women who might once have expected to join European society now faced prejudice, social exclusion and, for the lower classes, desertion. If unfair exclusion from pension funds, on grounds of race had created distress in the first decades of the century, short service army enlistment and short-term contracts for technical specialists served only to perpetuate the financial disincentives to intermarriage and the likelihood of future difficulties.

PREJUDICE

Julia Maitland, one of the 'ladies' who took an interest in visiting the Madras military orphanage expressed the kind of opinion of Eurasian girls that might be expected of contemporary expatriate British of the 1830s but she also claims the prejudices cut both ways:

Those half-caste girls are in the depths of ignorance, indolence, and worthlessness, and utterly neglected; they have no ideas but of dress and making love ... scarcely any of them really are orphans; and the half-caste young left-handed ladies look down upon the poor little honestly-born Europeans, and boast of being 'gentlemen's children;' and they go out visiting their relatives without shame or ceremony.¹

¹ 'Letter XXV, Madras, July 31st 1839,' in A Lady (Mrs Julia C Maitland), *Letters from Madras, During the Years 1836-1839*, John Murray, London, 1846, pp. 131-2.

Decorum would have dictated that directly expressed insults were less strongly expressed than in Maitland's letters home.

The increase in the number of European women able to travel to India after 1833 coincided with increased prejudice against Eurasian women but was not its cause, which seems to have been a more insidious change across a wide section of British society. Maitland's words illustrate both a class prejudice from the Eurasian girls towards soldier's daughters, and a deflection of 'shame,' from the fathers who took left-handed wives (mistresses), onto their illegitimate Eurasian children, as well as obvious racial prejudice directed at Eurasian women. The conflation of Eurasian with illegitimate is a given, even though records from the same orphanage indicate that a proportion of the 'Indo-British' mothers were legally married.

For intermarriage to be a source of shame there had to be a race-based prejudice against it. If it was inconceivable to the Victorians that a white woman of sound mind and morals could ever consider a non-European husband, the same could not be said of European men who, as we have seen, were continuing to marry Eurasians or to father 'left-handed' children. If the law was theoretically colour blind after the 1833 Charter Act, society was not and the policing of racial boundaries continued by less formal means. Besides advice to griffins to avoid such liaisons from old India-hands such as Gilchrist,² there were almost universally negative descriptions of Eurasians in many travelogues.³ Anglo-Indian genre fiction reinforced acceptable attitudes of mind towards the dangers of miscegenation although this is mostly a later subject for full novels. Early works stressed the difficulties the children would face. Published in 1833, the short story of Ephraim Middlerace illustrates the difficulties mixed race children would face; Ephraim goes to England where he marries an 'honorable' lady, but false friends relieve him of his cash and all mock him. Only when he returns to Calcutta, and marries a Eurasian, is he respected and happy.⁴ Mid-century, Stoqueler's 'Tale of East India Life' featured another Eurasian, Edmund Merton, who was educated and an home in England but 'cast ... into a slough of fearful despond' when, in India, his proposal of marriage to an English girl was rejected because 'English girls had not yet so far forgotten their obligations to society as to form matrimonial connexions with persons of his

2 Gilchrist, *Vade Mecum*, pp. 207–9.

3 See, for example, Valentia, *Voyages*, 1811, vol. 1, pp. 197–8.

4 n.a., 'Confessions of a Eurasian,' *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register*, vol. 10 (new series), January 1833, pp. 144-52.

complexion.’⁵ Later examples stress the damage to English men who miscegenated. Winifred Savi who wrote at least two books in which miscegenation had tragic consequences; ‘Neither Fish nor Flesh’ and ‘Rulers of Men.’ In the latter Derek saves his married friend’s reputation, and sacrifices his own, by claiming to be the father of his chum’s illegitimate child Joseph; he funds the boy’s education and, though superstitious Indians think he has sold the boy for vivisection, helps settle him in America. Although Derek’s reputation is ruined the truth eventually comes out and he lives happily ever after with a saintly English wife.⁶ Writing slightly earlier but after spending the latter decades of the nineteenth century in India, Maud Driver devoted a series of four books to the subject, beginning with *Lilamani*. She weaves social Darwinism into her narrative; the Indian girl (*Lilamani*) who married an English man advances because Indians acknowledge Western views and customs as enlightened but the same relationship represents retrogression for the English man. Their son succeeds in life because he remains British to the core.⁷ The constant flow of cautionary tales may indicate there was an ongoing need to discourage interracial relationships. Fiction featuring Eurasian women, usually stereotyped as predatory or tragic, and naïve men who formed relationships with them, bolstered prejudice and provided constant reminders of the dangers of miscegenation.⁸

MARRIAGE

Marriage served a similar role for nineteenth century women as employment did for men, in providing status, financial security, and a purpose as homemaker. Obviously, within the Eurasian community, there were always opportunities to form endogamous marriages; partners might be found amongst friends of brothers, at Church services and events, at institute dances or through family contacts. The opportunities to meet European men changed over time. Early in the century, for the daughters of officers:

The General Management of the Bengal Military Orphan Society ... having found occasion to form some arrangements for the better regulation of the monthly dance given by the society to the daughters of officers at the Kidderpore school, notice is hereby given that no person whomsoever will, in future, be

5 J.H. Stocqueler, ‘A Tale of East India Life,’ *Ainsworth's Magazine*, vol. 3, 1845, pp. 328-336.

6 Ethel Winifred Savi, *Rulers of Men*, G.P. Putnam's Sons, London, 1922.

7 Maud Diver, *Lilamani*, Hutchinson & Co, London, 1911.

8 For an overview of the subject of intermarriage in Anglo-Indian fiction see Bhupal Singh, Ch VII, ‘Novels of Mixed Marriages and Eurasian Life,’ in *A Survey of Anglo-Indian Fiction*, Curzon, London, 1934 (1975 reprint), pp. 165-194. Also of relevance is a later work - Mukherjee, *Forster*, 1993.

admitted to this entertainment without producing a printed card of invitation.⁹

These balls were open to gentleman of both the civil and military services and were, unashamedly, a marriage market. By 1820 the upper orphanage European girls (and possibly some of the Eurasians too) were being shipped back to England, the twice monthly balls were discontinued by the 1830s, and the covenanted and commissioned men were actively discouraged from forming relationships with Eurasian women. Emma Roberts noted:

The progress of refinement has materially altered the condition of these young ladies, but has acted in a manner the very reverse of improvement, as far as their individual interests are concerned- The prejudices against 'dark beauties' (the phrase usually employed to designate those who are the inheritors of the native complexion) are daily gaining ground.¹⁰

No longer eagerly sought as wives, orphaned (or abandoned) Eurasian daughters of the higher ranking Europeans, if without private means or extended families, were left isolated from their own class and seemingly destined to remain at the orphanages. Even in the early decades of the century Eurasian women and children were vulnerable and could be left without protection. A few lines from one of Henry Derozio's poems fit that situation well:

There was a youth of expectations high,
Heir to a mighty line, with wealth so vast,
You might have deemed some favouring Genius laid
Earth's treasures at his feet. Her only dower
Was that which nature gave her on her face

But, true to Anglo-Indian genre norms, Derozio penned an unhappy end. Abandoned and caught in a storm with her dead child she laments:

Where is the home that should have sheltered us,
The arm that should have pillowed me and thee,
The Breast that should have hid us in its folds,
The voice that should have bid the winds be still,
And soothed us in calamity?
.. Thy father – but I will not dream of him –
And I for thee have nothing, my poor boy!
But a disastrous world of woe before me.
Ah! Now thou'rt cold, cold as thy father's heart;
... There is more mercy in th' ungentle wind
Than constancy in man!¹¹

9 *The Gazette*, 1st November, 1810, quoted in W.H. Carey, *The Good Old Days of Honorable John Company*, (first publ. 1882), abridged edition, Quins Book Co., Calcutta, 1964, pp. 84-5.

10 Emma Roberts, *Scenes Characteristic of Hindostan with Sketches of Anglo-Indian Society*, vol. 1, Wm. H. Allen & Co, London, 1837, p. 42-3.

11 Henry L.V. Derozio, 'The Deserted Girl,' *The Fakeer of Jungheera, A Metrical Tale; And Other Poems*, Samuel Smith & Co., Calcutta, 1828, pp. 165-172.

Derozio might well have been describing the plight of girls from the Eurasian community who had married Company men. Certainly a 'three hundred a year' man, dead or alive, had 'expectations high,' and many Eurasian girls had no personal wealth to offer. Frequent postings and eventual retirement, as well as social pressures, enabled unscrupulous men to move on and made it very difficult for their Eurasian families to follow. In the early decades pension funds even refused payment to legally married 'half-caste' wives.

The military rank and file continued to seek permission from their commanding officers to marry and, on production of a good character reference, were offered suitable candidates from amongst the wards of the lower orphan schools. Later in the century, as railway communities grew, those near military garrisons routinely invited the sergeants' mess to railway institute dances and social events.¹² Without the need of a character reference or a commanding officer's permission, it was relatively easy to marry 'off the strength.' The results were variable with some men seeking their discharge and remaining in India but many, either by choice or necessity, left families without long-term security when a regiment was moved on.

ALTERNATIVES

There were alternatives to marriage, as a means of support, and more opened up as the century progressed. The 1901 census of Madras presidency included an analysis of Eurasian women's employment showing 1,680 Eurasian women employed:¹³ 'Of these, 537 are inmates of orphan asylums, etc., 262 are sempstresses [*sic*] and milliners, 201 school teachers, 107 midwives and hospital nurses, 81 are in domestic service, and 38 are shop assistants and clerks.'¹⁴ These figures suggest that across Bengal, Madras and Bombay presidencies the female Eurasian workforce in 1901 exceeded 5,000.¹⁵ The occupations followed were not necessarily the same in all locations but, since this chapter aims only to explore possibilities and illustrate women's work, the main occupations found in Madras will suffice.

¹² Allen, *Plain Tales*, 1975, pp. 191-2.

¹³ This was based only on the three districts with the largest Eurasian populations; Madras City, Malabar, and Chingleput. Risley and Gait, *Census Of India*, 1901, p. 219

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ There do not appear to have been comparable analyses elsewhere in India so this total is calculated using the distribution 5:4:3 for Bengal: Madras: Bombay - Walker, *Tom Cringle*, 1863, pp. 111-3.

Seamstress

The orphan schools had always trained girls as seamstresses, either so that they could make clothing for the inmates, so that their work could be sold in aid of the schools or so that they could maintain themselves in adulthood. Using the 1901 census of Madras to calculate a rough total for India, there would have been around 800 Eurasian women supporting themselves as seamstresses and milliners outside the orphanages and at least double that number still within these institutions. Added to this, wives and mothers who were not formally employed could still use their skills to make up household linen and to clothe their families, and it was a skill that a widow could fall back on later in life.

UK newspapers carried advertisements by seamstresses seeking positions in private households, and by potential employers looking for a seamstress for their families.¹⁶ Besides such positions good needlework was also sought after in female household servants, and in workhouse and hospital servants. In India, the orphanages and missions made use of their skills.

It would be very difficult to put a value on their worth or earnings, Firstly the term was rather vague, encompassing everything from skilled tailoring and high fashion to making up sacks. Secondly location, skill and reputation played a part in determining earnings. The earnings of a seamstress within an orphanage were not hers to keep; they were to pay for her upkeep and to make a profit for the institution. But a skilled seamstress who had access to a large community of European women, notoriously fashion conscious and anxious to be seen in the latest fashions from Europe, would have found a market for her skills. Most tailors were, of course, Indian but since they were also male, the more intimate items of clothing would likely have been the preserve of Eurasian women, even if only as employees in Europe shops selling ready made items.

Domestic Service

Training for domestic service might have been an obvious choice but for the prejudices of the European community which debarred them on two counts. Firstly, they were unsuitable as nannies or governesses because they spoke English with a distinctive accent. According to Emma Roberts: 'their pronunciation is short and disagreeable, and they usually place the accent on the wrong syllable: though not so completely

¹⁶ Mr Allen, 'Wanted in a small genteel family,' *The Morning Post*, London, Thursday, 27 June 1805, Issue 11503, p. 1; n.a., 'Wanted by a respectable young person,' *The Morning Post*, London, Friday, 15 February 1822, Issue 15888, p. 1.

barbarized as in America.'¹⁷ Native 'ayahs' were preferred because they would not speak 'degenerated' English to the children they cared for. Secondly Eurasian women were unsuitable as housekeepers because they were stereotyped as sexual predators, without the domestic focus that tempered the threat from equally sensuous (and stereotyped) native women.¹⁸ As such; they represented unwanted competition for the European women who excluded them from 'society' and opportunities to meet the most eligible men. They were also seen as a danger to European men who, bereft of the company of European women, might marry them, a situation bound to 'terminate almost always in the degradation of the husband to the level of the wife, of whom he is soon ashamed.'¹⁹

In consequence, the total number of Eurasian women in domestic service may have been as few as 300 in 1901. Two advertisements in *The Times* for Eurasian nurses in Britain, and seeking positions with families travelling to India, may suggest that some at least might rise above such prejudices but we cannot know whether these advertisements led to employment or not.²⁰ There was, of course always the possibility that a Eurasian woman might hide any knowledge of English, dress in Indian style, and seek employment as a native ayah.

Teachers

Throughout the century there were many small schools set up by private individual women, such as that established by Henry Derozio's mother,²¹ without any formal qualifications. Their success depended on the reputation of the individual, and on the curriculum her particular accomplishments allowed her to offer. If there was debate in the education of boys about the aims of education (raising good moral Christians or boys fitted for government service or for trades) this was perhaps less apparent in the schooling of girls. Besides the basic three 'Rs,' teachers wanted to impart two more 'Rs:' religion (according to denomination but always Christian), and lady-like

17 Emma Roberts, *Scenes*, vol. 1, 1837, p. 43.

18 Late century English women in India stereotyped Indian women as devoted to family (to point of Sati) and as sensuous mistresses in need of help from colonial civilizers. Indrani Sen, 'Devoted Wife/Sensuous Bibi; Colonial Constructions of the Indian Woman, 1860-1900,' *Indian Journal of Gender Studies*, vol. 8, 2001, pp. 1-22.

19 A Traveller, *The English*, 1835, p. 197.

20 For examples of classified advertising, see 'An Indo-British Nurse,' *The Times*, Tuesday, 13 November 1877, Issue 29098, p. 3, col. B and 'An Eurasian Nurse' *The Times*, Friday, 22 September 1882, Issue 30619, p. 11, col. A.

21 Thomas Edwards, *Henry Derozio, the Eurasian Poet, Teacher and Journalist*, W. Newman & Co., Calcutta, 1884, p. 179.

refinements such as French, music, dancing, and needlecraft. Even in the larger schools teaching Eurasians, many of which did not have grants-in-aid and were not subject to government inspection, many of the Eurasian teachers lacked any formal teacher training.²² They learned 'on the job' as senior pupils (following Bell's method) teaching younger ones.²³

Government and missionary efforts to extend native education, particularly female education, represented an expanding jobs market for would be teachers and here social mores worked in favour of Eurasian women. Many native men did not want their daughters taught by men, there were relatively few European women teachers, and government efforts to recruit Muslim and Hindu women into teaching were slow to take effect.²⁴ In both native and European families, a woman's place was imagined primarily in the domestic sphere; the married *memsahib* might work outside the home but her role was ideally one embodying social concern and philanthropy.²⁵ European society was uneasy about the dangers India presented to single 'white' women and there is evidence that native society distrusted their influence.²⁶ All of this worked in favour of Eurasian women by limiting competition. Even so, other prejudices worked against them. Their religion was a problem for some conservative Hindus who feared they would proselytise Christianity.²⁷ Some missionaries persisted in preferring single European women or Indian widows rather than Eurasians. Jane Johnson, for example, complained in the 1870s that the Eurasian teachers at the Delhi mission: 'came to dinner in native dress and the table manners left much to be desired ... Eurasians did not seem to become ladies very easily.'²⁸

22 D'Souza, *Anglo-Indian*, 1976, p. 111.

23 Bell used older pupils to teach younger ones; the system encouraged responsibility in the older pupils but mainly, it provided cheap teachers. His system was widely adopted in India in native and European/Eurasian schools throughout the century. See Joseph Fox, *A Comparative View of the Plans of Education of Dr Bell and Mr Lancaster*, Calcutta, 1809.

24 IOR/V/24/842, *Public Instruction in Madras Presidency*, 1889, p. 102.

25 For a consideration of the role of European women in colonial India see Blunt, *Domicile*, 2005; Alison Blunt, 'Imperial Geographies of Home: British Domesticity in India, 1886-1925,' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, v.24, (4), 1999, pp421-440. Blunt argues that the political significance of imperial domesticity extended beyond home, a point echoed by Denise, P. Quirk 'True Englishwomen' and 'Anglo-Indians': Gender, National Identity, and Feminism in the Victorian Women's Periodical Press,' in J.F. Codell (ed.), *Imperial Co-histories: National Identities and the British Colonial Press*, Rosemont Publishing, Cranbury, NJ (USA), 2003, pp. 167-187.

26 IOR/V/24/839, *Public Instruction in Madras Presidency*, 1882, p. 189.

27 IOR/V/24/840, *Public Instruction in Madras Presidency*, 1884, p. 93.

28 Quoted in - Alice Thorner & Maithreyi Krishnaraj (eds.), *Ideals, Images, and Real Lives: Women in Literature and History*, Orient Longman Ltd., Mumbai, 2000, pp. 85-6.

Formal training spread only gradually over the last few decades of the century, at government schools and at colleges run by the various missions.²⁹ Madras government's teacher training college in the late 1870s trained Eurasians alongside *Sudras* and native Christians.³⁰ In Bengal, there were nine Eurasian women in Kurseong's first batch of student teachers (1901) who trained for one year. Their training was later increased to two years, after matriculation, and the numbers of women seeking places rapidly expanded, but Teacher training was still unregulated in the 1880s.³¹

Since, as late as 1880 only about one in seven schools for Eurasians were inspected by government (those in receipt of grants-in aid),³² and formal training came so late, it is impossible to get an accurate idea of how many Eurasian women teachers without formal qualifications there were. Also, almost half of schools educating Eurasians were run by Catholic orders, most schools were denominational, and there was no all-India policy on Eurasian and European education until 1905. But Anthony claims 15,000 Eurasian and European children attended Indian schools in 1871,³³ representing employment for many Eurasian women teachers. To this must be added those involved with native education, in schools for girls, at the various missions and in the zenana projects, and those teaching the younger European and Eurasian boys. Eurasian women teachers in Madras presidency alone, in 1901, numbered 201.³⁴

For the same reason, their earnings were not standardised. Some continued to teach in their own homes and in private schools whilst others benefited from the expansion in railway, government and mission schools. In 1880 the schoolmistress at Jumalpure's railway school, Mrs Annie Kiddell, was paid Rs. 80 monthly, but she was European and covenanted.³⁵

Nursing, Midwifery and Medicine

Nursing and Midwifery

29 D'Souza, *Anglo-Indian*, 1976, p. 128.

30 Caroline Louise Weaver, *Colonialism and Culture in British India, 1854-1891*, PhD Thesis, Birkbeck College, University of London, 1997, p. 198.

31 D'Souza, *Anglo-Indian*, 1976, p. 134-5 & 111.

32 *Ibid.*, p. 109.

33 Anthony, *Britain's Betrayal*, 1962, p. 408.

34 Risley and Gait, *Census Of India*, 1901, p. 219.

35 Gore-Browne, S., *Alphabetical list of Europeans and East Indians in the Company's Service on 30th June 1880*, East India Railway Company Press, Calcutta, 1880.

Formal training and employment in nursing and midwifery had a longer history than teaching as a career for Eurasian women. Historically, Indian sick attendants were male and in England sick nursing was the preserve of domestic servants, nuns and 'ladies' with a social conscience. A few nuns and English nurses offered sick nursing to Europeans in eighteenth century Bombay.³⁶ British female nursing as we might understand it today began at St Bartholomew's Hospital but professional training (rather than simply 'picking up' on the job) began with the establishment of the Nightingale school at London's St Thomas' Hospital, after the Crimean War.³⁷

In Madras there had been a midwifery school since 1843³⁸ and, although government was dismissive of them, there were older women across India, experienced in childbirth but not formally trained, known as *dais*, functioning as village and neighbourhood midwives. Like untutored but experienced individuals in Europe, their services were derided as 'sunk in ignorance and superstition.'³⁹ Discussions in 1871 resulted in improved nursing and midwife training. Nightingale nurses from England were brought in to train female pupils and the duration of instruction was increased to 18 to 24 months. The nursing pupils were taught by the Medical Warrant Officer and the Matron. The training differed from the Nightingale system mainly in producing not only hospital nurses but independent practitioners too.⁴⁰ In the twenty years between 1874 and 1894 259 students were trained at the Madras General Hospital as well as others trained at the Government Hospital for Women and Children, at Egmore, Victoria Castle and Gosha Hospitals.⁴¹

Besides government-sponsored civil and military hospitals, wealthy individuals both European and native endowed hospitals where nurses gained practical experience as well as formal training, largely from imported European nurses. The Armenian community sponsored several hospitals in Bombay, and Christian missions provided hospitals to care for the Indian sick. A disparate collection of training regimes and establishments, pay and conditions, sprang up throughout the country, remaining dis-

36 O.P. Jaggi, *History of Science, Technology and Medicine in India* (vol. 13): Western Medicine in India; Medical Education & Research, Alma Ram, Delhi, 1979, p. 132.

37 *Ibid.*, pp. 128-9.

38 London Metropolitan Archives, H01/ST/NC/018/011/064, 'Papers of Henry Bonham Carter,' *Saint Thomas' Hospital: Nightingale Collection*, 21 July 1873.

39 Jaggi, *History*, Delhi, 1979, p. 93.

40 London Metropolitan Archives, H01/ST/NC/018/011/064, 'Papers of Henry Bonham Carter,' *Saint Thomas' Hospital: Nightingale Collection*, 21 July 1873.

41 Jaggi, *History*, Delhi, 1979, pp. 130-1.

united until they came together gradually between the 1890s and just prior to World War 1.⁴² Prior to this, each nursing school and hospital determined the entry qualifications of nursing students, the curriculum they followed and, once employed, their pay and conditions. Thus a civilian 'nurse' might be an illiterate Hindu widow, trained 'on the job' by missionary sisters, of a matriculated Eurasian or Domiciled European who had undergone three years of both practical and theoretical training.⁴³ By 1910 applicants had to be literate, spent three years training as a nurse and an extra year to qualify in midwifery but short training programmes still appeared in times of pressing shortages.⁴⁴

With a restricted pool of European women and 'free from Caste and communal inhibitions,' Eurasian women made up the greater part of India's nursing service right up to Independence. Anthony claimed that 80 per cent of India's nursing services, military and civilian, was drawn from the Eurasian Community.⁴⁵ An 1865 list of eighty European and 'East-Indian' Midwives who had qualified in Madras during the 1850s and 1860s indicates that sixty of them were Eurasian.⁴⁶ All were married women, the opposite of what one would expect to find in the UK where, until the mid twentieth century, nurses were single women who, on marriage, were expected to leave their positions. A longer list dating to 1879 includes 192 names; 135 (75 per cent) were East-Indians, 29 European, four described as Mahomedans and a further 26 as natives. The marital status of the Indian women is not given but only seven of the European and East-Indians were unmarried. 73 remained within Madras, the rest having dispersed to every province of India. The Europeans and Eurasians were also dispersed across India (including Burma), and several are also shown to have travelled abroad to Singapore and Europe.⁴⁷

The 1879 total of 192 Madras qualified nurses and midwives, extended across three presidencies would indicate at least 600 such women in India amongst whom at least 450 were Eurasians. Comparing the closest census return for India and that

42 *Ibid.*, p. 135.

43 *Ibid.*, pp. 134-5.

44 *Ibid.*, p. 137.

45 Anthony, *Britain's Betrayal*, 1962, pp. x-xi.

46 n.a., 'List of Qualified Midwives, European and East Indian from the Government Lying-in-Hospital, Madras,' *The Asylum Press Almanac for 1865*, Lawrence Asylum, Ootacamund, 1865, pp. 489-90.

47 n.a., 'List of Midwives residing at Madras who have received Certificates of Qualification at the Government Lying-in-Hospital, *Asylum Press Almanac 1879*, Lawrence Asylum Press, Ootacamund, 1879, pp. 553-6.

calculated by Colley for England and Wales, both figures for 1881, is interesting. Colley found 38 women in 10,000 were employed as sick nurses, midwives, invalid attendants and in subordinate medical services; less than 0.4 per cent of adult women.⁴⁸ Of the 62,000 Eurasians identified in the 1881 census of India,⁴⁹ if about a third were adult women, there would have been 225 nurses and midwives per 10,000 Eurasian women; over 2 per cent of all adult Eurasian women.

Nurses' salaries were not standardised in nineteenth century India but from the examples of the Madras Lying-in Hospital and the Lady Curzon Hospital, Bangalore (see below) nurses and midwives in training were paid Rs15 per month during training, were fed and accommodated. Once employed as qualified nurses, they received Rs 50 per month in Madras government service. They could, however, command higher salaries; from October 1886 to August 1889 Rewah state paid Mrs Talbot, a Eurasian instructress in midwifery, a monthly salary of Rs 130.⁵⁰ *The Times of India* reported in 1897 that Anglo-Indian nurses (mis-reported as native Christians) trained at Sir JJ hospital in Bombay were being paid Rs 150 per month plus free accommodation.⁵¹

Attempts to expand the opportunities for nurse training, and rapidly increase the number of instructors available, were not always trusted. Late in 1897, the Bombay Anglo-Indian Association's Journal carried a short piece questioning why expensive British nurses were being imported for plague duty. There were many qualified Anglo-Indian and native nurses – all trained in India by the British, and acclimatised, the natives having a thorough knowledge of the habits and languages of their countrymen. Not only would European nurses be useless but it was also a slur on the British experts who trained local nurses.⁵²

Medicine

Medical training for women met with greater initial resistance. It was estimated in the 1870s that about seventy million Indian women had no access to the services of an all-

48 Clara E Collet, 'Utilization of Official Statistics on the Extent and Effects of the Industrial Employment of Women,' *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, vol. 61 (2), 1898, pp. 219-270.

49 Plowden, *Census of India 1881*, 1883.

50 NAI, Baghelkhand Agency/Political/English files/Procs. no. 23,I, 1882-1907, *Submission of annual return of Europeans and Eurasians Employed in Native States*.

51 Quoted in 'Spectator,' *The Anglo-Indian Journal*, vol. 1 (3), 1897, p. 4.

52 'Spectator,' *Anglo-Indian Journal*, vol. 1 (3), 1897, p. 4.

male medical profession because of social customs forbidding their coming into contact with men to whom they were not closely related. An American mission at Bareilly began training native Christian women as health workers in 1870 and several other missionary doctors began training Indian women in the same decade – at Allahabad, Jabalpur, Central India, Lucknow, Sialkot and Ambala, for example.⁵³

Government-sponsored training of European and Eurasian female doctors began at Madras in the late 1870s. Doubts were expressed as to whether ‘females of any kind are fit to be doctors.’ In the 1880s the physical and moral stamina of native women trainees was also being questioned, Bombay was the last Presidency to begin training women doctors but by 1887 had seventeen women of several communities training together at Grant Medical College. Bengal had begun admitting Eurasian women to Calcutta Medical School in 1885. Medical training, though leading to a prestigious career, was not common in India for women of any community in the late nineteenth century and as late as 1913 there were still only 81 female medical students across the whole of India.⁵⁴

Examples

Medical and nursing educational and employment practices in Madras Presidency often served as a model for later, nationwide government practice. This was true of Madras’ military apothecary training, grading, pay, pensions and duties. Nursing and female medical students were willing to travel to Madras from all over India and Madras certified health professionals were found all over India and as far afield as Burma, Singapore and Europe. Mary Scharlieb, one of the first female medical students in India, and Madras-trained, helped pave the way for others and for the concept of women doctors to become acceptable. A look at some examples of training and practice is therefore worthwhile.

Madras Lying-in Hospital

This institution offered fifteen months further training to experienced Eurasian and European nurses in both sick nursing and midwifery. Successful pupils were awarded

53 Jaggi, *History*, Delhi, 1979, pp. 93-6 & 101-2.

54 *Ibid.*

certificates in sick nursing and diplomas in midwifery. Six months sick nurse training was followed by a further six to nine months of midwifery training. Students were paid travel 'batta,' were accommodated and fed, and received an allowance of Rs 15 per month for a year. There was also a 'native class' and a list of qualified nurses and midwives for the same year indicates that 30 out of 192 were Indian.

Besides the ability to read and write (in Hindi, Urdu or English) and converse (on any common subject), candidates had to produce testimonials showing their race and that they were of good character, morals and respectability. The rules allowed for some candidates, with no previous nursing experience, to train over fifteen months. Details of age, marital status and age of youngest child were also requested. Single women had to be over 25 and married women between the ages of 20 and 35. Comparing this requirement with 1865 and 1879 lists of practising nurses and midwives qualified at Madras, single women were very exceptional; none appear in the 1865 list and only seven in 1879. This would indicate either that the colleges preferred to train married women or that qualified nurses (and their earnings) were much sought after as wives.

The Lady Curzon Hospital⁵⁵

The final establishment of the new Lady Curzon Hospital for Women and Children took place in 1902-3. It catered to the needs of the civil and military families of Bangalore. Table 11 shows the relative numbers and salaries of the various grades employed. Several interesting points emerge in this single document. Nuns worked alongside lay nurses and did not restrict themselves to mission hospitals. The native nurses were paid considerably less than Eurasian or European nurses, earning little more than the pupil nurses. The salary of a Eurasian nurse (Rs 50 per month) was not insubstantial. Elsewhere in this source, the change in job title from Assistant Surgeon to Lady Doctor was thought appropriate because the incumbent Ada Niebel 'holds a European medical qualification,' as, it was anticipated, future incumbents would too. The change from the designation 'Eurasian nurse' to 'charge nurse' was perhaps a more pragmatic one: 'Difficulties have been experienced from the claims of the holders of the appointment of "Eurasian Nurses" to be regarded as Europeans.'

⁵⁵ NAI, Foreign/Internal/Part B/Procs., nos. 383-384, *Designation of Assistant Surgeon and Eurasian Nurses altered to Lady Doctor and Charge Nurses*, February 1903.

Table 11: Establishment for Female Hospital for Women and Children⁵⁶				
	PRESENT cost Rs/m	PROPOSED cost Rs/m	INCREASE Rs/m	DECREASE Rs/m
1 Assistant Surgeon → 1 Lady Doctor	300	300	-	-
2 Hospital Assistants 2 (50) House rent to do 2 (6) →1 Lady Assistant Surgeon	100 12 -	scrap scrap 75	- - 75 (b)	100 (a) 12 -
1 Sister of Charity @ 40 →2 Sisters of Charity 1(40) 1(25)	40 -	- 65	- 25 (c)	- -
1 Matron & Head Nurse House rent to do 2 Eurasian Nurses 2 (50) →Change to 3 Charge Nurses @50 ea. →3 Pupil Nurses @ (15)	60 15 100 -	scrap scrap - 150 45	- - - 50 (e) 45 (e)	60 (d) 15 - - -
3 Native Nurses 2 (20) 1 (15) →4 Native Nurses 2 (20) 2 (15)	55 -	- 70	- 15 (f)	- -
1 Compounder	10	10	-	-
4 Ward attendants 4 (7)	28	28	-	-
4 Cooks 1 (10) 1 (9) 2 (8) →3 Cooks 1 (9) 2 (8)	35 -	- 25	- -	- 10 (h)
3 Peons 3 (7)	21	21	-	-
1 Dhoby (pay increase)	16	20	4 (i)	-
8 Toties 8 (7)	56	56	-	-
2 Sweepers 2 (6)	12	12	-	-
1 Masalchy	8	8	-	-
<p>Decrease owing to the abolition of the appointments of two hospital assistants on Rs. 50/- p.m. each</p> <p>Increase to provide for the entertainment of one Lady Assistant Surgeon on Rs. 75/- p.m. for the Lady Curzon Hospital.</p> <p>Increase to provide for the entertainment of one extra Sister of Charity it being found impossible for one Sister to carry out all the work of supervision of the linen, washing and cooking for the Lady Curzon Hospital.</p> <p>Decrease owing to the abolition of the appointment of the Matron & Head Nurse.</p> <p>Increase to provide for the entertainment of one Charge Nurse and three pupil nurses in place of the two Hospital Assistants.</p> <p>Increase to provide for the entertainment of one extra Native Nurse on Rs. 15/-</p> <p>Decrease owing to the reduction of one Servant Cook on Rs. 10/- p.m.</p> <p>Increase due to the great difficulty experienced in securing a man on less pay to carry out efficiently the laundry work.</p> <p>Decrease due to the abolition of the appointments of 2 Hospital Assistants on Rs. 50 + Rs. 6/- house rent p.m. each and the Matron & Head Nurse on Rs. 60 + house rent.</p>				

Captain Standage, Bangalore's Residency surgeon, was in charge of the male hospital (Bowring Civil Station), and had some input into the Lady Curzon. Here too,

⁵⁶ Table adapted from *Ibid.*

there were nuns and Eurasian nurses; however there were neither pupil nurses nor any native nurses. The Residency surgeon (already salaried as a Captain in the Indian Medical Service) was paid an extra Rs200 per month for his hospital duties, a Rs 50 per month allowance and house rent of Rs30 per month. Ada Niebel, with a European MD qualification, was paid a total of Rs 300.

Independent Agency?

The case of Malka Jan Benareswali and her daughter Gauhar Jan of Calcutta is an interesting one. Firstly, it illustrates a cultural 'grey' area in which females who did not conform to European norms might find themselves classified as prostitutes. Secondly, it illustrates Eurasian cultural agency at a late date. Malka was a successful entertainer in Benares and Calcutta, and her poetry and song collection, introduced by a descendent of Tipu Sultan, was eventually known throughout India. Sachdeva identifies her as a *tawa'if*. Formerly high status courtesans who had entertained elite men in north India with poetry, dance and music, by the 1870s when Malka's career began, they were more often considered to be little different to prostitutes. She seems to have avoided that fate, by her talents as an entertainer and Urdu poet, and so she was both well regarded and wealthy. Gauhar Jan followed her mother into entertainment as a *tawa'if*, her career coinciding with the early days of gramophone records, and was a successful popular entertainer.⁵⁷

It is not obvious who their target audience was; Sachdeva notes that their *diwans* or song-books 'were popular with 'working-class *babus*, *munshis* (clerks), railway employees and small time writers' but the praise of Tipu's descendent would suggest a much wider appeal. Gauhar Jan was recorded as an example of 'native' talent. British difficulties in distinguishing between prostitutes and female entertainers were reflected in conservative attitudes amongst indigenous groups who 'began to prohibit performances by women such as the *tawa'if*.' What is clear is that, whether Arminian or Eurasian, Malka Jan (Edilian Imangus or Victoria Hemmel) and her daughter Gauhar Jan (Angelina Eduard or Yeoward), were successful because they immersed themselves in Indian culture, and disguised or discarded their European ancestry.⁵⁸

57 Shweta Sachdeva Jha, 'Eurasian Women as Tawa'if Singers and Recording Artists: Entertainment and Identity-making in Colonial India,' *African and Asian Studies*, 8, 2009, pp. 268 – 287; Saksena, *European*, 1941, pp. 297-298.

58 Sachdeva, *Eurasian*, 2009; Saksena, *European*, 1941, pp. 297-298.

Prostitution and Destitution

Derozio's 1827 poem 'The Orphan Girl' is full of language suggesting that without help a soldier's orphaned daughter would inevitably stray from virtue's way, become an erring woman, wretched, scorned and filled with sorrow, guilt and shame.⁵⁹ He was talking about prostitution. We do not have a figure for the number of Eurasian girls and women who followed that path in Derozio's time, but statistics for 1880 (when a registration system was in force in Calcutta) show that amongst 2,458 brothel keepers and 7,001 prostitutes, only 46 Eurasians were identified and 65 Europeans.⁶⁰ From the turn of the nineteenth century the fate of the daughters of Europeans was a grave concern. When the Company prohibited their return to Britain, the managers of the Bengal Orphan fund wrote:

Almost every consideration that opposes the idea of prohibiting their removal to the Mother country, appears to claim a more than ordinary attention in the case of the female Orphans. - To excite this attention in the man of delicacy and of feeling - in the parent - or in the soldier, the bare mention of their sex must be sufficient.⁶¹

Destitution of single European and Eurasian women received special attention; it was feared even more than the presence of destitute men because of the perceived risk that they would fall into prostitution. The prospect of native men using their services was particularly abhorrent to European sensibilities. Unfounded rumours of the rape of European women by mutineers in 1857, for example, caused 'a heart bowed down with grief which the thought of simple death ... would not occasion.'⁶² The nineteenth century 'Englishwoman in India' was a performance which, according to Quirk, can be seen under construction in contemporary magazines.⁶³ The *English Woman's Domestic Magazine* and *Queen* were the two looked at in most detail. They illustrate two versions of what the ideal was. The obedient wife of the domestic sphere was modified (at home), by feminist issues such as suffrage, education for women, social reform, philanthropy and social conscience. In India it was modified by the need to personify not just a feminine ideal, but a racial ideal too; she was 'an ambassador for British

59 Anon., *The Poetical Works of Henry Louis Vivian Derozio: With a Memoir of the Author*, W. Newman, Calcutta, 1871, p. 14.

60 Ballhatchet, *Race*, 1980, p. 133.

61 PWD, India, *Original Papers*, 1784, p. 33.

62 William Muir & William Coldstream (ed.), 'William Muir to Lord Canning, Enquiries into the Alleged Dishonour of European Females at the Time of the Mutinies, 30th December 1857,' *Records of the Intelligence Department of the Govt. of the NWP During the Mutiny of 1857*, vol. 1, T&T Clark, Edinburgh, 1902, p. 367.

63 For examples see *The English Woman's Domestic Magazine*, 124; June 1874, pp. 291 & 294; *Queen* 7 July 1877, p. 6.

imperialism.⁶⁴ Prostitution, indeed any miscegenation involving European women, was most emphatically *not* part of the performance.⁶⁵ The more European a Eurasian woman was the more this applied to her too, so extended family, government-sponsored orphanages, missionaries, and church congregations, mopped up poor and otherwise destitute European and Eurasian girls and women. Until 1833 the Company required bonds of around £200 and the names of two people willing to be responsible for the care and behaviour of women (and men) travelling to India. Typical amongst thousands of examples is Miss Maria Sharman who, after posting a bond for £200 and gaining the sureties of Richard Griffiths, Esquire of Worcestershire and John Prince, a slopseller⁶⁶ of Leadenhall Street, was granted permission to travel to India in April 1822.⁶⁷ India-born but English-educated, and with a brother in indigo, she married a Company surgeon in the same year. European women who refused to conform to such behavioural norms were expected to leave or could have been deported to Britain.

European orphan daughters of officers taken into the orphan asylums were sent back to the UK. Eurasians and European daughters of the rank and file were equipped with the means to marry (an introduction and a dowry portion), clothing and accoutrements for domestic service, found a place as a schoolteacher, or helped to set up as seamstresses. Those who remained in the orphanages, some for life, helped care for the younger children, made their clothing, and 'besides being taught to read, [were] instructed in knitting, spinning, and all kinds of plain work.'⁶⁸

Even so, some Eurasian women did still fall into destitution. Anthony quotes Henry Gidney's impassioned descriptions, printed in *The Statesman* in 1923, of unemployed, homeless and starving Anglo-Indian families in Calcutta, a situation that Gidney blamed on Indianisation policies within government services.⁶⁹ Whether destitute Eurasians were to be seen in 1860 is harder to say. Bishop Cotton was horrified by the thought (rather than the sight) of 'degenerate' European and Eurasian

64 Quirk, in Codell, *Imperial*, 2003, p. 177.

65 British working-class women in London did, indeed, marry Indian men. See Rozina Vizram, *Ayahs, Lascars and Princes: Indians in Britain 1700-1947*, Pluto, London, 1986, pp. 59-63. Whether real or imagined in fiction, miscegenation involving white women was a recurring theme explored by Nancy L. Paxton, *Writing under the Raj: Gender, Race, and Rape in the British Colonial Imagination, 1830-1947*, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, N.J (USA), 1999.

66 A slopseller either sold swill to feed animals or he sold ready-made clothing.

67 IOR/Z/O/19, *Miscellaneous Bonds*, no.3338, 1822.

68 PWD, India, *Original Papers*, 1784, pp. 1-4.

69 Anthony, *Britain's Betrayal*, 1962, pp. 112-3.

orphans on the streets of Calcutta and Governor-General Lord Canning contemplated a future 'floating population of Indianised English, loosely brought up, and exhibiting most of the worst qualities of both races,' but it is not certain either man actually saw such sights.⁷⁰ Given the circumstances later described by Gidney the very low count of Eurasian prostitutes appears unrealistic but Eurasians who did not live what was considered to be a European lifestyle were often dismissively re-categorised as natives (see chapter four) and so would not be 'seen.'

CONCLUSION

Eurasian women in nineteenth century India experienced social and economic changes at least as great as those affecting their male counterparts but their position was, arguably, more completely altered by social prejudices than was that of men. In the earliest decades, the view of Eurasian women as potential brides of expatriate Britons is as clichéd as that of Eurasian men as *crannies* but, just as for Eurasian men, infrastructural developments opened up alternatives. British men had always been empowered to desert their Eurasian families. If they were now being actively discouraged from marrying Eurasian women there is no evidence that the women were complaining about the change.

There were alternatives to marriage, as a means of support, and more opened up as the century progressed. The 1901 census of Madras presidency showed 1,680 Eurasian women in employment. Almost a third of these were within the orphan asylums that in many cases, in the early decades, had tried to bar them entry. Many had been taught useful skills helping them to care for their families or allowing them to support themselves as seamstresses and milliners. Many more were well enough educated to work as school teachers, midwives and hospital nurses. In the early twentieth century the community's women came to have a dominant role in these spheres.

The Madras figures suggest that across Bengal Madras and Bombay presidencies the female Eurasian workforce in 1901 exceeded 5,000, perhaps a fifth or a quarter of adult female Eurasians. Married women, most evidently in nursing and midwifery, were able to continue in employment and contribute to their family's income.

⁷⁰ George Cotton, *Memoir of George Edward Lynch Cotton, Bishop of Calcutta*, Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1872, pp. 168 & 170.

CHAPTER 9: EURASIANS AND THE MILITARY

INTRODUCTION

'E would skip with our attack,
An' watch us till the bugles made "Retire."
An' for all 'is dirty 'ide,
'E was white, clear white, inside
When 'e went to tend the wounded under fire!

A chapter on military Eurasians in nineteenth century India ought to be a very brief affair; after all, the proscriptions designed to de-militarise and disarm the community had been in place, and added to, since 1791. But the stanza, above, from Kipling's *Gunga Din*, feting the bravery of a native *bhestie* could, just as well, be applied to Eurasians; throughout the century the buglers would likely have been 'half-castes,' so too, many medical orderlies. Both of these were, essentially, reserved occupations for Eurasians within the British military.

In times of crisis Eurasians could find themselves suddenly re-classified as Europeans so that they could be enlisted as combatants. There were even Eurasian regiments, regular and irregular, when the need arose. Besides these, Eurasian men born in native states were not necessarily British subjects and the British experienced some difficulty controlling their employment in native armies. There was, for government employees and those of the railway companies, the expectation that they would join the volunteer regiments that provided a first line of defence in districts without a nearby military presence. Lastly, for boys attending the elite schools modelled on the English public schools, there was cadet force training. There was even a claim from within the community that their fairer men, of a military disposition, posed as Europeans and joined up against regulations.

The Eurasian community itself, or rather that part of the community most closely associated with the British, resented the rules forbidding them from combatant roles in the military. The majority of the Europeans in India were military men and naturally in this period, sons expected their relatives' service or patronage networks would secure them a military role too. Eurasian Associations petitioned Company and Crown governments, as well as taking their grievances directly to Westminster, citing the service of their forefathers and the poverty and unemployment that dogged the community in support of their claim. They could not accept that men of European

descent could not be trusted to defend the empire when native Indians could. Community leaders, anthropologists, ethnographers, civil, military, medical and churchmen all posited arguments for or against Eurasian soldiers. Meanwhile, prompted by pragmatism and under-manning, a creative interpretation of rules knowingly allowed some Eurasians into military roles from which they were officially barred. An unknown number, through subterfuge or influential connections and the good fortune to be born with fair skin were also able to circumvent inconvenient rules to the contrary and take up commissions.

There is, in fact, quite a lot to say about Eurasians and the military.

ARMIES OF NATIVE STATES

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, in 1897 the strength of the native states' combined armies was estimated to be 400,000 men. Among these the Princes supplied and paid for 18,000 troops for 'imperial service' under British command.¹ From 1885, the imperial troops and the states that supplied them were supposed to benefit because the system 'brought the best class of sirdar into touch with the best class of British officer.' The remaining 90 per cent of the princely armies were considered by MacMunn to be a waste of resources as 'protection' was provided by contingents that were part of the British military.² The British administration always felt uneasy about the armies of native states and sought to control and curb anything considered especially dangerous; artillery, Europeans and Eurasians. But the vast majority of soldiers of the princely armies served only within their own states under their own officers and so would have been difficult to 'police.' Many durbars continued employing Eurasians in their armies, sometimes openly but many others covertly.³

In the eighteenth and early nineteenth century many princely states had welcomed

1 Joseph Whittaker, *An Almanack for the Year of Our Lord 1897*, Warwick Lane, London, 1897, pp. 455 & 462.

2 The Imperial Service troops included 51 squadrons of Cavalry and 84 companies of infantry together with transport corps of 1600 carts and 1200 camels. The Princely States' armies 'for fifty years had purely existed for guard and ceremonial purposes.' Contingents (such as the Hyderabad Contingent) were units raised, trained and officered by the British but paid for by Princely states in which they were deployed. They were often not native to the states in which they served. George Fletcher MacMunn, *The Armies of India*, A&C Black, London, 1911, p. 191-207.

3 Discretion was a prerequisite in smaller states with binding treaties so there is no way to estimate the number of Eurasians still enlisting in many armies. I make the assertion that they continued to do so for three reasons. Firstly, any Eurasian with military ambitions had no other outlet. Secondly, census reports consistently complained that Eurasian numbers could not be established because they reported themselves as European; it may not have occurred to British administrators but it would have been just as easy to report themselves as natives, especially if born in an independent state. Thirdly, communications between the British administration and the most powerful durbars who dared to question them show that Eurasians were still serving as late as the 1880s.

European and Eurasian men and officers. They took commands, taught European-style discipline and tactics, and provided artillery expertise; in short, they offered a plausible modern answer to the perceived threat posed by European armies and a potential advantage in engagements against other more traditional native forces. The British administration encouraged native durbars to dismiss Europeans and Eurasians who might increase French influence and to employ men of use to British interests.⁴ Individual British fathers also used their influence and connections in native durbars to place their Eurasian sons in the ‘gentlemanly’ employment not generally open to them in British India.

The number of Eurasians, and for that matter Europeans, serving in the princely armies is largely unknown but working estimates have been made. Hawes quotes Grey’s estimate of 1,500 men.⁵ Kumar’s data shows Scindhia had five brigades in 1801, each of 6,000 men, under European and Eurasian command. Each brigade had at least 65 Eurasian and European officers, NCOs and gunners. Haydar Ali fielded 70,000 in Madras,⁶ and the Peshwa fielded 20,000. Both included European and Eurasian officers. If they were in the same ratio as in Scindhia’s armies, that would give at least 1,500 Eurasians and Europeans in just these three armies. Many princely armies were large and similarly staffed, such as those of the Punjab and Awadh, before the British were able to effectively enforce their influence. Grey’s may be an underestimate. There were also perhaps greater numbers who served in the ranks.⁷ 1,500 officers and perhaps the same number of ‘other ranks’ plus an equal number of wives and children, represented a significant proportion (perhaps 6 to 10 per cent) of India’s Eurasian population which would have been fast approaching Buchanan’s 1813 estimate (see introductory chapter) of 100,000 men, women and children.

Threats and fear of the consequences of non-compliance with treaty terms encouraged the princes’ durbars to consider British insistence on prior sanction before employing any European, but this did not mean they always complied; even the British were unsure about whether they should or could interfere in the employment of Eurasians. The meaning of a circular of 1831 was still being debated in 1885 because

4 This is very evident in the reorganisation of the Nizam of Hyderabad’s Armies in 1806, - IOR/F/4/215/4746, *List*, vol. 2, 1806-7.

5 Hawes, *Poor*, 1996, p. 95; Grey & Garrett, *European Adventures*, 1929, p. 212.

6 Kumar, *Military*, 2004.

7 There were, for example, many European and Eurasian rank and file serving the Nizam – IOR/F/4/215/4746, *List*, vol. 2, 1806/7.

the position of a single comma changed its meaning; for over half a century, it was unclear whether government wanted returns of ‘all Europeans and East Indians in Native States, or only such persons when also British subjects, or of all Europeans but only of East Indians being British Subjects.’⁸ Some of the British, such as the 1882 Agent to the Governor-General in the Central Indian States, could be particularly dismissive of Eurasians as a military threat: ‘East Indians being British Subjects have, in no case, any Military training, and would be useless to the armies of Native States.’⁹ An occasional military Eurasian could still surface, however, even where the British had annexed a state and imposed its will, such as Felix Rotton who had served Awadh, and his seven sons who fought against the British in 1858, as did Sarwar Khan, a Muslim sepoy, whose father was Irish.¹⁰

Grey believed that because of concerns about treaty violations, many Eurasians and even some Europeans hid their identities behind native names or titles.¹¹ Obviously it is not possible to identify those who were successfully hidden but, a few have been identified. Louis Balthazar, the Eurasian son of the German mercenary Walter Reinhard, was known to the British but he was also known as ‘Zaffar Yab Khan,’ a title given to him by the Mughal Emperor.¹² William Leigh, of Irish descent, served twenty years at Khorassan as Mahomet Khan. He was eventually identified serving Ranjit Singh at Lahore in 1825.¹³ Mahomed Sidiq who served the Nawab of Bahawalpur for many years was also either Eurasian or European.¹⁴ The subject of names, more fully considered below,¹⁵ was only part of the disguise and may also have indicated their religious beliefs. Some rulers insisted that Eurasians and Europeans outwardly adopt the local culture, possibly only to naturalise them more fully but the effect was to disguise their presence. Grey cites John Holmes, a Eurasian officer with Ranjit Singh, who like

8 This source also noted that the meaning of the term East Indian was open to different interpretations. NAI, Foreign/Political/Notes/Procs. no. 29, *Employment*, 1885.

9 Agent to Governor-General, Sir L Griffin, Letter no 91-217a., 1st July 1882; *A Response to Foreign Department No. 894 G.G., dated 27th May 1882*.

10 Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, ‘The ‘Other’ Victims of 1857,’ *Mutiny at the Margins*, Conference, Edinburgh, 2007, www.csas.ed.ac.uk/mutiny/confpapers, (accessed October 2010); The Rottons were probably descended from Mr W Rotton who had been in Marhatta service until 1803 when he was pensioned off by the British - NAI, Foreign/Political/ Consultations, no. 91 - 2 May 1805, no. 67 - 1 January 1807 and no. 77 - 22 January 1807, *Re. Mr W. Rotton, Lucknow*.

11 Grey & Garrett, *European Adventures*, 1929, p. 1-11.

12 Nicholas Shreeve, *The Indian Heir; David Ochterlony Dyce Sombre*, Bookwright, West Sussex, 1999, p. 4.

13 Grey & Garrett, *European Adventures*, 1929, pp. 75-8.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 11.

15 See this chapter, section on Eurasian agency.

all Europeans and Eurasians serving his durbar had to agree to grow a beard, marry locally, give up beef, neither smoke in public nor offend the Sikh religion, and (if required) to fight their erstwhile countrymen.¹⁶

Even towards the end of the century, when most were bound by treaty obligations or 'directed' by British political agents and residents, some states did not need to hide Eurasians or Europeans because they were simply too powerful to upset by high handed insistence on rules. The Political Agent to Hyderabad was advised in 1884 to 'tread carefully and see if [the durbar] will readily agree' before he interfered in its employment of 271 Europeans and Eurasians there.¹⁷ Not only was Hyderabad powerful and strategically important, but the Nizam had the ear of the Viceroy and so could afford to ignore lesser officials.¹⁸

Other durbars believed there were no restrictions on their employment of Eurasians or Europeans. Samthar durbar, for example, said:

... the Durbar begs to point out that the practice of employing Europeans and Christians East Indians in the service of this State has been in force since 1852 or for the past fifty years and during that period ... no objections whatever were ever raised ... no applications have ever been submitted from this State either to the Central India Agency or to the Bundelkhand Political Agency for sanction to the employment of Europeans and East Indians.¹⁹

Military service in native durbars remained an attractive option for Eurasians anxious to carve out a more rewarding military career than was possible in British India but avoiding the administration's influence became increasingly difficult as the century, and British hegemony, progressed. Samuel Clarkson was employed by Ajangarh durbar in 1891 specifically for a military role in the suppression of dacoity. A few months later the Political Agent received a sharp reprimand because no permission had been sought prior to his appointment; the Agent was ordered to report on both Clarkson's fitness for the place to which he had been appointed *and* his antecedents. He had previously served the British as a bandsman with the 14th Bengal Lancers and had 'exceptionally smart soldierly qualities' but 'the fact of his being a Eurasian Christian appears to have closed the door to advancement which he otherwise deserved in the service.' The Political Agent claimed that neither he nor the states in Bundelkhand Agency had ever been

16 Grey & Garrett, *European Adventures*, 1929, p. 12.

17 NAI, Foreign/Political/Notes/Procs. no. 29, *Employment*, 1885.

18 *Ibid.*, 1884.

19 NAI, Bundelkund Agency/English Files/Part 1/No.8, 'Rubakar from the Samthar Durbar, Political Agent's translation,' *Return of Europeans and East Indians in the service of Native States*, 24th June 1882.

informed that they needed the Governor-General's sanction to employ Eurasians. Clarkson would appear to have been valued since he was not dismissed but the imperative to control the movements and influence of Europeans and Eurasians was of central importance to government, regardless of treaty conditions. To affect a compromise, the Political Agent suggested that the durbar might 'contribute' his services to the combined states forces loaned to government for suppression of thugs and dacoits.²⁰

At the start of the century many Eurasians had gained military employment with native states through the patronage of their fathers serving in the British administration but, as the century wore on, British officials were less likely to be so closely related. Treaty conditions were also more widely enforced and Eurasians were more likely to be noticed and vetted than before. More states were annexed and their rulers removed, making more Eurasians British subjects. Those Eurasians likely to obtain and retain positions of authority in the armies of native states were those who could remain unnoticed, those who least identified with their European heritage, particularly those with non-European names and lifestyles.

THE COMPANY'S ARMIES

Musicians

Greene cites a General Order dated 14 June 1798 that all fifers and drummers for sepoy regiments were to come from the Military Orphan Schools, normally joining when they were thirteen or fourteen.²¹ This is probably the first example of an occupation effectively reserved for Eurasians.²² Between 1782 and 1820, 693 boys who were employed from the Bengal Lower Orphan School, three quarters of all the boys, were sent to be military fifers and drummers.²³ Since the order applied to all presidencies we might safely increase the actual number employed to over 1,500.²⁴ The sons of Eurasian military musicians were also educated and placed in the same way. Thus, the military bands became the most common form of employment for the Eurasian sons of crown

20 NAI, Bundelcund Agency/English Files/Part 1/No.8, *Return*, 1891-1922, pp. 66-71.

21 Greene, *A Code*, 1810, p. 210.

22 Very few of the rank and file would have been able to bring a European wife with them and there were few working-class European women in India so most of their children were Eurasian.

23 Ghosh, *Making*, 2003; Lushington, *The History*, 1824, p.xlvii.

24 The demographic ratio of Bengal 5: Madras 4: Bombay 3 has been applied to calculate the total number.

and Company troops. An idea of the number of positions available can be calculated from known examples.

In 1804 the Scots Brigade of 1,024 men, had 26 drummers on its muster.²⁵ In 1868 Charles Dickens reported that the French army fielded fifty to sixty musicians for 2,400 soldiers.²⁶ In 1857 the 28th Bengal Native Infantry's band comprised 30 Christian Eurasian bandsmen²⁷ and so the Company deployed bandsmen in a similar proportion to the British and French armies across its presidency army units, equating to between 2.5 and 3 per cent of its strength.

Year	no of battalions (native infantry)	no of men ²⁸	Number of posts for musicians (3 per cent)
1795	-	57000	1710
1824	144	115200	3456
1857	-	311538	9346
1863	-	135000	5910
1911	138	110400	3312

The table 12 shows that, given the early requirement that military bandsmen for native regiments should come from the orphan schools, enlistment as military bandsmen could employ a very significant number of Indo-British Eurasians.²⁹ We know that opportunities within the Company's armies were somewhat limited so that many would serve their whole careers as bandsmen. It would therefore be reasonable to suppose that they might have supported at least an equal number of relatives. If there were between three and four thousand bandsmen (an estimate for 1824) plus an equal number of dependants, they might represent between 6 and 14 per cent of all Indo-British Eurasians.

²⁵ Muster Roll, 1804, FIBIS.

²⁶ Charles Dickens (ed.), 'Easter Monday at Portsmouth,' *All the Year Round*, vol. 19 (472), 1868, pp. 520-4.

²⁷ Llewellyn-Jones, *Other*, 2007.

²⁸ 1824 and 1911 figures are calculated for the number of infantry battalions, allowing a total of 800 men per unit.

²⁹ The smaller number of European boys from the Orphan school would not have been placed in native regiments but may have made up numbers in the European regiments; in 1863 there were 62,000 British troops with a complement of up to 1860 bandsmen. Alternatively they may have been disproportionately represented amongst the boys who were apprenticed or returned to their parents.

The fact that Eurasian bandsmen were meant to be restricted to non-combatant roles did not preclude duty on the battlefield. Troop Sergeant Major Charles Thompson's race is not specified in the few records of him that still exist but he must have been Eurasian; he was a bandsman described as having dark hair, dark complexion and black eyes. Born at 'Beawur' in 1825, he enlisted in the Company's army at Nusserabad in 1839. He was a band corporal by 1843 serving with the 9th Bengal Light Cavalry when he was awarded a medal for action at Hyderabad in Scinde. He was a Sergeant in 1857 and was robbed when the 9th mutinied at Sealkote. He then transferred to the Lahore Light Horse with whom he saw further action at Lucknow. That regiment was disbanded in 1863 but he had risen to the rank of Troop Sergeant Major when awarded a long service and good conduct medal in 1866. He served until 1865 when he was discharged to pension.³⁰ Thompson's Record shows that, though a bandsman and therefore a non-combatant, he was in battle at least three times. It also shows that, contrary to Company standing orders, he was of a rank supposed to be closed to Eurasians; a sergeant major serving with a native corps. Thompson was not the only Eurasian who was able to achieve a high non-commissioned rank within the Company's armies.

The prospects of bandsmen may also have varied by regiment. Just prior to the uprising in 1857, Master Sergeant Whiley of 47th Bengal Native Infantry believed that his two bandsmen sons would do better if granted transfers to a European regiment.³¹ He did not elaborate on how their prospects might be improved by such a move but may have wished to ensure that they mixed with Europeans and Eurasians rather than natives. Given the 'family' ethos of regimental life, bandsmen would have developed close bonds within their own regiment. If that was a native regiments the bandsmen would have developed a strong allegiance to their native peers. That was certainly true of the 30 Eurasian bandsmen of 28th Bengal Native Infantry who stood with their regiment when it mutinied and who were all killed by Hodson's Horse at Delhi.³²

A Company bandsman's post has been portrayed as a job with security but no prospects of improvement. However, some at least, were enabled to improve their prospects elsewhere because of that service. Samuel Clarkson's 'soldierly qualities'

30 IOR/L/Mil/5/69, *Scinde Medal roll*, 1843; IOR/L/Mil/5/77, *Mutiny Medal Roll*, 1857; Steve Kettle, Scan of *Discharge Certificate, Charles Thompson*, dated 26th June 1865, <http://www.britishmedals.us/collections/TB/heic/thompson.html>, (acc. October 2010).

31 IOR/Mss/Eur F133/176, *Humble Petition*, 1857.

32 Llewellyn-Jones, *Other*, 2007

allowed him to move to service with Ajangarh durbar. His move was prompted by lack of prospects in the Company's service, but that service also helped the Political Officer to support him when his role was challenged by the Governor-General.³³ Lewis Groves made a similar move, from drummer with the 73rd Native Infantry to sergeant major in the service of Bandar durbar.³⁴

Besides military music, army bands were used for social events such as mess and residency balls where they provided the dance music. Bandsmen who left the military therefore had a useful transferrable skill; there was work for civilian musicians providing the music for dances at the Railway Institutes, Eurasian weddings, and other community events. Potential employers, particularly those who fielded a volunteer regiment, may also have valued their skills and service record and considered them worthy of employment on that basis.

Farriers

Farriers, who made horseshoes, acted as grooms, and assisted veterinary surgeons with the care of horses, were an essential part of any army. Artillery and baggage was hauled by horse, and transport corps used horses alongside camels and bullocks to move equipment between encampments. Officers and their wives kept horses for leisure, sport, and to pull their carriages, they carried dispatch riders, and cavalry regiments had more horses than men. Horses were inspected at least twice a day and horseshoes had to be replaced regularly, about once in six weeks, so there was plenty of work for an army farrier. Like musicians, they were often Eurasians, and they too gained skills that were transferrable to civilian life.

Thurston found a student farrier in his ethnography of the poorest Madras Eurasians, Samthar durbar employed a Eurasian (Mr Alfred) in its stables on such a low wage (Rs10 a month) that the Political Agent presumed he must be 'nothing more than a Native Christian.'³⁵ There were also native farriers with whom they had to compete. Conversely a skilled Eurasian farrier may have enjoyed a good living. The prejudices of the European elite in particular would have worked in his favour, as would his European heritage in some of the native durbars. Given the care of valuable Arabs, a contract with

33 See this chapter, previous section on the armies of native states. NAI, Bundelcund Agency/English Files/Part 1/No.8, *Return*, 1891-22, pp. 66-71.

34 IOR/F/4/1601/64653, *Europeans and Eurasians in the service of the Nawab of Bandar*, 1834, pp. 12-7.

35 NAI, Bundelcund Agency/English Files/Part 1/No.8, *To Agent to the Governor-General for Central India from Political Agent, Bundelkhand*, no. 255, 11th July 1882.

a stud, or proximity to a racecourse, there would have been steady work. It was a specialist trade that took some years as an apprentice to learn. Gilchrist even advised his readers not to bring European Coachmen with them to India because they found it very easy to desert their masters and set up business as farriers.³⁶ A skilled and trusted farrier sergeant, once he left the army, could set up as a master with his own journeymen and apprentices so that, viewed from a working-class perspective, it was a respectable trade.³⁷

The Madras Sergeant Majors

Metcalf noted: 'In India, the young British officer found his ideas shaped by his choice of service and the nature of his work.' He also pointed out: 'In Bengal, the aristocratic sentiments of Lord Cornwallis still dominated the civil service 75 years after the Permanent Settlement.'³⁸ Thus, the British did not have a single monolithic approach to the everyday administration of India, neither at individual, nor presidency level. What was unacceptable to a Governor-General or Commander-in-Chief in Bengal might be viewed very differently in the mofussil or in another presidency. Such was the case for Eurasian sergeant majors in the Company's Madras army.

In 1835, 41 of 63 sergeant-majors serving with Madras native regiments were Eurasians. Several had been drawn from the Military Male Asylum and the free schools; seven described as sons of 'old soldiers' and conductors, two as sons of commissioned officers. Others, who were recruited as adults had previously been bandsmen, farriers and clerks and several had seen battle.³⁹ The Governor-General pointed out that these appointments were against regulations and that such posts should go to deserving Europeans. But the Military Department at Madras stood its ground and insisted that only the Madras commander could alter the number, organisation, pay, clothing and equipment of his troops. Eventually, it was agreed, in writing, that the Eurasian sergeant majors would be dismissed.⁴⁰ However, in 1843, the East India Register announced the birth of a son to the wife of F. Mergler, one of the Eurasian Sergeant Majors from 1835,

36 Gilchrist, *Vade Mecum*, 1825, p. 184.

37 The Worshipful Company of Farriers has been one of the City of London's Livery Companies for over 400 years.

38 Thomas R. Metcalf, *Forging the Raj; Essays on British India in the Heyday of Empire*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2005, p. 45.

39 IOR/F/4/1544/61371, *Sergeant Majors*, May 1829-October 1835.

40 *Ibid.*, 'Extracts from Military Letter from Fort St George, 3 July 1835 (no. 37).

still with the 35th Madras N.I.,⁴¹ with which he had already served for 21 years. Several others were also still in post.

Crises

Military crises also expanded opportunities for Eurasians to serve in a military capacity. Like the irregular units that formed at such times and included Eurasians, Company and even British army units sometimes needed to expand rapidly and then would also recruit Eurasians. There was a Eurasian regiment in 1857 Bengal⁴² and the 98th Foot had a Eurasian corps in 1858.⁴³ The Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association also said the 1st Madras Fusiliers (sic), which 'gave a good account of itself during the Mutiny of 1857-8 might fairly be claimed a Eurasian Regiment.'⁴⁴ Allen's Indian Mail published a revised establishment for the Lahore Light Horse in February 1860 in which it stated 'All soldiers enlisted to be of European or Eurasian parentage.'⁴⁵ There were even Eurasian Artillery men in 1866.⁴⁶

Indian Subordinate Medical Department

It is not always appreciated that musicians and farriers were not the only non-combatant posts open to Eurasians; in the Company armies, and later the Indian army, thousands served in the Indian Subordinate Medical Department (ISMD). This was an integral part of the military with its personnel attached to Company and Crown units.⁴⁷ Known initially as apothecaries and later as assistant surgeons, European and Eurasian subordinates served with European or native units, either under the direction of a surgeon of the Indian Medical Service (IMS), or alone. Although in theory the IMS was open to 'all natural born subjects of Her Majesty,' it was recruited entirely in Europe.⁴⁸

41 Birth Announcements, Madras, Mergler, 13th July 1843, *East India Register*, 1844.

42 The Eurasian regiment formed during 1857 still existed in 1860 but was later disbanded. Lord Canning to Sir C. Wood, *Return to an Address of the Honourable The House of Commons*, 29th June 1860.

43 'From the London Gazette, Friday, Sept. 24, War Office, Pall Mall, (Official Appointments and Notices),' *The Times*, Saturday, 25 September 1858; p. 4, Issue 23108; col. C.

44 'To the Hon. Sec., Anglo-Indian Sub-Committee of the East India Association, (letter no. 52, Calcutta, 5th May 1880),' *Fourth Annual Report, Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association*, appx. C, 1880

45 *Allen's Indian Mail and Official Gazette*, vol. 18 (428), February 18 1860, p. 114.

46. F. Warren, 'The Lost Guns In Bhootan,' *The Times*, Friday, 12 January 1866; p. 5; Issue 25393; col. G.

47 MacMunn, *Armies*, 1911, p. 187-8.

48 Besides being in Britain and natural born subjects, candidates had to hold qualifications in both medicine and surgery, be aged between 21 and 28, be registered to practice in Britain, and have testimonials from a 'person of standing in society' and a minister of religion - n.a. 'Regulations of the General Medical Council and Medical Licensing Bodies,' *British Medical Journal*, vol. 2 (1653), 3rd Sept 1892, pp. 497-559.

All of its members were covenanted or commissioned but the expense of travelling to Europe and attending medical school there was beyond the reach of most Eurasians, Domiciled Europeans and Indians who were left with little choice but to join the ISMD.⁴⁹ Indian native subordinates, sometimes apothecaries but more usually hospital assistants, served only native units, civil and military.⁵⁰

The ISMD was drawn from graduates educated together with civilian students at government medical colleges,⁵¹ government hospitals and in the field. Candidates for apothecary or assistant surgeon posts, already qualified after several years as hospital apprentices, faced further competitive examinations for any positions available.⁵² Those appointed became part of the military and were sent to military stations to care for servicemen and their families.⁵³ Once in post, they progressed by seniority through four grades (classes) until they achieved senior apothecary or assistant surgeon grade. All held warrant officer rank but could not progress beyond senior warrant officer or honorary commissioned officer ranks. A few very determined students managed to get to Britain where they were able to gain further training, qualifications and professional registration and take the necessary examinations (held in Britain), to join the more prestigious and remunerative IMS, a step that also led to increased exposure to racism.⁵⁴ By 1829-31 the Madras ISMD already recorded the names of 200 men in its pension rolls.⁵⁵ The total number of apothecaries, assistant apothecaries and others aspiring to those grades (which included stewards in Bengal and Bombay), across India

49 *Anglo-Indian Journal*, vol. 1 (3), 1897, Bombay.

50 The explanation for this difference was that 'the European or semi-European assistant surgeon has more authority with the British soldier than a native would have;' C. H. Joubert de la Ferté, 'The Indian Subordinate Medical Department,' *BMJ*, vol. 2 (2485), 15 August 1908, pp. 385-388.

51 Madras, Calcutta and Bombay medical colleges were set up in the mid 1830s but Bombay failed within six years and was later re-established as Grant Medical College. Hyderabad also had a small medical college recognised by government and another opened in Lahore in 1860. There were 10 recognised medical schools across India by 1911. A.H. Butt, 'The Medical Council of India,' *BMJ*, vol. 2 (4471), 14th Sept 1946, pp. 369-72.

52 n.a. 'The Indian Subordinate Medical Department, Assistant Surgeon Branch' *BMJ*, vol. 2 (2343), 25 November 1905, p. 1435. Less successful students may have been appointed to lesser posts: De La Ferte explained, in 1908, that since military students were educated at government expense they were required to serve the government for many years and, he said, all successful students were appointed to substantive posts. See de la Ferté, *Indian Subordinate*, 1908, pp. 385-388.

53 Some of the Eurasians and Europeans were seconded for civil duties; see de *Ibid.*

54 The education and career of Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney, one example of this unusual transition, is described in Anthony, *Britain's Betrayal*, 1962, pp. 87-90. Racism was more evident for such men because IMS doctors were more likely to have to treat European women than were ISMD men and that raised concerns with some amongst the European community. There is also an 1897 list of 77 IMS men drawn from the Eurasian and domiciled European community in *The Anglo-Indian Journal*, vol. 1 (3), December 1897, pp. 7-9.

55 These were ranked Second Apothecary, Apothecary, or Assistant Apothecary; IOR/F/4/1338/53155, *Madras Apothecaries' Pension Fund*, January 1829 - October 1831, transcription from <http://www.new.fibis.org>, (accessed November 2010).

in 1841 was 327⁵⁶ working alongside 846 Surgeons and Assistant Surgeons of Crown forces and the Company's IMS⁵⁷. By the 1860s there were about 490 apothecaries and assistant apothecaries across British India working alongside about 745 IMS men.⁵⁸ In 1908 the subordinate department had in post 664 Eurasian and domiciled European assistant surgeons.⁵⁹ In 1914 the IMS establishment was 646, half of whom were doing civil duties; there were 360 medical officers of the Royal Army Medical Corps;⁶⁰ and the subordinate service fielded 2,142 assistant (mostly Eurasian) and sub-assistant surgeons (including Indians).⁶¹ Whatever the criticism of their training and abilities, the proportion of imported European IMS and Royal Army Medical Corps men required was reduced over time as the proportion of ISMD men went up. This represented a considerable saving to government since the salary rates of the ISMD (table 13) were very much lower than those of the IMS.⁶²

Madras, Calcutta and Bombay medical schools, besides their own diplomas for apothecaries, also offered a more extensive training course leading to medical degrees. Madras awarded full medical degrees to 24 students in its Senior Department between 1852 and 1867; the school's degrees thereafter were validated by Madras University.⁶³ Bombay and Calcutta medical colleges also offered full medical degrees validated by universities.⁶⁴ These qualified men to work as doctors in India, although those wishing to practise in Britain had to undergo further examinations there for a British licence.⁶⁵

56 n.a., 'British Foreign Medical Service,' *Boston Medical & Surgical Journal*, vol. 26 (1), 9 February 1842, pp. 17-8.

57 *Ibid.*

58 IMS figure - n.a. 'Medical Services of the British Army,' *British & Foreign Medico-Chirurgical Review*, vol. 15, April 1855, pp 411-49 (see pp. 440-1); There were 181 in Bengal's ISMD - The ranks in 1862 Bengal were Assistant Apothecary, Apothecary or Senior Apothecary. 'Apothecaries Serving in Bengal, Bengal Army List,' *New Calcutta Directory*, 1862; Madras ISMD numbered 197 men - n.a. 'List of Medical Warrant Officers of Her Majesty's Indian Forces,' *Madras Quarterly Journal of Medical Science*, vol. 1, 1860, pp. 231-44; There were 105 in ISMD Bombay - The date of this figure is unclear but the latest reference used in the source is dated 1869. Dadabhai Naoroji & Chunilal Lallubhai Parekh (ed.), *Speeches, Addresses and Writings (on Indian Politics) of the Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji*, Caxton Printing Works, Bombay, 1887, p. 269-273.

59 de la Ferté, *Indian Subordinate*, 1908, pp. 385-388.

60 The Royal Army Medical Corps was formed in 1898 and provided medical services to the British army.

61 L.F. Rushbrook Williams, 'India and the War,' in H.H. Dodwell (ed.), *The Cambridge History of India, vol. VI, The Indian Empire 1858-1918*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1932, p. 482.

62 Though Indian doctors would have been even cheaper it was not considered appropriate to allow natives to treat Europeans.

63 Madras Government, *Selections From the Records of the Madras Government, Annual Reports of the Madras Medical College, 1866-7 Session*, vol. 4, Gantz Brothers, Madras, 1867, p. 14.

64 Butt, *Medical Council*, 1946, pp. 369-72.

65 n.a. 'Regulations of the General Medical Council and Medical Licensing Bodies,' *BMJ*, vol. 2 (1653), 3rd Sept 1892, pp. 497-559.

The 1869 Madras medical college report noted that although the Senior Department's men were fully qualified as doctors, 'there are no outlets in this Presidency for those who cannot afford to test the value of their professional training in England.'⁶⁶ A similar complaint was made by Dadabhai Naoroji who noted that native holders of LM degrees (Licentiate in Medicine) were stuck in sub-assistant surgeon positions, unable to progress in their careers because the examinations for assistant surgeon posts, the entry grade of the IMS up to the 1870s, were held only in Britain.⁶⁷ Both of these complaints ignored the fact that there were no restrictions on private practice⁶⁸ other than racism from European patients⁶⁹ and mistrust in Western medicine from many Indians.⁷⁰ However, the General Medical Council, with which British doctors had to be registered, and the Indian medical colleges themselves compounded the difficulties. They engaged in petty power struggles over validation of qualifications and the powers of a proposed all-India inspectorate, with the result that until 1934 anyone commencing their medical education in India could not be sure their qualifications would be recognised by the time they qualified.⁷¹ Whether by intent or neglect, the law forbidding discrimination in government employment on grounds of race, creed or place of birth, was effectively circumvented. Highly trained and qualified Indians, Eurasians and domiciled Europeans wishing to enter government service were largely confined to the subordinate service, and the IMS remained a European stronghold.

The ISMD was not reserved for Eurasians but from its inception, they were well represented;⁷² a general order of 1812 approved the selection of 24 boys from the Upper and Lower Orphan Schools and the Free School at Calcutta 'to serve as Compounders, Dressers, and ultimately as Apothecaries and Sub Assistant Surgeons.' As pupils, the Bengal students were supported by the surgeons training them. As Compounders and Dressers they were to be paid Rs 35 monthly together with free accommodation, and as Apothecaries or Sub Assistant Surgeons they were paid a monthly salary of Rs 100.⁷³

66 *Madras Government, Annual Reports, 1868-69*, p. 14.

67 Naoroji and Parekh, *Speeches*, 1887, p. 269-273.

68 n.a., 'Proposed Medical Registration Act for India,' *BMJ*, vol. 2 (2486), 22 August 1908, pp. 521-22.

69 Hawes, *Poor*, 1996, p. 49.

70 Robert Cole (ed.), 'The Madras Medical School,' *Madras Quarterly Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. 7, January 1838, pp. 265-268.

71 Butt, *Medical Council*, 1946, pp. 369-72.

72 The Madras College apothecaries' class of 1838 were exclusively 'Indo-British' with two or three 'who appeared to be European.' Cole, *Madras Medical School*, 1838.

73 n.a., 'GOGG, Fort William, June 15th 1812; Boys from the Upper & Lower Orphan Schools & Free School to

Madras made an early start in the organised and formal medical education of apothecaries, and the other presidencies followed suit with a structured syllabus and regular examinations as well as clinical training.⁷⁴ Suitable boys aged sixteen to eighteen who had passed the entrance examinations held in India studied for between three and six years with annual examinations. Younger boys were also taken into the service: fifteen year old Andrew Fitzgibbon, a hospital apprentice from Bengal and a year into his training, won a Victoria Cross in 1860 whilst serving with the 67th Regiment in China.⁷⁵

Madras Medical College was firmly routed to the teaching hospital principle of learning through clinical practice; 'it gives the student a familiarity with the physiognomy and course of disease, which books cannot bestow, and which time cannot efface.'⁷⁶ Madras offered three different routes to qualification; as a licentiate, an assistant apothecary, or a hospital assistant. The Senior Department, including private scholars and boys who had won scholarships, graduated as licentiates after five years' study, Second Department boys, all military entries, graduated after three years and could apply for employment as assistant apothecaries. The Junior Department boys, after just two years, could become hospital assistants.⁷⁷ New rules introduced in 1865 specified that prior to commencing their formal studies, first one and then two years of hospital training had to be undertaken to ensure that all boys had a good understanding of both medical terminology and the English language.⁷⁸ By 1870 hospital assistant training had been further extended to include more subjects. The College wanted to extend the academic training to three years.⁷⁹ The grade of hospital assistant had been created to replace a rank being phased out – dressers – but the college principal considered the assistants' training inadequate except to produce 'superior compounders and dispensers of medicines.'⁸⁰ In 1866 two Junior Department students were fee paying, five Second Department boys had lost their stipends, and two of the seniors

Serve as Compounders, Dressers and Apothecaries,' *Calcutta Gazette*, vol. LVII, (1479), 2nd July 1812.

74 For a description of the examinations and syllabus at Madras in 1838 see Cole, *Madras Medical School*, 1838.

75 P.H. Starling, 'The Youngest Victoria Cross: the Award of the Victoria Cross to Andrew Fitzgibbon,' *Journal of the Royal Army Medical Corps.*, vol. 154 (1), March 2008, pp. 81-3.

76 *Madras Government, Annual Reports*, 1867, p. 11.

77 *Ibid.*, pp. 29-32.

78 Length of study had increased by a year in 1865 and students who did not gain sufficient marks in annual exams could be held back a year. Government order no.1884, 29 March 1865, *Ibid.*, 1866.

79 *Ibid.*, 1867, p. 17.

80 *Ibid.*, p. 24.

were private (fee paying) students.⁸¹ By 1869 final year Second Department and Senior Department students were participating in the training and disciplining of students in the lower years and in the Junior Department.⁸² All three departments at Madras included students with European and Indian names but those of the Junior Department were predominantly Indian. Those with European names at this time were Eurasians, with possibly a few Indian Christians in the Junior Department,⁸³ since local enlistment of young men for the Medical Department had excluded those of European ancestry on both sides, a condition only removed in 1867.⁸⁴

The full syllabus at Madras in 1865, undertaken by Senior Department boys comprised anatomy, physiology, surgery, minor surgery, medicine, *materia medica*, ophthalmology, midwifery, chemistry, medical jurisprudence, hygiene, botany, diseases of women and children, organic chemistry, comparative anatomy, dissection, pathology and microscopy. The Second Department did not study botany or pathology, instead concentrating on practical pharmacy.⁸⁵ The Junior Department were taught elementary medicine, surgery and anatomy, *material medica*, practical pharmacy (compounding) and minor surgery. In Madras, at least in the 1860s, Indian students trained in the same subjects and were ranked in examinations alongside European and Eurasian classmates.⁸⁶ All the annual reports from Madras include a table showing how many meetings were held for each subject and how many were lectures (including practical demonstrations and clinical instruction) or examinations; about one in three were examinations. In addition, the students sat annual and final examinations. Those who failed badly were dismissed. Those who were judged capable of improvement were allowed to repeat a year at their own expense.

There is no question that after training, race affected prospects for gaining employment and promotion. Naoroji suggests that in Bombay Indian students were excluded from or disadvantaged in training as apothecaries and doctors.⁸⁷ Of the Senior Department boys at Bombay, Naoroji claimed Indians had to pay to train for medical

81 *Ibid.*, p. 17.

82 *Ibid.*, 1869, p. 52.

83 The Junior Department at Madras in 1838 included Indian Christians, some of who may have adopted European names on baptism. Cole, Madras Medical School, 1838.

84 *Madras Government, Annual Reports*, 1867, pp. 21-2.

85 *Ibid.*, 1866.

86 *Ibid.*

87 Naoroji and Parekh, *Speeches*, 1887, p. 269-273.

degrees whereas Europeans were paid by government. The Indians also had to be better qualified than Europeans to join the college.⁸⁸ In Madras, in the mid 1860s three of the ten boys in the final year of Second Department (apothecary) training had Indian names: Gooroosawmy, Sunjeevee and Seetaramiah. All were military students in receipt of monthly allowances of Rs 10 to 16 with a further Rs 10 *batta* for rations.⁸⁹ M Pursooramen Naick and Dhanakoti Rajoo had been Senior Department scholars at Madras in 1866, and both had received government scholarships.⁹⁰ Government scholars, whether European, Eurasian or Indian, received a monthly allowance of Rs 20 rising to 30 and then 40 as they progressed during their five years.⁹¹ Madras also offered a Lane Scholarship, again open to any race, which started at Rs 30 and rose to Rs 50 per month.⁹² Naoroji was, of course writing a little later and about a different presidency and so he may well have been correct in his analysis of the reality, if not the regulations. In Madras, moreover, the Lane scholarship may have been colour-blind but it was restricted to Protestants. A medical journal in 1905 specified that military medical students there were paid a monthly allowance but it mentions only Europeans and Eurasians. It is unclear whether Indian students were excluded from training or from the allowance,⁹³ but it is evident from their names and appearance that the Bengal Military medical graduates in 1915 were all Eurasians.⁹⁴

Turning to pay and conditions, I have already described some of the allowances and scholarships paid to military medical students whilst under instruction and mentioned that ISMD personnel were paid considerably less than doctors (effectively Europeans) in the IMS, but training, remuneration and conditions of service differed within the ISMD with grade, over time and between presidencies too.

The early ISMD included ‘dressers,’ both Indian and Eurasians. Eurasian dressers drawing monthly salaries of Rs 35 in 1812 Bengal were expected to progress, over time, to become apothecaries.⁹⁵ ‘Dresser’ was, however, a career grade for Indians. A general

88 *Ibid.*,

89 *Madras Government, Annual Reports*, 1867.

90 *Ibid.*, 1867.

91 *Ibid.*, 1868, pp. 49-50.

92 *Ibid.*, pp. 50-1.

93 n.a., *Indian Subordinate*, 1905, p. 1435.

94 Hop Sing and Co, *Military Students, Calcutta Medical School (1911-1915)*, scanned photograph at <http://www.new.fibis.org>, (accessed November 2010).

95 n.a., ‘GOGG, Fort William, June 15th 1812, Boys from the Upper & Lower Orphan Schools & Free School to Serve as Compounders, Dressers and Apothecaries,’ *Calcutta Gazette*, vol. LVII (1479), 2nd July 1812.

order in March 1827 established a Madras corps of Indian dressers, who were paid, whilst pupils, a monthly allowance of Rs 7 (plus *batta* of 1a.3p per day) for the two years of their training. An article on Madras in 1838 specifies that all students of the lower department who were being trained as dressers were ‘natives’ and not Indo-Britons.⁹⁶ Once qualified, dressers had been equivalent in rank to privates⁹⁷ but by 1866 native dressers (as medical subordinates) were being phased out altogether.⁹⁸ The designation was also used for any medical student who, having passed their third or fourth year examinations were undertaking a six to nine month period of clinical work, under a senior surgeon, to hone their practical skills and to ‘dress’ surgical wounds. In that context the designation continued in use, in Britain as well as India, until the mid twentieth century.⁹⁹

Stewards were also low paid and of low status and in 1868, though the posts remained, they were removed from the ISMD establishment. Their monthly salaries in 1868 Bengal were fixed at Rs 20 to 45.¹⁰⁰ The grade was first identified in a general order of 1812, as part of the Bengal ISMD to be trained by IMS men. They were listed in the ISMD rolls for Bengal and Bombay prior to their removal from the Bengal establishment in 1868.¹⁰¹ A description of stewards and assistant stewards in 1855 in Bengal describes them as warrant officers responsible for ‘food, clothing, and similar internal economy of military hospitals’ besides aiding ‘the surgeon in the preparation of official reports and statements.’ Their duties could equally have been carried out by sergeant majors without the expense of medical training, the route Madras had always taken, using Hospital Purveyors from the Commissariat Department.¹⁰²

On passing their examinations and entering the service as fourth class assistant apothecaries, Eurasians and Europeans were ranked as sub-conductors, the forerunners of today’s warrant officers, and occasionally held honorary junior commissioned ranks.¹⁰³

96 Cole, Madras Medical School, 1838.

97 *Ibid.*

98 *Madras Government, Annual Reports*, 1867, p. 24.

99 N. E. Dudley, ‘A Hands on or Hands off Approach to Patients?’ *BMJ*, vol. 318, 15 May, 1999, p. 1361.

100 n.a., ‘Subordinate Medical Department,’ *The Indian Medical Gazette*, vol. 3 (7), July 1868, p. 158.

101 *Ibid.*,

102 IMS figure - n.a. ‘Medical Services of the British Army,’ *British & Foreign Medico-Chirurgical Review*, vol. 15, April 1855, pp. 411-49.

103 Cole, Madras Medical School, 1838.

Cornish gave extensive information in 1870, based on the 1868 rules. Hospital apprentices trained for five years ‘if the exigencies of the service permit,’¹⁰⁴ including two years in a hospital prior to collegiate training.

Grade	Monthly salary Rs	Annual salary, £
4 th class Assistant Surgeon	85	68
3 rd class Assistant Surgeon	110	88
2 nd class Assistant Surgeon	150	120
1 st class Assistant Surgeon	200	160
Senior Hon. Lieut.	240	240
Senior Hon. Capt.	400	320

By 1905 the separate presidencies’ ISMDs had been consolidated into an India wide service and the European and Eurasian medical students were paid a monthly allowance of Rs 26.4., a flat rate regardless of what year of training they were in.¹⁰⁶ Once qualified, they entered the service as fourth class assistant surgeons.¹⁰⁷ They progressed through seniority to the grade of first class assistant-surgeon, spending about five years in each of the lower grades. Their rates of pay are given in table 13.

The whole service was again reorganised during the late 1920s and early 1930s. The IMS, after several years of recruitment difficulties and dissatisfaction, was absorbed into the Royal Army Medical Corps from which British medical officers were provided for both the Indian Army and the Civil Provincial Service; the British population had a protected right to consult a European doctor. As before, the Royal Army Medical Corps entrance examinations were in England. Their pay had trebled from pre-war levels and they had a right to retire after six years service with a gratuity of £1,000. The Civil Provincial Service was recruited in India and England but was headed by British qualified doctors; half of its medical establishment was reserved for Royal Army Medical Corps seconded personnel. The subordinate service was renamed and mostly absorbed into the Indian Medical Department, military and civil provincial, with an Indian and a British cadre. IMD Assistant Surgeons were still attested as

¹⁰⁴ Cornish, *Code*, 1870.

¹⁰⁵ de la Ferté, *Indian Subordinate*, 1908, pp. 385-388.

¹⁰⁶ The students got Rs 9.4. per month after deductions for board and lodgings - n.a., *Indian Subordinate*, 1905.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

soldiers under the Army Act but those seconded for civil duties came under civil authority. Their pay and conditions, often reduced, were set locally.¹⁰⁸

THE IRREGULAR CORPS.

Although Eurasians were officially excluded from the Company's military, in either combative or covenanted posts,¹⁰⁹ there appear to have been few reservations preventing their utilisation in times of crisis in irregular corps, indeed some of the best known were both officered and raised by Eurasians, for example Hyder Hearsey and James Skinner.¹¹⁰ Irregular corps were comparatively cheap since they came complete with their own arms, accoutrements and if cavalry corps even their own horses,¹¹¹ and, unlike Company and Crown troops, neither they nor their families were entitled to pensions.¹¹² The term irregular referred to the fact that they were not governed or ordered by military regulations. As late as 1857 the company made use of irregular cavalry, infantry and artillery corps. MacMunn noted that: 'The Company hardly knew what its stock of irregular troops was, for they had been raised as emergency demanded and opportunity offered, on authority which, even if existing at one time in writing, was often not forthcoming afterwards.'¹¹³ Some had been offered by native rulers or brought over to the British by their officers, or raised by individuals anxious to help.¹¹⁴ In 1824 there were at least five regiments of irregular horse, and several local corps and legions in Bengal, three local battalions in Madras and two regiments of irregular horse in Bombay.¹¹⁵ Before 1857 the Bengal irregular cavalry rose from five to eighteen corps¹¹⁶

108 The BMA had added to the difficulties in recruitment by advising its members not to work in India until it was assured that doctors qualified in Britain would hold the chief administrative posts in the provincial services. By 1929 there were 70 unfilled posts and the government was forced to comply. n.a., 'The Indian Medical Service,' *BMJ*, vol. 1 (3573), 29 June 1929, pp. 1168-9; n.a., 'The Indian Medical Department,' *BMJ*, vol. 1 (3664), 28 March 1931, pp. 565-6.

109 See proscriptions in chapter 1.

110 MacMunn, *Armies*, 1911, pp. 22-23.

111 *Ibid.*, p. 13.

112 Pension requests were usually resisted but were occasionally granted as 'a special case' - Llewellyn-Jones, *Other*, 2007.

113 MacMunn, *Armies*, 1911, p. 105 & 113-114.

114 Begum Somru of Sardhana offered her troops to General Lake in 1803, James Skinner was followed by a corps of 2000 men when he left Scindia's service in the same year, and at Madras in 1799 Richard Chase raised and paid for a company of native militia. Herbert Compton, *A Particular Account of the European Military Adventures of Hindustan, from 1784 to 1803*, T.F. Unwin, London, 1892, pp. 40-43; IOR/F/4/59/1312, 'Embodying The Militia At Madras, and an independent company of natives raised and paid for by Mr. Chase,' *Extract of Military Letter from Fort St George*, 2nd January 1799.

115 MacMunn, *Armies*, 1911, pp. 20-21.

116 *Ibid.*, p. 111.

but in the 1860s these were reduced to eight regiments.¹¹⁷ They were, however, a permanent adjunct to the armies available to the Government of India.

Their commanders were charismatic soldiers often with experience gained in the service of native states and well known to their men who, in consequence, were fiercely loyal. MacMunn claimed that ‘... the irregular system especially developed the initiative and responsibility of the native officer.’ This made the corps particularly useful in wars that did not follow the European norms (rules of engagement) such as in hill fighting in Afghanistan. They were also invaluable where local knowledge was necessary such as in Nagpur and Awadh after their annexation where ‘there were scores of reiving barons and robber chiefs to be dealt with’ and against the Pindaris in Central India.¹¹⁸

VOLUNTEER MILITIAS

Eurasians were used for defence of cities in times of war and unrest throughout the century and as the century progressed highly mobile railway militias could be deployed wherever there was a railway line. The militias were paid but only when on military duties and, with the same conditions as regular infantrymen, would have been required to pay for their own equipment and uniforms through stoppages.¹¹⁹

In 1798 Calcutta mustered ‘for the Security and Defence of this Presidency, about 1,157 Europeans [including Eurasians], 1,029 Portugueze and 150 Armenians enrolled themselves to serve in the Corps.’¹²⁰ In 1799, Madras mustered two companies of ‘First Class Europeans,’ comprised of civil servants and other gentlemen, three companies of ‘other Europeans’ (including Eurasians) and one of Armenians; the Black-Town European Militia, and three companies of Portuguese, The Black-Town Portugueze (sic) Militia.¹²¹ Whether the Eurasians formed a separate corps from the Europeans or served in joint units with the ‘other Europeans’ is not recorded.

In the second half of the century, as the railway network grew, railway ‘volunteer’ militias spread throughout the country and Eurasians had no choice but to ‘volunteer’

117 *Ibid.*; IOR/L/Mil/7/7244, Coll.156A/9, *Disbandment of East India Regiment, Lahore Light Horse and Eurasian Artillery*, 1863.

118. MacMunn, *Armies*, 1911, pp. 14, 33, 85-86 & 103; Narindar Saroop, *A Squire of Hindoostan*, Palit & Palit, New Delhi, 1983, p. 81

119 IOR/F/4/59/1312, *Militia at Madras*, 1798–1799.

120 IOR/F/4/56/1299, *Corps of Militia at Calcutta, to Consist of Europeans, Armenians and Eurasians*, 1798.

121 IOR/F/4/59/1312, *Militia at Madras*, 1798–1799.

for these (see next chapter)¹²² Other locally-based volunteer forces abounded, such as the Meerut Light Horse, the Bengal Yeomanry Cavalry, the Lucknow and Lahore Volunteers. By 1897 there were 29,000 Eurasian and European volunteers in India.¹²³ By the twentieth century, after serving in European units during the First World War, or volunteering for the Indian Defence Force who replaced the many European regulars who were displaced from India to fight elsewhere, Eurasians were still not considered suitable for military service and yet were still required to ‘volunteer,’ making up a large part of the 30,000 strong Indian Defence Force.¹²⁴ Military training was also part of the education of boys at the better schools. For obvious reasons, at the Lawrence Asylums and any military orphan schools, there was a strong military ethos.¹²⁵ All had their cadet forces and, although these were directed towards character building and not military action, they could provide some defensive support when troops were overstretched or overtaken by events.¹²⁶

CROWN ARMIES

From Cornwallis’ arrival in India in 1786, through to the 1833 Charter Act, the sons of natives of India could not serve as European commissioned officers in Company armies, nor in Crown armies right up to the end of British rule in India. An unknown number of fair skinned, European educated, and well connected Eurasian men are thought to have covertly entered both without their mixed-race ancestry coming to light, despite the requirement for the ‘country-born’ to produce a certificate showing that both parents were European. By definition, these individuals are difficult to identify with any certainty. We know that a covert Eurasian would not have deliberately identified himself. We also know that Victorian biographers of the great and the good were careful to give full details of antecedence and family connections, so that the absence of any record of maternal ancestry may be because they wished ‘to sustain a respect for the nation’s political and intellectual elite.’¹²⁷ Sensitivity to the issues raised by

122 ‘...a man must be a volunteer ... or someone will ask the reason why’ - Rudyard Kipling, *From Sea to Sea and Other Sketches - Letters of Travel*, first published 1889, republished by Read Books, 2008, p. 279.

123 Whittaker, *Almanack*, 1897, p. 462.

124 Anthony, *Britain’s Betrayal*, 1962, p. 115.

125 Describing the early Lawrence Asylum in 1847, Hodson wrote ‘the majority of the boys will, of course, become soldiers.’ Hodson and Hodson, *Twelve Years*, 1859, p. 44.

126 La Martinière at Lucknow had a cadet force and its boys were active in the defence of Lucknow in 1857.

127 J. Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, Longman, London, 1982 (2nd edition), p. 77.

miscegenation would, therefore, have led some to deliberately omit any reference to Eurasian or native mothers, and indeed the absence of maternal ancestry is far more common in biographies of the India-born than it is of British-born officers.¹²⁸

Well-known Eurasian commissioned officers, whose ancestry was not hidden, can occasionally be identified. James Skinner, whose mother was a Jat, never succeeded in gaining a Company commission, serving only in an *irregular* capacity, but was (eventually) rewarded with a Royal commission, though not as a serving officer. Another was Captain George Hipkin Walters ‘the son by a Native Woman of the late Mr Walters, Surgeon of this Residency...by his own account, an Officer in His Majesty’s Service [11th Light Dragoons] on half-pay.’¹²⁹ Lieutenant Colonel Sir Robert Warburton, founder of the Khyber Rifles and son of an Afghan mother, another exception, joined the Royal Artillery in 1862 and remained a serving officer and Political Agent until 1899.¹³⁰ Frederick William Forjett, son of a Eurasian Commissioner of Bombay Police, was also commissioned; he was a staff corps Lieutenant in 1875.¹³¹ All of the examples in this section were the sons or grandsons of a British-born father, and all but Skinner were educated and appointed in Britain. As such, their connections to their European relatives (and patronage) were stronger than most Eurasians.

Commenting on English attitudes to Eurasians in 1835 India, an anonymous author noted that ‘society’ was ‘willing to admit the abstract truth that the human mind is formed by education and habit’ but was unwilling to apply that principle to Eurasians.¹³² The few examples given above might contradict that conclusion, but for the fact that there were so few exceptions.

THE DISCOURSES

The significance of military employment for Eurasians is complex and several themes run through nineteenth century discourses on the subject. Their loyalty was questioned, particularly in the early years of the century. Their genetics were probed, measured and

128 See introductory chapter.

129 IOR/F/4/401/10087, June 1812 - August 1813, *George Hipkin Walters, Eurasian merchant, permitted to reside at Lucknow.*

130 E. I. Carlyle & James Falkner (rev.), ‘Sir Robert Warburton, Army Officer (1842–1899),’ *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com>, (accessed January 2011).

131 ‘Domestic Occurrences, Marriage at Surat, Forjett & Faulkner, 9/2/1875,’ *Times of India*, 16 February 1875.

132 A Traveller, *The English*, 1835, p. 197.

debated. Their martial-qualities were proved by their ancestry and disproved by the stereotypes of spare physiques and propensity for *cranny* work. The effects of climate, nutrition, and environment were explored as were the economic effects of enlistment on the community. The continuous involvement of Eurasians with the military has been explored (above), but turning to discourses on the subject will illuminate how and why their exclusion from regular enlistment and the commissioned ranks continued, and why it mattered to the community.

Loyalty

One of the first themes to emerge was the Eurasians' 'hybrid' status and in what way that affected their loyalty. I have discussed the distrust of settlers that Governor-General Cornwallis brought to India from America, and the link later made between the part played by mulattos in West-Indies' slave uprisings, in an earlier chapter.¹³³ Continued questions about loyalty, whether to Britain, to India or to themselves, were essentially fatuous, and fears were unfounded. Nineteenth century Eurasians possessed neither power, nor unity, nor followers sufficient to bring about any wholesale regime change, even had they wished to do so. Inciting revolt against European invaders would, in any case, have adversely affected them too.

Their ill-defined (and multiple) national status was an on-going problem. During the Maratha wars, when many Europeans and Eurasians were employed by Maratha states; the British threatened to treat them as traitors if they continued in the service of what were (or had become) their home states.¹³⁴ Early in the century those serving native durbars in a military capacity did perhaps represent a military threat as enemies, but portraying those who refused to go over to the British as traitors was hardly accurate. Baptiste Filoze, the son of an Italian father and a local woman, rose to command the 30,000-strong Gwalior State army. By 1848 he had served Scindia and his home state for 47 years.¹³⁵ He owed no allegiance to British interests, was not a British subject, and would not have been allowed to serve the Company except (possibly) as an irregular. Yet he still felt it necessary to withdraw his immediate services whenever the enemy was Britain to avoid being treated as a traitor. Where they could not be

133 See chapter 2.

134 Governor-General Wellesley's Proclamation, 29th August 1803, recalling all Britons and Eurasians from the Military Service of Several Indian States. See proscriptions in chapter 1.

135 Compton, *Particular*, 1893, p. 352-4.

portrayed as traitors, or ignored by history,¹³⁶ Eurasians and Europeans in the service of native states were described dismissively as mercenaries or self-serving adventurers. They: ‘were sustained by no patriotic spirit, inspired by no national sentiment, bound together by no common cause, and as often opposed to men of their own creed or caste as allied with them. They were merely a hireling soldiery risking their lives for stipulated payment.’¹³⁷ The British appeared to think that anyone of European descent who fought for a native state was either a traitor to Britain or a mercenary and seemed to have difficulty comprehending that a Eurasian might have fought for his native state precisely because he was loyal.¹³⁸

The reduction of opportunities for military service in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, whether in Company, Crown or native service, did not preclude the expectation of loyalty to British interests in the Maratha Wars, the Punjab campaign, or during the 1857 crisis when offers from civilian volunteers, including Eurasians, were readily accepted. This led some to believe the community should have been rewarded for its loyalty, particularly that offered during 1857, a view that was rejected,¹³⁹ but it continued to be stressed by Stark near the end of the Raj and, later and more guardedly (because it might easily be misunderstood in an independent India) by Anthony.¹⁴⁰ But this perspective does not appear to have been common in contemporary documents. Exceptions might be Captain William Nicolls who, after the Mutiny, suggested the formation of a Christian infantry regiment at Madras,¹⁴¹ Suggestions from the Select Committee on Colonisation and Settlement (India) in 1858, that pensioner soldiers should settle and raise many more children, albeit Eurasians,¹⁴² were motivated by considerations of how to improve the security of British rule rather than any concern to

136 Eurasian ‘adventurers’ were often subsumed into the ranks of the Europeans in contemporary correspondence; Cornwallis and Wellesley, for example, usually referred to Europeans when they meant Europeans and Eurasians. Eurasians were also hidden by the titles of histories such as Compton, *Particular*, 1893, and Grey & Garrett, *European Adventures*, 1929.

137 This example was a description of DeBoigne’s Brigades, which included Eurasians. Compton, *Particular*, 1893, p. 106.

138 History had been kind enough to remember James Skinner’s loyalty to Scindia’s salt but such balance is rare.

139 IOR/L/Mil/5/673, *Copy memorandum on European regiments raised during the Mutiny ... inadvisability of admitting Eurasians to the British Army*, 1875.

140 Stark, *Hostages*, 1936, p. 135; Anthony, *Britain’s Betrayal*, 1962, pp. 71.

141 IOR/Mss/Eur D629, *Memorandum by Capt William Thomson Nicolls, 24th Madras Native Infantry, suggestive of the embodying of a Christian Native Infantry Regiment in the Madras Presidency*, 10 February 1859.

142 It was suggested that grants of land should be given to demobbed soldiers who would stay in India, intermarry and increase the Eurasian community who should be regarded as a pool of loyal men who could take up arms. n.a., Select Committee on Colonisation, *The North British Review*, 1859.

reward the Eurasian community for its loyalty.

Martial Races

Discussions of Eurasians' martial-qualities were far more common and appeared more frequently as the century progressed, either to establish or deny their presence. British recognition of martial-qualities always appears related to the degree to which the recognised group represented a potential for threat or rivalry. Thus, Rajputs, Muslims, Sikhs, and Gurkhas who had all been difficult to subdue were recognised (and utilised) as martial races because it was safer to reward them with status and a degree of financial security.

It is ironic that the British could argue, for these groups and themselves, that soldierly attributes were heritable, and at the same time refute that argument when used in favour of the descendents of the soldiery who had delivered the Raj. Eurasian authors believed the case for Eurasians as soldiers had already been made. Anthony claimed an 'indelible impress the Community [had] left on the military annals of British-Indian history,' and the 'fighting qualities exhibited by the Community' in 1857 had proved Eurasians possessed martial-qualities.¹⁴³ Racial degeneration was the constant answer to that argument; either the admixture of 'Asiatic' and 'European' blood had resulted in offspring inferior to both parents or Eurasians had degenerated because the climate was inimical to their European blood.

Blood

It could not be denied that most Eurasians were the descendents of European soldiers and if their forefathers were fighting men then, some claimed, Eurasians must have inherited this 'inborn' characteristic. John Crawford, an ethnographer writing in 1865, expressed the opinion that the Indo-British were a great improvement over the Hindus; 'In the first generation they have produced men of mark, and with one more infusion of European blood, men of distinction, scarcely, if at all, to be distinguished from the pure European.'¹⁴⁴ At the other extreme, were damning indictments from the pens of officials, novelists and scientists; Eurasians combined the worst of both races or they

143 Anthony, *Britain's Betrayal*, 1962, pp. 1 & 85.

144 John Crawford, 'On the Commixture of the Races of Man as Affecting the Progress of Civilisation,' *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, vol. 3, 1865, p.p. 98-122.

had reverted to a savage state.¹⁴⁵ The more prevalent prejudice was that Eurasians inherently lacked the necessary courage and physique for military service. George Evatt, a Brigade-surgeon who ‘had daily opportunities of noting the capabilities of Eurasians’ over 20 years, contested that by citing their military service in previous crises and comparing underfed urban Britons with underfed Eurasians; both, he believed, would improve with country air, good food and drill.¹⁴⁶ Dover, a trained biologist and a Eurasian, cited the physical prowess of Eurasians in railway employment ‘where hard labour and physical strength are essential’. He rather spoils an otherwise scientific approach to the question of Eurasian genetics, implying their superiority by claiming that they possessed ‘hybrid vigour’ and were destined to ‘astound the world.’¹⁴⁷

Whatever the evidence to the contrary, in some respects, the British government and colonial society *acted* as though Darwin’s opinions were proven facts, discouraging miscegenation to prevent degeneration of the English race whilst at the same time providing Eurasians with moral Christian guidance and cosseted locales where European values were encouraged, learned, and even enforced.¹⁴⁸ If the British really believed Eurasians were a degraded form of humanity, one wonders why they bothered.

Environment, Diet and Climate

Besides the debates about whether Eurasians retained the inborn martial-qualities of Europeans, and European blood diluted with that of Asia, the climate on India’s plains was popularly believed to damage Europeans; no settlers could survive more than three generations. The environment, physical, mental and moral, could only be withstood by the most fervent Christians whose education had fully developed their sensibilities and ability to resist depravity. There was also the question of whether poor diet had made the Eurasians permanently unsuitability for fighting.

Evatt blamed the weak physique he had observed in many Eurasians on poverty, lack of fresh air, and unordered exercise. Decades before, the existence of the Lawrence

145 Charles Darwin, *The Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication*, vol. 2, 2nd edition, Appleton & Co, New York, 1892, (first publ. 1868), p. 42; Lord Canning, in NAI, Home/Education/Part A/Procs., Nos. 31-34, *Education of European and Eurasian Children in India*; n.a., October 1882; Ethel Winifred Savi, *Neither Fish nor Flesh*, Hurst & Blackett, London, 1924.

146 G.J.H. Evatt, ‘Military Service for Eurasians,’ *Indian Medical Record*, June 1892.

147 Dover, *Chimmerii*, 1929, pp. 34, 57 & 60.

148 See chapter 7, Railways.

asylums, and the establishment of hill stations for Europeans, had come about because of the belief that the climate in much of India was damaging to Europeans. So it seems anachronistic that Evatt, in the 1890s and Dover in the late 1920s felt it necessary to offer proof that Eurasian boys, when educated in hill stations, ‘showed the potential to be as strong as any westerner, when removed from the debilitating effects of tropical climate and economic distress.’¹⁴⁹ The question of Eurasian military service was raised time and again, right to the end of the century.¹⁵⁰ The Eurasian associations had sent a deputation to London in 1897 pleading for the formation of a Eurasian regiment to help alleviate poverty within the community.¹⁵¹ This may have been the prompt for Thurston’s 1898 anthropological study of the poorest Eurasians in Madras which found that their physiques did not compare with that of sepoy and they were not suitable for military service.¹⁵² The result came as no surprise to a Eurasian reporter who summed it up: ‘Thurston really proves that the Eurasian is not fit for military service when *grewed* like Topsy, in a bad climate, in squalor, and in semi-starvation.’¹⁵³

Crawfurd, in no doubt that that the races of man differed widely ‘in physical form and in mental endowment’ proposed that such ‘facts’ were explained by the availability of good staple foods and a good climate. Europeans and ‘Hindus’ were both hardy races, able to survive well at almost any latitude. Heat sapped energy and stunted industry but did not cause racial degeneration. Almost everyone was inherently intellectually inferior to the European but ‘the skill and forecast necessary to the production of cereals would seem to be both a cause and effect of civilization.’ Northern Europeans and Indians had developed a mastery of cereal production but Europeans were more industrious and questing because they had benefited from a temperate climate over time.¹⁵⁴ This kind of argument was utilised by those with a belief in climatic determinism according to their thoughts on the length of time necessary: either Eurasians had already been altered by the climate within a few generations, or their

149 Evatt, *Military*, 1892; Dover, *Chimmerii*, 1929, p. 20.

150 Hansard, ‘Petition of Indo-Britons to House of Commons,’ *Hansard’s Parliamentary Debates*: vol. XXIV, May 4th 1830, pp. 377-387; IOR/L/Mil/7/12778, Collection 279/1, 1875 – 1876, *Memorial from Anglo-Indian Aid Association of Mysore, praying that Eurasians be admitted into military service*; IOR/L/PJ/6/529, File 149, *Proposed Creation of Eurasian Regiment*,. 1900.

151 J.R. Wallace, ‘Deputation of the Eurasian & Anglo-Indian Associations to the Sec. of State for India,’ *The Anglo-Indian Journal*, vol. 1 (1), Bombay, 1897, p. 5.

152 IOR/V/25/900/8, Thurston, *Anthropology*, 1898.

153 n.a., *The Anglo-Indian Journal*, vol. 1(13), Bombay, 1898, p. 4.

154 John Crawfurd, ‘On the Effects of Commixture, Locality, Climate, and Food on the Races of Man,’ *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, vol. 1, 1861, pp. 76-92.

European heritage could be redeemed by spending their formative years in the hills.

Economics

The calls from various quarters for Eurasians to be allowed to serve, and their repeated rejection by government and the military, reveal an economic discourse on whether military service would alleviate or exacerbate community poverty. Evatt's interest in the community was genuine but he was careful to couch his arguments in terms that would appeal to the military and civil administration. Eurasians were thus presented as an underused resource and as a problem that might easily be solved. As soldiers they would save the government money, there was a need for improvement in hospital conditions that (as military hospital attendants) they could meet, and the military would provide them with useful skills, particularly self-discipline, transferrable to civilian employment. Evatt was certain that money would be saved, even if they were paid on European rates, if only the cost of transporting Europeans back and forth to England. He also argued that all tax-paying classes had an 'equitable claim in the personal division of that taxation by drawing a soldier's pay.'¹⁵⁵

Eurasian community leaders viewed the economics of enlistment in a similar light though besides thinning the ranks of Eurasian paupers via enlistment, they were interested in helping their own sons into posts that carried rank. They stressed the large number of fine strong lads anxious to serve their country and the potential of the physically weak to improve with army diet and discipline. The India Office dismissed any economic advantages of Eurasian enlistment.¹⁵⁶ They were already entitled to enlist, either as sepoy or into the small non-combatant enclaves reserved for them. The European regiments were in India to defend the empire and to balance out any renewed threat from mutinous sepoys; Eurasian units would only muddy the water. Evatt's taxation argument was also turned around. A Eurasian regiment would have to replace a sepoy one and it was not reasonable to charge Indian taxpayers for an unnecessary expensive Eurasian unit. The community leaders' view that the community stood to benefit economically was also used against them; if all the best young men enlisted then, even on European rates, they could not afford to keep families and Eurasian women and children would, therefore, be thrown back onto charity.

¹⁵⁵ Evatt, *Military*, 1892.

¹⁵⁶ n.a. 'Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association: Deputation to the Secretary of State,' *The Friend of India & Statesman*, 25 August 1897, p. 21.

Mizutani explored these discourses and concluded that a Eurasian regiment was refused because the terms under which the Eurasians wanted it threatened the 'boundaries of whiteness.'¹⁵⁷ Mizutani's revisioning of the economic arguments claims the Eurasian associations' demands for pay on European scales would have tacitly raised the status of the community to that of the white British. Mizutani's argument is weakened by the fact that many government jobs already offered the same basic pay (theoretically) to Eurasians and Europeans. It would in any case have been relatively easy for government to sanction a Eurasian regiment and put unimpeachably European-British officers in all the upper ranks. Also, government had argued that a Eurasian regiment would displace a native regiment, not a European one, so even had one been formed the perception of Eurasians as non-European would not have been altered.

CONCLUSIONS

Even after the Company's employment ban was lifted by the 1833 Charter Act (it remained in place for the British army), few Eurasians are known to have succeeded in gaining permanent military employment but that discussed above. Besides the bandsmen and farriers sanctioned by the Company's directors for its own armies, the British army traditionally employed colonial subjects amongst its bandsmen. Eurasian apothecaries were also part of the military. Local recruitment from orphanages, despite the ban, also included Eurasian NCOs serving with native regiments.

The topic of military service, however, was never dropped. The records are filled with constantly recurring arguments; about whether Indo-British Eurasians might have untapped 'martial' qualities or be born clerks, whether military employment might improve the community (physically, morally and financially) or whether they were too 'degenerate' to be of use, and whether they might prove to be a useful adjunct or a danger to the British military presence. In spite of this, there remained a Eurasian military presence in the British and Company armies, including combatants who were enlisted in times of crisis and discarded in times of peace, formally employed by Princely states, less securely as irregulars or mustered as militias. Frequently ephemeral, often un-remunerative, and usually undervalued, military service nonetheless remained important to the Indo-British community and to Eurasians in the native states.

¹⁵⁷ Satoshi Mizutani, *Loyalty, Parity, and Social Control – the Competing Visions on the Creation of an 'Eurasian' Military Regiment in Late British India*, 2010, <http://home.alphalink.com.au/~agilbert/satoshi.html>, (acc January 14 2011).

If the British military, Company and Crown, was an instrument of oppression in colonial India, it was also the means by which tens of thousands of Britons and hundreds of thousands of Indians earned a living, fed their families, and kept themselves in old age. For the officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, military rank was a source of pride and status. For the men, the army was a family, and it offered the possibility of improvement, of education, and of adventure. On many occasions, Eurasians represented their willingness to undertake military service. Only occasionally, were they allowed to do so without restriction. And yet, throughout the century they were always present, in one capacity or another.

Eurasian loyalty to the British Raj is a contentious issue and I have no wish to emphasise this by portraying their interest in military service as an expression of that. Many Indian communities could be criticised, retrospectively, for their loyalty to the colonial state, whether through civil or military service. Many men had little choice other than military service as a means of livelihood. Even Irish republicans, who detested their British overlords, were willing to take ‘the King’s shilling’ rather than see their families starve.

Eurasian community leaders stressed their British heritage and credentials, emphasised their ancestors’ loyalty and service, and eschewed their Indian heritage because these were their best hope of gaining the opportunities open to many other Indian communities; employment opportunities in the military. Encouraged and perhaps even formulated by the British, the strategy worked for Eurasians in many other spheres of government employment. The de-militarisation of their community was therefore viewed not only as an economic loss, but also a status loss, and an insult to their heritage.

CHAPTER 10: EURASIANS AND THE RAILWAYS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the lives of Eurasians associated with Indian railways, focusing on the East Indian Railway Company (EIR). European and Eurasian railway personnel in late nineteenth century India lived primarily in railway ‘colonies’ or ‘lines.’ Besides accommodation, the larger of these colonies included railway workshops and offices, churches, clubs, hospitals, schools, their own police and militia. They provided sports and recreational facilities. They were built to corral European and Eurasian personnel and their families, to protect them from the supposed ‘degenerating’ influence of Indian natives, and to promote European cultural mores. Many people spent their entire working lives on the railways as did their sons and grandsons. Thus Eurasian and European ‘railway people’ lived in geographically, institutionally and culturally identifiable ‘communities’.

Though Eurasians made up a small proportion of railway employees compared to other Indians (less than 3 per cent)¹ they were a significant part of the railway colonies; about a third of EIR’s upper subordinate posts in 1880 were held by Eurasians² and many European men also had Eurasian wives and families. The *Reports by the Railways Board for 1926-7* show that railways were the source of employment for at least 25 per cent of all the Eurasian men of India.³ The actual figure was 14,007 Eurasian railway employees in 1926-7 (1.84 per cent of the total workforce).⁴ According to Caplan, Younger and Kerr, the 25 per cent of the community employed represented a decline in Eurasian railway employment as a result of ‘Indianisation’ because at some earlier dates half of those identified as Eurasian were employed by, or dependant upon, the railways.⁵ However, whilst the 1881 census enumerated (by religion) 62,085 Eurasian men, the Report on Indian Railways of 1877/8 identified only 3,319 Eurasian men

1 The return for 1877/8 showed that of 132,040 staff 3,319 were Eurasians. Juland Danvers, *Report to the Secretary of State for India in Council on Railways in India*, Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1878.

2 Gore-Browne, *Alphabetical List*, 1880.

3 I refer to Eurasians as identified in the decentennial censuses of India and to *Reports by the Railways Board on Indian Railways for 1926-7*, vol. II, Appendix C.

4 Younger, *Anglo-Indians*, 1987, p. 164.

5 Caplan, *Children*, 2001, pp. 29, 95-96; Ian J. Kerr, *Engines of Change: The Railroads That Made India*, Praeger Publishers Inc., U.S.A., 2006, p. 81; Younger, *Anglo-Indians*, 1987, p. 165.

employed as railwaymen, about 5 per cent of the total.⁶ In absolute terms, there was, therefore, a massive increase in Eurasian railway employment after 1880 that had tailed off by the 1920s. Looking at the lives of railway personnel in the late nineteenth century will, therefore, offer insights into the lives and aspirations of a very substantial proportion of a British orientated Eurasian community at a time of some optimism.

Since even private railway companies were subject to strict government control, general conditions of service in one company serve as a model for all and I have chosen EIR because it was the largest employer throughout the latter decades of the nineteenth century. I use railway staff returns and reports, periodicals, maps, genealogical data, contemporary descriptions, and secondary sources, to paint a mass demographic picture of railway communities, and to draw out individual cases. Of course it is not possible to say with certainty whether the Eurasian railway community was happy with railway life. There were Eurasian community leaders who sporadically fought official and unofficial racial barriers.⁷ From the twentieth century there are extensive personnel records including numerous petitions and complaints from individual Eurasian railwaymen and their families.⁸ But, it is by no means certain that, in the nineteenth century, the majority of the Eurasian 'rank and file' necessarily assessed their situation relative to anyone outside their immediate neighbourhood. They would have been taught in school, and reminded in church, of their station in life, whether class or race based, and most had little alternative but to accept it. Not everyone would have been consumed with thwarted ambition or even have felt discontent. Surely, a great many would have been content with a job that enabled them to meet the basic requirements of life. Of course, secure employment and a living wage would have been absolute prerequisites for such a mindset and railway employment appears to have offered both. It also offered other important perks now, more widely provided by the State, such as education and financial support in illness, infirmity and death.

6 Plowden, *Census of India 1881*, 1883, p. 33; Danvers, *Report*, 1878.

7 The Calcutta Eurasian elite sent a delegation and Petition to Parliament in 1830 and The Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association lobbied government departments and other employers in the 1870s and 1880s.

8 Existing work on railway personnel concentrates on the twentieth century and is concerned primarily with industrial action and nationalism. An exception is the archival research of Laura Bear on East Indian Railway's Anglo-Indians though even this uses colonial era data mainly to ground an anthropological study of late twenty first century Anglo-Indians. Bear, *Lines*, 2007; Laura Bear, 'Public Genealogies, Bodies and Nations in Anglo-Indian Railway Family Histories,' *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, vol. 35, 2001, pp. 355-388; Laura Bear, 'Ruins and Ghosts: The Domestic Uncanny and the Materialization of Anglo-Indian Genealogies in Kharagpur,' in Janet Carsten, *Ghosts of Memory; Essays on Remembrance and Relatedness*, Blackwell, Oxford, 2007, pp. 36-57.

The East Indian Railway Company

From just twenty miles of track in 1853, the Indian rail network had expanded to almost 9,000 miles by 1880 and to 23,627 miles by the end of the century.⁹ The East Indian Railway Company (EIR) ran its first passenger train from Howrah to Hooghly, just 24 miles, on 15 August 1854. By 1860, it had 368 miles of track and another 761 quickly followed.¹⁰ It became an important source of employment for all communities, although many of the more technical and responsible posts were, for many years, open only to Europeans and Eurasians. In 1878 Indian railways formally employed 132,040 men and by the turn of the century double that number.¹¹ The EIR was the largest with a little under a third of all staff.¹² The company was a private enterprise that began with a guarantee agreement, signed in February 1849, with the East India Company. Capital was raised from British investors, some of which was lodged with government which underwrote a guaranteed 5 per cent per annum return. Whether or not the railway made a profit, the investors were paid from taxation. The railway company was taken over by the state in 1880¹³ but the government had always exerted tight control over private railway companies.

Government demanded regular returns from all railway companies on such subjects as progress and growth, running costs, staffing, and goods and people carried. Detailed returns were required on all European and Eurasian staff. There were contemporary doubts about the accuracy of the EIR's race data,¹⁴ as well as protests about even collecting such information. The Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association felt that distinguishing between Eurasians and Europeans reinforced Eurasian 'disabilities' associated with darker skin colour.¹⁵ Such disabilities undoubtedly existed, and were not confined to the railways.¹⁶ Complaints that Eurasians were treated unfairly because of

9 Ian J. Kerr, *Building the Railways of the Raj: 1850-1900*, OUP, Delhi, 1995, pp. 211-212.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 31.

11 These figures include all racial categories, but exclude the many thousands employed in construction, ancillary staff such as porters and caterers and those employed otherwise as a consequence of the railways' presence.

12 Danvers, *Report*, 1878, p. 10.

13 Huddleston, *History*, 1906, p. 106.

14 'Bhagulpore Commissioner to Government of Bengal, 1875,' quoted in Bear, *Lines*, 2007, p. 78.

15 '...one brother eligible for special privileges...because he is fair, and another subjected to special disabilities...because he is dark.' Secretary, Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association, 'Letter to Secretary to the Government of India, Public Works Dept., Railway Branch, No 112, Calcutta, 20 November 1880,' n.a. *Annual Report of the Eurasian, 1880*, pp. 27-9.

16 A government investigation of its own covenanted and uncovenanted civil service, showed more than a quarter of those who earned over 1000 Rs/annum were Eurasian. However, 21 per cent of Europeans earned salaries over

their race were still found several decades later reflected in individuals' petitions from EIR's archives examined by Laura Bear.¹⁷ Regardless of its accuracy, however, the race data collected by EIR, together with data on position, length of service, salaries and locus, allows the effects of Eurasian racial *classification* to be assessed.

Methodology

Data analysis

A slim volume, published by the EIR's own press, lists 1,479 European and 'East Indian' employees in post on 30 June 1880.¹⁸ A dozen West Indians of African descent and an American are also included. The term 'East-Indian' was used by the East Indian Railway Company to refer to its Eurasian employees whilst Railway reports from the India Office used the terms 'East-Indian' or 'Eurasian' interchangeably. The Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association used the terms Eurasian and Anglo-Indian, sometimes using the latter to mean domiciled Europeans but often using 'Anglo-Indian' to mean 'Eurasian'.

The data were presented in tabular form and include, length of service, name, race, occupation and grade, station and department, salary, any amount paid in England, provident fund details and remarks, such as resignations, dismissals or discharge, and re-employment. All European and Eurasian employees listed, from the apprentice to agent, have been entered into a database for comparative analysis. Multiple variables are examined by interrogating these data, against race categorisation, minimising subjective input and allowing general trends to be identified and quantified.

Most of EIR's personnel records have remained in India and are not easy to access¹⁹ so tracing individual career trajectories was problematic, however further detail

10000 Rs annually but only 0.5 per cent of Eurasians drew such a salary - IOR/L/PJ/6/315, File 291, *List of amounts earned by Europeans, Eurasians and Indians in the ICS*, 31 March 1886.

17 Roychowdhury, *Jadu*, 2001, p. 123; for detailed examples see chapter 5, 'An Economy of Suffering' in Bear, *Lines*, 2007, pp. 108-134. Petitions, however, deal exclusively with complaints and are inherently biased toward the disaffected, the dismissed and even the unreliable and so offer limited insight into the working lives of those who neither complained nor were disciplined by the company.

18 Gore-Browne, *Alphabetical List*, 1880; Danvers, *Report*, 1878, pp. 10-11; n.a., *Annual Report of the Eurasian*, 1880, pp. 26-7.

19 Records of covenanted men in the OIOC exclude Eurasians who were not recruited in England. Personnel records in India are not held by the various divisions of today's Indian Railways. None, to my knowledge, has been indexed and only one has been the subject of academic research. It can take many months of persistence and 'networking' to gain access and much longer to glean any information sufficient for a mass demographic approach to their interpretation - Roychowdhury, *Jadu*, 2001, p. 118; J.B. Harrison, 'The Records of Indian Railways: a neglected resource,' *South Asia Research*, 1987, vol. 7 (2), pp. 105-121.

of some men has been added by reference to earlier editions of the EIR's returns,²⁰ to Thacker's Indian Directories, the three Presidencies' Ecclesiastical records, the OIOC biographical card index and database, and web-based databases such as fibis.org, ancestry.com and familysearch.org.²¹ This has allowed some career paths and families to be reconstructed over time. Background information on EIR occupations, training posts and regimes, has also been assembled, although extant sources (particularly for Indian personnel) are patchy.²²

There are some weaknesses in my approach. There were and are irresolvable difficulties in distinguishing between domiciled Europeans and Eurasians but, in some respects, both were disadvantaged when compared with Europeans temporarily resident in India. Stark claimed that if the Eurasian and Domiciled European communities did merge into one 'political and social unit,' it was at a later date.²³ Throughout the century, there were advantages available to the European (including the domiciled) but not the Eurasian population in India, some of which are evident from my analyses of railway staff records, and so there is justification in examining Eurasian railway society as though it were a distinct community of itself.²⁴ Eurasians' wealth, position and prospects can be compared directly to the Europeans who lived and worked alongside them but there is no distinction in these sources between Europeans permanently or temporarily resident in India, except that a small number who would have been appointed in England were described as covenanted.²⁵ Further, 'race' identified as such in employment records, does not identify the Eurasian families of European employees

20 Gore-Browne, *Alphabetical List*, 1880; There are extant lists for 1871-79. Not all years include racial status.

21 *The Families in British India Society*, <http://www.new.fibis.org>; *FamilySearch*, <https://www.familysearch.org>; *Ancestry*, <http://www.ancestry.co.uk>.

22 Hena Mukherjee, *The Early History of the East Indian Railway: 1845-1879*, Firma KLM Private, Calcutta, 1994; Blair Williams, *The Jamalpur Gymkhana*, <http://home.alphalink.com.au/~agilbert/onjama~1.html> (accessed September 2007); William Andrews, *Indian Railways as Connected With British Empire in the East*, W.H. Allen, London, 1884; Kipling, *From Sea*, 1889; Francis J.S. Venner, 'England And Her Eastern Question,' *New monthly Magazine*, vol. 143, 1868.

23 Stark, *Hostages*, 1936, p. 123.

24 Three examples: European Station Masters were paid more than others for the same work - Mukherjee, *Early*, 1994, p. 111; A European factory overseer was paid up to 150 rupees a month, a Portuguese *half-caste* was paid R 50 and an East-Indian *half-caste* was paid R 100 - 'Affairs of the East India Company: Minutes of evidence: 21 May 1830,' *Journal of the House of Lords*, vol. 62, 1830, pp. 1081-88; 'Adventurous young Englishmen ... naturally obtained preferential treatment, and the Anglo-Indians thereby received a set-back' - Stark, *Hostages*, 1936, p. 123.

25 East Indian Railway applied the term *covenanted* to those recruited in Britain on four or five year contracts. They could take six month's leave in England and then return to their employment in India on another covenant - Stan Blackford, *One hell of a life: an Anglo-Indian Wallah's memoir from the last decades of the Raj*, Self-published, Sydney Australia, 2000, p. 280.

who may have enjoyed some advantages over the sons of Eurasians.²⁶ With reference to genealogical databases, some of the Eurasian employees who came from such families have been identified but the numbers are small and the data insufficiently detailed to draw any firm conclusions.

This study is concerned only with railway people, and so it tells us nothing about half of contemporary Eurasians who were not associated with the railways. Even in a large city like Calcutta 22 per cent of Eurasians were ‘destitute’ in 1892²⁷ and, even had they once been railway people, they could not have remained in railway colonies, unless living with relatives, since such housing was tied to jobs. The destitute, together with those Eurasians who were neither railway people nor destitute, are considered only briefly since the identity most strongly and ubiquitously associated with Eurasians by the end of the nineteenth century was ‘railway people.’

However, by exploring the collected data and noting trends, particularly those that co-locate with race it is possible to identify factors likely to have promoted satisfaction and those likely to have caused the greatest dissatisfaction with railway employment. By this means I assess the extent to which the railways met the needs of a considerable part of the Eurasian community. Occupation is one of the most significant aspects of self-identity. At its most basic, exchanging labour for wages is a means by which to satisfy our basic need for food and shelter. At its best, it allows us to develop and identify and reach our full potential. Railway employment unquestionably provided the basics; wages, a degree of job security, and a sense of belonging. Whether there was also a safe environment, good working conditions and a chance for fulfilment of potential, we already know were particularly problematic for nineteenth-century Eurasians. In the following sections I look at factors directly related to occupation, at some railway colonies and their associated institutions, and then discuss more generally the advantages and disadvantages for Eurasians of railway life.

EUROPEAN AND EURASIAN EMPLOYMENT CONDITIONS

The vast majority of EIR’s employees were of course Indians; returns for 1877-8 show the company employed 38,912 men, 37,383 of whom were ‘natives.’²⁸ As such, they are

26 Exogamous marriages between working-class Europeans and Eurasians were not uncommon.

27 n.a., ‘European and Eurasian Pauperism in Calcutta,’ *The Times*, News, 18 July 1892, issue 33693, p. 5, col.F.

28 Danvers, *Report*, 1878.

not the main subject of this thesis but I do include comparative data for context. Separate returns were made of all others in the European and Eurasian Staff List of June 1880 which oddly includes an African, an American and fifteen West Indians. The remaining 1,487 men on the list were 932 Europeans both domiciled and imported (63 per cent) and 535 (36 per cent) East Indians, a euphemism for Eurasians. Amongst these were 273 apprentices and probationers, one third of who were Eurasians, who are not included in the following general analysis by occupation; these were temporary positions and are considered separately. This leaves 754 Europeans and 460 Eurasians, 61 per cent and 39 per cent respectively, as full employees.

Recruitment

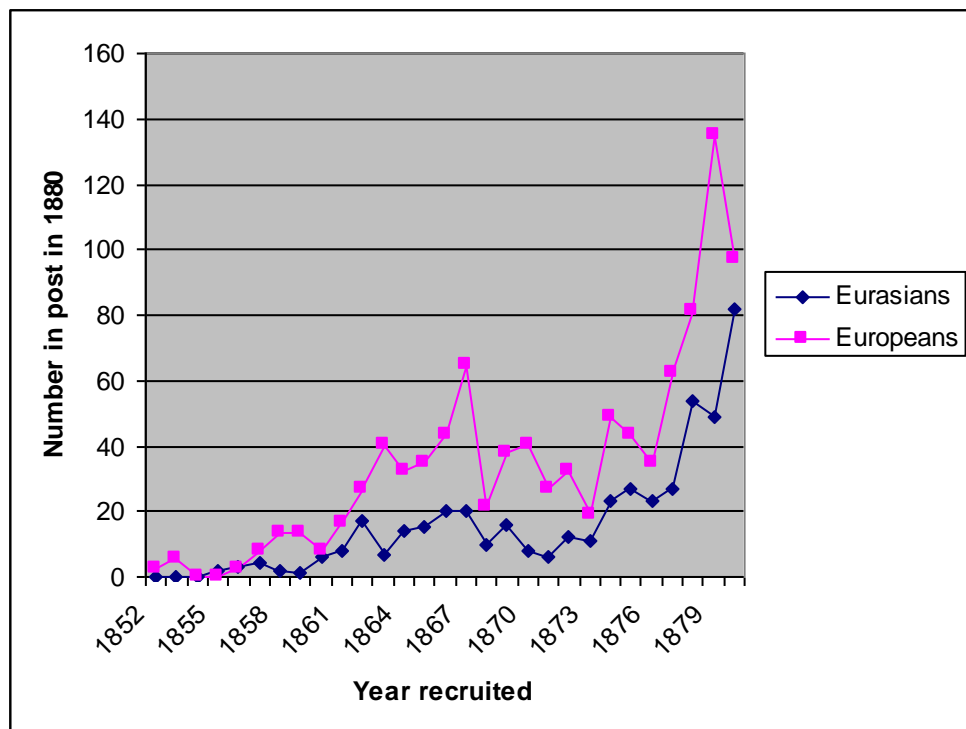


Figure 1: 1880 European and Eurasian employees by recruitment year.

Figure 1 is drawn from data on those still employed in 1880. The curves are not quantitative, since no allowance can be made for those recruited in earlier years, who were no longer in post in 1880, but they are likely to be proportionate to each other. Even though Eurasians outnumbered Europeans in India 2:1 throughout the nineteenth century, Europeans were recruited at around twice the rate of Eurasians. Of course the European population had a disproportionately large number of unaccompanied, single,

males of working age. Marshall, quoting a parliamentary report of 1863 and Risley's 1901 census report, found that European males in India outnumbered females 3:1 and 4:1, respectively.²⁹ The Eurasian population figures included all the elderly and infirm, females and children. Therefore, railway colony European populations represented by EIR's staff might have been proportionate to the pool of available male labour. Further, since the network and its staff were growing exponentially, there was a constant need to recruit trained or experienced personnel, and, for some trades and professions, the paucity of training facilities in India meant these men were easier to find in Britain than in India. At no point during this period did the total number of Eurasians in post exceed the number of Europeans.

Communal earnings

Monthly salaries ranged from Rs 13 to 2,000.³⁰ There were some individuals with twenty years' service earning less than Rs 100, and men with over ten years earning Rs 35. Excluding apprentices and probationers, a comparison of the average earnings of Eurasians, with those of Europeans, shows that average European monthly earnings of Rs 226 were double those of Eurasians at Rs 113. Small numbers of posts at the margins, often the covenanted men, could be the cause of severe distortions, and so, taking the middle 90 per cent would give a more reliable figure. But still, European's average earnings were Rs 190, whereas those of Eurasians averaged Rs 103. Whatever the reason, there was a difference in wealth between these two categories, as shown in figure 2.

Over half of the Eurasian employees, but only a fifth of Europeans, had a monthly salary below Rs 100. A further third of Eurasians, and two fifths of Europeans earned between Rs 100 and 199, with 8 per cent and 19 per cent respectively on salaries of Rs 200 to 249. Arnold, writing about the best schools available to Europeans and Eurasians in nineteenth century India, noted that they attract 'the wealthier class ... usually those with incomes above Rs 250 per month.'³¹ By this measure, less than 6 per cent of EIR's Eurasian employees, but over 21 per cent of the Europeans, could be classified as wealthy men. No Eurasian earned above Rs 700, whereas 31 Europeans earned

²⁹ Marshall, *British*, 1997.

³⁰ Two individuals' salaries were stated to be Rs 0. These have been ignored as probable typographical errors.

³¹ Arnold, *European Orphans*, 1979.

substantial salaries of between Rs 800 and 2,000, drew an average of £13, 5s in England (equivalent to a further Rs 135) and enjoyed generous furloughs. At the other end of the scale, it is evident that the category of Eurasians could also be subdivided; 34 who had German/Dutch/Danish names earned the same as those with British names, Rs 113, but the 100 men with Portuguese names earned an average of just Rs 98. Rather than

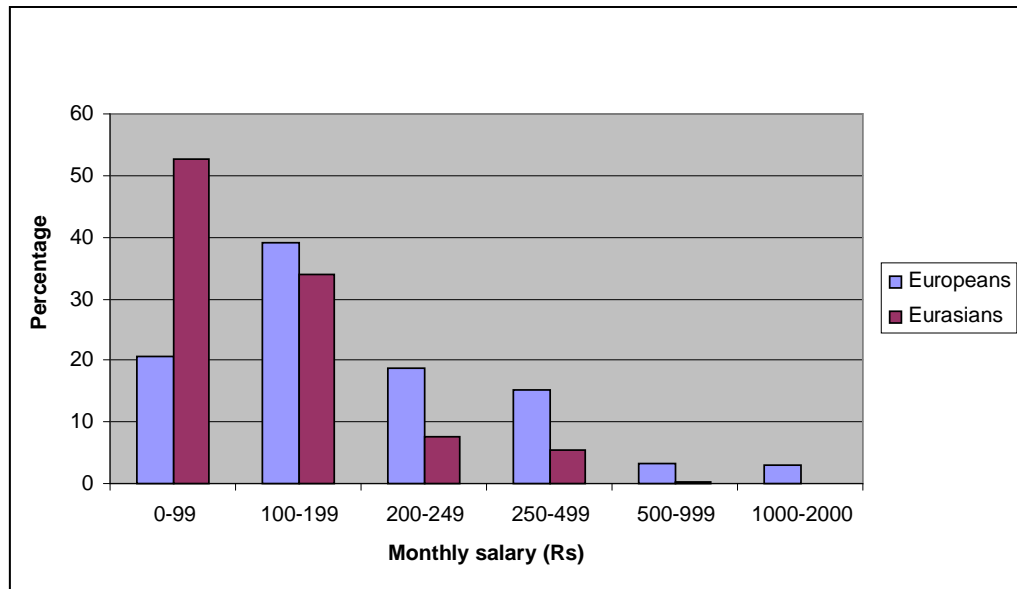


Figure 2: Monthly salary by race classification.

different rates of pay for the same job determined by race, Europeans were more likely to occupy the higher-paid posts. This was particularly evident in management, engineering, and other professions and, as already noted, trained or experienced personnel were easier to find in Britain than in India, until later in the century when skilled labour trained and educated in India began to trickle through.³² Conversely, for lesser-paid posts, it would not have made economic sense to pay for passage if locally trained personnel, whether European or Eurasian, were already available in India. For the same reason, it is likely that those Europeans earning smaller salaries were domiciled, rather than imported. The lower pay of Portuguese Eurasians may also reflect the economic conditions of the community from which they were drawn and its limiting effects on their educational attainments.

Whilst the Eurasian community was not so well off as the European community, pay for Indians shows that railway Eurasians were comparatively prosperous.

³² Kerr points out that engineers imported from Britain might be thoroughly trained and experienced there, but often lacked specific the knowledge needed to carry out their work in India. Kerr, *Building*, 1995, p. 13.

Mukherjee said the pay for a native railway labourer would have been about Rs 10 per month.³³ Earlier figures from Sleeman indicate a pensioned sepoy got ‘four rupees a month, that is about one-fourth more than the ordinary wages of common uninstructed labour throughout the country,’ a Subadar, the native rank equating to Major, was paid Rs 92 per month.³⁴ EIR paid masons, carpenters and bricklayers 6 pence (or 2 annas) per day³⁵ and the few native engine drivers were paid Rs 20 per month.³⁶

Railway schools

The children of the wealthier European elite had always been expected to return to Britain for most of their school years but the pay of most rail men would not meet that cost and provision for the education of poorer Europeans and Eurasians in India had always been problematic. The army had long provided regimental schools for their own children, or had sent them to orphanages but the less well-off domiciled and Eurasian communities had been left largely to their own devices to found and fund Christian English-medium schools. These, however, were mainly in the Presidency cities and government grants-in aide, where they were available, had to be matched with fees charged putting them geographically and economically out of the reach of many railwaymen. English-medium government-funded education, including grants paid to the children who regularly attended, had concentrated on secular provision to attract the Hindu and Muslim communities. Mission schools were unpopular with some Eurasians, anxious to maintain a distinction between themselves and native Christians. Government help for Eurasian education had always been minimal although periodic reviews led to some local initiatives and funding such as small government grants to encourage brighter children to stay in school for longer.³⁷ Numbers of Eurasian and European children grew rapidly as the rail network, and Raj infrastructure more generally, expanded during the second half of the nineteenth century. The railway’s geographical spread only exacerbated the problem of education for Eurasians and poorer Europeans.

33 Mukherjee, *Early*, 1994, p. 164.

34 W.H. Sleeman, *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*, Hatchard, London, 1844, pp. 447-8.

35 Andrews, *Indian Railways*, 1884, p. 165.

36 Kipling, *From Sea*, 1889, p. 290.

37 NAI, Financial/Expenditure/Part A/Procs., nos.202-203, June 1867, *Allowances to European and Eurasian Boys in the Central Provinces who Pass Certain Prescribed Examinations*, 1867.

Danvers' 1877 and 1878 railway reports identified 3,399 European and Eurasian children, almost half of them the children of EIR's staff. That line had employees children spread across 42 stations, only thirteen of which had schools. Almost 600 children at the remaining 29 EIR stations had no schools provided by the railway. Even had the lowest paid been willing to send their children to local schools outside the colonies (and many were not), an enquiry in 1876 found that, a third children of railwaymen earning over Rs 100 per month did not attend any school. Concerns had been raised by the church, the India Office, the Government of India, and the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association, all of whom had their own agendas. The India Office wanted to train the children 'in a manner which would give them the best opportunity of becoming good citizens in the land of their adoption.'³⁸ Lord Canning wanted to prevent Eurasians becoming an embarrassing 'floating population of Indianised English loosely brought up ... the worst of both races.'³⁹ The clergy wanted to produce good Christians in Protestant schools for Europeans and Eurasians.⁴⁰ The Association wanted local schools so as to keep families together and maintain parental influence.⁴¹ EIR, eventually, went some way to satisfying all of these ends.

All the railway schools were relatively new in 1880; Jumalpure's large boarding school for the children of its European and Eurasian staff was amongst the first founded. All were on the plains at first until the company founded its own hill school at Musoorie (Oak Grove) in 1888 with an endowment of Rs 2 lakhs, but a level of fees that ensured its exclusivity.⁴² This was in response to Danvers' 1877 report in which he had noted 'Europeans of the mechanical class ... will reside many years, if not all their lives, in India, and raise a progeny there.' If left in the plains they would 'be reduced to a feeble and flaccid condition.'⁴³ Before this, rail companies and existing hill schools (such as La Martinière) already worked together to place boys as apprentices.⁴⁴ The sons of the

38 Danvers, *Report*, 1878.

39 NAI, Home/Education/Part A/Procs., Nos. 31-34, *Education of European and Eurasian Children in India*; n.a., October 1882.

40 Cotton, *Memoir.*, 1872, pp. 168-170; IOR/L/PJ/6/39, File 700, Archdeacon Baly, *Education and employment of European and Eurasian children*, 1881.

41 n.a., *Annual Report of the Eurasian*, 1880, Appx. E.

42 n.a., *Oak Grove School Musoorie, an Historical Perspective*, <http://www.oakgrove-jharipani.com/aboutus/history.php> (accessed June 2010).

43 Danvers, *Reports*, 1878 & 1887.

44 M. DeRosaire, *Index to and Map of the Map of the new Civil station and Cantonments of Allahabad showing owners and occupants of houses with names...*, 1863; n.a., *Allahabad Cantonment, Civil Station, City and Environs, 1867-1868, Corrected up to 1875*, Calcutta, 1876.

best paid (almost all Europeans from Britain) were schooled in England. Those with salaries sufficient to purchase a hill school place might anticipate an apprenticeship for their sons. For the majority of Eurasian fathers, whose average salaries were insufficient for either of these options, the spread of railway schools on the plains was a major benefit. They were not free, of course, and even calls for the companies to help out with free travel to and from the existing schools were rebuffed.⁴⁵

The discussions about hill schools provide some interesting insights into the ramifications of providing education targeted at the wealthier railwaymen's children. From a European perspective the bracing air of the hill schools, would improve the children 'physically and morally.' The Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association had a different perspective; far from helping the situation, more hill schools would damage existing independent boarding schools in the plains. Wealthier children would be relocated, the existing schools would lose their fees, and close, further reducing provision for the less well-off. They also felt that government was underestimating the guidance that parents gave their children when they were not sent away to boarding schools and pointed out that, since there was no state church in India, all denominations should be catered for in Christian but ecumenical schools.⁴⁶ Whilst schooling was an important concern to most and funding, whether from government or the company was helpful, the paternalistic attitudes of company, state and the Anglican church were resented by at least some Eurasians. Their responsibility for and connection to their own children was being undermined, their opinions ignored, and their philanthropic efforts in support of independent schools in the plains undervalued and damaged.

The provision of railway schools, however, was a valuable perquisite. In providing English medium Christian education, it offered high level security to families concerned for their children's future with the hope that, through education, they might be able to secure employment and status.

Provident fund

Pensions were also offered to EIR employees. The introduction of a provident fund scheme, proposed in 1864 but not fully implemented until January 1868, was a welcome addition that enhanced the employees' expectation of economic security in sickness and

45 NAI, Home/Education/Part A/Procs., Nos.31-34, October. 1882, *Education*.

46 *Ibid*; Danvers, 1878; n.a., *Annual Report of the Eurasian*, 1880, Appendix E.

old age. But it was designed to ‘allow clearing of higher appointments, and [for] those past their best years to retire.’ In its early years it was divisive since it rewarded Europeans more than others. Europeans had to pay higher contributions but Eurasians and Indians, paying half as much, had to work twice as long. The final reward was a pension of a quarter of average salary after 15 or 30 years service, according to race. The contributions, ‘to be determined by an actuary appointed by the board of directors,’ were set at 5 and 2.5 per cent of salary respectively. The company’s promise to make contributions to the fund from profits was not initially realised. All new employees earning over Rs 30 per month were compelled to join. Those who were already employed and wanting to join the scheme had to stump up contributions for years already worked. They were given two years to do so but charged 10 per cent interest on monies outstanding. Conditions of redundancy ‘for meritorious service’ also differed by race with Europeans awarded up to a year’s salary and Eurasians and Indians limited to six months maximum. The dismissed ‘idle or vicious,’ were not pensioned but were to have their contributions returned, with interest but without the company’s matching contribution.⁴⁷

That the conditions differed by racial category was a source of dissatisfaction, particularly as the position of domiciled Europeans was not spelt out. The company’s London staff could join the scheme but, like Eurasians and Indians in India, their years of service were to be double those of Europeans in India. The unanswerable question here is whether domiciled Europeans, for whom there was no separate race category, were classified as European or Eurasian.

Changes to the provident fund rules from 1881 abolished the distinction between European and non-European members and thenceforth all who earned at least Rs 15 per month were required to contribute 5 per cent of their salary. The fund rules were not changed again until 1903.⁴⁸

Accommodation

Much of the housing for European and Eurasian railway employees was built, maintained, policed and subsidised by the railway companies within ‘colonies.’ Like other European settlements (whether civil, military, or hill station) these were racially

47 n.a., ‘East India Railway Leave, Allowances, and fund rules,’ n.a., *Annual Report of the Eurasian*, 1880, Appendix D, pp. 27-29; Huddleston, *History*, 1906, pp. 207-9.

48 *Ibid.*, pp. 121-2.

exclusive. Housing for Indian employees was not provided in the nineteenth century so the inclusion of Eurasians alongside Europeans was an affirmation of and a reward for their European-ness. There was barrack style accommodation for travelling staff (such as drivers and line inspectors), for apprentices and single men. In some colonies, even families were allocated this basic style of accommodation. However, cottages and bungalows, complete with individual gardens,⁴⁹ were increasingly provided to house families, senior staff and small groups of single men. The environment was rigidly European and railway police, mindful of their role in policing immorality, could be very intrusive, but rents were kept affordable and set at about a tenth of salary.⁵⁰

Provided a man kept his job tied railway housing was a bonus but those who were dismissed, whether through retirement, fault or periodic restructuring of manpower, could find their lives blighted by eviction. Whole families were uprooted and excluded from the railway colonies that had provided not only a home but many of the institutions of community. If they had been stationed near a large town this was less traumatic since there would have been alternatives available and personal contacts would have been easier to maintain. But, at dedicated railway towns such as Jumalpoore, it could mean an unwelcome relocation over a considerable distance, and loss of much that was central to daily life and identity.

OCCUPATIONS

Obviously, besides the general conditions of railway service discussed above, the nature of work undertaken would have had an influence on how the men felt about the rewards of railway employment. This section explores the occupations in which most Eurasians were employed.

Clerks

One of the most enduring stereotypes of Eurasian men in India was the clerk or *cranny*. Hawes stated that government clerks were paid relatively well, for India. Government service brought status and, in the early nineteenth century, this was the practical limit to which Eurasians could aspire.⁵¹ Younger found that in 1840, over 90 per cent of clerks in government offices, in Calcutta, were Eurasians but by 1890 these posts were 82 per

49 *Ibid.*, p. 251.

50 Kipling, *From Sea*, 1889, p. 279.

51 Hawes, *Poor*, 1996, pp. 42-3.

Occupation	No. Europeans	Rs/mo	No. of Eurasians	Rs/mo
Accountant, Auditor, Asst	16	350-2000	5	180-400
Boilermaker	16	80-210	0	-
Bookkeeper, Paymaster	5	350-500	2	290-700
Clerk, record keepers, writers	59	40-400	63	20-400
Compositor, printer, pressman	0	-	8	18-80
Driver	219	120-240	43	120-260
Engineer, Engineering Managers	35	350-1500	0	-
Examiner	14	140-200	9	120-200
Fireman	59	60-70	30	40-70
Fitter (& asst)	59	40-220	33	35-210
Foreman	43	180-400	7	80-400
Guard	203	85-150	50	50-150
Gunner	1	40	58	40-115
(Gunner WI)	15	50-65		
Inspector	46	50-400	15	50-350
Loader	0	-	4	40-110
Mechanic	22	120-250	16	110-275
Medical Officer/ Physician	22	100-600	0	-
Asst. Surgeon	0	-	2	300-325
Platelayer	5	275-400	1	200
(Asst. Platelayer)	0	-	1	70
<i>Shunter</i>	16	<i>90-100</i>	14	80-100
Signaller	0		20	25-130
Stn. Master	43	175-400	10	150-240
Superintendent	22	370-2000	2	300-400
Ticket Collector	16	40-90	21	30-175
Timekeeper	5	90-100	1	160
Godown, or warehouse-keeper	3	300	6	30-270
Secretary to Agent	2	1200-1200	0	-
Draughtsman	0	-	2	90-120
Writer	0	-	1	30
Turner/Carpenter	2	140-170	1	20
Carriage Trimmer	2	0	0	-
Finisher	1	175	0	-
Checker	0	-	1	40
Tool keeper	3	80	0	
Schoolmistress/ master	1 + 1	80-150	0	-
Spring-Maker/Moulder	1 + 1	160 - 170	0	-
Wagon/body Maker	2	175	0	-
Watch & Clockmaker	1	250	0	-
Mine Inspector	2	350	0	-
Commander, Steamer	1	400	0	-
Agent & Chief Engineer	1	3500	0	-

cent Indian.⁵² In the early years there was an embargo on the importation of European clerks, and Indians were not thought suitable⁵¹ so it is hardly surprising that Eurasian clerks predominated. A criticism frequently levelled at the community was that they were unwilling to take up trades.⁵³ The largest single group of Eurasians employed by EIR in 1880 were indeed clerks. Out of 117 clerks listed, 66 were Eurasians but so too were 51 Europeans. The remaining 477 Eurasians occupied, or were training for, 27 trades and occupations other than *crannying*.

Clerks (table 15) earned between Rs 20 and 400 per month⁵⁴ but only five Eurasians earned Rs 200 or more and only two could be considered wealthy by Arnold's estimate. Europeans were four times more likely to draw a larger salary. Most clerks received incremental increases in salary over their first few years of employment but then, even after a decade or more, salaries levelled off. The skills of clerks were transferable to other employers so a mobile workforce could reasonably be expected, especially in the Presidency towns, and only eleven of the 66 had been in post for more than a decade. This is not to say that they were poorly paid, almost a third of Eurasian clerks (17 of 66) earned Rs 100 or more and their average salary was Rs 82. The vast majority of EIR's crannies were in fact Indians who were paid considerably less.

	Europeans	Eurasians	total
In post 10 or more years	17	11	28
Salary Range	30-400	20-400	
Paid ≥ Rs 200	22	5	27
Paid ≥ Rs 250	14	2	16
Paid ≥ Rs 400	4	1	5

Gunners

There were 81 gunners and gunner guards listed for 1880, comprising sixty Eurasians, eight Europeans and thirteen West Indians. Like clerks, about a quarter of gunners

⁵² Younger, *Anglo-Indians*, 1987, p. 163.

⁵³ e.g. 'K.E. Wallace, The Eurasian Problem,' reviewed by C Rhodes, *Journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs*, vol. 9 (4), 1930, pp. 570-572.

⁵⁴ A solitary European 'Clerk of Works,' earned Rs.600 pm.

stayed with the company for many years. Gunners' average pay, at Rs 60 per month, was lower than that of clerks and opportunities for promotion, whilst remaining gunners, were also less. Even after a decade of service, average pay was still only Rs 81. A clerk might aspire to a salary of Rs 400 but only three gunners (5 per cent) earned Rs 100 or more and none more than Rs 115.

I found a high incidence of Portuguese, and other European names; less than half of the surnames appear to be of British origin. The thirteen described as West Indian are most likely to have arrived in India with European regiments, as black drummers were quite common at this time. The comparatively low pay, lack of an obvious path to promotion, paucity of Europeans, predominance of Eurasians apparently of Portuguese origin and West Indians, all suggest that gunners and gunner guards were of low status within the EIR European and Eurasian communities. They provided, however an important support for the security of company property.⁵⁵

Variety of occupations

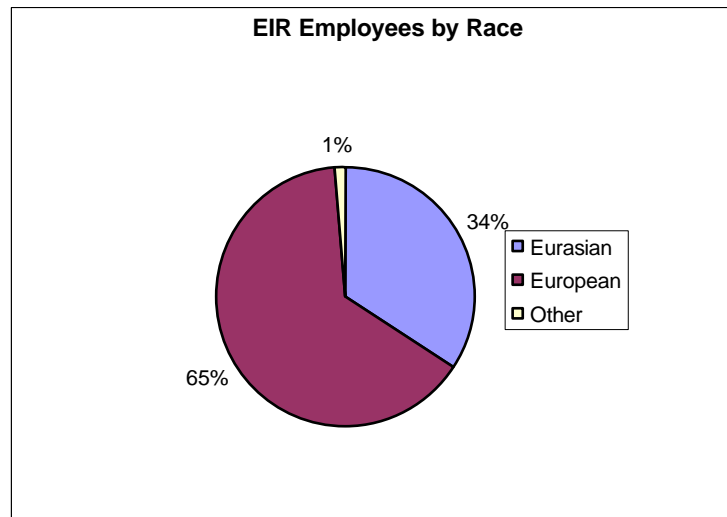


Figure 3: Non-Indian employees of EIR by race.

Figure 3 shows the proportions of Europeans to Eurasians across all occupations. Large variations from this picture therefore indicate specific occupations where race-based 'disabilities' might have been an issue. Europeans and Eurasians held at least 55 different occupations. Few occupations were exclusive to either category, except

⁵⁵ Looting was a problem, especially in times of famine or high food prices - David Arnold, 'Industrial Violence in Colonial India,' *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 22 (2), 1980, pp. 234-255.

engineering and covenanted positions, all of which were occupied by Europeans, and Gunners who were almost all Eurasian or West Indian. There were 1,322 employees in the nineteen most common occupations, those whose numbers were in double figures (see table 14). Other than apprentices and probationers, several other occupations were, in effect, training posts. For this reason some occupations are considered in logical groupings. My discussion of specific occupations concentrates on those where the greatest number of Eurasians was represented.

Guards and station masters

There was a ceiling of Rs 150 on the pay of guards, but 70 per cent of them earned Rs 100 or more and 36 per cent drew the maximum rate. It was possible to reach the top salary in four years, from a starting salary of Rs 70. Only about a quarter appear to have spent their career as guards, serving a decade or more with EIR. Some who were amongst the higher paid guards in 1871, had become Station Masters by 1880, with considerable pay rises. Thus, the relatively small proportion with long service suggest that many were likely to have been promoted. Kipling says that EIR ‘... has a weakness for recruiting from the Army for its guards ... after depositing twenty pounds to pay his home passage [he can] enter the Company’s service on something less than one hundred rupees a month and rise in time to four hundred as a station-master.’⁵⁶ Though not particularly highly paid, the size of the European military presence in India could present Eurasians with competition for these posts. Clusters of European recruitment, such as during October and November of 1879 when seventeen Europeans were appointed, are likely to have coincided with a regiment leaving India.⁵⁷ No such clusters can be found amongst Eurasian recruits and in consequence they were outnumbered three to one.

Firemen and drivers

Firemen, shunters assistant shunters and drivers are considered together (table 16) because drivers would have been firemen and shunters earlier in their careers and together they constitute a career path.⁵⁸ Drivers’ training normally lasted four years; a

⁵⁶ Kipling, *From Sea*, 1889, p. 279.

⁵⁷ At least sixteen British regiments left Bengal during 1879 - Margaret Adams, *British Regiments in India*, The Indiaman Magazine (publ.), Sheffield, 2005.

⁵⁸ This is illustrated by several cases wherein men who were firemen in 1871 were drivers in 1880.

few had less than four years service but most of these were re-appointments. No fireman earned over Rs 70 and no driver less than Rs 100. Drivers' pay increased broadly in line with length of service. More than half, 143 of the 241 drivers, earned Rs200 or more, with five (three Europeans and two Eurasians) exceeding Arnold's 'wealthy' level.⁵⁹ Around 80 per cent of drivers, at this date, were Europeans. Nineteen of the 46 Eurasian drivers (41 per cent) earned Rs 200 or more per month⁶⁰ whereas 124 of the 194 European drivers (64 per cent) were paid Rs 200 or more per month. The gap was substantial but hardly compares with the pay of native drivers a decade later; a paltry Rs 20 per month!⁶¹

The number of Eurasian drivers was disproportionately small because most drivers had been recruited from England and stayed in post for many years; 70 per cent had already served the EIR for more than a decade. Eurasian drivers, though fewer were equally loyal and, once employed, do not appear to have been slower to progress. Most firemen had less than two years service, assistant shunters up to three years and shunters four to six years, regardless of whether they were Eurasian or European.

	European	Eurasian	Total
Fireman	52	30	82
Asst. Shunter	6	4	10
Shunter	11	11	22
Driver	194	46	241

There were much higher paid posts with EIR but engine driving in 1880 had other attractions such as status, responsibility and reputation. Drivers might cover 300 miles in twenty four hours and keep the same engine for two or three years, effectively, 'she must belong to him.'⁶² At the top of this career path, mail train drivers were considered to be 'somebody'. By the late 1880s few drivers were being imported, which opened up more opportunities for Eurasians but there was increased competition from cheaper native drivers who were now '... supposed to be good enough for branch work and

59 David Arnold classed those earning Rs 250 or more per month as wealthy. A further 6 covenanted European drivers drew above Rs 250 if money paid in England is included, Arnold, *European Orphans*, 1979.

60 In all, 63 Eurasians earned Rs 200 or more working for EIR in 1880.

61 Kipling, *From Sea*, 1889, p. 290.

62 Kipling, *From Sea*, 1889, p. 288-9.

shunting ... the driver has that to think of. You see? That's competition!⁶³ It was competition that undermined the Eurasian drivers' sense of job security and stability.

Fitters

The 77 fitters earned monthly salaries up to Rs 210, averaging Rs 107. and judging by the numbers who had been in post for over a decade (about half of them, including covenanted Europeans), this was a career level post. Assistant fitter too, could be a long-term post and did not always result in promotion. That half of fitters had been in post for over a decade, contrasts with clerks, amongst whom less than a quarter had served over a decade. Both had similar prospects with EIR: fitters could become workshop foremen and clerks could become chief clerks both drawing up to Rs 400 per month. The stability of this workforce may indicate that less transferable and more specialised skills were inherent in their posts. Up to 17 per cent of railway staff, including fitters and foremen, was employed in the workshops.⁶⁴ Most worked at Jumalpore, Allahabad and Assensole. Only three in seven fitters were Eurasians but the proportion varied by location (table 17).

Station	European	Eurasian
Allahabad	9	11
Jumalpore	31	9
Assansole	1	6
Howrah	1	5
Other	4	0

The average salary for a Eurasian fitter was Rs 119 and for a non-covenanted European Rs 130. Covenanted European fitters averaged Rs 197 and were also paid an average of £3, 5s in England (about another Rs 33 monthly). Excluding covenanted men, who may have brought greater experience with them, the difference in earnings between the two race categories was not great but there were a higher proportion of long service men amongst the Eurasians (60 per cent) than amongst the non-covenanted Europeans (32 per cent).

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 290.

⁶⁴ Shugun-Chand Aggarwal, *Industrial Housing in India*, -, New Delhi, 1952, p. 233.

Apprentices and probationers:

Amongst the 1,508 European and Eurasian staff, there were 145 apprentices and probationers. Of these, in terms of absolute numbers, 94 were Eurasians and just 48 Europeans. That two thirds of men were European but two thirds of apprentices and probationers were Eurasian is not too surprising, given that Eurasians staff were recruited in India where their population was twice as numerous as the domiciled Europeans. In terms of percentages, 17 per cent of Eurasians and only 6 per cent of non-covenanted Europeans were in these training posts. EIR still recruited ready-trained men in England but these covenanted men made up only 14 per cent of all European staff. By 1880, half of all newly appointed staff was Eurasian compared with just a quarter of those who had been in post since the 1850s. Opportunities for Eurasians to gain railway employment had increased and their prevalence amongst the apprentices and probationers indicates that they were increasingly likely to be apprenticed or trained for better-paid posts. There was also a clear commitment by EIR to providing some local training in the form of a survey school at Calcutta, and engineering colleges at Calcutta and Roorkee established in the 1850s;⁶⁵ but not all apprentices were trained in centralised colleges.

Table 18 - Apprentices			
Locomotive Department		Coaching and Wagons Department	
Year	Pay Rs/m	Year	Pay Rs/m
4	45	4	30
3	40	3	20
2	30	2	[15]
1	20	1	10

EIR's eighteen apprentice plate-layers in 1880, were all in the engineering department, but were spread between ten stations so that plate-laying was learnt 'on-the-job' rather than in a centralised school. The apprentice plate layers had all been in post less than two years, showing that their apprenticeship was a short one. They were paid

⁶⁵ Mukherjee implies that almost all skilled and semi-skilled employees were sent from England in the period to 1879, at great expense - Mukherjee, *Early*, 1994, p 109-110.

Rs 30 per month, with just two paid Rs 50 who were (with a single exception) the longest serving. Two thirds were Eurasians. Once qualified, plate-layers drew monthly salaries from Rs 175 to 400.

Apart from the apprentice plate-layers, the data do not indicate the trades for which the other apprentices were training, but some in the 1871 staff list had become fitters and mechanics by 1880. Almost all were stationed at Jumalpure, Allahabad or Howrah. From the departments and stations to which they were attached, it is likely that most of the fifty in Jumalpure and Allahabad's locomotive departments and the 30 in Howrah's coaching and wagons department, were destined to become fitters after five years as apprentices, earning monthly salaries of Rs 80 to 210.

Apprentices earned Rs 10 to 45 per month (table 18). Earnings can be seen to increase, more or less, with length of service, but locomotive department apprentices at Jumalpure and Allahabad earned more than those of Howrah's coaching and wagons department.

With few exceptions, 'probationers' earned more than apprentices, and indeed more than many employees. For the 32 probationers in coaching and wagons department, their length of service varied between four months and fifteen years, indicating some promotion from amongst the ranks of lower paid employees, rather than the duration of their probationary period. Their remuneration, Rs 60, 80, 90 or 99 per month, indicates a four-year probationary period. Once qualified, probationers became mechanics drawing monthly salaries of Rs 110 to 275. Of 38 probationers (including six in traffic), only ten were Europeans and almost three quarters were Eurasians. Amongst qualified mechanics the proportions were roughly equal which, again, indicates increasing opportunities for Eurasians (when compared to Europeans) to train for and gain better paid positions than previously.

By the 1920s, 'trade' apprenticeships had been shortened to three years' duration for fitters, whilst apprentice mechanics spent four years in training. Special apprentices, from 1927 onwards, trained for four years at Jumalpure, and then took an engineering degree in England, before appointments at entry level as Assistant Mechanical Engineers or Assistant Works Managers.⁶⁶

Kipling wrote about the apprentices at Jumalpure in 1889. They attended night school three times a week between 7 and 8 pm, when 'M Bonnaud ... teaches him

⁶⁶ Blair Williams, *On Jamalpur - Anglo-Indian Railway Officers*, <http://home.alphalink.com.au/~agilbert/onjama~1.html> (accessed 28/1/2007)

mechanics and statistics so thoroughly that even the awful Government Inspector is pleased.’ But much of the apprentice’s training was in the workshop, often under instruction from his own father.⁶⁷ Even today, Indian Railways maintain a quota of jobs reserved for the sons of railwaymen, although it is now used to help the sons of deceased or infirm railwaymen.⁶⁸ A nineteenth century railwayman expected no less.

RAILWAY COLONIES AND COMMUNITIES

For a community to exist at all there have to be sufficient numbers present. A town with no Eurasians self-evidently has no Eurasian community. A community’s sense of identity, of place, of cohesion, and perhaps of worth, is affected by factors such as its numerical strength relative to other communities, its wealth and power, its status, and its relationship to other communities. The railways created new communal identities and maintained old ones, by concentrating European and ‘allied’ racial minorities together.⁶⁹ They reinforced the corporate camaraderie and common purpose of the railway employment by providing institutions that were used to manipulate cultural identity and, by exclusion and punishment, to enforce an imagined and idealised European-ness. David Arnold has flagged up railway colonies as the main instance of white colonisation.⁷⁰ That up to a third of the residents were Eurasian and that they amounted to as much as half of the Eurasian population of India makes railway colonies highly significant for this study. Laura Bear concluded that a covert function of the EIR’s railway colony was social engineering. Europeans and Eurasians were housed in a controlled and very European environment to minimise Indian influences and to reinforce an idealised European lifestyle. Her comment that ‘Railway police patrolled the streets as much to monitor the residents’ behaviour as to protect them from crime’ echoes Rudyard Kipling’s description of Jumalpore a century earlier: ‘No one can flatter himself that in the multitude he is overlooked, or believe that between 4pm and 9am he is at liberty to mis-demean himself. ...’⁷¹

Bear has unearthed personnel files that list moral lapses such as adultery, for

67 Kipling, *From Sea*, 1889, p. 276-80, & 298.

68 Subash Kumar Rain, of Darjeeling was recently employed as an assistant driver under this scheme after his driver father had died. Gerry Troyna, *Monsoon Railway*, DVD, BBC Productions, 2005.

69 The 1901 Indian Census Report refers to Eurasians and Armenians as ‘allied races.’

70 David Arnold, ‘White Colonization and Labour in Nineteenth-Century India,’ *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol. 11 (2), 1983, pp. 133-58.

71 Kipling, *From Sea*, 1889, p. 299.

example, that could result in dismissal. But the railways also attempted to provide insurance against such behaviour by policing, paternalistic and authoritarian supervision, indoctrination and, since they believed such lapses to be un-European, by racial segregation.

This section examines three railway locations, Howrah, Allahabad and Jumalpure. I have chosen these three because each had a large Eurasian contingent (see figure 4), because they were geographically and functionally distinct from one another and, pragmatically, because descriptive data was readily accessible.

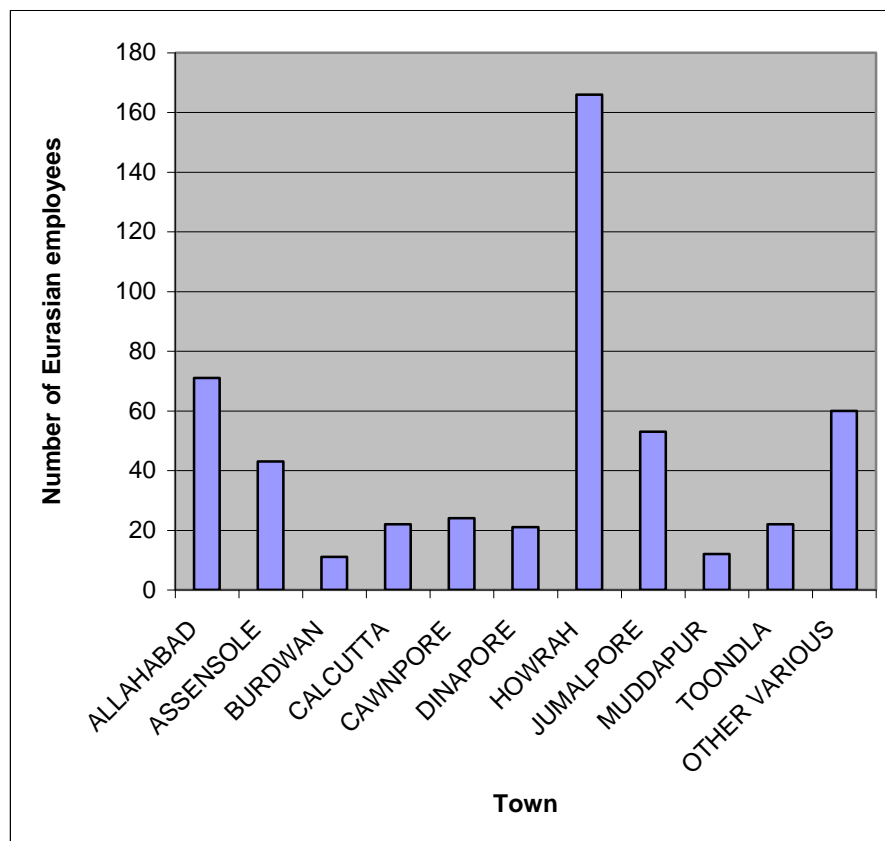


Figure 4: East Indian Railway's Eurasian employees by location

Numerical strength

Each entry in the staff lists potentially represents a male breadwinner; I include apprentices and probationers, whose training could last many years, because in this period Eurasians were said to have married very young. If not married, they may have had other less fortunate family members to support.⁷² Thus, each may be representative

⁷² Up to a quarter of Eurasians at this time were destitute and relying on charity, whether from church or family. In 1901 Risley acknowledged that a substantial number of unemployed Eurasians were supported by their extended families and friends. HH Risley & EA Gait, *Report On The Census Of India, 1901*, Government Printing Press, Calcutta, 1903, p. 219.

of a family. Whether that family averaged five persons, the figure used by clergy in making estimates of population for census returns, or three, as had been suggested in *The Times*, is open to question; *The Times* article suggesting that Eurasian family sizes were smaller applied to the destitute, not the employed.⁷³ I have taken the middle road and assumed a family unit to be four persons.

Howrah

Howrah did not begin with EIR but had been a shipbuilding area for several decades.⁷⁴ From its establishment in 1854 Howrah's EIR station's location, close to the distractions of Calcutta, was seen as a danger to its staff. The Chief Engineer was said to have observed that Bobby Dean's hotel opposite the workshops attracted men away from their work with drink and billiards, and drivers and foremen enjoyed themselves 'in rather a boisterous manner' at Wilson's Coffee Room.⁷⁵ This was one of the considerations when Jumalpoore was chosen as a workshop site. Nonetheless, Howrah's location, adjacent to deep water and shipping, was indispensable for the transport of imported manufactured goods and the export of grain, merchandise and raw materials. Howrah's work was exceptionally diverse with a huge goods traffic to and from waiting ships, coach and wagon workshops, large stores, and quays, besides passenger traffic from Calcutta to the rest of India. The EIR's annual return of European and Eurasian Staff for 1880 lists 316 names at Howrah: six West Indians 178 Eurasians and 132 Europeans, including a third of all EIR's trade apprentices and half of the probationers.

Howrah had the largest concentration of Eurasians of any single EIR station and its 178 Eurasian railway employees would represent around 710 Eurasians. Its proximity to Calcutta would have meant that some staff, local men, lived outside the colony proper but may also have allowed extended families of greater size than I have suggested to live together in colony housing. A number of the 132 Europeans (and perhaps also the half dozen West Indians) also had Eurasian families and so Howrah's railway Eurasians could easily have numbered a thousand. Whether through employment or domicile, Eurasians were a numerical majority compared to Europeans at Howrah. The company does not seem to have had a deliberate quota system in place to distribute its Eurasian and European staff evenly; at Toondla, a major garrison town,

73 Our Own Correspondent, 'Indian Contrasts,' *The Times*, 27 October 1874, Issue 28144, col D, p. 8.

74 LSS O'Malley and Manmohan Chakravarti, *Bengal District Gazetteers: Howrah*, Bengal Secretariat, Calcutta 1909, p. 165.

75 Huddleston, *History*, 1906, p. 242.

EIR's Eurasian employees were outnumbered by Europeans four to one and, at the opposite end of the spectrum, there was a solitary Eurasian stationmaster, and no European stationed by EIR at Bankipore (near Patna) in 1880, although there were many European civil servants and indigo planters in the vicinity and three European EIR men at Patna.

How separately Eurasians and Europeans lived in the colony is impossible to tell; the description of Allahabad colony (see below) suggests that class, trade and civil condition determined where within a colony an employee would be housed. There was a conscious effort, from 1876 onwards, to reinforce 'Britishness' in government-funded elementary schools⁷⁶ which brought younger Eurasians and Europeans into closer physical and cultural proximity. Howrah was large enough for a Eurasian to have multiple communal identities to choose from, whether through location, by occupation or trade, as an EIR man, as a wage earner, or by family and church as well as ethnic categorisation. In terms of wealth, only nine Europeans earned more than the highest paid Eurasians but, even after excluding these and the apprentices and probationers, Howrah's Europeans earned 36 per cent more overall. Even if Eurasian railwaymen at Howrah did not protest at this differential, it is one of the issues that the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association, based in nearby Calcutta, raised with the company, with government and with Westminster.⁷⁷

Allahabad

A railway junction, such as Allahabad, would also have had a much larger Eurasian community than indicated by the number of EIR employees, because of the proximity of the town, a major commercial centre. There was a garrison; it was the seat of government for the Upper Provinces; and other railways (such as Oudh & Rohilkhand) intersected there. It was at the hub of traffic between the North West Provinces, Simla, Bombay, Central India and Calcutta. Allahabad's 81 EIR Eurasian employees worked alongside three West Indians and 151 Europeans but the total Eurasian and European population of the town (including the military and cantonments) was about 3,000.⁷⁸ Maps of Allahabad's railway accommodation give an indication of how they were

⁷⁶ Bear, *Lines*, 2007, pp. 86-9.

⁷⁷ n.a., *Annual Report of the Eurasian*, 1880.

⁷⁸ The 1901 census found 6000 Christians at Allahabad, half of them Eurasian or European.

housed.⁷⁹ Although there was a purpose-built railway colony, many staff lived elsewhere in rented or owned accommodation. From an index (compiled in 1863) some of the more senior staff can be located living in the North Cantonment, the old civil lines, at Kutra, and in the 'new' civil and commercial cantonment to the north-west. The Cline and Heymerdinger families, for example, owned and occupied houses in the latter, the Deputy Agent rented a North Cantonment bungalow from an indigo planter, and Mr Barnett an accountant was living with the Dumbleton family in their house at Kutra. Lesser mortals are harder to trace but Farnworth, a Eurasian ticket collector in 1880, earning only Rs 40 per month, may also have chosen to live with his family who owned and occupied property in the old civil station at Colonelgunge.

The colony's site, just north of the native city, abutted the south west aspect of the civil and commercial centre. Its siting, according to Laura Bear, was deliberately chosen to take full advantage of the availability of native labour.⁸⁰ A purpose-built railway colony, it was thoroughly regimented in its layout of roads, barrack blocks, terraced cottages and bungalows. Its specific occupants are rarely recorded because they changed constantly as staff moved between stations. Buildings were, however, allocated by department, occupation, and civil condition.

Four large bungalows, separated off by the line and a level crossing at the southern limits, belonged to the engineering department. One was used as an office and the remaining three were allocated to the Clerk of Works, the District Engineer and the Barrack Master. Rows of ranges or barracks to the west, each of six rooms, were occupied by various 'assistants' of the locomotive and engineering departments. These included drivers, guards and fitters, amongst others. The most central of these blocks also housed the railway press, the library and a hospital. Four bungalows in the centre of the site were allocated, with two sharing, to five senior men in the traffic, locomotive and engineering departments. One of these, John Strachen a covenanted European, was a District Superintendent in 1880, earning Rs 1,000 per month. His neighbours in 1863 were an uncovenanted European, James Martin, who in 1880 was a foreman earning Rs 340 per month, and his Eurasian family. Across a road and to the east were three more bungalows; one was vacant and the others were occupied by an accountant and a station master.

⁷⁹ DeRosaire, *Index and Map*, 1863 and 1876.

⁸⁰ There was an ongoing debate between the advantages of a city location for the procurement of labour and a remote, more readily defensible one. Bear, *Lines*, 2007, pp. 38-40.

Lastly, at the eastern edge of the site, were three large barrack blocks, together providing 68 rooms. Each block housed ‘assistants,’ grouped together by department. The first of these housed married men and ‘La Martinière boys’ in 34 rooms. The last two blocks, each of seventeen rooms, housed ‘assistants’ from all departments as well as Mr Casey, the superintendent of the EIR Press, who occupied two rooms. Besides the press, the hospital and the library mentioned above, the colony provided a theatre, a railway co-operative shop and a larger hospital south of the Jumna. Other than these, local amenities in Allahabad included a distillery, Anglican, Roman Catholic and Presbyterian churches, a ‘club’ of the European variety, bazaars, hotels, banks, a post office, and a race track. Whilst I have not found a railway school described at Allahabad, there were several schools nearby, some providing an English education. The presence of La Martinière boys suggests that some at least were already gaining the kind of education the government, and the company, wished to promote. But even in 1880 the EIR itself employed only two schoolteachers and they were both based at Jumalpore (see below).

Just as at Howrah a difference in communal wealth was evident. Putting aside the covenanted Europeans who were paid a monthly average of Rs 498, and the West Indians who averaged just Rs 58 monthly, I calculate the Eurasian average pay was Rs 116 against a European average of Rs 163 per month – 40 per cent more.

Jumalpore

Jumalpore is one of the few railway colonies for which we have contemporary detailed descriptions that include layout, purpose, staff and facilities. Founded by the East India Railway Company in 1862, it was (and is) amongst the largest railway workshops in India. In 1889, it was ‘...a station entirely made by, and devoted to, the use of those untiring servants of the public, the railway folk ...’ and, since no other line passed through Jumalpore, all of these were employees (and their dependents) of the East India Railway Company. Including Indians, the total railway manpower at Jumalpore by 1889 was around 3,500, but numbers continued to rise as the Company grew and by 1906 there were 9,428 employees at Jumalpore. The European contingent comprised 127 men in 1880, ‘largely recruited from Manchester and the Clyde ... homes of the great ironworks of the North,’⁸¹ and 55 Eurasians (or East Indians).⁸² 141 were in the

81 Kipling, *From Sea*, 1889, pp. 244, 273 & 283; Huddleston, *History*, 1906.

82 Gore-Browne, *Alphabetical List*, 1880.

locomotive department, repairing and refurbishing engines, as well as 22 in the traffic department, 14 audit and accounts staff, two teachers, a doctor, a nurse, and a handful of supra-departmental district staff.⁸³ Besides the manufacture of parts, and the salvage of iron from worn-out parts, each of the three sheds (which covered 40 to 50 acres in 1889) could accommodate 50 engines under repair ‘without pressure, and on occasions as many again.’⁸⁴ They had also begun manufacturing their own engines and by 1906 Jumalpur’s sheds (grown to a hundred acres) were known as ‘the Crewe of India.’⁸⁵ As sites of heavy industry, workshops like Jumalpur were noisy, dirty, and dangerous. Unlike the stereotypic conception of the British Raj, their European communities were of skilled and semiskilled but largely working-class men, with both gentlemen and *crannies* in the minority. The vast store department, ‘... as clean as a new pin, and stupefying in its naval order’ stocked everything necessary for ‘the due and proper workings of a long line.’⁸⁶ Like a mill or mine town in Britain, the town ran to the company’s schedule: ‘The Buzzer howls, for it is nearly tiffin time. There is a rush from every quarter of the shops ... the tiffin hour has ended. The buzzer blows ... and the shops take up their toil.’⁸⁷

The company’s Chief Engineer, D.W. Campbell, had selected the site in part because it was remote enough to keep the European and Eurasian staff from the distractions and dissipations of any large town.⁸⁸ Kipling mentioned only ‘a dreary village’ in the neighbourhood where many native railway employees and their dependents lived.⁸⁹ Huddleston noted that this was something of a problem; within a few years it had become necessary to run daily workmen’s trains to bring labour from nineteen miles away. The native quarter of Jumalpure and other railway colonies attracted concern, about both sanitation and security, but remained largely unplanned until the turn of the twentieth century.⁹⁰ The village was said to ‘make the most of any

83 At this time Jumalpur was also the headquarters of the East Indian Railway’s Traffic Department though this was later moved to Calcutta. Huddleston, *History*, 1906, p. 112.

84 Kipling, *From Sea*, 1889, p. 286.

85 Huddleston, *History*, 1906, p. 242.

86 Kipling, *From Sea*, 1889, p. 298.

87 *Ibid.*, p. 284 & 287.

88 Huddleston also pointed to its proximity to Monghyr, the inhabitants of which ‘had been mechanics for many centuries’ - Huddleston, *History*, 1906, pp. 242.

89 Kipling, *From Sea*, 1889p. 276.

90 The Chief Engineer of Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway suggested that the construction of small villages that sprang up near station premises should be systematised and that sanitary issues should be addressed - Juland Danvers, *Report*, 1877, p. 9; Later discussions on the accommodation of native railway workers consider sanitation,

cholera that may be going.’⁹¹ The absence of an entry for Jumalpore in the 1881 census indicates that its total population was below 10,000. The railway colony proper, provided for the benefit (or containment) of European and Eurasian staff, their families and servants, Kipling found to be ‘specklessly and spotlessly neat’ with ‘a holy calm about the roads – totally unlike anything in an English manufacturing town.’⁹² It was laid out, like Allahabad with military precision, bounded on three sides by a ring of hills, and enclosed by the company’s sheds, offices, and workshops.⁹³

Its facilities, by 1889, included accommodation, a church⁹⁴, a Freemason’s lodge, an infirmary, a school, apprentices quarters, a bandstand, a firing range and the Mechanics’ Institute, with six tennis courts, a swimming pool, and a library. By 1906 Huddleston could report that it also had a Catholic chapel, a hospital (including separate isolation facilities), a boarding school for European and East Indian children, an apprentices’ boarding house, the Company volunteers’ armoury and HQ, a gymkhana, cricket, football and tennis.⁹⁵

As there had been neither a civil nor military presence at Jumalpore, railway personnel governed it themselves until the introduction of the provincial (largely native) service, a move greatly resented by the Europeans and Eurasians:

Jumalpore ... has neither Judge, Commissioner, Deputy, or ‘Stunt, which is devoid of law courts, *itca-gharries*, District Superintendents of Police ... “we administer ourselves ...or we did – till we had local self-government in – and now the [Club] racket-maker administers us.” ... The introduction of local self-government ... to a place made by, and maintained for, Europeans ... a board largely composed of Babus, and since that day Jumalpore’s views on government have not been fit for publication.⁹⁶

This did not prevent the European and Eurasian communities from making their authority patent, in and out of working hours. The 150 strong Railway Volunteer Force (and their band) paraded twice a week to drill, practise rapid deployment (by train) and

security and the promotion of loyalty - See chapter 4 of Bear, *Lines*, 2007, & Nitin Sinha, ‘The World of Workers’ Politics: Some Issues of Railway Workers in Colonial India, 1918–1922,’ *MAS*, vol. 42 (5), 2008, pp. 999–1033.

91 Kipling, *From Sea*, 1889, p. 276.

92 *Ibid.*

93 *Ibid.*, p. 275.

94 St Mary’s was consecrated by the Bishop of Calcutta in 1867 - Frances Maria Milman, *Memoir of the Right Rev. Robert Milman*, John Murray, London, 1879, p. 44.

95 Huddleston, *History*, 1906, pp. 243-4.

96 Kipling, *From Sea*, 1889, p. 274.

hone their marksmanship.⁹⁷ They were uniformed, carried Martini-Henry rifles, and some were ex-Army. In 1889 there were ‘... no regulars between Howrah and Dinapore ...’⁹⁸ and so the volunteers were the military presence. In the workplace too, Europeans exercised authority. In 1880, all foremen were Europeans, three quarters of them covenanted.⁹⁹ They allocated work to teams of three Europeans or Eurasians (fitters and their apprentices), who in turn directed eight or nine Indians.¹⁰⁰ The European and Eurasian foremen fitters and apprentices in 1880, together numbered approximately 100.¹⁰¹ Their numbers grew to about 240 by 1906, roughly in proportion to the growth in overall staffing.

At Jumalpure in 1880, Eurasians were outnumbered by Europeans in the workforce by more than two to one. The average monthly pay for a European at Jumalpure in 1880 was Rs 241 and for a Eurasian it was Rs 89. The largest European salary was Rs 2,000 per month plus £25 monthly whereas the highest-paid Eurasian drew Rs 400 per month. District-level staff, based at Jumalpure and exclusively European, drew huge salaries, averaging Rs 1,400 monthly. Accountants and auditors, again all European, were paid an average of Rs 550, and foremen, ‘captains of five hundred or more,’¹⁰² drew monthly salaries of Rs 200 to 500.¹⁰³ Fitters, around a quarter of whom were Eurasians, drew Rs 80 to 280 a month. Eurasians and Europeans received the same basic pay for the same grade and length of service, although other conditions differed.¹⁰⁴ The sharp difference in pay between these two communities in Jumalpure illustrates a widespread source of tension and protest but it also reflects both the expertise and training that railway artisans brought with them from Britain, and the East Indian Railway’s conviction that senior posts should be filled from Britain. Eurasian and domiciled European employees were certainly considered ‘second best,’ but the Company paid native fitters even less; about Rs 30 a month, a third to a ninth of

97 *Ibid.*, p. 276-7.

98 *Ibid.*, p. 278.

99 Gore-Browne, *Alphabetical List*, 1880.

100 Kipling, *From Sea*, 1889, p. 286.

101 Gore-Browne, *Alphabetical List*, 1880.

102 Kipling, *From Sea*, 1889, p. 283.

103 Gore-Browne, *Alphabetical List*, 1880.

104 Battles to standardise Pension and leave rules and promotion prospects for European and Eurasian staff predated latter battles to win fair treatment for all, regardless of race - n.a., *Annual Report of the Eurasian*, 1880, p. 27; Sinha, *World*, 2008.

the rate paid to Europeans and Eurasians.¹⁰⁵

The accommodation provided to Europeans and Eurasians at Jumalpur was a railway bungalow (with single men sharing) or cottage which ‘...cost him [no] more than one ninth of the pay of his grade.’¹⁰⁶ Each bungalow or cottage had a plot of land for a garden and, by the turn of the century, electric lighting and fans.¹⁰⁷ There was a boarding school for European and Eurasian children on site. Most apprentices lived together in barracks but about a quarter of their number remained living with their families. Churches, both Anglican and Catholic, catered for spiritual needs. Kipling described the atmosphere of the mechanics Institute; as the:

best and prettiest of the many good and pretty things in Jumalpure ... of a Saturday when the Volunteer Band is playing and the tennis courts are full and the babydom of Jumalpure – fat sturdy children – frolic round the band-stand. The people dance ... they act, they play billiards, they study their newspapers, they play cards and everything else, and they flirt in a sumptuous building, and in the hot weather the gallant apprentice ducks his friend in the big swimming-bath. Decidedly the railway folk make their lives pleasant.¹⁰⁸

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

In this chapter I have looked at occupations, opportunities to progress, salaries, perquisites, the built and cultural environment, and attempted to identify differences in the experience of railway life that co-locate with racial categorisation. My findings clarify what it was that Eurasians gained and lost by becoming railwaymen.

The reasons Eurasians were willing, even keen, to join railways are clear, but so too are the factors that would have promoted a sense of grievance. Railway employment allowed Eurasians to satisfy many of the basic needs that a regular wage could meet but that most earned less than the Europeans with whom they lived and laboured would have been obvious. The provident fund and long service promoted a feeling of security and stability but, again, Europeans were rewarded more generously. As the single largest employer of Eurasians, railways physically drew together a small and dispersed minority into communities with a common (or similar) purpose and status. Even tiny railway communities were a free train ride away from larger communities. Company and government policy with regard to education, lifestyle, provision of institutions and

105 Francis J.S. Venner, ‘England and Her Eastern Question,’ *New Monthly Magazine*, vol. 143, 1868, p. 355.

106 Kipling, *From Sea*, 1889, p. 279.

107 Huddleston, *History*, 1906, p. 251.

108 Kipling, *From Sea*, 1889, p. 299.

remuneration, also shaped a distinct identity and affiliation (the railwayman) that to some extent masked the unwelcome categorisation of 'Eurasian.' But deployment across the network could also make for regular postings and high mobility which disrupted family life. In addition, policing and supervision of colony life could be very intrusive, restricting personal agency and invading privacy. Self-respect and the respect of others attached to government service but, undermining this, glass ceilings and regulations based on racial hierarchies would have been resented as demeaning. The Eurasian Associations' complaint that promotion and salary of Eurasians compared unfavourably to their European peers does appear to be justified. However, compared to Indians, they were rewarded far more generously for their labour. This and the railways' use of Eurasians as militia did cause ill-feeling towards them but it is not possible to judge to what extent this concerned them. The numbers in long-term employment suggest there was a high level of satisfaction for most.

Education when it was provided treated Eurasians and domiciled Europeans the same with class and denomination providing dividing lines across racial ones. Had prospects of promotion and pay been as equal in practice as they were on paper, then the Eurasian railway community might have merged completely with the European. As it was, they lived cheek-by-jowl with Europeans whose aspirations they shared but could not quite achieve unless, as individuals, they were re-categorised as European. Living outside the railway colonies may therefore have been a deliberate choice for some. If there was a family home nearby there may have been a financial incentive for living there, but living in a less regimented, more mixed locale may also have offered relief from the relentlessly 'European' cultural constraints of the railway colony.

DISCUSSION

The pleasant picture of railway life, such as Kipling described in Jumalpoore, was, he noted, less than perfect. Company and government policy which shaped racial hierarchies in the workforce would have led to some degree of employee dissatisfaction amongst all but the white elite and even they may have found reason to be less than fulfilled on occasion. Company policy stunted its own workforce by discouraging inventiveness: '... written in each servant's covenant, that if by chance he invented aught, his invention was to belong to the Company.' There was little incentive to give more than was asked for and no encouragement, beyond the chance of promotion, for the kind of inventiveness that could benefit the company and help the employee to

realise his potential. 'Would it ruin the richest Company in India,' he asked, 'to lend their model-shop and their lathes to half a dozen, or, for the matter of that, half a hundred, abortive experiments?'¹⁰⁹ Government policy too, even before it took over the EIR, could cause great dissatisfaction within the workplace. The engineers were incensed when in 1869 the Governor-General accused 'all civil engineers' of taking bribes and commissions and of regarding them as 'legitimate sources of emolument' when awarding contracts. The engineers conceded that some probably were dishonest but objected to Lord Mayo's 'unfounded accusations,' and sweeping generalisation.¹¹⁰

But railway employment did offer status in the wider community of India, simply because it was quasi-official and anything associated with government carried status. Kipling noted that men came to believe that their work made them 'the real pivots on which the Administration turns.' But the administration portrayed itself as of central importance in India, its covenanted and officer cadres were 'heaven born,' and such an attitude would have filtered down to every level of that administration. Thus, self-respect might come from the most humble and subordinate employment. In 'Wressley of the Foreign Office,' Kipling gave an instance:

A half-caste clerk was ruling forms in a Pay Office. He said to me, 'Do you know what would happen if I added or took away one single line on this sheet?' Then with the air of a conspirator, 'It would disorganize the whole of the Treasury payments throughout the whole of the Presidency Circle! Think of that!'¹¹¹

The reader is meant to see that such a belief was ridiculous because the work of a clerk was inherently unimportant. But the clerk was not completely deluded. Just as in Kipling's 'The Man Who Would be King,' freemason's regalia elevated the status of the deserter Dan Dravot to that of a god, government employment elevated the self-image, and even the social status, of a humble clerk precisely because he represented government. Kipling was not alone in portraying the Eurasian clerk or *cranny*; it was a persistent and ubiquitous stereotype. But it is very striking that, contrary to expectation, Eurasians in 1880 were employed across so many (27) disparate railway occupations. Eurasians' adaptability was also noted in 1901 by Risley who described the Malabar community thus:

109 Kipling, *From Sea*, 1889, pp. 292-293.

110 n.a., 'India and the Civil Engineers,' *The Railway News and Joint-Stock Journal*, vol. 11 (306), 6 November 1869, p. 471 & 476.

111 Rudyard Kipling, *Wressley of the Foreign Office; Indian Tales*, (Penny Books), Kindle edition, loc. 5707.

The most noticeable point about the statistics is the great variety of the occupations in which Eurasians are engaged. None of the other communities selected approach them in this respect ... there is no occupation in the list which is followed by as many as 8 per cent. of the community.¹¹²

Eurasians were diversifying widely in their search for employment and, contrary to the picture of Eurasians as uninterested in education to better their lot many, including those employed in workshops, had to have served apprenticeships to develop their valuable specialised skills. Contrary to stereotyping of Eurasian indiscipline and unreliability, 30 per cent had been with EIR for a decade or more and, if we exclude apprentices and probationers, that figure rises to nearly 40 per cent.¹¹³ Some had even served the same company in the same town for at least 25 years; CW Clarke, for example, employed since 1860, at Jumalpole since at least 1870 and still there in 1895!¹¹⁴ With monthly salaries averaging over Rs 100 (about £10) the Eurasian railway community was poorer than its European counterpart in India, but was not poor when compared with Indian railway men, British military 'other ranks,'¹¹⁵ or even Scottish farm labourers.¹¹⁶

Bear has provided insights into the ways in which the EIR company shaped the 'bio-moral' character of its European and Eurasian staff by deliberately indoctrinating them with European culture and outlooks, by housing them in colonies from which 'India' had been hygienically removed, by invading every aspect of their private and family lives to ensure that their behaviour was 'approved,' and by the constant fear of dismissal, even when there was no work-related fault. The accommodation, education, and leisure facilities of EIR's colonies represent an experiment in which compliance was demanded. There was no room in railway colonies for a Eurasian who, elsewhere in place or time, might have lived openly with a Muslim wife, relaxed in a kurta after work, or amused himself writing Urdu poetry. Company policy for Europeans and Eurasians was to shape their British-ness and to penalise inappropriate behaviour. To quote Bear: '[the colony] did not reflect culture; it helped to produce the reality of

112 Risley and Gait, *Census Of India*, 1901, p. 219.

113 There were also a dozen firemen and gunners with previous service, discharged (not resigned or dismissed) in periodic re-organisations, but later re-employed.

114 Gore-Browne, *Alphabetical List*, 1880; Thacker's Indian Directory 1870 & 1895.

115 Soldiers' pay was about £1 10s per month, before stoppages.

116 Farm labourers in West Lothian were paid £5 per month in 1914 - Stuart Mitchell, Fay Oliver and Tim Neighbour, *A Social History of 19th-Century Farm Workers and their Families ...*, www.sair.org.uk/sair33/sair33 (accessed September 2010).

national, racial, and cultural difference.¹¹⁷

Part of that 'culture' involved 'volunteering' for the militia, a company policy that reinforced the dichotomy of natives as the potential threat and Europeans and Eurasians as defenders of British interests.¹¹⁸ With an average wage almost six times the wage of an Indian train driver, living in close and trusted proximity with his European colleagues in relatively good housing it would hardly be surprising if the Eurasian felt privileged. He gained status from his work, the camaraderie of a railway community, and the means to keep his family housed, fed, healthy, entertained and educated. These were clear rewards. To keep these rewards, however, he paid a heavy price; forever a second class 'Britisher' and alienated from the people and cultures of the only country he would ever know – India.

The railways brought about a visible and massive change in the landscape of India, in the logistics of trade and in colonial military deployment. They also offered new opportunities for India's Eurasians from the middle of the nineteenth century until, despite 'Indianisation' and later independence, about 1960.¹¹⁹ If, as Kerr claims the railways were 'engines of change [that] shaped the making of modern India,'¹²⁰ then a large section of the Eurasian community must surely number amongst the pioneers of modern India.

117 Laura Gbah Bear, 'Miscegenations of modernity: constructing European respectability and race in the Indian railway colony, 1857-1931,' *Women's History Review*, vol. 3 (4), 1994, pp. 531-48.

118 '...a man must be a volunteer ... or someone will ask the reason why' - Kipling, *From Sea*, 1889, p. 279.

119 A quota of posts was reserved specifically for Anglo-Indians for a decade after independence, to allow the community time to adapt.

120 The network grew in half a century to be the fourth largest rail network in the world. - Kerr, *Engines*, 2006, p. 1

CHAPTER 11: CONCLUSIONS

There are many dimensions to the Eurasian problem in nineteenth century India, as demonstrated in this thesis. Their existence and proclivities were a concern to the British, as were their interactions with other communities. For Indians, the Eurasian problem was that they monopolised reserved occupations and were indistinguishable from the colonial presence. The British themselves constituted Eurasians as a problem; first excluding and stereotyping their Eurasian kin, then constraining their roles and ambitions, whilst insisting they acculturate to British norms. British hegemony also displaced other Europeans, notably the Dutch, Portuguese and French, leaving their Eurasian populations with even bigger cultural hurdles to overcome. Eurasians came to occupy a liminal zone, permanently suspended between the numerical power of the Indian population, and the political and economic power of the British. Thus, the wants and needs of these neighbours, and changes in their relationship to one another, had consequences for all Eurasians. The lived experience of Eurasians in British India necessitated the near-impossible separation of their roles and allegiances into British *or* Indian according to context; employed as statutory natives, educated as Europeans, largely excluded from military service as statutory natives of India, and yet required to take up arms as a second line of European defence against their fellow Indians.

By the mid-nineteenth century, a gulf had formed separating the colonial British from their Indian subjects. Whilst the British were happy to encourage Indians to cross the cultural divide, become *brown sahibs*, and adopt western civilisation, the crossing could not be bi-directional; Englishmen were meant to believe there was nothing in Indian culture of benefit to them. Racial ‘crossing’ also became inimical to the racial justification for a British empire and colonial rule, but Eurasians had already been born, in simpler times when ruling had not yet become a racially determined competence. Already, early in the century, the pre-existing Eurasians could not be seen to take a wrong cultural direction because, since they had European blood, they would serve as a bad example to Indians. They could no longer be assimilated into the British population, where their blood ‘might debase the succeeding generations of Englishmen.’¹ Nothing could be done about their existence; their numbers were such that the population had

¹ Letter from the Managers to Eyre Coote, 18 November 1782, in PWD India, *Original Papers, 1784*, pp. 29-30.

proved to be self-perpetuating.

The British solution to this dilemma was two-pronged. First the British put psychological distance between themselves and the Eurasians, briefly by proscription, but mainly by social pressures, treated them as a class (or race) apart, and educated their own to abhor miscegenation. Secondly, Eurasian agency resulted in lifestyles that mixed cultures in a way the British considered dangerous to their own prestige, and so Eurasian cultural life had to be encouraged down a European route. Once British hegemony was likely, those who had assimilated into Indian life were of little further concern and could be categorised as native Christians. A residuum persisted in mixing with Indians, often poor, but with cultural mores that distinguished them as part-European. But the ‘Anglo-Indians,’ once reminded of their place, those who were anglicised, by inclination and schooling, had the potential to become ‘useful citizens.’ The proscription decades had already reduced most Eurasians to a state of economic dependence in which opportunities for employment, albeit in subordinate roles, could not easily be refused.

I have used the term Eurasian throughout this thesis, although aware that it may cause a degree of discomfort, but with good reason. The more acceptable term, Anglo-Indian, would have been both ahistorical, since it applied to a different population in the nineteenth century, and too exclusive. Today’s Indian constitution uses the term Anglo-Indian to define a minority Indian community with European paternal ancestry; but those who have left India and settled elsewhere, those born or living in Pakistan, Bangladesh or Myanmar (Burma), and those with only maternal European ancestry, are excluded. The still-active All India Anglo-Indian Association would also exclude the non-Christian and the non-anglophone. Though use of the term necessitates a geographic limiter to restrict the discussion to South Asia, Eurasian can encompass anyone whose ancestry was both European and South Asian. It allowed my remit, to a lesser degree, to extend to others who were known to have straddled the racial divide between the colonial British and South Asia’s non-European population. Nirad Chaudhuri’s 1965 diatribe against their influence lumped together genetic and cultural *half-castes* though perhaps, coming from an Indian Oxford resident famed for being a very English gentleman, he shot himself metaphorically in the foot when he labelled them all as ‘dangerous’!² But Chaudhuri’s conception is my justification for using data

² Nirad C Chaudhuri, *The Continent of Circe; an Essay on the Peoples of India*, Chatto and Windus, London, 1965, p44.

that did not distinguish between domiciled Europeans and Eurasians; implying, as it does, that both ‘blood’ and ‘culture’ contributed to the community. The distinction between these two imagined communities was always ephemeral and I have left it so.

A fundamental difficulty in any understanding of the Eurasians of South Asia is, and always was, delineation. This affected the nineteenth century censuses and other headcounts. Indians merged into the Eurasian community through marriage, education, conversion, and for employment purposes. Government recognised some communities (Parsis, Armenians and Jews) in the odd category of ‘European and allied races’ or employed them as Eurasians. Eurasians married, lived and worked amongst Indians, probably as much as they did amongst themselves or with Europeans. Europeans continued to marry Indians and Eurasians, or otherwise linked themselves with India, its cultures and its people. William ‘Oriental’ Jones, Mrs Meer Hassan Ali, and Richard Burton all swam against the political, biological or cultural currents, but all exercised the option to retain their British identity. Similarly, some Eurasians, by virtue of family connections, education and, or course, wealth, were able to leave the liminal zone and make their way inside the European pale. Thomas Carlyle was smitten with one wealthy Eurasian heiress, Kitty Kirkpatrick, who was accepted into English high society. Begum Johnson was prominent in Calcutta society, despite being Eurasian. Her grandson Robert Jenkinson, 2nd Earl Liverpool, became prime minister of Britain, despite his mixed ancestry. These were exceptional individuals, one way or another, but, as has been shown in other instances, a degree of acceptance could be achieved by many, early in the century when wealth, education or deeds provided sufficient bedrock on which to build a British identity.³ Later, as race theories successfully peddled inherent racial competencies, such a shift could only be achieved through subterfuge.

Central to my thesis were the lives and concerns of those who remained in the space they were allocated, between Europeans and Indians, but to understand that space it was necessary to look at the construction and policing of its margins because, like the margins of a sand-dune, they enable the existence of the whole. Changes to the margins also change the shape of the whole and this phenomenon was very apparent both in Eurasian communal development, in individual prospects over time, and in the ever-changing attitudes to and utilisation of Eurasians by the colonial state. The concept of

³ See Peter Robb, ‘Children, Emotion, Identity and Empire: Views from the Blechyndens’ Calcutta Diaries (1790–1822),’ *Modern Asian Studies*, 40, 1, pp. 175–201. [Without the change it seems this refers to the examples given.]

'community' presented further problems, which is why I endeavoured to limit its use in this thesis to areas where it was unquestionably appropriate. Just as Englishmen were by default Church of England, many Eurasians were, by default, members of a Eurasian community, and neither default position says much about its presumed members. There undoubtedly were Eurasian communities that functioned as such; large populations in a stable geographical locus, with work, and their own institutions. But communities could be ephemeral, pragmatic responses to stimuli that forced their existence: tied-housing, boarding schools, and political campaigns that neither commanded nor defined complete identity, although choosing to join a body that represented a Eurasian community does imply some degree of identification. I doubt, for example, that there was a distinct Eurasian community in Awadh before the British told them they were a community, although shared religion and lifestyle might give them that appearance. Even kinship does not need to equate to community; the Skinner family today has both a Christian and a Muslim branch, only one of which would be recognised by many Anglo-Indians as part of their community.

In this thesis I showed that the nineteenth century Eurasian population of India grew to possibly 300,000 by 1911 and, in exploring this, I was able to bring out the heterogeneity of Eurasian ancestry and the artificiality inherent in British attempts to classify them. I showed that whilst Eurasian historiography written by members of the community exhibited a strong sense of injustice and reflected the local politics, it did not adequately explore external issues that affected them. I examined proscriptions enacted around the turn of the century to show how they contributed to 'othering' Eurasians. Then, in line with more recent developments in historical research that however left Eurasian history largely untouched, I explored its global and personalised context. I suggested that much of the legislation inimical to Eurasian interests was really directed at Europeans. The aim was reforming the administration of India, and merging minorities and marginalised groups in Britain into an emergent British identity.

I went on to examine intermarriage and conceptual understandings of marriage. I have shown, by a mass demographic approach, the degree to which intermarriage between the British and Eurasians continued, despite formal and informal attempts to discourage miscegenation. I suggested that, if we discard the strict middle-class Victorian understanding of this concept, in favour of a broader interpretation, more akin to the customs and practices of the diverse people involved, then an equally large cohort of irregular relationships, marriages in all but name, might be added to the total. This

point was important to make for two reasons. First, it countered Victorian stereotyping of both Eurasians and of working-class Britons as immoral. Secondly, intermarriage was an effective method of acculturation that reinforced Eurasians' self-image as British.

Self-identity has many facets, including upbringing, ethnicity, faith, home and nationality, but employment is still a primary identifier for most people; what you do is who you are. This fact was not lost on the British administration. Thus, linking employment opportunities to supposed racial competencies, making it contingent on culture, controlling the environment in which employees lived, and providing appropriate facilities and cultural institutions, enabled Eurasians and the British to reach a working compromise. In reserving some occupations for Eurasians, or at least favouring them, government and quasi-government enterprises benefited from the cheaper labour and semi-European loyalty of a Eurasian workforce. The Eurasians gained a range of livelihoods, financial security for the community, and alternate, more welcome identities defined by occupation. I explored many of these occupations and, in the process, the racial and class logic behind what was considered suitable or acceptable, showing that subordination was always maintained and often resented.

The zenith of Eurasian anglicisation has to have been railway employment and the only surprise was that railway towns were not given the names of Surrey villages or of the industrial centres of England. The accommodation, education, and leisure facilities of railway colonies epitomised a social Darwinian experiment in which compliance was demanded and there was no room for Eurasians who, elsewhere in place or time, might have openly lived a more Indian lifestyle. It was this cultural heritage with its colonial baggage that handicapped the Eurasian's assimilation. If it were race, or miscegenation, then there would have been an equally disparaged group of Eurasians whose culture was more conventionally 'Indian.'

The Eurasians' need for secure work was no different from that of many thousands of other Indians who worked for the colonial state, except that government employment was the only door open to many. An important factor that marks Anglo-Indians out as different, besides their part-European ancestry, is that they were often the face of government in everyday life and, when people opposed the colonial state, this made them the enemy. They occupied only subordinate posts, but even very junior government employees exercised power. Kipling tells a tale of a lowly Eurasian telegraph signaller, earning just Rs35/month. He was no imperial master but when inter-

communal rioting broke out at his sub-station; ‘... until the Assistant Commissioner came, he, the Telegraph Signaller, was the Government of India ...’⁴ For many Anglo-Indians, participation in volunteer regiments was a condition of employment. They were deployed whenever there was a disturbance and regular troops were unavailable, provoking further hostility towards them and associating them even more with colonial oppression.

Yet, hundreds of thousands of Indians of many communities served the colonial state and most of them were paid to bear arms. Nowadays, neither Bengalis nor Sikhs are treated as colonial collaborators simply because their ancestors served the colonial state as *babus* and soldiers. The Anglo-Indians’ foreign culture marks them as different but many Indians now incorporate elements of foreign culture into their lifestyles too. English language proficiency, technical skills and familiarity with foreign cultures are a passport to employment in, for example, the media, in the burgeoning IT sector and in technical support and call centres. The departure of half the Eurasian community since independence has been taken to signify disloyalty but many millions of Indians and other South Asians have emigrated too.

I have shown, I believe, a route by which Eurasians’ personal agency was removed by the colonial state so that many Eurasians, those later identifiable as Anglo-Indians, came to conform to and perform an assigned role, living by the European cultural norms demanded of and inculcated in them, as aliens in their own country. If they were, as Nirad Chaudhuri would have it, pale imitations of both the British and the Indian, then that reflects British policy far more than Eurasian agency.

In my discussions of employment I have perhaps paid too little heed to the non-official sector and would like to have expanded my discussion of women’s work. Similarly, I am aware that religion was and remains of great importance to many Eurasians and most Anglo-Indians; it is, like the English language, at the core of their self-identity but, for reasons of space, I have addressed it only as a secondary issue. Three questions might be addressed in future research: why was religion so important, how did Eurasians participate, and did it dictate their behaviour? My hypothesis, supported by glimpses of these issues in the thesis, is that such investigation would confirm my conclusions about Eurasian agency and the basis of their Europeanised culture.

⁴ Kipling, *Plain*, London, 1987, p95.

I began this research thinking its focus would be an examination and re-assessment of the nineteenth-century stereotypes about Eurasians. Instead, I came to analyse some of the conditions that made Eurasian as they were. I ended by asking how these findings relate to the stereotypes today: the choices made for and by the Eurasians of India have had an unfortunate legacy. In appearing to give up their personal cultural-agency they lost part of their own identity, their Indian-ness. It is proving difficult for today's Anglo-Indians to reclaim it. My own experience of Anglo-Indian culture would suggest they never did lose touch with either their European or their Indian culture, but merged the two into an amalgam that was new and distinctive. Much of the experience of being Eurasian in colonial India has resonance today for populations whose sense of belonging is questioned by others. Minorities such as non-Jewish Israelis, non-Muslim Pakistanis, Muslim-Britons, white-Zimbabweans, US-communists and, still, Anglo-Indians in India, are all in some way, outsiders in their own country. This thesis has examined the background to that status for the Indian Eurasians. One response to the situation, exercised by half of the Anglo-Indians and many Portuguese and French Eurasians, was to leave in search of a new homeland. In the twenty-first century, that may still be a last resort. But the more any minority knows of its own history and contribution to its homeland, the better equipped it is to deal with prejudice, to assert its right to exist, and, put simply, to belong.

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FamilySearch, <https://www.familysearch.org>: *Family Search* is a huge world-wide genealogical database constructed by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The site displays transcribed data from its extensive collection of microfilmed primary sources, fully attributed, but also includes unattributed (unusable) data submitted by members of the public.

Ancestry, <http://www.ancestry.co.uk>: *Ancestry* is a commercial genealogical database that provides transcriptions and scanned original data from a wide variety of sources, worldwide. Besides birth, marriage and death records, it includes censuses, wills, probate and prison records, trade directories and telephone books, school and medal rolls, immigration and passenger movements, and newspapers.

IOFH, <http://indiafamily.bl.uk>: *The India Office Family History Search* website is transcribed from the biographical card index (available at the British Library) compiled by members of staff at the India Office. Currently, the library believe, this database contains about 10% of the biographical sources available in the India Office Records.

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