

ADAPTATION IN A CHANGING POLITICAL WORLD:
THE ANGLo-INDIAN PROBLEM 1909-1935

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ABSTRACT

ADAPTATION IN A CHANGING POLITICAL WORLD:

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The Anglo-Indian Community was brought into existence by the miscegenation of the European (more particularly the British) traders, soldiers and officials with the native people in the first two hundred years of British expansion in India.

After an initial period in which Anglo-Indians were largely employed by the East India Company in civil, military and commercial roles, a change in British official policy during Cornwallis' regime deprived them of that employment.

The loyalty of Anglo-Indians to the British interests in the Indian upheaval of 1857-58 began a new period of large-scale employment in subordinate positions in the public services, particularly the Railways, Postal and Telegraph departments.

Towards the close of the nineteenth century, the Indian national movement and demand for self-government gained momentum. In an effort to appease the demands of the Indians for a larger share in administration and government service, the government introduced a number of reforms in the first two decades of the twentieth century.

Anglo-Indians had to face the competition and the increasing entry of Indians into departments where they were largely employed. One response to that pressure was an effort to improve their educational qualifications which were, generally lower than those of the Indian candidates, many of whom possessed university degrees. Another outcome was the development of Anglo-Indian organizations climaxing in the formation of the All-India Anglo-Indian Association in 1926. The leadership of the Association was strengthened under Henry Gidney whose work in the Community, in the Indian Legislative Assembly and in the negotiations of the Round Table Conferences were inestimable to the Anglo-Indian cause. The net result of his efforts created conditions by which the Community obtained important economic safeguards and protection in employment and education.

Education and organization were the main supports of the Community which developed a strong sense of group-consciousness and awareness of the need for adjustment to the new conditions, especially at a time when power was being transferred to Indian hands.

The Community retained its distinctive character and emerged as a small social and cultural entity in the years following the Government of India Act of 1935.

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This study is dedicated to my children in the hope that they will know more about the history of the Anglo-Indian Community which is part of their heritage.

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INTRODUCTION

The Anglo-Indians, although historically miniscule as an interest group in modern India, have long been regarded as a distinct community because of their racial and cultural admixture. Moreover, their importance in the subordinate structure of British rule was far greater than their numbers (population proportion). This study is an attempt at historical analysis of this group and an effort to explicate the process by which this small but highly visible community sought to preserve its economic position amidst the political changes connected with the growing national movement and the transition to Indian self-government.

For the purpose of this study, I have concentrated on developments in India and in the Anglo-Indian Community during the years 1909-1935. For India as a whole, this "Reform" era saw the passage of three important legislative bills which gave both concessions to the demand for responsible government and a further impetus to the national movement. Moreover, after 1920, the re-organized Central Legislative Assembly provided a forum for public discussion and debate of numerous subjects of vital concern to many different groups. The latter part of this period also witnessed three Round Table Conferences which considered major issues and demands put forward by minority groups as well as by the more dominant parties, in the context of an imminent transfer of power.

I have focussed my study of the Community during the decades of crisis and decision-making which preceded the Government of India Act of 1935 for three main reasons. Firstly, because it was during this period that the evolution of the Community from one of total dependence on British patronage to that of a distinct self-conscious entity becomes most evident. Secondly, because it is important to ascertain how the rise of nationalism and the struggle for independence both stimulated and limited the attainment of self-sufficiency by this community. Thirdly, and most importantly, it is necessary to assess the rapidly changing role of the Community in education and the public services, as well as in other facets of Indian life, in the twentieth century.

As far as the history of the Anglo-Indian Community is concerned, the period under study coincides with the "Gidneyan" era. Sir Henry Gidney, an ophthalmic surgeon of international repute, emerged as the determined and forceful leader of his small community. Gidney represented the Anglo-Indian Community at the Indian Round Table Conferences and pressed for economic protection in order to safeguard the interests of his constituency. At the same time Gidney urged Anglo-Indians to awaken from their apathy and general indifference to the political developments taking place in the country. He alerted them to the necessity of entering the mainstream of the nation's political life and of their position as "natives of India." During the years preceding the Government of India Act of 1935, Gidney

played a highly articulate role in focussing public attention on the problems of the Anglo-Indian Community. One of my major tasks in this study will be to assess the impact of Gidney's efforts on behalf of the Community.

In recent years this minority group has attracted the study of sociologists and anthropologists both Indian and foreign. Their focus is on the concept of marginality and its relevance to the Anglo-Indian but little work has been done on the historical development of this important interest group. The only exception is Dorris Goodrich who investigated the history of this community between the years 1784-1833 in "The Making of an Ethnic Group: The Eurasian Community in India."¹ However, despite her excellent and comprehensive study of the Community during the first few hundred years of its existence, Goodrich stops her analysis in the 1830's.

The most critical period in the history of the Community was to be experienced in the hundred years that followed. The Mutiny of 1857 and the decades immediately following this cataclysm were at once the most eventful as well as the most important in the British administration of that period. During these years the fortunes of the Anglo-Indian Community were held in the balance by a government that tipped the scales invariably in its own favour and according as expediency dictated. In the meanwhile great changes were taking

¹Dorris Goodrich, "The Making of an Ethnic Group: The Eurasian Community in India," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (University of California, Berkeley, 1952).

place in the country largely as a result of various technological, educational and legislative innovations in the mid-nineteenth century. These had a tremendous impact on the minds of the people and played a large part in the political awakening of the nation. Thus the close of the nineteenth century witnessed the mounting tide of nationalism and the emergence of the Indian National Congress as a dominant political movement. The Government found itself frequently in a position of having to explain to the educated Indian why it had failed to fulfil its promises made through various enactments in the post-Mutiny period of giving Indians a greater share in the administration of their own country.

From time to time the Government, feeling itself pressured, introduced certain administrative "reforms" and opened up more departments where Indians could be employed. As a result of political and administrative changes in the country and the demands of the more dominant Indian communities, the Anglo-Indians were

... in the unenviable position of being crushed out of existence by deprivation of employment, between the upper millstone of official expediency and policy and the nether millstone of Indianization of the services.¹

The Community had of necessity to find ways and means to withstand the pressure of competition with the Indian. It also had to re-evaluate and re-assess its position with regard to both the

¹H. Gidney, "The future of the Anglo-Indian Community," The Asiatic Review, January 1934, Vol. 30, p. 28.

British and the Indian both of whom were responsible for its existence. The marked dependence of Anglo-Indians on the British and their over-emphasis of their British descent has been explained by sociologists as manifestations of a marginal group. In recent years, scholarly articles on the Anglo-Indian Community have been written by several writers like Allen D. Grimshaw,¹ Mark Naidis,² and W.T. Roy.³

I have attempted an in-depth study of Anglo-Indian leadership and the growth and development of Anglo-Indian organizations in order to analyze how the Community "matured" over the years. It was thus necessary to delve into the internal politics of the Anglo-Indian Associations and to examine certain issues which had to be resolved before the Community could undertake any new orientation. I have endeavoured to present a view of this group from within as well as without.

There are, however, some terminological aspects of this work which require explanation. Throughout this study the term "Anglo-Indian" will be used with reference to people of dual heritage as defined in Art. 366(2) of the Government of India Act of 1935 and

¹Allen D. Grimshaw, "The Anglo-Indian Community: The Integration of a Marginal Group," The Journal of Asian Studies, February 1959, Vol. 18, pp. 227-240.

²Mark Naidis, "British Attitudes Toward the Anglo-Indian," The South Atlantic Quarterly, Summer 1963, Vol. LXII, No. 3.

³W.T. Roy, "Hostages to Fortune," (A socio-political study of the Anglo-Indian remnant in India), Plural Societies, Summer, 1974.

subsequently in Art. 366(2) of the Constitution of India 1950 (see Chapter I, p. 9). The word "Anglo" denotes their European (mainly British) descent while "Indian" refers to the Indian ancestry of this group. The term "Anglo-Indian" is, however, of fairly recent origin and was only officially recognized as pertaining to Eurasians in 1911 when Lord Hardinge, then viceroy, accepted this term as their official nomenclature. Before that date, Eurasians were referred to by a number of appellations many of which were used derogatively. Thus they were called "half-castes," "mixed-breeds," "Indo-Britons" and a variety of other names denoting their "mixed blood."¹

It is important for purposes of this study not to confuse the term "Anglo-Indian" with that applied to the British official, merchant or "nabob" of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.² The term is used here precisely to refer to persons of mixed European-Indian ancestry who belong to a specific "community." The meaning of the word "community" as applicable to this study is best defined by Noel P. Gist and Roy Dean Wright:

The term 'Community' . . . refers to a group which is distinguished from other people by racial, religious, caste, or cultural criteria and whose members share a common identity and group consciousness that set them apart

¹See H.W. Moreno, "Some Anglo-Indian Terms and Origins," Proceedings of the Indian Historical Commission, Vol. V, Jan. 1923, pp. 76-82.

²See P. Spear, The Nabobs (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), pp. 32-33, for a more detailed account of these adventurers.

from people having different racial, religious or cultural characteristics. . . . It is not a human settlement such as town or city.¹

Thus "community" refers to a specific minority group and when used in this context the term is capitalized.

However, the term "Domiciled European" is usually associated and identified with the term "Anglo-Indian." Strictly speaking the Domiciled European was a person born of European parents (on both sides) who made India their permanent domicile. Successive generations of Domiciled Europeans were born in India which put them in the category of "country-borns" and more or less at par with the Anglo-Indian whose mode of life, habits and customs closely resembled their own. In course of time many Domiciled Europeans married Anglo-Indians and since "economically, politically and socially the interests of both were identical," the designation "Domiciled European" was included with the term "Anglo-Indian."² Thus it was common to refer to the Community as the Domiciled European and Anglo-Indian Community. The Domiciled European did, however, feel superior to the Anglo-Indian because of his alleged "unmixed" European blood. In fact even in official circles there was often a marked preference for the Domiciled European. Thus though "socially both Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans were, in common with all

¹Noel P. Gist and Roy Dean Wright, Marginality and Identity (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973), pp. 1-2, fn. 1.

²Frank Anthony, Britain's Betrayal in India (New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1969), p. 4.

Indians, ostracized from the 'burra' clubs as country-born, the so-called Domiciled Europeans were usually given preference in the matter of employment."¹

However, the legal definition of the Anglo-Indian makes no distinction between the two groups, so long as there is European descent in the male line.

¹ibid.

CHAPTER I

THE ANGLO-INDIAN COMMUNITY IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The official status of the Anglo-Indian is given in Article 366 (2) of the Constitution of India, 1950:

An 'Anglo-Indian' means a person whose father or any of whose other male progenitors, in the male line is or was of European descent but who is domiciled within the territory of India and is or was born within such territory of parents habitually resident therein and not established there for temporary purposes only.¹

This accepted legal definition emphasizes two important facts about the Anglo-Indian. First, that he is of European "descent" from the male line and second, that he is a native of India by virtue of being born "within the territory of India of parents habitually resident therein." Quite obviously then, the Anglo-Indians are a hybrid or mixed race and are known today as the Anglo-Indian Community. The dual heritage of the Anglo-Indians has given them a special position apart from the other peoples of India. They form one of the six minorities in India and have a distinct cultural and linguistic identity in the country.

W. T. Roy has given a fairly comprehensive definition of the Anglo-Indian who,

... is a member of a group possessing a distinctive subculture whose characteristics are

¹The Constitution of India, Article 366 (2) (Govt. of India Press, 1974).

that all its members are Christians of one denomination or another, speak English, wear European clothes on almost all occasions, have substantially European dietary habits though addicted to the fairly lavish use of Indian spices, are occupationally engaged in a restricted number of trades and professions, and are by and large endogamous.¹

Today there are about 150,000 Anglo-Indians in India scattered all over the country.² However, they are urban dwellers and thus they are concentrated in larger numbers in big cities like Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, and Madras. It is necessary to trace the early history and development of the Anglo-Indian community in order to see how it evolved into a distinct entity and how it has managed to survive over 400 years from the first European appearance on Indian shores in the 15th century. The early history of the Anglo-Indian is, therefore, inextricably bound with the early history of European adventurers and traders and the struggle of European powers for supremacy in India.

The Portuguese were the first among the European traders to set foot on Indian soil when Vasco da Gama landed at Calicut on the Malibar coast in 1498. The Portuguese activities in India were unchallenged at this time by any other European power thus enabling them to establish trading posts along the western sea-coast. By 1510,

¹W. T. Roy, "Hostages To Fortune," Plural Societies, Summer 1974, p. 56, IOL SB XIII.

²Since 1961, Anglo-Indians do not appear as a separate community in the Census Report. They are included under the general category of Christians whose mother-tongue is English.

Goa was captured and before the end of the 16th century, they had acquired either through military conquests or through treaties with native rulers, a string of factories along the Coromandel coast and on the western shores of India from Calicut to Diu.¹

One of the most famous Portuguese governors who ruled the Portuguese territories in India was Alfonso d'Albuquerque. Due to his energetic policies and efficient administration, Portuguese rule was firmly established in India. Besides military conquests and the expansion of trading establishments as a means of consolidating the Portuguese position, Albuquerque was the first governor to encourage a closer alliance with the natives. He did this by actively promoting inter-marriages between Portuguese men of "proved character" and women who were the "daughters of the principal men of the land."² The marriage of Portuguese men with native women had already been sanctioned by King Dom Manoel, but Albuquerque carried this policy much further. His intentions were obviously those of a colonizer and a missionary and hence he encouraged his soldiers to marry native women after they were baptized Christians and to settle permanently in India. He allotted lands, horses and cattle, so as to

¹For the history of the Portuguese in India see Frederick Charles Danvers, The Portuguese in India, 2 vols. (London: W. H. Allen & Co., 1894) and R. S. Whiteway, The Rise of Portuguese Power in India 1497-1550 (London: Susil Gupta, 1967), 2nd ed. Interesting accounts can also be found in "The Portuguese in North India," The Calcutta Review 1846, Vol. V and in "The Feringhees of Chittagong," The Calcutta Review 1871, Vol. V.

²Danvers, Vol. I, p. 217.

give them a start in life and encouraged them to develop professional trades such as shoe makers, tavern-keepers, carpenters and tailors.¹

However, the practice was often abused and the men who sought permission to marry native women often did this only for pecuniary advantages. Once married to Christians, the women were ostracized by their own families and their offspring known as Luso-Indians soon began to feel the stigma of their mixed parentage. Nevertheless, many obtained employment in the factories and armouries and it was from the Luso-Indians that the European East India Companies recruited a large number of "topasses" or artillery men.²

With the decline of Portuguese rule, the position of the Luso-Indians rapidly sank in the social scale and within a period of two centuries many absorbed the Indian way of life.³ Nevertheless, pockets of Luso-Indians were often found outside the factories and trading posts where they cultivated liaisons with the European soldier. The descendants of the Luso-Indians are known today as Goanese, most of whom live in Goa, Bombay and the west coast. Their Portuguese surnames—D'Souza, Pinto, Lobo, Pereira—together with some cultural characteristics are the sole reminders to the Goans of their Portuguese heritage.

¹Whiteway, p. 177.

²The name was borrowed from the Portuguese word 'tope' or gun because they were often employed in the capacity of gunners.

³Herbert Stark, Hostages To India (Calcutta: Star Printing Works, 1936), pp. 6-7.

The Portuguese power in India was destroyed by the Dutch whose interests in the country were purely commercial. Unlike the Portuguese, the Dutch allowed their factors and soldiers to take European wives and as such the possibility of intermarriages was greatly reduced. Moreover, the Dutch were more interested in consolidating their position in the Indonesian Archipelago and Ceylon and did not retain a permanent power base in India. They did, however, establish trading posts on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts and in Bengal, and they had sizable holdings at Negapatam, Chinsurah and Pulicat. There were some intermarriages with the natives as some Eurasians have such Dutch family names as Vauspall, Cuyper, Delafosse and Hessing. It is probable, however, that there were never a great number of Dutch Eurasians.

Other European companies also made their way to India such as the Danes, the Prussians and the Flemish. "All these bands of European settlers, each in its turn, helped to form or swell the great Eurasian or Anglo-Indian community in India."¹ Of these, France became a major contender with the British for domination of the Indian trade. The French married freely with the natives and did not seem to have discriminated to any large extent against the half-castes. Dupleix himself married a Eurasian woman from Chandernagore.² There

¹Moreno, "Some Anglo-Indian Terms and Origins," Vol. V, p. 80.

²Spear, p. 62.

was thus a large number of Eurasians in the French settlements of Chandernagore and Pondichery by the end of the 18th century.

However, the vast majority of Eurasians have descended from the factors, soldiers and officials of the English East India Company, which accounts for their desire to be known as Anglo-Indians.

The success of the East India Company's ventures can be seen by the rapid rise of factories within the first one hundred years of its operations in India. By 1612, a factory was established at Surat and in 1639 another was built at Madras. Bombay became a trading centre in 1688 and in 1698 the East India Company extended its base in Bengal to include three villages—Sutanati, Calcutta and Govindpur. Under Job Charnock, Calcutta grew to be one of the most profitable trading stations. In fact, the British soon acquired certain territorial privileges and permission from the native rulers to erect fortifications for their protection.

As the factories grew, so did the English population within their walls. Now there were not only factors and writers, but soldiers as well—sent out to protect the trading centres of the East India Company. The early English factories provided no accommodation for women and there were very few instances when the factors were allowed to take their wives to India. Factory regulations ensured a strict routine, with the merchants and writers living within the company's barracks and eating their meals in common. Outside of trading activities, the Directors of the Company expected their

employees to have as little social contact as possible with the people of the country.¹ Possibly the reason behind this was to ensure that the men utilized as much time as possible in Company work and also to prevent private trade with the natives. It was inevitable that under these rigid regulations the men, cut off from the society of women of their own race, would sooner or later form alliances with native women as other European traders had done before them. The opportunity to form liaisons with native women and women of mixed-blood was even greater as the Company's barracks could not accommodate the increasing number of employees who began living outside the precincts of the factories. However, marriages, if any, to women of mixed-blood were specially frowned on as most of them were Luso-Indians of Portuguese descent and Roman Catholic by religion. Needless to say this did not meet with the approval of the more bigoted Protestant authorities in England nor with the Protestant chaplains attached to some of the forts. Letters were often written by the latter to the Court of Directors accusing them of secretly undermining the Established Church by their tacit consent to such marriages. These and other complaints caused the Court of Directors in 1675 to write to their agent at Fort St. George about this practice:

¹Accounts of factory life are to be found in John Fryer, A New Account Of East India and Persia (London: R. Chiswell, 1698) and H. G. Rawlinson, "Life in an English factory in India in the seventeenth century," Indian Historical Records Commission, 1921, Vol. III, pp. 24-35:

We have been informed that it hath often been the practice both at the Fort and also at subordinate factories by our servants and other English to be married, buried and cause their children to be baptised by Romish priests which we look upon as a thing so scandalous to the professors of the Reformed Religion, that we cannot but disallow of all such practices. And therefore we do order that you prohibit the same for the future in all our factories.¹

The Company's officials in India, however, saw the impossibility of enforcing such an order and recommended to the Directors that such marriages be allowed in order to prevent immorality. They were at the same time not slow to recognize the advantages to be gained from the loyal services of a half-caste community. Finally, common-sense prevailed and in 1687 the Court of Directors issued the following dispatch to the Agent and Council at Madras:

The marriage of our soldiers to the native women of Fort St. George . . . is a matter of such consequence to posterity that we shall be content to encourage it with some expense, and have been thinking for the future to appoint a Pagoda to be paid to the mother of any child that shall hereafter be born of any such future marriage, upon the day the child is christened, if you think this small encouragement will increase the number of such marriages.²

This order is of special significance as it marked the implementation of a new and deliberate official policy whereby intermarriages were

¹Cited in Frank Penny, The Church in Madras (London: Smith Elder & Co., 1904), pp. 60-61.

²*Ibid.*, p. 107.

encouraged and a mixed community was brought into existence.

It is convenient to study the history of the Community in three periods, each of which brought about changes in fortune and stability. The first period was one of comparative prosperity and extended roughly from the inception of Anglo-Indians as a minority group to the reorganization of Indian administration under Lord Cornwallis, that is, from about 1500 to 1785.¹

During this early period Anglo-Indians by and large were not treated adversely by the British and mixed marriages were quite common. However, many of the unions in this period were "irregular" and were contracted by European soldiers during and after the French wars. The attitude toward the Anglo-Indian children born of such liaisons often depended upon whether their fathers were soldiers or high-ranking officers and wealthy officials of the Company. Soldiers often formed "temporary attachments" with the lowest Indian classes and the children born of such unions grew up neglected and unprovided for. Some of the more fortunate ones were taken in by charity schools and orphanages operated by various missionary societies.² One such organization, the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.) reported in 1784 that:

... there is a considerable number of children born annually in the British settlements in the

¹Gist and Wright, p. 7.

²See "The Educational Establishments of Calcutta," The Calcutta Review, 1850, Vol. XIII, pp. 448-466.

East Indies of fathers who are Europeans and mothers who are natives. That of this description there are born annually not less than . . . seven hundred at Madras and on the coast of Coromandel . . . that the fathers of these children, being usually soldiers, sailors, and the lower order of people too often neglect their offspring and suffer them to follow the caste of their mothers. . . .¹

The S. P. C. K., like other Christian societies of those days, received little or no financial aid from the East India Company. However, on this occasion the S. P. C. K. made an appeal for financial assistance from the Company's servants in India so as to start a school in Madras for the large number of Eurasian children so that:

. . . if a Christian education were bestowed upon them, their manners, habits and affections would be English, their services of value in the capacity of soldiers, sailors, and servants, and a considerable benefit would accrue to the British interests in India, resulting finally to the advantage of this kingdom intending to give stability to the settlements.²

A considerable number of Anglo-Indians came into existence from such unions and many were fortunate to receive some education and training which equipped them for some form of employment in the Company's service. Thus they proved invaluable as intermediary subordinates in the factories and trading stations, having the advantage of speaking the vernacular language, and knowing the customs and ways of the native people. Many Anglo-Indians besides the "topasses" already referred to were employed in the non-commissioned

¹Cited in Penny, p. 507.

²Ibid.

ranks of the Company's armies.

The Eurasian children of officers usually grew up under more favourable conditions. The Indian mistress or Luso-Indian "housekeeper" in most European households was usually well provided for as were their children:

Europeans who failed to provide adequately for the future of their Eurasian offspring were rare indeed, and there were wills which appear to give illegitimate children more protection than legitimate when the testator was obviously supporting two households. The mother in the Eurasian households, whether her origin appears to have been Hindu, Mohammedan, or Luso-Indian, usually received a type of consideration which indicates real affection between individuals of two races.¹

In fact it was not infrequent for the Eurasian children of officers to be sent to England for their education. Such was the case of John Beaumont, a wealth Company official of the Tellicherry trading station in the Bombay Presidency. He left a large sum of money to his wife as well as a sum of £3,000 for his three children from his Luso-Indian housekeeper Maria Seledonia. The children were sent to England where they were reared and educated in the home of Beaumont's aunt. Beaumont's will stipulated that the eldest boy should receive an additional sum of money on his return to India in the Company's service.² There were other similar cases of Anglo-Indian

¹Holden Furber, John Company At Work (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951), p. 328.

²Ibid., p. 213.

children being educated in England. Many of the young men after completing their education returned as covenanted or commissioned officers in the service of the Company. Some even rose to high positions like Sir Hugh Massy Wheeler of Mutiny fame, James Kyd, the Master Shipbuilder to the East India Company, William and John Palmer whose father was military secretary to Warren Hastings and who founded the great banking house of Palmer & Co. at Hyderabad in 1814.¹

However, not all were as fortunate for many sons and daughters of officers were not able to go to England for their education as their skins were 'too dark to escape detention.'² Nevertheless, they were sent to private or mission schools where they received a good education. Unfortunately in that age of colour prejudice many, despite their upbringing and good education, were able to obtain only clerkships in the Company's service. On the whole, however, during this period the Community prospered and increased in numbers so rapidly that it was not long before they outnumbered the English population in India.

The second period for the Community was between 1785-1857 during which time the Directors of the Company passed a series of repressive orders which not only prohibited Anglo-Indians from seek-

¹See C. E. Buckland, Dictionary of Indian Biography (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., LIM 1906) for further details regarding these and other prominent Anglo-Indians.

²Spear, p. 63.

ing employment in many positions they had formerly held, but limited their behaviour in various spheres of life as well.¹

The first order, passed in March 1786, prohibited the wards of the Upper Orphanage School at Calcutta (recently established under the auspices of the East India Company for the orphans of British military officers and soldiers) from proceeding to England to complete their education. Details regarding these and other educational institutions will be dealt with in the following chapter, however, it will be interesting to note the intentions (other than humanitarian considerations) for establishing such a school. It will also be useful to view some of the events leading to the order of 1786 and the rationale behind this obvious discrimination against the Anglo-Indian.

The Upper and Lower Orphan Asylums had been set up for the orphans of commissioned officers, soldiers and civil servants of the Company. A special committee of six officers drew up a set of regulations for financing and administering the orphanages. A distinction was made between orphans of officers who were eligible to be sent to England to receive their education and the orphans of soldiers and other ranks who remained in India and were given a practical vocational training. It must be stated at this point that the practice of sending orphans of mixed blood was objected to from the very onset. All kinds of reasons were brought up by the Directors to justify this discrimination such as the "English climate

¹Gist and Wright, p. 8.

would be injurious to the children of Indian mothers," or "that they would inherit such vicious dispositions, as to make it very objectionable to send them to old England."¹ The Directors seemed to assume that all Eurasian orphans were "illegitimate," at the same time they applied the condition of "legitimacy" only to children of mixed blood.

The reply of the Committee to the Directors regarding these objections is interesting as it illustrates the underlying intention for the establishment of the Military Orphan Asylums:

We might . . . observe that as the children of Europeans, all of whom have died, and many bled, in the service of the Company, they appear somewhat better entitled to the attention of Government than any class of native artificers can be; since, although many years may elapse before they can be so useful yet it is not to be doubted but that with suitable care they may be enabled to render essential service hereafter in the Military and Marine departments, not to mention other branches of the public service for which they may become no less qualified.²

The above statement clearly reveals the practical aspect for educating the orphans and according to Goodrich this "suggests that the Company's servants in India were interested in building up a permanent staff of civil and military officials, indigenous to the soil of India but at the same time identified with British interests."³ The

¹"The Bengal Military Orphan Society," The Calcutta Review, 1867, Vol. XLIV, p. 157.

²Ibid., p. 165.

³Goodrich, "The Making of an Ethnic Group," p. 128.

fact that large numbers of Anglo-Indians were employed in various branches of the Company's services, however, might have been observed as a potential threat to the Englishman. This was probably the main reason for the second order passed in 1791 which stated that no "son of a native Indian" was eligible for employment in the Civil and Military forces of the Company.¹

This was followed by a third order in 1795 which reduced the status of the Anglo-Indian still further. The order stipulated 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. ...²

The army was divided into two branches—one made up of Europeans and the other of native sepoy officers by Europeans. As Anglo-Indians were now excluded from all commissioned ranks of both armies and from the rank of Corporal and higher in the non-commissioned ranks of the native army, this order served to virtually relegate them to the very lowest level.

Obviously, it is important to examine the reasons for this change of attitude towards the Anglo-Indian who up till now had obtained steady employment in the service of the Company. This was

¹Evidence before the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company, June 17, 1830, p. 56, IOL T 1284.

²Quoted in George Forrest, ed., Selections from the State Papers of the Governors-General of India: Lord Cornwallis, 2 vols., 1926, Vol. II, p. 163.

not the privilege of Anglo-Indians only; the Company also had many native agents and other employees in their service especially after obtaining the right of Diwani (collecting the land revenue) of Bengal in 1765.¹ In fact many Indians had risen to official positions and many were employed in the uncovenanted civil service. Therefore the discrimination towards the Anglo-Indian in the matter of employment must have deeper implications. For some time, there had been a growing friction between the Directors of the Company in England and their administrators in India regarding appointments in the Company. The Company officials felt that they were in a better position to judge the suitability of candidates for positions in the different branches of the Company's service. However, positions in the covenanted service—so called because members of the service were required to sign covenants with the East India Company under very specific terms—were the exclusive monopoly of Englishmen.² They were appointed under a system of patronage.³ Many of them had relatives in the Board of Control in England and often their only qualification was a public school education:

¹A good discussion of this territorial acquisition is to be found in R. B. Ramsbotham, "The Revenue Administration of Bengal, 1765-1786," The Cambridge History of India, Vol. V, (Cambridge: University Press, 1929), Chap. XXV.

²See L. S. S. O'Malley, The Indian Civil Service 1601-1930 (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1965), pp. 228-30.

³Refer to Sir Edward Blunt, The I. C. S., The Indian Civil Service, (London: Faber & Faber Ltd., 1937), Chapters I & II for details concerning the patronage system.

Nepotism was rampant, and more often than not any legitimate or illegitimate brother or half brother of 'somebody' was landing from England and had to be appointed to a higher post on the basis of the orders he brought, to the utter dismay of the Company's servants already working in India.¹

The increasing pressure of influential members of Parliament and other interested persons who demanded positions for their protégés in the Company's service, must have had no little bearing on the Court of Directors. These orders coming as they did in close succession were probably passed to create job openings by getting rid of the Anglo-Indian. This together with the fact that the Eurasian class had increased in numbers considerably might have caused the English to consider them a potential danger to their own presence in India. This mood was specially dominant in England because of a Mulatto (mixed European and negroid blood) revolution in Haiti in 1791, when the mulatto population drove out their white masters and combined with the natives to set up a Mulatto and Negro Republic. The Board of Directors feared that the same situation might arise in India because of the large Eurasian population and hence the latter were debarred from both military and civil service in the Company.

The immediate impact of these orders resulted in widespread unemployment for the Anglo-Indians who had till now depended on Company employment. Being essentially trained for Company services,

¹P.N. Mathur, The Civil Service of India (1731-1894) (Jodhpur: Prabhash Prakashan, 1977), p. 13.

they had no trades, no industries and no professions to turn to. Thus within the short space of ten years, the Community was deprived not only of every honourable career but of the very means of livelihood.¹ Debarred from seeking employment with the Company, the Anglo-Indians turned to the Princely States. Here many joined the state armies using their skill and talent in training sepoy armies. Many rose to high positions in the armies of the Nizam of Hyderabad, the Sultan of Mysore, and the Maratha chiefs, Sindhia and Holkar. Others like Hyder Harsey and Lt. Col. James Skinner raised their own irregular cavalry and infantry and rose to great fame by their heroic exploits.²

Scarcely had these orders been passed when the Company, faced with an impending war with the Marathas, decided to reverse its policy. There was also trouble from another quarter, namely Tippu, Sultan of Mysore, was in collusion with Napoleon, then in Egypt, and the British feared a French invasion. In 1798 a proclamation was issued ordering, under threat of dire penalties, all Eurasians

¹Hector R. H. Daniell, "The Development of Anglo-Indian Education and Its Problems," unpublished M. Ed. Thesis, Leeds University, 1942, p. 9.

²See Colonel Hugh Pearse, The Harseys Five Generations of an Anglo-Indian Family (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1905); Denis Holman, Sikander Sahib (London: Heinemann, 1961) and J. Baillie Fraser, Military Memoir of Lt/Col. James Skinner, 2 vols. (London: Smith Elder & Co., 1851) for more detailed information regarding the lives of these remarkable men. Vignettes of Anglo-Indian Heroes can also be found in Frank Anthony, Britain's Betrayal in India (New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1969), pp. 30-33.

back to join the Company's armies.¹ Despite these repressive orders and other injustices perpetrated against Anglo-Indians, they "responded recklessly to the British call for assistance, many leaving their Maratha employees in spite of financial temptation and risk of death."² Though many distinguished themselves and hundreds lost their lives on the battlefield, the British were soon to inflict a cruel blow on the Community. No sooner had the danger abated when an order was passed in 1808 discharging all Eurasians from the British regiments in India.³ The result was devastating for the Community.

The progress of communal adversity was thereby greatly accelerated for those who had answered the 'call of the blood' not only found their blood relations deaf to the poetic pathos of their soul-stricken appeals, but also found the native states distinctly inhospitable to hirelings whose paternal allegiances were so easily stirred.⁴

It is hard to reconcile this latest act of repression and ingratitude with British claims of justice and fair play. Obviously they were influenced by the prejudiced report of Viscount Valentia who had been commissioned by the East India Company to visit its possessions between the period 1802 to 1806. It is believed that the mulatto

¹Daniell, p. 10.

²C. Dover, Hell in the Sunshine, The Forgotten Children (London: Secker and Warburg, 1943), p. 139.

³"Petition of the Indo-Britons of Calcutta," Asiatic Intelligence, p. 473, IOL ST 76.

⁴Dover, p. 139.

uprising in far-off Haiti had caused him to endorse the harsh orders passed by the Directors as he feared that a similar situation might arise with the half-breed Eurasian class in India. Totally ignorant of the Community and its history he voiced his fears and prejudices regarding the "potential" danger of a mixed race thus:

The most rapidly accumulating evil of Bengal is the increase of half-caste children. They are forming the first step to colonization, by creating a link of union between the English and the natives. In every country where this intermediate caste has been permitted to rise, it has ultimately tended to the ruin of that country. Spanish America and St. Domingo are examples of this fact. Their increase in India is beyond calculation; and though possibly there may be nothing to fear from the sloth of the Hindoos, and the rapidly declining consequence of the Mussulmans, yet it may justly be apprehended that this tribe may hereafter become too powerful for control. Although they are not permitted to hold offices under the Company; yet they act as clerks in almost every mercantile house, and many of them are annually sent to England to receive the benefit of an European education. With numbers in their favor, with a close relationship to the natives, and without an equal proportion of that pusillanimity and indolence which is natural to them, what may not in time be dreaded from them. I have no hesitation in saying that the evil ought to be stopt; and I know no other way of effecting this object; than by obliging every father of half-caste children, to send them to Europe, prohibiting their return in any capacity whatsoever. . . .¹

A closer analysis seems to indicate that several factors combined to produce the general prejudice and negative attitudes towards

¹Viscount George Valentia, Voyages and Travels in Ceylon, The Red Sea, Abyssinia and Egypt in the years 1802, 1804, 1805 and 1806, 3 vols. (London: William Miller, 1809), Vol. I, pp. 241-242.

the Eurasian. Prejudice had always existed in some degree with regard to colour as was the case of children of British officials and Indian mothers who suffered from discriminatory treatment. However, these were individual cases not directed to the Community as a class. Nor is there sufficient evidence to suggest that the large numbers of Anglo-Indians in themselves posed a threat to the existence of the English in India. They had till then proved to be useful and inexpensive servants of the Company. Goodrich appears to be closer to the truth when she observes that there was a direct connection between these prejudiced attitudes towards the Anglo-Indian and the consolidation of the British Empire in India. It was only after the India Act of 1784 when the government began to assume its responsibility for its territorial possessions under the East India Company that this change of attitude becomes evident. Now Englishmen were clamouring for jobs in the Company and it is only then that Anglo-Indians were debarred from all civil and military employment hitherto held by them.

Another explanation could be found because of the change in composition of the European community itself. Cornwallis, the first Governor-General under the new Act, had been sent to India to do a thorough house-cleaning of the Company. Together with his team of administrators he set up a rigid bureaucracy and a civil service monopolized by Englishmen who unlike their predecessors believed that everything eastern was corrupt. The presence of the Anglo-Indian was to them an example of this corruption for he was singled

out as belonging to a class, which was,

... characterized by all the vices and gross prejudices of the natives, by all the faults and failings of the European character, without its candour, sincerity or probity; a heterogeneous set; some by Hindoo, others by Mahometan and Malay mothers... what is not in time to be apprehended from the union of so large and discontented a body? A body who have neither riches, honor, nor any advantage to sacrifice must ever pant for a revolution.¹

Statements like these are evidence not only of negative feelings towards Anglo-Indians but show that they had been type-cast and isolated as a group.

Ironically enough, it was during this period that the Community began to display a spirit of self-help and unity among themselves.

Community Consciousness and the Beginnings of Concerted Action
Among Anglo-Indians

Gist and Wright have probably been most perceptive in analysing the essential components that go into the formation of a "community." They state that the need for individuals to form a collective unit arises from two factors. One is a psychological element in which individuals form a distinct collectivity and share common or similar interests, values and cultural characteristics. The second is a formal or informal set of organizations designed to satisfy and fulfil the aspirations and needs of individuals forming a collective unit.² According to Goodrich

¹Quoted in "Calcutta in Olden Times Its People," The Calcutta Review, Sept.-Dec. 1860, Chapter XXXV, pp. 218-219.

²Gist and Wright, p. 96.

this need to form a distinct self-conscious entity resulted under crisis conditions for it was during the years 1784 to 1833 that the Community suffered under the repressive policies of the British. It was also during this period that the Anglo-Indians were forced through British rejection to form a cohesive unit.¹

There seems little doubt that anti-Eurasian feeling increased towards the latter part of the 18th century, reaching its peak in the 1820's. From the many accounts, in diaries, journals and letters written during this period, it is quite clear that the general attitude of the European towards the "half-caste" was one of contempt. Thus Mrs. Bessie Fenton writes in her journal about her own feelings on discovering that a cousin, who was employed in the civil service, was married to a half-caste,

I was a little mortified as I had not supposed I had a single connection in the country of that colour which seemed so unfashionable, and I began to fear that there must be some truth in a belief, which is so general, to their prejudice.²

Nor was the clergy exempt from such negative attitudes towards the Eurasian. Bishop Heber expressed his apprehensions and those of the official class concerning the large number of Eurasians he encountered in the course of his travels. "I have never met with any public man connected with India, who did not lament

¹Ibid.

²Bessie Fenton, The Journal of Mrs. Fenton; A Narrative of Her Life in India (London, 1901), pp. 68-69. Mrs. Fenton was in India between 1826 and 1830.

the increase of the half-caste population as a source of present mischief and future danger to the tranquility of the Colony."¹

Thus there seems to be sufficient evidence that the general attitude towards Anglo-Indians together with the official policies which debarred them from all civil and military employment resulted in "the systematic setting apart of Eurasians as a class, all connections with the European being carefully and deliberately severed."²

Clearly the time had come for Anglo-Indians to rally together and take some course of unified action in order to redress their grievances. One way of bringing members of the Community together was through social organizations or clubs. One such club was the East Indian Club founded in 1825 by a group of prominent Eurasians. Two years earlier this same group, founded a school, the Parental Academy, solely for Eurasian children (see details in Chapter II). Obviously there were some Anglo-Indians, with initiative, influence and private fortunes (often amassed through service with the Princely States), who saw the necessity of fostering a community consciousness and esprit de corps within the framework of a social organization. The President of the East Indian Club, G. S. Dick, indicates the reasons for such an organization:

If in any country there ever was a good reason to establish a social meeting for the purposes

¹Reginald Heber, Narrative of a Journey Through the Upper Provinces of India, 4 vols. (London: 1828), Vol. I, p. 42.

²Goodrich, p. 139.

of promoting good fellowship and friendly feeling among a particular class of men, it could not . . . be more urgent than that which so loudly calls for a similar institution of East Indians in this country. We are considered here, we all know, ~~as a separate class of society.~~ We are deserted by Europeans in this country; and although united with them by the most sacred bonds of relationship, we are avoided and looked upon as their inferiors. . . .¹

Though the initial membership of the club consisted of seventeen members it provided the potential strength for a collective voice of the Community. Thus in 1829, within five years of the existence of the East Indian Club, a group of 'East Indians' (as they were called) summoned up enough courage to draw up a petition which they presented directly to Parliament. The deputation was headed by John Ricketts whose father had served as an Ensign in the Bengal Engineers and had been killed in battle at the Siege of Seringapatam. The petition was placed before both Houses of Parliament in 1830. The petition was of utmost significance because it contained the core of all the disabilities and grievances suffered by the Anglo-Indian community throughout their history under British rule. It is important, therefore, to examine some of these grievances and see to what extent this first attempt of organized protest was effective.

One of the main reasons responsible for so many disabilities of the Anglo-Indian was his anomalous legal status. Thus as Ricketts pointed out, his people were "sometimes recognized as Europeans, and

¹"The East Indian Club," The Oriental Herald, Nov., 1825, Vol. VII, p. 350.

sometimes as natives, as it serves the purposes of the government."¹ This led to a second problem, namely the application of the Civil Law with regard to the Anglo-Indian. Three kinds of Civil Law were in operation in the courts. Thus Hindus came under Hindu law, Muslims under Mohammedan law and British subjects came under English Civil Law and the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court in Calcutta. As far as the Anglo-Indian was concerned, he was considered a British subject only if he resided in Calcutta but if he lived outside Calcutta in the mofussil or district, he had no recourse to English Civil Law. In criminal matters, however; Anglo-Indians were,

... amenable in the interior to Mohammedan criminal law—a law in itself barbarous and imperfect.²

In fact, Anglo-Indians all over the country did not receive the protection of any Civil Law in important matters of daily life. The situation was described thus:

However extraordinary the fact may appear, your petitioners affirm, without fear of contradiction, that there is no law which regulates their marriages, and makes them lawful—there is no law which shows the rule that is to define the legitimacy or illegitimacy of their issue—there is no law which prescribes the succession to their property, . . . there is no law which points out whether they possess the right of bequeathing by will, and if so, to what extent, . . . there is no law that declares

¹"Evidence on the affairs of the East India Company," No. 14, 31 March 1830, p. 37, IOL T 1284.

²"Petition of the East Indians to the House of Commons, 1830," p. 80, *ibid.*

which of their children, or whether one or all shall succeed in case of intestacy. . . .¹

A third grievance was that they were "excluded from all superior and covenanted offices in the Civil and Military services, and from all sworn offices in the Marine service of the East India Company."²

What particularly rankled the Anglo-Indian was the fact that, he being the "son of a native Indian," could not join the Company's armies because he was not European. Yet, he was not permitted to join the military forces of the Indian princes on grounds that he was European.

Likewise no Anglo-Indian could hold a covenanted office in the Civil Service because he was not European but neither could he qualify for a civil position reserved for the natives of the country. Thus

Anglo-Indians were:

. . . ineligible to most of those subordinate employments in the Judicial, Revenue, and Police Departments, and even in the Military service, which were open without reserve to the Hindoo, and Mohamedan natives of the country.³

A fourth grievance concerned education. We have seen that the sons of European officers by native mothers were not allowed to be educated in England. At the same time the government would not allocate any funds for the Parental Academy and the Calcutta Grammar schools run by Anglo-Indians for the education of these children. Neither were

¹Ibid., p. 79.

²Ibid., p. 81.

³Ibid., pp. 82-83.

they eligible for assistance from the Company though the latter was required to set aside funds for the moral and intellectual improvement of the natives of India.

These and other injustices were presented before Parliament in the hope that justice would be done:

... it is with pain and long cherished conviction of the wrongs they have suffered from the race of their fathers, that they now bring themselves to the notice of your Honourable House, and respectfully ask for that equality of rights and privileges, to which, in common with every other class of His Majesty's subjects they are unquestionably entitled.¹

Though Ricketts' petition was given a hearing in both Houses of Parliament, his mission in some ways was ill-timed. England herself was beset with internal troubles. There was widespread distress all over the country caused by decline in commerce and agriculture. Popular uprisings were breaking out among the impoverished peasant and labouring classes. There was trouble in Scotland and Ireland was under the influence of Daniel O'Connell, first of the great Irish political leaders of the 19th century. Parliament had to deal with immediate issues put forward by the Irish leader, such as a Bill for universal suffrage, triennial parliaments and votes by ballot. In Parliament, party politics were creating discord as the old rivalry between Whigs and Tories was being transformed into competition between Liberals and Conservatives. In the midst of all this general

¹Ibid., p. 83.

discord George IV died (June 26, 1830), so with all these problems it is understandable that Parliament though polite and amenable would not give the East Indians' Petition priority over England's own domestic problems.

Ricketts' mission, though inopportune as far as events in England were concerned, was not altogether fruitless. It coincided with the great reform movement which was gathering force in England and which culminated in the Reform Bill of 1832. This Bill ushered in a more liberal outlook with regard to England's domestic and colonial policy. When the Charter Act of 1833 was passed, Section 87 of the said Act contained the following clause:

No native of the said territories, not any natural born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Company.¹

It is of course debatable how much of this clause was the result of the East Indian Petition. However, the inclusion of the word 'descent' seems to denote a more enlightened view of colonial policy which appears to be opposed to discrimination on the basis of race or religion.

Nevertheless, the deputation of 1830 does reveal some positive facts concerning the Anglo-Indians themselves. The petition was no doubt the work of a group of prominent and well-educated 'Indo-Britons'

¹Cited in "The Public Services in India," The Cambridge History of India, Vol. VI, Chapter XXXIX (Delhi: S. Chand & Co., 1958), p. 668.

of Calcutta and as such Ricketts was not the spokesman for Anglo-Indians all over the country. Yet, the fact that some initiative had been taken and that the delegation appealed to a higher authority than the Company, is in itself significant. It clearly suggests that a strong and forceful leadership was beginning to emerge from within the Community—a leadership that was not afraid to appeal directly to Parliament, the highest authority of the land. Moreover this action also reveals that Anglo-Indians clearly identified themselves as subjects of the Crown (rather than employees of the Company) to which they pledged their allegiance.

They pray your Honourable House to admit them to the fellowship of their fathers, to rescue them from subjection to constitutions the most degrading and despotic; and to treat them as subjects of the British Crown, to which alone they recognize their allegiance to be due; and to which they desire to bind themselves and their posterity by the indissoluble ties of justice, and gratitude.¹

The Anglo-Indian Community even at that early stage was fortunate to have leaders of the calibre of John Ricketts, James Kyd (the pioneer ship-builder after whom the Kidderpore Docks are named), and Henry Louis Derozio. Besides social, educational and political involvements (limited to their rights) these men initiated a number of self-help programmes designed to provide technical and basic skills for Anglo-Indian youth.

¹"Petition of the East Indians," 1830, p. 86.
IOL T 1284.

This led to the founding of the Calcutta Apprenticing Society (1827) and the Commercial and Patriotic Association (1828). The former organization paid the premiums for Anglo-Indian apprentices in mechanical firms thereby enabling them to learn a trade. The Calcutta Apprenticing Society also attempted to start a Marine School in 1828 by purchasing an old vessel, "Princess Charlotte of Wales," from the East India Company. However, due to paucity of funds, the plan floundered and had to be abandoned.¹ The Commercial and Patriotic Association on the other hand watched over and promoted the welfare of Anglo-Indians in the field of industry, trade and agriculture. It is interesting to note that the designation of the Association included the word "patriotic." In this connection perhaps no other leader of the Community has provided as much intellectual stimulation and love of country as Derozio.

Derozio was an Eurasian of mixed Portuguese-Indian descent who displayed, at a very early age, a remarkable talent for poetry and journalism. At the age of nineteen, he was appointed Lecturer of English history and literature at the Hindu College (Calcutta) and it was not long before he emerged as the leader of the Young Bengal movement. Young Bengal as they came to be known was a radical group of intellectuals who challenged the traditions and restrictions imposed by the orthodox Hindu society. In 1828 Derozio formed the Academic Association where the Young Bengal intellectuals debated

¹Daniell, p. 65.

such subjects as free will, foreordination, faith, virtue, vice, patriotism, the "hollowness of idolatry and the shams of priesthood."¹

His teachings were far ahead of his times and the orthodox Hindu community considered the radical views and questioning scientific approach to life as extremely dangerous to his students. He was dismissed from the Hindu College but he continued his quest for truth. Were it not for his untimely death from cholera at the early age of 23, he could have provided the Community with the intellectual leadership and nationalistic fervour it lacked.

Clearly there was in the early 19th century a conscious effort by some Anglo-Indian leaders to form organized groups within the community with the object of achieving solidarity and a more articulate voice in matters concerning their welfare.

The Charter Act of 1833 did not make any substantial difference as far as the status of the Anglo-Indian was concerned. In fact there were by this time three different definitions held by Europeans regarding Eurasians in general. Goodrich is right in stating that none of these definitions were clear-cut and each varied according to which segment of the European population was interested in defining the Eurasian. Thus Europeans in India considered Eurasians to be Europeans with some Indian blood; the Directors of the Company considered them to be native Indians with some European blood; and

¹T. Edwards, Henry Derozio, the Eurasian Poet, Teacher and Journalist (Calcutta, 1884), p. 32.

Parliament included them along with "natives of India" in the Charter Act of 1833.¹

Social Barriers and the Theory of Marginality

The Charter Act of 1833 removed the restrictions of "permits" and letters of appointment hitherto required by any one proceeding to India and this together with the opening of a new overland route to India, contributed to an increase in European population. The English element kept aloof from the native population and they were particularly contemptuous, as we have seen, of the Anglo-Indian whose sometimes exaggerated attempts at aping the Englishman subjected them to ridicule. Thus the menfolk were conspicuous at Church because of their foppish attire, "large signet rings and gold-headed canes," while the women accentuated their appearance with an "extra rose here, another purple bow there, a love-knot, several gold chains and two or three brooches."²

The English rejected these overt attempts by Anglo-Indians to identify with them and made no attempt to conceal their contempt. The Anglo-Indians thus rejected, in turn looked down on the Indian "with a scorn that [was] acid with hatred, for it [was] their Indian blood that [was] their curse."³ This feeling was reciprocated by the

¹Goodrich, pp. 155-156.

²D. Kincaid, British Social Life in India (Kennikat Press, Port Washington, 1971), p. 220.

³Gertrude Marvin Williams, Understanding India (New York: Coward McCann Inc., 1928), p. 167.

Indian (Hindu and Muslim alike) who had a horror of miscegenation and an even greater suspicion of the half-caste. In fact even the Hindu religious books like the Mahabharata expresses this prejudice. In reply to a question by his grandson Bhisma as to how one could recognize a half-caste, Yudisthira gave this answer:

The baseness of a man born of miscegenation is easily detected from his un-Aryan conduct; indiscriminate habits, cruelty, non-observance of rituals proclaim the low origin of these men; . . . they can never hide their baseness; just as tigers and other animals cannot give up their nature, these men too cannot . . . mere knowledge of the sacred books cannot remove the baseness of a base man.¹

Though this illustrates an extreme form of prejudice there is no doubt that Anglo-Indians were treated as a proscribed class and stood isolated as a group.

Several modern-day sociologists like Robert E. Park and Everett V. Stonequist have put forward the concept of marginality as being an explanation for the social barriers imposed on minorities like the Anglo-Indian Community which is a marginal group. Park generally equated marginality and the marginal man who he defines as

. . . a cultural hybrid, a man living and sharing intimately in the cultural life and traditions of two distinct peoples; never quite willing to break, even if he were permitted to do so, with his past and his traditions, and not quite accepted, because of racial prejudice. . . . He was a man on the margin of two cultures

¹Quoted in Nirad C. Chaudhuri, The Continent of Circe (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), Chapter 13, p. 258.

and two societies which never completely interpenetrated and fused.¹

While Park emphasized the biological and cultural hybrid, Stonequist on the other hand placed more emphasis on the social-psychological patterns which assert themselves in the group. Stonequist's concept of the margin man is one who

... is poised in psychological uncertainty between two (or more) social worlds: reflecting in his soul the discords and harmonies, repulsions and attractions of these worlds, one of which is often 'dominant' over the other; within which membership is implicitly based upon birth or ancestry (race or nationality); and where exclusion removes the individual from a system of group relations.²

Since then, there have been numerous explanations and interpretations of marginality and the marginal man concept. While it is not within the scope of this study to go into any detail about Marginality and its implications, it is interesting to note some of the observations made by Gist and Wright in their study of the Anglo-Indian Community with regard to the self-image of its members. They state that:

The individual of dual racial parentage may have difficulty in developing a clear self-image partly because he is related by heredity to two (or more) peoples, one or both of which may reject him. If he identifies with one racial group and not the other he may alienate the group which he himself rejects and at the same time be unacceptable to the people of his choice. Throughout much of their history as a minority group this was the dilemma faced by many Anglo-Indians.³

¹Robert E. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," The American Journal of Sociology, May 1928, 33:881-893.

²Everett V. Stonequist, The Marginal Man: A Study in Personality and Culture Conflict (New York: Charles Scribner & Sons, 1937), p. 8.

³Gist and Wright, p. 34.

One fact is sure, the Anglo-Indian Community was despised by both the Indians and the British and this attitude precluded their employment in the Judicial and Civil Service of the Company and other responsible administrative posts. This was admitted by William Wilberforce Bird, a former Indian Civil Servant who had served as Judge and Magistrate for several years in Benares, in a statement before the Select Committee on May 18, 1852. According to him "not many persons of mixed blood had been raised in any degree to situations in the administration of justice"¹ and that this was due not so much to their incompetence as their being of mixed blood, "not respected either by natives or by Europeans generally speaking."²

British Attitude Towards the Anglo-Indian in the Latter Half of the 19th Century

In the decade preceding the Mutiny, new avenues of employment for Anglo-Indians were opened in the Railways, Telegraphs and the Postal Service. It was particularly in the subordinate grades of these departments that Anglo-Indians were given large-scale employment which aroused much resentment from Indians in later years. The question naturally arises as to why Anglo-Indians appeared to receive preferential treatment in some services and why they were excluded from others. A combination of factors were responsible for this seemingly paradoxical policy of the government. In 1849, the Anglo-Indian Community presented a petition to Parliament similar to that of 1830, in which they presented their grievances. They sub-

¹Cited in B. B. Misra, The Indian Middle Classes (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 192.

²Ibid.

mitted the following figures with regard to the employment of its members which illustrated that very few of them held positions of importance or responsibility:

TABLE I

Occupations of Anglo-Indians in the mid-19th Century¹

	<u>Approx. No.</u>
Clerks in government offices	759
Clerks in commercial offices	230
Principal Sadr Amins	7
Sadr Amins	4
Munsifs	5
Deputy Magistrates	1
Deputy Collectors	9
Salt Department	2
Excise Department	5
Schoolmasters	110
Coachbuilders	7
Shoemakers	9
Undertakers	6
Preventive service	22
Confectioners	3
Engineers and Mechanics	65
Printers	72
Booksellers	1
Auctioneers	1
Civil architects	2
Portrait painters	2
Subordinate medical department	85
Missionaries (Baptist)	3
Indigo planters	30
Brokers	2
Merchants	7
River traders	19
Covenanted Service Military	2
Covenanted Service Medical	2
Uncovenanted medical service	2
Students medical college	13
Drummers, fifers, and bandmaster	73
Veterinary Establishment	1

¹The Calcutta Review, Vol. XI, Jan.-June 1849, pp. 89-90.

The year is significant as it coincided with the work of Railway construction which was begun in 1849. Whether it was mere expediency or a sincere attempt to ameliorate the condition of the Anglo-Indians, or a combination of both reasons, the government decided to open up jobs in the sector of communications and transport. They were thus able to provide employment where it was needed for a Community which had a long record of loyal service and at the same time they continued to maintain the exclusiveness of the covenanted Civil Service and the commissioned ranks of the army. In other words the Anglo-Indians were offered employment in the subordinate grades of the Public Services without disturbing any existing interest. They were employed as telegraph operators, engine drivers, electricians, guards, mechanics and technicians. Anglo-Indians appeared to have a marked aptitude for mechanical and technical work as can be seen from their own efforts of establishing an Apprenticing Society and Marine School referred to earlier. By providing employment in areas which needed these skills, the government could also benefit:

The last thirty years of the Company's rule, which saw the beginning of mechanical power, were faced with the basic problem of how best to develop technical and skilled labour in India. In the railways^{as} in other fields, a superior grade of engineers could be imported from England, and they were actually imported. But the great bulk of technical manpower had to be produced in the country for the sake of economy. The East Indians were the first to be initiated. . . .¹

¹Misra, pp. 193-194. See British Parliamentary Papers 41(68) of 1847—Railway Reports from India, No. 2, Report by Mr. Simms and Captains Boileau and Western, dated 13 March, 1847, p. 4.

Indians on the other hand did not take favourably to the recent innovations introduced by the government. They regarded the railways and other means of transport like steamship navigation as a direct threat to their caste and religion. In fact when the proposals for the construction of railways were made to the East India Company in 1844, the Directors had thought them a doubtful venture because of climatic difficulties, want of qualified engineers and doubts as to financial success. They knew that caste scruples could deter Hindus from using the railways which could be a financial loss. However, their fears were assuaged by Dalhousie who impressed upon them that there was a great need for railways and there were advantages which would accrue from them.¹ Railway construction was begun in 1853 and in that same year the first train ran from Bombay to Thana, a distance of 21 miles, at a speed of 24 m.p.h. By the end of 1855 about 200 miles of railways were open to traffic.²

However, railway construction entailed hard and often dangerous outdoor work. The draining of marshes, laying out of roads and camping out in snake-infested forests and other hardships did not appeal to the average Indian. In fact many a District Officer had to force such improvements as sanitation, drainage and road clearance on an unwilling people. Sometimes they reacted with violence as was the case of Frederic Gubbins, District Magistrate of Benares in 1852, who was

¹L. S. S. O'Malley, C. I. E., Modern India and the West (London: Oxford University Press, 1941), pp. 238-239.

²Ibid., p. 239.

attacked and driven out of the town because he had tried to implement a system of drainage and sanitation.¹ Though manual labour was recruited from the poorer sections of the Indian labour class, the more ambitious Indian was busy availing himself of the blessings of higher education, now open to him by the recent Education reforms and Wood's Despatch of 1854.²

Anglo-Indians, therefore found no competitors, and did work which but for them could never have been done in the country. They furnished the navigation companies with captains, second officers, engineers, and mechanics. From them were recruited telegraph operators, artisans and electricians. They supplied the railways with station staffs, engine drivers, permanent way inspectors, guards, auditors. . . . The expansion of the postal system . . . threw open another avenue of employment to them, and they were appointed to more responsible positions.³

The period immediately following the Mutiny was one of distrust and suspicion towards the Indian as the gap between the two had widened further. However, it was one of comparative prosperity for the Community as the Government opened up further employment opportunities both as a mark of appreciation for their loyalty and devotion of Anglo-Indians during the outbreak and because they did not trust the Indian. This was indicated in the army where the Indian element

¹O'Malley, The Indian Civil Service, pp. 71-72.

²Wood's Despatch, named after Sir Charles Wood, was of great significance as it opened up English education to Indians. For further details see S.N. Mukherjee, History of Education in India, pp. 115-120 (Baroda: Acharya Book Depot, 1966).

³Stark, p. 135.

was drastically reduced (from 238,000 in 1857 to 140,000 by 1863) and the European force increased (from 45,000 to 65,000).¹ Thus it was in the interests of the government to employ Anglo-Indians on whose loyalty they could count. During the outbreak Anglo-Indians had fought alongside their English kinsmen, "taking their share of the massacre, torture and black despair that befell white women and children in that terrible time; and they proved their essential worth by more than one heroic deed."²

The history of the Mutiny records the achievements of men like Hearsey (John), Forgett, Brendish as well as the heroism of the Anglo-Indian lads of La Martinière, who helped to defend the Residency till reinforcements arrived.³ Here again, the bravery of Thomas Kavanagh, an Anglo-Indian clerk in the Deputy Commissioner's Office at Lucknow saved the relieving force of the British army. Disguised as a native scout, Kavanagh led the British troops to the Residency by a different route avoiding the city where the mutineers were ready to cut them down. His bravery was described by William Forbes-

¹Thomas R. Metcalf, The Aftermath of Revolt (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1964), p. 297.

²H. P. K. Skipton, Our Reproach in India (London: A. H. Mowbray & Co., 1912), p. 9. See "Passing of a Mutiny Veteran, Drummer Boy of 1857," Lloyd Papers, MSS. EUR. F 146, IOR for interesting accounts of Anglo-Indian heroes during the Mutiny.

³For a discussion of specific Anglo-Indian military leaders refer to H. G. Keene, "Indian Military Adventurers of the Last Century," The Calcutta Review, 1880, 71: 55-85. Also refer to Herbert Compton, European Military Adventurers of Hindustan (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1976).

Mitchell, himself a survivor and soldier during the Mutiny:

... the service rendered to the relieving force by Mr. Kavanagh, [was] an enterprise of consummate daring which won for him a well-deserved Victoria Cross; only those who know the state of Lucknow at the time can fully appreciate the perils he encountered, or the value of the service he rendered.¹

During the latter half of the 19th century, however, despite the large number of Anglo-Indians employed in the Public Services, the general economic condition of the Community was poor. Viceroys like Canning and Lytton were particularly sympathetic and concerned about the poverty and ignorance which prevailed. Both rulers realized that education was vitally important for the Community as was financial assistance which would enable Anglo-Indians to acquire technical skills and trade so that they would become economically self-sufficient. Canning and Lytton greatly helped the Community in the field of education, details of which are dealt with in the next chapter. During Lytton's administration many Anglo-Indians entered different departments of the Civil Service. Another area where there was a fairly large concentration of Anglo-Indians was in the Uncovenanted Civil Services.

The Indian Civil Service founded by Cornwallis in 1793 was made up of two branches—the upper branch known as the Covenanted

¹William Forbes-Mitchell, Reminiscences of the Great Mutiny (London: Macmillan & Co., 1893), p. 34. For more details of the Mutiny refer to J.W. Kaye and G.B. Malleson, History of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-58, 6 vols. (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, reprint 1971).

Civil Service was reserved for officials recruited from England; the lower branch, embracing a wide number of public servants who filled the lower civil and administrative posts, was known as the Uncovenanted Civil Service. Recruitment to the Uncovenanted Service was made in India and it was in the Upper Subordinate grades of this service that there was a fairly large concentration of Anglo-Indians.

In 1879, Lytton established a Statutory Civil Service which was "a 'native branch' of the civil service created for the employment by selection of those with inherited qualifications, early habits of authority and a commanding influence over large numbers of their fellow country-men."¹ This was part of Lytton's policy to increase the avenues of official employment by giving effect to the Statute of 1870 (33 Vic., Cap. 3) by which it was enacted that nothing in any:

... Act of Parliament or other law now in force in India shall restrain the authorities in India by whom appointments are or may be made to offices, places, and employments in the Civil Service of Her Majesty in India from appointing any Native of India to any such office, place, or employment. . . .²

It was further laid down that,

¹Cited in S. Gopal, British Policy in India 1858-1905 (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1965), p. 117.

²British Attitude Towards the Employment of Indians in Civil Service—Report of the Public Service Commission (1886-1887) (Delhi: Concept Publishing Co., Reprint 1977), Chapter III, para. 39, p. 24.

... the words 'Natives of India' shall include any person born and domiciled within the dominions of Her Majesty in India of parents habitually resident in India, and not established there for temporary purposes only, and that it shall be lawful for the Governor-General in Council to define and limit from time to time the qualification of Natives of India thus expressed. . . .¹

The Uncovenanted Civil Service was one area which had great employment possibilities for Anglo-Indians who held a large proportion along with Europeans of the Upper Subordinate positions (see Appendix I-A, Tables 1-5). Anglo-Indians qualified for positions open to Indians as they were also 'natives of India.'²

Ironically, the preferential treatment accorded to Anglo-Indians by employment in the Public Services and in the Uncovenanted Services was not an unmixed blessing. Their dependence on government employment had created a false security making them content with subordinate positions so that they had no inclination to develop other trades or skills. Nor were they involved in politics, since as government employees they were prohibited from joining political organizations. Their isolation was further intensified because of their own desire to identify themselves more with the British than the Indian.

Bishop Thoburn summed up the situation facing the Community thus:

¹Ibid.

²See Lists of Civil Engineers and of European and East Indian Uncovenanted Servants in the Public Works, Military and Postal Department 1884-1900, 4F/10/229-244, 10R.

As a class they have much cause for complaint. While employed freely in Government service they have, for the most part, been kept wholly in subordinate positions. They are debarred from military service; they are subjected to a certain kind of social contempt—not very formidable, it is true, and yet of such a character as often to irritate and sometimes to injure, those who are made its subjects. Educated as they have been; and hedged about by adverse influences as they are to the present day, it is not strange that comparatively few of them have achieved distinction.¹

Towards the close of the 19th century, however, with the increasing demand for government employment by educated Indians, there was a change in policy with regard to Anglo-Indians being included under the term 'natives of India.' In a resolution dated 11 November 1882, the government stated that the term 'natives' were to apply to persons of 'pure Asiatic origin.' This meant that many positions in the Upper Subordinate grades formerly held by Anglo-Indians would be closed to them. This was specially prejudicial to their interests in the engineering branches of the Public Works Department (P.W.D.) where there was a predominance of Anglo-Indians. Not only would Anglo-Indian employment be drastically reduced but the new policy came into effect under Ripon (1882-1885) when degree classes were opened up in engineering colleges in India. The Secretary of State, Lord Salisbury, went so far as to advise the Government of India in a letter dated 10 August, 1876

¹Quoted in Mary H. Lee, "The Eurasian: A Social Problem," unpublished M.A. Thesis, Department of Practical Sociology, The University of Chicago, 1912.

that the engineering colleges "should be limited to meeting the wants of natives of India," not of "persons of European parentage."¹

This change of policy towards the Anglo-Indian was yet another example of government expediency. Whereas the Government had encouraged the training of Anglo-Indians for technical trades which were urgently required during the early days of railway and road construction and other engineering projects, now government was virtually stifling the development of technical skills by Anglo-Indians. While it was claimed that these steps were necessary so as to reduce the disproportion in the number of appointments in the upper subordinate posts held by Europeans and Eurasians, yet this policy did not apply to Europeans who held practically 90-100% of the highest paid positions (see Appendix I-B, Tables 1-3). Most of the officers for the P.W.D. received their Engineering degrees from the Engineering College at Cooper's Hill (England), and in addition there were frequent importations from Europe of mechanics who were employed on the State Railways. It was obvious that this policy was most injurious to Anglo-Indians as it deprived them of acquiring the skills and knowledge necessary for many of the positions such as in the Engineering branch of the P.W.D. and they would therefore not be able to compete with Indians for such jobs. Obviously the government was providing more openings for Indians in the Upper Subordinate levels of the Uncovenanted and Statutory Service as an

¹Misra, p. 221.

alternative to the Indian demand for a greater share of appointments in the higher Indian Civil Service.¹

In 1886 a fifteen member Commission (made up of nine Europeans and six Indians) headed by Sir Charles Aitchison was appointed to "devise a scheme which may reasonably be hoped to possess the necessary elements of finality, and to do full justice to the claims of Natives of India to higher and more extensive employment in the public service."² To meet these demands of Indians to higher and more extensive employment the Aitchison Commission recommended that from henceforth there would be only two branches of the Civil Service. Thus the strength of the Covenanted Civil Service would be "reduced to a corps d'élite and its numbers limited to what is necessary to fill the chief administrative appointments of the government."³ This would constitute the Imperial Service to, which appointments would be made "by open competition in England only under suitable standards and conditions of its own." The second branch would be the Provincial Service, "recruited under different methods adapted to local circumstances and will secure a fair representation of the various races of India in the administration of the country."⁴

¹See Public Works Dispatches to India regarding admission of Indians trained at Cooper's Hill College to more favourable pension rules and other employment benefits, No. 26, June 28, 1888, L/PWD/3/458, IOR.

²British Attitude Towards the Employment of Indians in Civil Service, Chapter I, para. 1, p. 1.

³Ibid., Chapter VII, para. 73, p. 68. See also History of Services of Gazetted Officers for more detailed information, (Allahabad: Superintendent, Government Press, U. P., 1909).

⁴Ibid.

The Statutory Civil Service was to be abolished and its members were to be absorbed into the Provincial Service. Appointments to the Provincial Service was to be filled partly by recruitment through competitive examination and partly by promotion from the Subordinate Service (a lower service below the Provincial Service). However, with the increasing demand for Indianization of the services, it was less likely for employees in the Subordinate Service (many of whom were Anglo-Indians), to be promoted to the Provincial Service.¹ Nor would they be able to enter these services through competition as very few Anglo-Indians possessed the necessary education qualifications to do so. Thus by the close of the 19th century, Anglo-Indians were beginning to feel the pressure of competition with Indians in many areas of employment. It was obvious that Anglo-Indians would have to take steps to meet this threat if they hoped to protect their economic future and they were warned of the necessity for decisive action:

Of course, if the Eurasians, who are the chief losers, choose to sit quiet and do nothing, they need not grumble at their position. They must not only agitate, but qualify themselves to meet the demand there is for skilled labour. If duly qualified there is every hope that they will meet eventually with justice both at the hands of Government and the non-official employers of labour.²

¹Useful information regarding Anglo-Indian employment can be found in the Lists of Civil Engineers and of Europeans and East Indian Uncovenanted Servants in the Public Works, North West Railway 1890, L/F/10/235, IOR.

²A. Nundy, "The Eurasian Problem in India," The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly and Oriental and Colonial Record, 3rd series, Jan. - April 1900, Vol. IX, p. 73.

The Rise and Growth of Anglo-Indian Associations in the Latter Half of the Nineteenth Century

It was obvious, from the developments taking place in India during the last few decades of the nineteenth century that the Community as a whole had to make a sustained effort to rally together and make their grievances heard in one voice. Till now Anglo-Indians seemed to be content to drift along with the tide of events relying on the efforts of individual leaders like Ricketts, Doveton, Derozio and others to give them the much-needed spurt or boost in morale.

Organization and leadership was thus contingent on the accomplishments of individuals whose hard work on behalf of the Community usually died with them. It was only in the latter part of the 19th century that organized structure within the Community began to take on a more permanent appearance. By the 1870's, there were signs of changes within the Community. The reason for these changes was two-fold. The first and perhaps most important reason was the fact that changes were taking place in the country itself and the Eurasian community, as it was then known, was bound to be affected by these developments.

Throughout the country all kinds of associations, societies, political, social and cultural bodies were springing up. The most obvious factor underlying this social and political consciousness was the impact of English education and with it a dissemination of the ideas and writings of European philosophers and poets. Thus Anglo-Indians were beginning to have a greater awareness of their position

both socially and economically in an India where nationalism was gaining tremendous momentum. Day by day, the demands by groups of educated Indians were becoming more insistent. Thus they clamoured for greater representation in the Legislative Councils; for the holding of simultaneous examinations for the Civil Service in both England and India; for more educational growth and for more employment in the uncovenanted service.

Never before was there a greater need for unified action by the Anglo-Indians, who were in danger of being ousted from their subordinate positions in the Public Services, as the government yielded slowly but surely to the demands of the Indians.

One such area of employment for the Eurasian community was the Railways which were slowly being penetrated by the Indians:

The total number of railway employees in both State and Companies' lines together at the end of 1872 was 942 superior officers (mostly Europeans) and about 392,000 subordinates of whom 13,200 were Europeans or Eurasians.¹

Besides Public Works, there was a sprinkling of Eurasians in lower clerical grades in the judiciary, Government offices, railways, posts and telegraphs. Other avenues of employment were largely closed to the Community often because their lower educational qualifications made it impossible for them to compete with the Indians, especially the more educated higher caste Hindus. The repeated re-

¹The Imperial Gazetteer of India, The Indian Empire, Vol. IV, Administrative (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1907), p. 323.

quests of Anglo-Indians for military service were also systematically rejected. From time to time (in the post mutiny period), however, whenever the government felt it convenient, the birth qualification of pure descent was waived and Anglo-Indians entered different branches of the British Army. But no sooner was the emergency over than they were retrenched and their regiments disbanded. This only worsened the situation as hundreds of Anglo-Indians became unemployed and many lived in poverty and squalor in the poorer sections of the big cities.

Though Anglo-Indians were not able to raise their own regiments they were, however, encouraged to join the Volunteer Force which was organized as a result of the mutiny in order to provide internal security. The Volunteer Force was later known as the Auxiliary Force and from 1885 it also provided an efficient supplement to an army called into active service.¹ The Auxiliary Force was reserved exclusively for Europeans and Eurasians; and in fact service in the Force was mandatory for the latter if they were employed in the railways. This policy of refusing Indians entry to the Auxiliary Force but permitting Anglo-Indians to join was yet another factor contributing to the general dislike of the Indian towards Anglo-Indians. Moreover, the Auxiliary Force was often used during local riots, strikes and other disturbances and the Indian was naturally

¹Hira Lal Singh, Problems and Policies of the British in India, 1885-1898 (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1963), p. 164.

resentful when he saw the Anglo-Indian donning military uniform and shooting his Indian brothers during some demonstration or violent outbreak.

Besides these reasons, Anglo-Indians often contributed to the ill-will felt towards them by adopting a superior attitude towards the Indians. Moreover in their attempt to identify with the British they neglected to learn the vernacular languages and were indifferent as a whole towards the national movement which further alienated the Indian against the Community. They also adopted a life-style and standard of living far beyond their means. Thus "in the matter of dress, food and housing, they tried to follow the British pattern... attempting to live on a European scale on a salary which was more or less Indian."¹ It soon became apparent to some perceptive leaders that it was necessary for the Community to go through a different orientation and change of attitude towards Indians and toward their own position as citizens of India. This could only be done if the Community rallied under a more dynamic and aggressive leadership. This gave rise to a number of local organizations controlled by more assertive and often personally ambitious leaders.

This new direction of the Community brought about the second reason for change within the very fabric of Community life. Anglo-Indians were being urged on all sides to wake up from their torpor and engage in campaigns of self-help and to avail themselves of the

¹Joachim Hurwitz, "Marginal Men in India," INDONESIE, The Hague, April 1955, p. 140.

grants and stipends offered in the European and Anglo-Indian schools. At the same time Anglo-Indian associations tried their best to engender an esprit de corps among their members.

One of the first organizations to make its voice heard on behalf of the Community was the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association established in Bengal by E.W. Chambers on December 16, 1876. One of its foremost concerns was the need for education in the Community. The poverty of large numbers of Anglo-Indians, together with their lower educational qualifications made them unable to compete with the Indian who was better qualified for jobs in government service. The Association made representations to the government drawing its attention to the glaring need for improvements in education for the Community. Largely as a result of their efforts Lord Lytton in 1879 undertook an examination of the whole question of education, which was a major factor to future advancement of Anglo-Indians, and to report on the educational requirements of the Community.

The Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association of Bengal, with its headquarters at Calcutta, did much to alleviate the distress of its impoverished people living in the Kinthals¹ under abject and unsanitary conditions. On March 27, 1885, members of the Association held a public meeting at the Dalhousie Institute to inaugurate a Kinthal Fund to improve the dwellings of the Christian poor. The meeting was

¹"Kinthals" or "bustees" were slum dwellings occupied by a large number of poor Domiciled Europeans and Anglo-Indians in Calcutta.

well attended by about 250 to 300 persons including many sympathetic British officials and clergymen.

The Reverend Father Harford, speaking on the "Kinthal Problem," commended the campaign of self-help launched by the Association. He said:

... the question of the improvement of the Kinthals of Calcutta was of the most vital importance to the welfare of the community at large, whether considered in its social or political aspect. It afforded me great pleasure to find that this movement had been started by that representative body who for the last seven years, had fought the battles of the Eurasian community of Bengal against much discouragements; and I was also glad to find that, through the endeavors of the same body, they were getting those rights which had been refused to them for years.¹

The Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association of Bengal spent much time and money memorializing the Government on a variety of subjects:

It was the medium of communication between the government and the subjects it represented, the medium notably, for redressing the grievances from which the Community it represented suffered.²

However, the task was not easy as many Anglo-Indians were not members of the Association and were often disunited among themselves. Sometimes "pride prevented many from joining the Association—the faults, contemptible pride of being called an Eurasian."³ Nevertheless,

¹The Statesman and Friend of India, Saturday, March 28, 1885, p. 3d.

²The Statesman and Friend of India, June 18, 1884, p. 3d.

³Ibid.

in those changing times, the Association and its leaders provided guidance and direction to the large Anglo-Indian Community in Calcutta and in other parts of Bengal.

It was not long before other Associations followed in the wake of the Calcutta Association. Within a decade after the inception of this association, several Anglo-Indian organizations emerged in different states, especially in the United Provinces, Madras and Bombay.¹ It soon became apparent to the leaders of these various associations that their strength lay in unity. However, petty jealousies and power struggles among leaders prevented unification.

In 1898, Dr. J.R. Wallace founded the Imperial Anglo-Indian Association. Wallace, a qualified M.D., had himself suffered from the disabilities imposed on Anglo-Indians in the medical service. He was deputed on two occasions, that is, in 1897 and 1902, to represent the grievances of the Community to the Secretary of State and members of Parliament, though nothing is known of his representation. Wallace died in 1903 and with his death the Imperial Anglo-Indian Association floundered.² The Association was later revived in 1908 by Charles Palmer, and was known as the Anglo-Indian Empire League.

Most of the work done at this early stage by the Associations, was for the social, cultural and material welfare of the Community.

¹V. R. Gaikwad, The Anglo-Indians (London: Asia Publishing House, 1967), p. 35.

²Anthony, pp. 66-67.

Since Anglo-Indians were mostly employed in government service the Associations were afraid to show any active interest in politics. However, one Association which was involved in some measure with politics was the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association of Southern India founded in 1879 by D.S. White (Assistant to the Director of Public Instruction, Madras). Prior to the founding of this Association, White had been President of a local branch of the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association in Madras. The fact that four years later he established an independent body, reveals that individual leaders even at that early stage found it difficult to agree among themselves.

White was a close friend of A.O. Hume, the Englishman who was to play a vital role in the Indian Congress movement. Thus he was quite aware of nationalist developments and the consequent need for unity among his own people. In accordance with a proposal from White, an annual conference of delegates from the different Associations was held at Jubbulpore in December 1885. It seems, however, that the conference was not very satisfactory as attendance was poor and the few leaders who met were concerned with questions relating to the welfare of the Eurasians only. It is significant that White went directly from Jubbulpore to Bombay to attend the first Indian National Congress meeting.¹ White being a government servant could not attend in the capacity of a delegate but as "amici curiae" (to listen and advise).

¹S. R. Mehrotra, The Emergence of the Indian National Congress (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1971), pp. 409-10.

Nevertheless, he was one of the speakers to address the Congress on the contentious subject of entry to the Civil Service.¹ White was also one of the members of the Public Service Commission (1886) and was always actively involved in matters that concerned his community. He founded Whitefield Colony and various benevolent funds for Anglo-Indians. He was a true patriot who helped to promote a spirit of nationalism among his people. In his speech to the Congress delegates, White emphasized the necessity for union among all natives of India for the purpose of securing their common rights and privileges:

My own belief is that without such union we will never accomplish what we desire. I am willing to do my best, but I trust this Congress will help me by giving some assurance that it is serious in desiring unity. I have just come from a Conference of the European and Anglo-Indian Association held at Jubbulpore. It was decided by the Delegation that a memorial be sent to the Viceroy, praying that on the next occasion a Eurasian or Anglo-Indian native of India be appointed to the Civil Service.²

¹ See Mathur, The I. C. S., p. 208.

² Proceedings of the 1st Indian National Congress, Res. IV, December 1885.

The Madras Association continued its support of the Indian National Congress and the next few years some of its influential representatives like Benjamin Henry Chester, George Maddox, and W.S. Gantz attended the conferences and even spoke publicly on different issues.

However, most of the Associations kept a low profile as far as politics were concerned and concentrated instead on developing self-help programmes, employment opportunities, education and other important matters.

During World War I (1914 to 1918) many Anglo-Indians were permitted to join the army in service of their "fatherland" and thousands lost their lives in the military campaigns in Europe. Many also served in positions within India which had been vacated by the British because of the war-drain.

However, Anglo-Indians were soon to find their economic future more seriously threatened because of the increasing entry of Indians in the Public Services. During the years 1909 to 1919, the government introduced reforms with a view to giving Indians a greater share of government employment. The Government of India Act of 1919 was the turning point as it specifically promised Indians a larger share in legislation and administration as well as government employment. Anglo-Indians found it difficult to compete with Indians who possessed higher academic qualifications than theirs—few Anglo-Indians had completed even a High School education. The prerequisite for many positions in government service was a university degree

with the result that Anglo-Indians would inevitably be debarred from positions of significance in administration, judicial and other departments. They would thus have no voice in determining or influencing policies affecting their position in the country. This then was the condition of the Community in the reform era of the 1920's— and education was a major factor standing in the way of their advancement.

CHAPTER II

ANGLO-INDIAN EDUCATION: AN ASSESSMENT

The question of education was one of vital importance for the Anglo-Indian Community whose economic future, like minorities everywhere, required adequate education. This was especially important as during the years under study the government was gradually relinquishing its responsibility for the Community and handing over the reins of administration, albeit reluctantly, to Indians. Moreover Indians themselves were aware of the benefits accruing from education with regard to employment. They soon saw that "all roads led to schools, and from the schools back to the public services and professions."¹ At the same time education was also one of the chief determinants of the politics of power and one way of obtaining access to this power was through government employment:

... membership of the regime offers local influence and security of employment; more important, it is the first rung on the ladder of power.²

In fact, Anil Seal is of the opinion that nationalist leaders all over the world have emerged from the ranks of government subordinates.

Thus education was central to the whole question of economic survival for the Community which would inevitably have to compete with educated Indians for employment.

¹A. Seal, The Emergence of Indian Nationalism (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1968), p. 115.

²Ibid., p. 116.

Educational Efforts of Early Europeans and the English East India Company (1600-1857)

The history of education among Anglo-Indians parallels the development of European Indian enterprise itself. We have observed in Chapter I that the discovery of a sea route to India by Vasco da Gama in 1498 brought the country in contact with western civilization. The Portuguese, who were the first European traders to make their appearance in India at the end of the 15th Century, realized from the outset that if they were to establish a strong colonial base in the country, they would need solid support for Portuguese rule. One way of obtaining this support, we have seen, was through their deliberate policy of intermarriages with the native Indian population. Since Portuguese rulers, like Albuquerque, placed great store on the active support and loyalty of the Eurasian community or Luso-Indians (the offspring of mixed marriages), they were naturally interested in their education. This they left to the Roman Catholic missionaries who followed in the wake of Portuguese merchants. As the Portuguese settlements and factories grew in places like Calicut, Goa, Bassein, Bombay, Salsette, Diu and Daman, Chaul, San Thome (near Madras) and Hooghly (in Bengal), so also did the activities of the Roman Catholic missionaries. Their task was to impart religious education and instil Christian doctrine through their schools and other proselytizing activities. In course of time, the missionaries set up four types of educational institutions:

- a) Parochial schools for elementary education attached to churches and missionary stations;

- b) Orphanages for Indian children providing not only elementary education but also agricultural and industrial training;
- c) Jesuit Colleges for higher education;
- d) Seminaries for theological instruction and for training candidates for the priesthood.¹

Thus the missionaries can be credited with establishing a very thorough and complete system of education designed primarily, however, for the propagation of Christianity. S.N. Mukherjee refers to the Portuguese as "the originators of the modern system of education"² in India. The energetic Jesuit missionaries soon acquired a reputation for setting up educational institutions of excellence such as the Jesuit College at Chaul in Goa (1545), one at Bandora known as the College of St. Anne and another at Bassein.³

The Portuguese missionaries were also the first to introduce printing presses in India. The first was set up in Goa in 1556 and three others were set up in Cochin, Angamale and Pannikayal in Southern India.⁴

Thus it can be seen that the missionaries wielded a powerful influence over education. Their schools and colleges were open to

¹Report of the Indian Education Commission (H. M. S. O., 1882), Vol. I, pp. 221-222.

²S.N. Mukherjee, History of Education in India (Baroda: Acharya Book Depot, 1966), p. 14.

³Ibid., p. 15.

⁴N.N. Law, Promotion of Learning in India, By Early European Settlers (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1915), pp. 102-104.

European, Eurasian and Indian children alike. The Portuguese lingua-franca of these institutions was a patois-combination of several languages, of which pure Portuguese was but a framework. This patois was used for some time in many missionary schools established later in the English settlements.¹

The defeat of the Portuguese by the Dutch and their decline as a European power in India brought about a crisis in the lives of the thousands of Luso-Indians scattered among the Portuguese settlements. Though many reverted to the Indian cultural pattern, a substantial number of Luso-Indians drifted towards the settlements and trading outposts of successive European traders. Here they lived alongside the natives and often formed liaisons with the Europeans. In the Dutch settlements, no official policy was followed with regard to education. Unlike the Portuguese, the Dutch followed a policy that was strictly commercial. On the whole they remained aloof from the natives and did not interfere with their way of life.

The French East India Company, founded in 1664, however, took an interest in education. The French opened primary schools in their settlements and instruction was imparted through local languages and by Indian teachers. One secondary school was established in Pondicherry, where French was taught to children of French settlers and Indian employees.² The French were more liberal than

¹Ibid., p. 10.

²B. D. Srivastava, The Development of Modern Indian Education, (Bombay: Orient Longmans, 1963), p. 28.

the Portuguese and admitted children of different faiths to their schools. Christian doctrine was taught by Catholic missionaries in French schools.

In general, it can be said that missionaries contributed a great deal to the development of modern Indian education. Missionary societies, such as the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (S. P. C. K.) and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (S. P. G.) came into existence in England and missionaries from different European countries offered their services in the missions in India. Throughout the 17th Century, Danish, German, French, English and Italian missionaries worked alongside each other.¹ But underlying their missionary activities and educational efforts was always the desire to propagate the Gospel and instil Christian doctrines.²

Schools for Europeans and Anglo-Indian Children Under the East India Company

The East India Company, founded in 1600, was primarily a trading body and as such was not really interested in education.

Their earliest educational efforts were motivated by the desire to counteract the influence of the Roman Catholic missionaries who had done much good work among the people for more than a century.

Moreover, the ever-increasing marriage between English soldiers

¹Ibid., p. 29.

²Law, pp. 6-7.

and Luso-Indians often resulted in their husbands being converted to Catholicism which was the religion of their wives—a fact that did not sit well with the more bigoted Protestant officials at home.

The likelihood of marriages between British soldiers and Luso-Indians was greater especially as the English tended to establish factories in areas where the Portuguese had flourished and where there were a large population of mixed blood. After several attempts to forbid such marriages, especially as their venture of sending out shiploads of English women as prospective wives for their Civil and Military servants met with no success, the Directors decided to reverse their policy and allow intermarriages.¹ But the Company was largely indifferent to the concern of providing education for the offspring of these alliances. They left this task almost entirely to the initiative of chaplains and missionaries and other philanthropic men who established charity schools, orphanages and day schools. Their efforts were all the more commendable especially as the fathers of many of the children enrolled in these schools were either killed in battle or had died in straightened circumstances leaving their wives and children destitute. The schools were maintained for the most part through private donations and charitable contribution, though some financial assistance was provided in the form of grants by the East India Company. In fact, a clause in the Charter Act of 1698 stipulated that the Company main-

¹Refer to Chapter I of this thesis.

tain ministers of religion at their factories in India and that it should engage a chaplain in every ship of 500 tons or more. It was also directed that the Company should maintain schools in every garrison and factory. ¹

The Company left the task of imparting religious and secular education to the missionaries who were very active in the main centres in Bengal, Madras and Bombay.

Some of the earliest schools were established in Madras which was the oldest of the Company's settlements. In 1673, the Company appointed a Scottish preacher, Reverend Pringle, who opened a school for teaching the Portuguese Eurasians, British Eurasians and the children of a few Indian subordinates at Fort St. George. ² The medium of instruction was a local Portuguese patois, English and some Indian vernaculars. After some four years, Pringle returned to England and a schoolmaster, Ralph Orde, was sent out to assume the vacant post on the same salary of £50 a year. Orde was commissioned to "teach all the children to read English and to write and cipher gratis . . . and to instruct them in the principles of the Protestant religion." ³ Ill-health compelled Orde to return to England after four years but his work was success-

¹H. Sharp, ed., Selections from Educational Records, Part I (1781-1839), (Calcutta: 1920), p. 3.

²Law, pp. 12-12.

³H. D. Love, Vestiges of Old Madras (London: John Murray, 1913), Vol. I, p. 499.

fully continued by John Barker who received only half of Orde's salary. Barker retained the position till his death in 1707, by which time the school had grown in importance and "attracted towards it gradually-increasing charity stock for the care and education of the orphans making a thorough supervision a matter of necessity."¹

In 1696 the Reverend George Lewis was appointed chaplain of Madras and being an enthusiastic educationist he recommended to the governor of the Fort the necessity of establishing two schools, one for boys and one for girls, where they could be educated and taught the Protestant religion. Though his plan was not implemented, Lewis on his own initiative founded a Free School which he administered till his return to England in 1714, without any help from the Company or any other source. Lewis was proficient in Portuguese and made that language the medium of instruction in his school. Lewis' successor, Stevenson, however, thought that an English school for the children of English soldiers would be more useful than a Portuguese school. In 1715, he changed the school into a Church school under the name St. Mary's Charity School. Portuguese children were excluded from this school and were taken over by the Danish missionaries.²

A clause in the Charter of 1713 gave a further boost to the cause of education for it directed that "the Company shall provide

¹Law, p. 12.

²Ibid., p. 15 and Penny, p. 167.

schoolmasters in all the said garrisons and superior factories where they shall be found necessary."¹

Schools were opened in the major English settlements of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. In the latter city, St. Mary's school was inadequate for the

. . . growing number of children of mixed parentage born between 1715-80, hence Lady Campbell, wife of the Governor of the Fort St. George, in 1784 appealed for funds to start an orphanage for girls and in 1787 the Female Orphan Asylum was started; the first European girls' school in India.²

Five classes of children were placed in these schools:

1. Female orphans of officers and soldiers.
2. Female children who had lost one parent.
3. Legitimate female children of soldiers and their Indian wives.
4. Legitimate female children of soldiers and their European wives.
5. Legitimate female children of European civilians of the settlement.³

In 1789, a similar school was started for male children when St. Mary's School was renamed the Madras Male Orphan Asylum and placed under the administration of the enlightened educator, Dr. Andrew Bell. Bell worked against many odds especially since

¹Penny, p. 123.

²Desouza, p. 60. Also Law, pp. 40-41.

³Law, pp. 42-43.

... it was an established opinion, that the half-caste race children were an inferior race, both in moral and intellectual faculties, as if a certain mulish obliquity of nature has been produced by crossing colours in the human species.¹

Bell's unique monitorial system did much to improve the sense of worth among his students for

... they were sure of his favour if they continued to do right, they were certain of his disapprobation and displeasure if they offended; but knowing that he was just, and feeling that he was good, they regarded him as their friend and benefactor, and common parent.²

In Bengal, as in Madras, schools were founded on the same pattern, that is by private donations and missionary aid. Three types of schools were started for Eurasian children—charity, military and private schools.

A charity school was opened in 1731 largely due to the efforts of the S. P. C. K. and the untiring efforts of Rev. Gervas Bellamy. By 1787, it had prospered sufficiently to admit girls as well. In 1789, new school premises were obtained for both girls and boys in Cossipore.

Another charity school was opened by the Rev. John Kier-
nander, Pastor of the Mission Church and in "one year he had under
tuition no less than 174 children, some Bengalis, some Americans,

¹ Joseph Fox, "A comparative view of the Plans of Education as detailed in the publications of Dr. Bell, and Mr. Lancaster, and Remarks on Dr. Bell's Madras School," The Quarterly Review, VI, Oct. 1811, p. 266.

² Ibid., pp. 268-269.

but chiefly Anglo-Indians and Indo-Portuguese."¹ Kiernander's charity school

... marks the first and perhaps the greatest of the three classes into which East Indian education may be divided, corresponding to the three great sources from which the community sprang, and the three great ranks of life in which they moved.²

Thus, the first type were the offspring of low adventurers and European soldiers who constituted the lowest class of East Indians. These children were treated as outcasts and charity education was provided by schools like Kiernander's Mission School, which later merged into the Calcutta Free School (1800), the Benevolent Institution founded in 1810 by Carey and Marshman for poor Eurasian children and other mission schools.³

The second type of school was the military school which provided "service education" for the children of officers and men dying in poverty in India. Largely due to the efforts of Major General Kirkpatrick, a Military Orphan Society was founded in 1783. Two military orphan schools were opened—the Upper Military Orphanage for children of commissioned officers and the Lower Boys

¹"East Indian Education and the Doveton Colleges," The Calcutta Review, June 1855, p. 300.

²Ibid.

³An excellent description of the Baptist missionaries of Serampore appears in John Clark Marshman's The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward, 2 vols. (London: Longmans, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1859).

and Girls Orphanage for children of other ranks.

The system of resorting to voluntary subscriptions and donations for the funding of the Upper Military Orphanage was replaced by compulsory subscription from officers' salaries. The following order was passed on March 13, 1783:

Ordered, that the following stoppages be made for the support of this fund from the pay of the officers of this Establishment, who shall consent thereto, viz.:-

From each Major, 9 sicca rupees per month; from each Captain and Surgeon, 6 sicca rupees; and from each Subaltern and Assistant Surgeon, 3 sicca rupees.

That the Pay-Master General do give instructions accordingly to the several Pay-Masters, with directions to account regularly to him for their receipt, and that he do account quarterly with the managers of the Fund for the whole.¹

The Company paid Rupees (Rs.) 3 a head per month for the orphans of the Lower Orphan Society as they deemed this sum was sufficient for the education, clothing and feeding of the children of soldiers. This amount was later increased to Rs. 5 by the Court of Directors in a Despatch dated February 24, 1786, authorizing payment of arrears from the day it was founded.³ The government also gave a sum of Rs. 40,000 for the purchase of premises (Levitt's House) for the Lower Orphan Society. The latter was thus a government

¹"The Bengal Military Orphan Society," The Calcutta Review, Vol. XLIV, Art. 5, 1867, p. 159.

²Ibid., p. 168. See also "The Educational Establishments of Calcutta, Past and Present," The Calcutta Review, Vol. XIII, Jan. - June, 1850, pp. 442-467.

institution under the general superintendence of the Managers of the Orphan Society, while the tuition and care of the Lower School was in the hands of Army sergeants and their wives.

Generally, the orphans of the Upper Military Orphanage were sent to England to complete their education after which they returned to good positions in the service of the Company. Orphans from the Lower House were given a practical elementary education and later employed in subordinate positions in the Company's service. Girls from both institutions often made prospective wives for bachelors, and balls were given for the express purpose of securing proposals of marriage for the young ladies.

The Bengal Orphan Asylum did much good work not only for the English children but especially for the children of native mothers and English fathers. These Anglo-Indian children were subsequently debarred from going to England and had no other place of refuge except the Orphan Asylum. The Upper and Lower Asylums continued in existence for about 60 years after which they slowly declined. In 1846, the Upper Orphan House was closed down, followed a few years later by the Lower Asylum. A printing press attached to the schools had during the 50 years of its existence brought in about Rs. 1,200,000 to the Military Orphan Asylum. It was taken over by the government in 1863.¹

¹Daniell, "Anglo-Indian Education and Its Problems,"

The third type of private school provided "Independent Education." These schools were started by private enterprise and by missionary and philanthropic institutions:

Numerous private schools sprang up in Calcutta. For boys there were Archer's School, the Dhurumtollah Academy of Drummond . . . ; Farrell's Seminary, Ardwise's Calcutta Academy, schools belonging to Halifax, Lindstedt, Draper, Martin Bowles, Shelbourne, Dr. Yates, Furley in Park Street, Homes in Cossipore, Gwynard in Meredith Buildings, Statham's Academy first in Dhurumtollah and later in Howrah.¹

Besides these numerous other schools sprang up in Calcutta between 1780-1830. Thus there were private girls' schools—Mrs. Hedges, Mrs. Pitts, Mrs. Savage and so on. Most of these schools were founded for personal profit and usually survived only a few years.

Among the more notable private institutions was the Parental Academy, also known as the Parental Academic Institution, founded in 1823. This institution deserves special mention as it was the first school established solely by the Eurasian community and supported entirely by their own funds and administered by their own elected committee. It was born of a pledge taken by prominent leaders of the community—men like Ricketts—in whose house on March 1, 1823, the following resolution was passed:

That we form ourselves into a society to promote the education of our children by

¹ Stark, p. 91.

projecting an institution which shall be managed by a Committee chosen from among the body of Parents, Guardians and Friends.¹

Membership to this Society was obtained by subscription to the school fund of Rs. 24 per annum or a lump sum donation of Rs. 300. The school was to be non-sectarian Protestant school under the management of a committee elected from among the parents and guardians of the pupils and subscribing members of the committee. The education imparted in the Parental Academy was more advanced than any other government or private school in India. This can be seen from the wide range of subjects taught—scripture, English literature and English grammar, Indian vernacular, geography, Roman, Greek, English and Indian history, astronomy, natural philosophy, Latin, mathematics and political economy.² Carey praised the good work of this institution—

To the Parental Academy must be given the tribute of having raised the tone of Christian education in Calcutta and directed education to the importance of the study of the History of India and of the vernaculars.³

In 1835, the Parental Academy was endowed with a sum of £50,000 by the will of Captain John Doveton, an Eurasian in the Nizam's army. Approximately half of this amount was bequeathed

¹"East Indian Education and the Doveton Colleges," The Calcutta Review, XXIV, 1855, p. 294.

²Daniell, p. 64.

³Cited in *ibid.*

to the Parental Academy in Calcutta which was re-named the Doveton College (in honour of its patron), raised to the status of a college and affiliated to the Calcutta University. An equal amount (£23,000) was left for the establishment of a similar institution in Madras (1855). However, both these colleges were private institutions and, not receiving government aid, depended entirely on fees. Despite the excellent standard of education, especially that of the Doveton College in Calcutta which was held up as a model to all other institutions, the College was forced to close in 1916 due to a marked decline in student enrolment.¹ Thus one can assume that the general poverty and poor economic conditions of Anglo-Indians precluded their children from an excellent education which they could not afford.

Another fine private institution, still in existence today, was the La Martinière school of Lucknow built in 1830, as a result of a large sum of money bequeathed by Major-General Claude Martin, a French military adventurer in the Nawab of Awadh's service. Six years later, another La Martinière College was established in Calcutta. The schools were meant primarily for the education of European and Anglo-Indian children although they admitted pupils from other communities as well.

As a result of these educational efforts undertaken by the Community itself,

East Indians began to recognize their own individual position as a class, to see that

¹Ibid.

they were not natives, but were British subjects, to inquire into the relations between themselves and the Hindus on the one hand, and the English law on the other, to discover anomalies and wrongs in their position, and to devise means for righting themselves with all parties, and in fact, asserting their manhood.³¹

Official Policy and Attitude of the Company and the British Government to Education in India

So far we have been tracing the educational efforts and founding of schools mainly for European and Eurasian children. It is obvious that this task had been undertaken by philanthropists, missionary societies and private educational enterprise. In fact the beginning of English education in India during the first half of the 19th Century shows a reluctance of British authorities to venture into the field of education. It was only after 1835 when Macaulay's celebrated Minute on education was published that the British government undertook an educational programme emphasizing the education of Indians who possessed the potential abilities required for civil services.

This was the outcome of a long controversy between two schools of thought—the Orientalists who favoured a revival of indigenous learning and the Anglicists who believed that western education was the only salvation for the pagan-Hindu and Muslim infidel.

¹"East Indian Education and the Doyeton Colleges," p. 300.

Warren Hastings must be given the credit for being the source of inspiration of the British Orientalist movement. It was said that

... his basic convictions became the credo of the Orientalist movement; to love India, one must communicate with her people; and to communicate with her people, one must learn her languages.¹

The Orientalist cause was championed by scholars and intellectuals like Sir William Jones, founder of the Bengal Asiatic Society (1784), the great Sanskrit scholar, Colebrook, and Horace Hayman Wilson—men whose work helped Indians to reaffirm their faith in themselves.

However, while the British government was sympathetic towards attempts to revive Indian learning, it had as yet no intention of introducing English education to the nation. Politically speaking there were three basic attitudes which influenced the Government's Indian policies.

The first of these attitudes was the philosophical conservatism of Burke whose policies were designed to protect Indian polity, tradition and experience from the disastrous meddling of the West. However, this enlightened attitude developed into a sort of expedient British conservatism by those unable to appreciate Burke's views. British conservatives were prepared to maintain policies and traditions that were not injurious to British interests but they "were hardly committed to the idea of letting Indian society develop the institutions

¹Cited in D. Kopf, British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969), p. 21.

and culture peculiar to its historical experience and needs."¹

Secondly, Imperialist attitudes began to assert themselves.

These varied according to the interests, intellect and goals of individuals and groups who had personal stakes in the permanence of British power in India. Their concern was not so much with the enlightenment of the natives but with an

... improved intercourse of the Europeans with the natives, to produce those reciprocal feelings of regard and respect which were essential to the permanent interests of the British Empire in India.²

Thirdly, liberal and humanitarian attitudes began to appear in England at the same time that the Empire was growing under the expansionist policies of different governors-general. Men like Bentham and Paine advocated political and legal reforms in the country and humanitarian movements spread far and wide.

One of the first and most influential advocates of the liberal movement was James Mill. He believed that liberal measures, such as the establishment of a free press and the opening of India to British capital would help raise the moral and intellectual level of the country. Meanwhile another powerful force for change in India came from the missionary groups intent on spreading the light of Christianity in an India which was in darkness.

¹G. D. Bearce, British Attitudes Towards India, 1784-1858 (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 27.

²Cited in A. K. Sen, Raja Rammohun Roy, The Representative Man (Calcutta: Calcutta Text Book Society), p. 129.

The Orientalist-Anglicist controversy was actually triggered by a treatise written by Charles Grant in 1792 entitled, Observations on the state of society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to Morals, and on the Means of Improving it. Grant, who had been a civil servant of the Company for several years, was convinced that the low-caste Hindus were kept in subjection by the Brahmanical system and religion. This widespread ignorance could only be removed by the introduction of western education:

The first communication, and the instrument of introducing the rest, must be the English language; this is a key which will open to them a world of new ideas. . . .¹

Grant's suggestions had a far-reaching effect on the development of English education. Though his recommendations were not implemented right away, Parliament accepted the idea that it was Britain's duty to educate and elevate the people of India. A clause in the Charter Act of 1813 compelled the Company to set aside one lakh of rupees annually to be

. . . applied to the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India.²

This decision by Parliament to undertake the responsibility of education in India is of considerable importance. Hitherto,

¹Cited in B. D. Srivastava, p. 162.

²Sharp, ed., "East India Act of 1813," p. 22.

whatever had been done for the education of the natives had been solely at the Governor-General's discretion. For the first time, Britain was admitting that it had a moral obligation to promote education among the Indian people.¹

Meanwhile, a growing nationalist fervour began to develop among many Indians due largely to the excellent work of the Orientalists and the establishment of institutions like the Calcutta School Book Society (1817) and the Hindu College (1817). From the portals of this institution emerged men of the calibre of Kyalash Chander Dutt (later a founding member of the Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge), a brilliant Eurasian teacher, H. V. Derozio, and other radicals whose interests and activities earned them the name "Young Bengal." But national fervour was not enough—a demand for western education came from Indians like Raja Rammohun Roy, who entered the Company's service in 1805 and (assisted by John Digby) acquired a wide knowledge of English literature. On retiring from government service in 1814, he devoted himself to the cause of social, religious, and educational reform. Together with his friend, the Scottish watchmaker and pioneer educationist David Hare, the Chief Justice of Bengal, Sir Edward Hyde East, and other prominent Indians and Europeans, Rammohun led the campaign in favour of western education through the medium of English.²

¹Bruce T. McCully, English Education and the Origins of Indian Nationalism (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1966), pp. 16-17.

²Desouza, p. 73.

Finally in 1835, with Macaulay's support, the Anglicists won the day. Macaulay, Law Member of the Viceroy's Council, put forward his views in his Educational Minute of February 2, 1835. He plunged into a fulsome defence of the English language, ridiculed traditional learning and native culture, claiming that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia.¹ He maintained that the English language was the only instrument with which to bring about the enlightenment of the native mind.

The liberal views on education and pro-Anglicist learnings of Lord William Bentinck, who became Governor-General in 1828, concurred with those of Macaulay. In his Resolution on Educational Policy (1835), Bentinck expressed his opinion that

... the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India; and that all the funds appropriated for the purposes of education would be best employed on English education alone.²

The Charter Act of 1833 had increased the educational grant from Rs. 100,000 to Rs. 1,000,000. The Committee of Public Instruction was set up in 1830 and the official policy on English education was put into effect. Viceroys like Auckland and Hardinge upheld the policy on the grounds that positions of trust and responsibility should be reserved for Indians educated in English. This

¹Cited in McCully, p. 69.

²Cited in *ibid.*, p. 70.

naturally put a premium on English education. By 1843, there were 51 government educational institutions in Bengal and the North-West Provinces (later the United Provinces) alone,¹ and this burgeoning led to the establishment of a Council of Education. A decade later Wood's Despatch of 1854—the first comprehensive and authoritative declaration by Britain regarding educational policy—brought about tremendous innovations in the field of English education.

During all these years, however, no active official interest was taken in the promotion of education for the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled Community. It was apparently too small to attract the attention of the government and the leading educationists engaged as they were in the Anglicist-Orientalist controversy.² The government left the education of that community entirely in the hands of chaplains and missionaries. Financial assistance in the form of grants was left entirely to the discretion of the governor of the province. Some schools, like the Calcutta Free School and the Military Orphanages at Calcutta and Madras, received assistance from the Company while others did not.³ This indifference of the government towards the educational needs of the Community may have been a blessing in disguise because

¹Daniell, p. 57.

²Ibid.

³Cited in Sharp, p. 190. According to Fisher's memoir of February 7, 1827, a school in Meerut was refused a grant by the General Committee on the ground that all funds were appropriated for natives and not for Europeans.

... so long as Anglo-Indians were accustomed to look to themselves for the provision of schools for their children, they were at least in that matter a virile community. Their character received a proper stimulus for the necessity to energise for their own welfare. They learnt how to organize their material and moral forces; how to hold together and co-operate in a common cause.¹

Thus in the late nineteenth century some such cooperation and organization in the interests of education begins to be evident.

The Grants-in-aid Policy and the Growth of European Schools in the Latter Half of the 19th Century

In tracing the early development of the Anglo-Indian and European schools it was seen how they emerged from three broad sections of the community, namely—military schools for the wards of the Commissioned and Non-Commissioned officers, charity or mission schools for the indigent and needy and private schools for boys and girls of wealthier families.

In spite of heroic efforts on the part of private individuals who generously donated large sums for European education and missionary agencies who tried desperately to keep their schools functioning, the problem of insufficient funds continually plagued and threatened the existence of Anglo-Indian schools.

After the Mutiny of 1857, official attitude towards the Community became more favourable mainly because of the unselfish sacrifice and loyalty displayed by the Anglo-Indians during the crisis.

¹ Stark, p. 92.

A sense of gratitude and obligation prevailed among different sections of the English population in India. The cause of the Community was taken up by Dr. George Cotton, Metropolitan of the Church in India. Cotton, a teacher himself, had been Headmaster of Marlborough, a famous Public School in England, before becoming Metropolitan of India. He was greatly influenced by Dr. Thomas Arnold, the 'father of the famous English Public schools,' and hence he was able to contribute both his experience and expertise to the cause of Anglo-Indian education. At a great service of Thanksgiving for the end of the Mutiny, held in St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta, on July 28, 1859, he appealed for funds to establish schools for the children of Europeans and Anglo-Indians.¹

Not content with appeals only, Cotton's next step was to collect statistics concerning the educational backwardness of the Community. A thorough investigation was carried out and valuable data collected from the reports of Commissioners, Deputy Commissioners and Directors of Public Instruction. Cotton treated the needs of the Anglo-Indian community and those of the Europeans domiciled in India as being the same. Hence, his recommendations concerning European education took into consideration both communities. In 1860, after a careful survey of education in the existing Anglo-Indian schools, he put forward a scheme envisaging a system of

¹The total collection from the diocese amounted to £3,500 of which £1,500 came from the cathedral offertory and £1,110 was contributed by the Viceroy Lord Canning and Lady Canning.

education to meet the moral, physical and intellectual needs of the Community.

He recommended that two kinds of schools be established for Anglo-Indian and European children: schools in hill stations to be set up chiefly for the children of the wealthier members of the Community and schools in the plains which would cater to the vast majority—the poorer members of the Domiciled Community. Cotton also recommended that these schools should be properly assisted financially in order to ensure their permanence and stability.

Cotton's scheme received a sympathetic hearing by Canning, the Viceroy, who expressed his concern for the Community in his minute of October 29, 1860. The impact of this minute was so significant as it was the first official statement showing support for the urgent necessity of Anglo-Indian education. He warned that:

If measures for educating these children are not promptly and vigorously encouraged and aided by the government, we shall soon find ourselves embarrassed in all large towns and stations with a floating population of Indianized English loosely brought up, and exhibiting some of the worst qualities of both races, whilst the Eurasian population already so numerous that the means of education offered to it are quite inadequate, will increase more rapidly than ever. I can hardly imagine a more profitless, unmanageable community than one so composed. It might be long before it would grow to what would be called a class dangerous to the State, but very few years will make it, if neglected, a glaring reproach to the Government, and to the faith which it will, however ignorant and vicious, nominally profess. On the other hand, if

cared for betimes it will become a source of strength and usefulness to British rule in India.¹

The Secretary of State reacted favourably to Canning's Minute.

In a letter, dated January 16, 1861, he endorsed the scheme—

I entirely concur in the sentiments expressed by the Bishop and your government as to the great and increasing importance of some sympathetic measures being adopted for promoting the education of this class of children, and I agree with you that the object is one well deserving the encouragement and assistance of Government.²

Though Canning's sympathies for the Community were no secret, he saw the necessity of self-help on the part of the Community itself. He wisely considered that the founding of these schools should be left to the various Christian denominations by the help of donations and subscriptions, aided by an equivalent contribution from the government.

The next few years saw the establishment of a number of hill schools. Thus the Caineville House School for girls was opened in Mussoorie, and three Bishop Cotton Schools were opened in Nagpur (1863), in Bangalore (1865) and in Simla (1866). St. Paul's School was transferred from Calcutta to Darjeeling in 1865 and the Diocesan Boys' and Girls' schools were founded at Naini Tal in 1869. Other schools were established in the plains largely through the efforts of

¹Cited in Thomas Edwards, "Eurasians and Poor Europeans in India," The Calcutta Review, Vol. LXII, Art. 11, 1881, p. 48.

²Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Home Department, No. LXXVI, Education in India, 1854-1863 (Calcutta: Government Printing, 1870), XXXVII, p. 158.

the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches. However, these additions to the existing schools were inadequate to meet the large and growing needs especially of the poorer classes of Europeans and Eurasians.¹

Unfortunately for the Community, their great benefactor, Bishop Cotton, was accidentally drowned in 1866. The second phase of his scheme, the establishment of schools in the plains, was virtually overlooked. Canning had returned to England in 1862 and subsequent frequent changes in the Governor-Generalship resulted in no official action with regard to Anglo-Indian education.

It was only in 1871 that the Government of India appointed a commission under C. S. Lawrence to examine the state of European schools. Lawrence published his findings in his Report on the Existing Schools for Europeans and Eurasians (1873) whereby it was reported that the system was inadequate and did not serve the needs of the poorer children of the Community who were often left altogether without education. This conclusion was so shocking that the Calcutta government requested detailed information from all provincial authorities. This information was finally collected by 1874. The local governments had ascertained the following facts concerning the education of European and Eurasian children:

1) that out of an estimated total of 26,649 European and Eurasian children of school-going age, 15,067 were actually under instruction; about 56% were boys and 44% were girls;

¹"Progress of Education in India, 1897-98 to 1901-02," Vol. I, Fourth Quinquennial Review (London: H. M. S. O., 1904), p. 829.

- 2) that the government spent on these schools about Rs. 1, 750, 000;
- 3) that there were two classes of children who received no education, namely, the children of the very poor in the Presidency capitals and other large cities and the children of European and Eurasian employees at out-stations which could not support a school;
- 4) that the local governments, though they admitted that further measures were in some instances needed, were yet unable to set aside from their provincial grants further sums for children of these classes, without injustice to the vast native populations for the benefit of which those provincial grants had been given.¹

By 1876, the Anglo-Indian Association had come into existence and it also began to make representations to the Government to examine the state of European education. Another Viceroy, Lord Lytton, now took up the whole question, and in November 1879 he appointed a committee with Archdeacon Baly as Secretary to enquire into European and Eurasian education. Baly was authorized to visit various stations in the Bengal Presidency, with a view to ascertaining the real educational wants of the Community. A Training College was also sanctioned in Bengal and Free Schools in Lahore and Allahabad.²

Baly made a tour of Bengal, North and Central India and on the basis of his findings presented a report which came before Lytton

¹ Extract from the Proceedings of the Government of India in the Home Revenue and Agricultural Departments (Education) dated Nov. 22, 1879, Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association Reports, 1877, p. 67.

² Ibid., p. 69.

entitled Report of the Education and Employment of Europeans in Bengal (1879). This report highlighted the depressing fact that of the 8,567 European and Eurasian children in Bengal, 4,037 were not in school. On the basis of this enquiry many practical suggestions were put forward concerning the need for providing adequate education to the Eurasian and Domiciled Community.¹ The report warned of the dangers of allowing the large proportions of destitute children to wander the streets aimlessly, possibly because this would not only foster vagrancy and other undesirable elements within the Community but would also reflect badly on British prestige and good name.

Lytton realized that merely providing education would not solve the problem; for any measures taken for the education of destitute European and Eurasian children would be unsuccessful unless they were taken with "reference to the means of existence available for such children in after life."² Even at this early stage, Lytton had the foresight to see the dangers facing the Community in contending against native competition. He felt that given the proper kind of education, Europeans and Eurasians could find ample employment in the railways, in trade and manufacturing and on the plantations. He also felt that the Lawrence Military Asylums founded by Sir Henry Lawrence had not been utilized according to his wishes—namely, to provide education for the sons of soldiers and to adapt them for "employment suited to their position in life."³ The very

¹Desouza, pp. 114-115.

²Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Reports, p. 61.

³ibid.

fact that soldiers' sons educated in these schools looked upon soldiering as demeaning proved that there was something very wrong with the system of education hitherto followed. Since the main concern was the education of poor Europeans, this was obviously an area that needed overhauling.

Lytton felt that the solution lay in providing good industrial, military and other schools which would prepare a very large proportion of these children with an honest livelihood for the future. In a strongly worded minute dated August 31, 1881, entitled "The Education of the Children of Poor Europeans and Eurasians," Lytton declared

... that one very special reason why Government cannot afford to ignore the growing up in India of an uneducated European population is that, in the case of the European his capacity for self-maintenance depends entirely upon the education he receives. He cannot support himself in this country by working as a day labourer ... the cost of living is necessarily disproportionate to his means, and he is deprived at the same time of the educational opportunities which are now available at home. ... In all these respects the European parent is placed at a disadvantage and it becomes necessary for the Government to come to his assistance.¹

Lytton followed this up by submitting to the government a comprehensive scheme for the education of the poorer classes of Europeans and Eurasians:

1) Elementary schools for boys and girls up to the age of 12 or 14 should be provided wherever needed. This was especially necessary

¹Cited in Daniell, p. 88.

in the smaller stations where schools should be set up and financially assisted by a government grant-in-aid policy.

2) The elementary schools in the plains were to be generally day schools; but boarding facilities should be made available for orphans and destitute children.

3) The payment of fees should be insisted on except in the case of destitute children.

4) Industrial schools for boys between the ages of 12 and 18 should be established at convenient places in connection with government or railway workshops or other institutions where mechanical and industrial arts are practised.

5) Boarding schools should be established in hill stations for the children of poor Europeans, not intended for military service. Here they could obtain an education suited to their position in life at smallest possible cost. Admission to these schools should be granted after careful consideration of all the facts.

6) The education imparted in the Lawrence Military Schools should be geared to modern needs and should be open to the children of non-military background.

7) Girls' schools should provide a good elementary education and similar to that of boys' schools. Education for girls should be more in keeping with the practical realities of life rather than the so-called 'accomplishments' which had tended to give them false values regarding work domestic or otherwise.

8) The paucity of competent English teachers may be offset by the establishment of Normal Schools.¹

Upon these recommendations of Lytton and on the basis of other reports, the Government of India drew up the Bengal Code for European Schools:

Under this Code which was published under the orders of the Government of India in February, 1883, the whole subject of European education was taken under the control of the Government and institutions of all classes were made eligible for the receipt of liberal State aid on well-defined conditions and principles.²

The Code was put into operation in 1885 and was applied to the major provinces of British India, namely Bengal, United Provinces, Punjab, and the Central Provinces. Bombay and Madras were excluded as their local governments had made more adequate arrangements for the education of Europeans and Eurasians. However, the local governments of these provinces later made modifications in their grants-in-aid policy on the pattern of the Bengal system.

Thus a separate department of European education was set up, under the direction and supervision of the Inspector of European schools.³ The term "European" was interpreted as being any person

¹Minute by H. E. Lord Lytton, "Education and Employment of Anglo-Indians," Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Reports, 1877, Appendix R, p. 65.

²Fourth Quinquennial Review on Education, p. 329.

³European Education remained the official designation of the Department of Education for Europeans and Anglo-Indians until it was changed to Anglo-Indian Education at the third Round Table Conference.

of European descent, pure or mixed, who retained European habits and modes of life. Americans were also included in this category:

The Code was based on English and Scottish models, altered and extended to meet the special requirements of India. Its main object was the encouragement of all classes of private-managed European schools by means of grants-in-aid based on the attendance and proficiency of pupils, that is what is called the results-grant system.¹

This system of providing aid based on results was modified in 1896 so that the grants were paid to schools annually upon the basis of the average attendance during the previous year and the Inspector's general report pertaining to efficiency.

The basic structure of education maintained the imprint of the 1883 Code, particularly these four elements:

- 1) The whole question of education for European and Eurasian children was to be dealt with by a separate Department of European Education under the direction of an Inspector.
- 2) English education was imparted through European schools mainly for the children of European or mixed descent, who retained European habits and modes of life—this was extended to include Armenians, Jews and Parsis.
- 3) European schools were classed as high and middle (secondary) and primary (elementary) schools. Classes were graded as follows:
 - i) High schools were comprised of infant classes and Standards I - VIII.

¹Fourth Quinquennial Review on Education, p. 329.

ii) Middle schools (infant classes and Standards I - VI or VII).

iii) Primary schools (infant classes and Standards I - IV).

4) These schools were, generally speaking, under the private management of Christian denominational societies, especially Anglican and Roman Catholic, although these schools were sponsored by a variety of agencies. A 1902 report identified

... Church of England schools under diocesan, parochial or committee management; Catholic schools and convents; schools managed by mission and other religious societies of different denominations; undenominational schools managed by local committees; and railway schools.¹

Railway schools require special mention because these were intended primarily for the children of railway employees though they were open at a higher fee to children of civilians. Separate schools were set up for Europeans and natives. Each school was managed by a local committee under the general control of a railway official, who was designated the Superintendent of Schools. These schools were supported by grants from the railway, from the government and by fees--

When the number of employees is not large enough to justify the provision of a railway school, and there already exists a public or private school in the town, the tuition fees of the railway children are borne wholly or in part by the railway.²

Such schools were given monthly and annual grants conditional upon the attendance and the proficiency of the scholars, the qualifications

¹Ibid., p. 332.

²Ibid., p. 344.

of the teachers and the state of the schools, as reported by the Inspector of European schools.¹ The system of payment by results proved both unsatisfactory and injurious to the principles of pedagogy. It led to undue pressure exerted by teachers on their students who were encouraged to cram. Inspectors took on the role of examiners, hurrying from school to school for the annual examinations and neglecting the actual work of inspection for which they were employed.²

In light of the adverse criticism caused by the policy of payment-by-results, the government approved a new system of giving fixed annual grants calculated on the number of school meetings held during the previous year. In order to qualify for a full grant, a school had to hold 380 "full school meetings." One full school meeting meant a period of two hours of secular instruction on the same day. A school could have two school meetings per day provided that the total instruction time was not less than four hours. In no case could a school count more than two school meetings on the same day. If a school held less than 380 meetings during the school year, a proportionate reduction was made in the grant. An interesting feature of these grants was that they were calculated on the number of students in attendance in each of the four sections of

¹Desouza, p. 121.

²G.S. Gasper, "Bengal European School Code," The Calcutta Review, Vol. LXXXV, 1887, p. 161.

the schools—infant, primary, middle and high.

Infant section	Rupees per annum	20 for each of the first 10 scholars 15 for each of the second 10 scholars 10 for each of the remaining scholars
Primary section		25 for each of the first 20 scholars 20 for each of the second 20 scholars 15 for the remaining scholars
Middle section		40 for each of the first 10 scholars 30 for each of the second 10 scholars 20 for each of the remaining scholars
High section		120 for each of the first 5 scholars 90 for each of the second 5 scholars 50 for each of the remaining scholars ¹

The grant structure clearly implied that the number of students would diminish in the higher grades.

Generally speaking, the following forms of grants were given to the schools: ordinary maintenance grants, grants for free schools, grants for orphanages and schools for children of the poor and grants-in-aid of boarding charges, special maintenance grants and building grants.² The last three grants are still in existence today.

The only institutions publicly managed were a few government schools of a special character, namely orphanages and boarding schools for poor and destitute children. They included the Lawrence Military Asylums for boys and girls at Ootacamund (Madras), Sanawar and Murree (Punjab), Kurseong (near Darjeeling) and a primary school at Shillong (Assam). Students in these schools received a thorough technical or industrial training which would enable them to obtain a

¹Fourth Quinquennial Review on Education, p. 344.

²Ibid.

livelihood.

Teachers were recruited from different sources. One category consisted of certified teachers many of whom were trained graduates from the United Kingdom. These teachers were usually on the staff of Church of England secondary schools for boys. The rest were teachers trained in Teacher Training institutions in India or members of religious orders who had received their education in Europe or America. The second group were pupil teachers who made up the vast majority of teachers recruited in India. Attempts were made to remedy the defects of such a system by granting certificates of recognition from the Inspector. The result was that persons with little general education and no special aptitude for teaching were granted certificates. These certificates were later substituted by letters of recognition from the Inspector. The problem was further aggravated by the fact that very few permanently domiciled Europeans and Eurasians availed themselves of the collegiate education which was offered in a few schools. It must be mentioned that the few classes for Europeans and Eurasians providing college education were hardly worth the name and were not geared to the Indian universities' examinations.

Though active measures were taken to provide efficient training for teachers of European schools, the denominational character of the schools presented difficulties. The Code provided for grants to aid training institutions, but little advantage was taken of them.

In Madras there was no special European teacher training institutions. Women usually qualified for the practical test for the diploma of Licentiate in Teaching of the Madras University. By 1901-1902, 50 European girls attended Normal schools. Of these, 31 were in the Presidency Training School for mistresses. The real difficulty of attracting men to teaching professions lay in the poor salary scales and the fact that European boys educated in India had comparatively easy access to more lucrative careers.

In Bengal, a Government Training College for European teachers was established at Kurseong near Darjeeling in 1899-1900. At the end of 1903-1903 there were 9 female students and no European male students attending this institution. Classes for teaching kindergarten methods had been set up in the Welland Memorial School and the Methodist Girls' School at Calcutta.

In Bombay there were no Normal institutions for European boys though some Normal classes were attached to the Girgaim Girls' School and the Byculla Convent School at Bombay and to the Convent School at Karachi. At the end of 1901-02, 16 girls passed the teaching examination from all the institutions combined.

In the United Provinces stipends were offered to Europeans and Eurasians who were willing to attend the Government Training College for native teachers at Allahabad. Another training class was set up at the All Saints Diocesan School in Naini Tal. Isabella Thoburn College in Lucknow also had a Normal class which prepared

European pupils for the Teachers' Certificate.¹

The Fifth Quinquennial Report on Education (1902-07) states that two teacher-training institutions were set up in Simla—St. Bede's Teacher Training College and Auckland House School for girls. In 1906, the government established a training class for Anglo-Indian masters at Sanawar in the Punjab. It was attached to the Lawrence Military School and teacher trainees received Rs. 40 per month as stipends from their respective provincial grants.

The following figures show the number of certified teachers in these schools at the end of the Sixth Quinquennial Review on Education (1907-1912):²

	Total number of teachers	Number of certified teachers	Percentage of certified teachers
Madras	581	412	70.9%
Bombay	693	229	33.0%
Bengal and Eastern Bengal & Assam	640	138	21.6%
United Provinces	396	173	43.7%
Punjab	200	139	69.5%
Burma	203	104	51.2%
Central Provinces	115	25	21.7%
	<u>2,828</u>	<u>1,220</u>	<u>43.0%</u>

All in all, the lack of trained teachers was deplored, but unless salary scales were appreciably improved, the teaching profession would continue to be unattractive.

The immediate result of the grants-in-aid system was a rapid rise in the number of European schools in most of the

¹Ibid., pp. 359-61.

²Sixth Quinquennial Review on Education in India 1907-12, Vol. I (London: H.M.S.O., 1914), p. 243.

provinces of British India.

The following statistical table, submitted in December 1903, shows the number of pupils in European schools in three provinces—Bengal, United Provinces and the Punjab.

Roman Catholic schools	6,724
Church of England schools	2,943
Railway schools	1,879
Non-conformist schools	1,195
Martinière and Doveton schools	707
Lawrence Military asylums	681
Private property schools	461
Station schools	460
Government schools	273
Church of Scotland schools	104
TOTAL	<u>14,927</u> ¹

Students in these schools, whether in the hills or plains, benefited from a well-ordered and disciplined school life. Moreover, the denominational character of these schools helped in the bestowal of religious and moral training. Though the results-grant system was replaced by the attendance grant, it must be said that emphasis on examinations referred to before prevailed largely in most of these schools.

While the grants-in-aid policy encouraged for the first time concerted efforts by various denominational and private agencies to establish a uniform system of education, it did contain certain defects which were to have quite deleterious long-term effects.

In many cases it led to indiscriminate opening of schools by private societies and individuals eager to avail of the government

¹Ibid., p. 342.

grants. This resulted in undue competition among the many schools which sometimes were greater in number than was necessary for the needs of the community. Had the number of schools in some places been reduced, it would have been possible to

... maintain stronger and better equipped institutions capable of employing more highly paid and better qualified instructors and capable of giving a sounder education than many of the European schools which now exist in India.¹

It should however, be stated that the system of private denominational management aided by government for the education of the European community was perhaps the only possible system, even if not the best in meeting the needs of the Anglo-Indian community.

The following statistical tables, which appear in the Fourth Quinquennial Review on Education, are evidence of the large percentage of the European community who benefited from this system.

Total number of European children at school in 1901-02 was as follows:

Bengal	8,084
Madras	7,661
United Provinces	4,293
Bombay	4,164
Burma	3,025
Punjab	2,582
Central Provinces	1,271
Behar	66
Assam	15
Coorg	7 ²

The statistics reveal that there had been a gradual but steady increase in the total number of children under instruction in European

¹Ibid., p. 341.

²Ibid., p. 363.

schools. Between the years 1887 to 1902 the overall number of pupils increased by 7,827.

Subsequent efforts on behalf of European education usually dealt with revision of different aspects of the Code. In September 1901, Lord Curzon held a conference at Simla of all the Directors of Public Instruction for a review of the whole field of education. At this conference it was observed that a special code for European schools existed only in Bengal, the United Provinces and the Punjab. Thus there was no special system for European education in Madras, Bombay and Burma. It was recommended that a committee should be appointed to revise the Bengal Code so as to make one European Code, applicable to all the provinces in India. In 1902 a committee consisting of all the inspectors of European schools in India, chaired by the Director of Public Instruction of Burma, prepared a Draft Code which was circulated to all the provincial governments for their opinion. On the approval of the provinces, the Draft Code became, in 1905, the European Schools' Code.¹

European Education in the Crucial Period 1905-1939

European education had passed through an interim period of twenty years since the government had given its first official support with the passing of the Bengal Code for European Education in 1883. During this period, the Code had been subjected to several revisions

¹Fifth Quinquennial Review on Education (1902-1907) (London: H.M.S.O., 1909), p. 271.

based on recommendations by various commissions and committees, with a view of eliminating some of the weaknesses evident in the system.

It is interesting to note, however, that many defects of the European school system also prevailed in the 'English' secondary schools of the day. For example, there seemed to be undue emphasis on external examinations and results. The academic curriculum was on the whole narrow and unsuited to the majority of the children; not enough attention was paid to the teaching of the Indian vernaculars; there was a lack of technical and vocational education and a shortage of trained teachers and of adequate facilities for training them efficiently.¹

The Hunter Commission was appointed in 1882, during Lord Ripon's Viceroyalty, for the purpose of enquiring into "the manner in which effect had been given to the principles of the dispatch of 1854, and of suggesting such measures as might seem desirable in order to further carrying out of the policy laid down therein."² Its recommendations were not considered in the formation of the Education Code of 1883 but twenty years later they were finally to receive their due weight in European education. Many of its recommendations were

¹Desouza, p. 139. See also "Education of Europeans and Eurasians," Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. IV, Administrative (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1907), p. 435.

²H. V. Lovett, "The Growth of Educational Policy, 1858-1918," The Cambridge History of India, Vol. VI, H. Dadwell, ed. (Lucknow: Chand & Co., 1958), Chap. XIX, p. 346.

very positive and were absorbed in the All-India Code for European schools in 1905.

The Hunter Commission had recommended that primary education should receive emphasis in any scheme of educational expansion rather than the secondary education which was so popular and successful among the Indian middle classes. It suggested that secondary education should be left to private management aided by government contribution. The Commission recommended that there should be a 'gradual withdrawal' by the State from the field of secondary and higher education but it stated explicitly that

... withdrawal of direct departmental agency should not take place in favour of missionary bodies, and that departmental institutions of the higher order should not be transferred to missionary management.¹

Official attitude, as reflected in this statement, did not appear favourable to missionary enterprise in the field of education, as it was felt that dependence on foreign institutions would hamper the development of self-reliance and initiative among Indian groups which was the purpose of the grants. However, the Commission saw no reason why a wise and cautious policy of withdrawal would not, on the contrary, encourage and stimulate native effort in its competition with a missionary agency.

The next and perhaps more important recommendation of the Hunter Commission absorbed by the Code for European Education in 1905, was a bifurcation of courses in secondary education, with

¹Cited in Srivastava, p. 208.

one stream leading to the Entrance examination of the Universities while the other (of a more practical character) prepared students for commercial or non-literary pursuits.¹ These recommendations contributed considerably to the improvement of schools and were put into effect through the European Schools Code of 1905.

Besides the two major changes derived from the recommendations of the Hunter Commission, the 1905 Code established more stringent controls over the administration of these schools whether or not they received government funds. Failure to comply resulted in severe penalties:

Schools which refuse inspection or fail to comply with these conditions cannot be recognised, and are thereby debarred from sending up pupils for departmental examinations or receiving scholarship holders, and from any other benefits which are obtainable by recognised schools.²

Despite these improvements in educational policy, a very large proportion of Anglo-Indian and poor European children were unable to avail themselves of even elementary education. The total number of European and Anglo-Indian children under instruction in 1902 was 31,122 but it was estimated that about 7,000 were receiving no education at all. Five years later, in 1907, the total number was 31,130, which showed that there had been practically no increase

¹Indian Education Commission Report in B.D. Bhatt and G.C. Aggarwal, Educational Documents in India (1813-1968) (New Delhi: Arya Book Depot, 1969), pp. 17-18.

²"Progress of Education in India," Fifth Quinquennial Review, pp. 271-272.

in student population in these schools.¹ So disquieting was the situation that Sir Robert Laidlaw, a rich Calcutta merchant and benefactor of the Community, called a conference (composed largely of representatives of the Protestant Churches engaged in education) in 1910 at Calcutta to review and assess the problem as a whole. The main purpose of the conference was to seek ways and means of concerted action so as to provide

... the best educational facilities for the domiciled community and to enable the rising generation to meet on fair and equal terms the increasing competition they must encounter in their efforts to obtain a successful and honourable career in the land of their birth.²

Through a massive appeal for financial help for Anglo-Indian schools, launched simultaneously in England, the Colonies and the United States, the Laidlaw Committee was able to collect £90,000. Of this amount, Sir Robert Laidlaw donated £50,000 and the remainder was raised by the Church of England under the auspices of the Archbishop of Canterbury and many others who were interested in the education of the Community. The money was put into a Trust Fund and the income from it remitted on a yearly basis to various schools in need of help. This did much to aid the tottering finances of many Anglo-Indian schools and prospects looked brighter, especially as the

¹Statistics taken from the Fourth and Fifth Quinquennial Reviews on Education.

²Cited by Rev. J.A. Graham, "The Education of the Anglo-Indian child," The Anglo-Indian Review, Vol. XXVI, No. 1, Jan. 1935, p. 12.

central government had begun a policy, since 1906, of direct financial intervention in the field of Indian and European education. The total expenditure, direct and indirect on European institutions, rose from Rs. 3,604,759 in 1897 to Rs. 5,303,235 in 1907.

In 1906 the Government of India made a recurring grant of Rs. [246,000] in aid of this class of education. The objects specially recommended were the improvement of the pay of teachers, enhancement of grants for equipment and maintenance and provision of scholarships on a more generous scale.¹

Despite this improvement, as we have seen a very large segment of Anglo-Indian children remained without any education whatsoever.

In 1911, the Census reports showed a significant increase in Anglo-Indian population:

<u>1881</u>	<u>1891</u>	<u>1901</u>	<u>1911</u>
7,726	7,040	5,218	8,092

However, with some exceptions as in the United Provinces and Burma where school attendance was good and illiteracy rare, this increase in population did not lead to any appreciable change in the student population in Anglo-Indian schools. In large cities like Calcutta and Madras, there was a large population of destitute Anglo-Indians living in appalling conditions and whose children received no education at all.

The preliminary work of the Laidlaw Conference in 1910 paved the way for another representative conference in Simla in July 1912. It was presided over by Sir Harcourt Butler, Member for

¹"Progress of Education in India," Sixth Quinquennial Review (1907-1912) (London: H.M.S.O., 1914), p. 233.

Education on the Viceroy's Council. Sayid Ali Imam, Law Member of the Council and Archbishop Konealy also attended some of the sessions. There were, in addition, thirty-nine representatives of all interests including the Bishops of Bombay and Lahore, the directors of public instruction and persons engaged in educational work in schools of different denominations. Many important problems were dealt with, such as the availability of education to those children not attending school and the improvement of the pay and prospects of teachers. Other areas of discussion centred round the grading of schools, the training of teachers, the establishment of a college for Europeans, grants-in-aid, examinations, certificates and scholarships and medical inspection and supervision.¹

The government was urged that the best way to make education more accessible to the poorer sections of the Community was by the establishment of free and low-fee boarding schools assisted liberally by grants. These grants should be continued till pupils reached the age of 16, at which time employment was ordinarily possible. The government, however, was against compulsion and felt that increased grants from the Central and Provincial governments and facilities for education should provide for the destitute hitherto uneducated. The Government of India had already made grants of Rs. 40,000 and Rs. 30,000 a year respectively to the local governments of Bengal and Madras for Reclamatory Schools (boarding schools where destitute

¹ Ibid., p. 234.

and neglected children were taught a trade), such as the Kalimpong Homes in Kurseong (Bengal) and St. George's Homes at Kodaikanal (Madras). Furthermore, the government released the grant of Rs. 40,000 to cover the salaries of teachers in free schools and orphanages in Calcutta, thus setting free funds for a much-needed expansion of the educational programme for destitute children.¹

The conference also recommended that collegiate education should be available beyond High School. Such schools were to provide a curriculum leading to the universities and liberal professions, for the children of parents who could afford the proportionately higher fees as well as for poor boys of ability.² The Seventh Quinquennial Report on Education (1912-17) states that there were seven so-called European colleges with a total enrolment of 722 students. They were St. Joseph's College and the College of Sacred Heart (Bangalore), Woodstock College (Mussoorie), All Saints Diocesan College (Nainital) and the European Girls' High School (Allahabad). In addition there were two professional colleges for teachers—one at Sanawar for men and St. Bede's College for women in Simla.³

However, most of these existing 'colleges' were really top classes in the high schools where no special teaching was given and

¹W. H. Arden Wood, "The Domiciled Community in India and the Simla Education Conference," The Calcutta Review, No. 272, April 1913, p. 125.

²Ibid., p. 126.

³"Progress of Education in India," Seventh Quinquennial Review (1912-1917), Vol. I (London: H. M. S. O., 1919), p. 189.

students were prepared for the Intermediate Arts examination which were administered by universities in affiliated colleges. Because there was no separate university organization for Europeans and the fact that many positions requiring higher qualifications were becoming less accessible to Anglo-Indians competing with Indian graduates, only a small percentage availed of higher education. The Government of India, therefore, concluded that there was not a sufficient demand for collegiate education to justify the establishment of a university arts college for the Domiciled Community.¹ The Government of India maintained that collegiate instruction should be obtained by Europeans and Anglo-Indians in the future, as in the past, from the existing Indian universities and that until the numbers attending any university were sufficient to warrant a separate college, the Community should avail of the existing college system.²

The Butler Conference recommended that the government should improve the salaries and prospects of teachers by raising them to a professional status. It was felt that the initial salaries were insufficient and that all teachers, whether recruited in England or India, should be given annual increments reaching a maximum in 10 years. The government was also urged to make it obligatory for all schools to start a provident fund scheme and that the government should make grants towards salaries and contribute to provident funds. In the Punjab, a provident fund scheme was estab-

¹ Arden Wood, p. 129.

² Seventh Quinquennial Review, pp. 189-90.

lished in 1913 under which teachers in government-aided schools contributed 6 1/4% of their salaries with the schools and government each adding 3.1/3%. The provident fund scheme was slowly introduced in other provinces as well.¹

As a result of these and other recommendations on educational policy, the government began to assume a greater share of the responsibility for education. Larger grants were made for the improvement of schools which steadily increased in number during the ensuing years. The Seventh Quinquennial Report on Education (1912-1917) stated the number of European schools had increased from 394 to 446 and that 42,545 Europeans and Anglo-Indians were under instruction as against 34,372 five years ago.² Unfortunately, no sooner were the schools progressing than the First World War began and the government had to cut its expenditure drastically, including grants to schools. The government, now concerned with more pressing problems, would not assume full responsibility for Anglo-Indian education. It did, however, continue its policy of assisting private institutions with grants from the public revenues.

The next twenty years saw no sign of any decisive action by the government concerning Anglo-Indian education. Some attention was given to it by the Calcutta University (Sadler) Commission between the years 1917 and 1919. The Commission was concerned

¹Ibid., pp. 194-95.

²Ibid., p. 187.

primarily with an examination of higher education in Bengal and referred briefly to Anglo-Indian education. It recognized the social and political importance of the education of the Community stating that "any system of university or secondary education which ignores its peculiar needs could not be regarded as in any sense complete."¹

However, short of a few suggestions such as improvement in the teaching of Indian vernaculars and the study of Oriental languages and the need for Anglo-Indians to avail themselves of the best university and technological education, the Commission refrained from any concrete proposal. It recommended that the prevailing system of European education should be continued but it strongly advocated the need for co-ordinating the European secondary school system more closely with the Indian university system.²

Between the years 1918-19, the Domiciled Community undertook a study of its own concerning the economic, educational and general conditions of Europeans and Anglo-Indians living in Calcutta. The Committee in charge of this study was known as the Pickford Committee, named after its Secretary, Sir Alfred Pickford, a prominent Calcutta businessman. A special sub-committee was formed to examine education as it was integral to the general welfare of the Community. The Pickford Report stated that the type of ele-

¹EAST INDIA (Calcutta University Commission) Report of the Commission appointed by the Government of India to enquire into the condition and prospects of the University of Calcutta (London: H.M.S.O., 1919), Vol. I, p. 318.

²ibid., p. 325.

mentary school education available for Anglo-Indian and European children did not equip them with the basic skills required to earn a decent wage. The Report recommended that there should be more preparatory schools in the mofussil stations and that elementary education for the majority of children should lean more towards technical-vocational courses which enable them to obtain a livelihood. It was also suggested that a Technical Education Board and a Technical Institute be established in Calcutta.¹ Unfortunately, due to the government's preoccupation with more "pressing" matters, the recommendations of the Calcutta Domiciled Community Inquiry (Pickford Report) were laid to rest with those of the Laidlaw and Butler Conferences.

The years following World War I saw the continuing ascendancy of the Indian national movement and with it the demand for self-government became more vociferous. In 1919, the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were passed and the government embarked on a policy of Indianization of the Services. An increasing number of qualified Indians were absorbed into government, administrative, judicial and essential Public services—including several areas which had hitherto been the monopoly of the Domiciled Community.

However, in 1918, a year before the passing of these reforms, the government was warned of the dangers of too rapid a pace of Indianization and its possible effects on the existence of the

¹Daniell, p. 105.

Anglo-Indian Community whose members were practically in complete economic dependence on government employment. Paragraph 346 of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report stated the strong claim of the Anglo-Indian community on the British who had an obligation to protect the Community which

... would not be strong enough to withstand the effect of changes which omitted to take account of their peculiar situation. We think the government must acknowledge and must be given effective power to discharge the obligation to see that their interests are not prejudicially affected.¹

Despite these warnings the increasing pace of Indianization led to a corresponding decline in employment of Anglo-Indians in all branches of the government and essential services.²

Though Anglo-Indians had fought hard to preserve their schools and maintain their own system of education, ironically it was their education, or rather lack of it, that stood in their way. As more and more avenues of employment were opened up to Indians, Anglo-Indians were unable to compete because of their lower educational qualifications. It has already been stated that very few Domiciled Europeans and Anglo-Indians availed themselves of higher education. The reasons were many and varied but uppermost among them were economic factors and the lack of facilities for higher education in the European school system. The special

¹Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms (London: H. M. S. O., 1918), Chap. XI, p. 274.

²See Chapter IV for details in this area.

attention and protection afforded the European schools proved to be a double-edged sword. The almost exclusive enrolment of Anglo-Indian and European children in these schools (only 15% of the Indians were allowed to attend) served to isolate them still further from the mainstream of Indian national life and raise resentment among the Indians.

Anglo-Indian leaders and other patrons of the Community urged the necessity of education, both academic and professional, if they were to survive in the rising tide of nationalism.

A Council of the Anglo-Indian Empire League, Bengal Branch, reporting on the progress of education and employment of the Community over the years 1915-16 and 1916-17, stated:

... every facility should be given to members of the Community to qualify themselves in the higher University courses and in professional careers; for the Community must rise and assert itself as an integral factor in the body politic, its members must more and more train themselves to hold positions in the higher avenues of employment, and these they can only secure by educating themselves in every way so as to meet the competition of these days.¹

It is interesting to note that by the Government of India Act of 1919, education in general became the responsibility of an Indian Minister answerable to the Legislature composed of Indians and Europeans. However, European education was a provincial reserved subject under the control of a member of the Executive Council of

¹"Report of the years 1915-1916, 1916-1917," The Anglo-Indian Empire League, Bengal Branch, p. 1.

the Provincial Government. It was moreover governed by its own Code of Regulations for the award of grants and had its own prescribed courses distinct from those in Indian schools. This distinction, namely that European education was a "Reserved" subject under the control of a member of the Executive Council and not a "Transferred" subject (as was education in general) under a Minister responsible to the elected Legislature, was yet another source of Indian resentment.

The Heads of European schools, alarmed that their education grants might be lowered or reduced to the same level given to Indian schools, requested that European education be a "Reserved" subject under the Central government. This resolution was passed at the Annual Conference of the Association of Heads of European Schools in 1921 and again on November 1, 1923, a deputation of delegates of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Associations presented the Secretary of State for India with a memorandum. One of its main requests was the safeguarding of European education by the Central government:

It is prayed that European education be made a central reserved subject, at least experimentally for a certain number of years, and that His Majesty's government order that the integrity of European schools shall be preserved by securing to them in perpetuity a large preponderance of European and Anglo-Indian children.¹

Expenditure on the higher costs of European education as compared with that spent on Indian education, made the former a

¹Govt. of India (Establishment), F 121 of 1924 and K.W., Enclo. 1, p. 4, NAI.

common target of attack by Indian members in the Legislative Assembly. Moreover, Indian members of the Education Council advocated reduction of grants to European schools on grounds that since Europeans did not materially contribute to provincial funds, but to funds of the Central government, they should therefore derive their school grants from the latter government.¹ The following tables show the cost of education in the European and Anglo-Indian schools:

TABLE II

Table showing cost of Anglo-Indian education.²

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Pupils (incl. Indians)</u>	<u>Total Expenditure</u>	<u>Cost per Pupil</u>		
			<u>Total</u>	<u>Govt. Funds</u>	<u>Fees</u>
1917	41,755	9,603,188	225	87	80
1922	46,620	13,273,226	284	103	108
1927	53,151	15,061,418	283	96	101
1932	57,948	15,539,156	268	81	103
1937	63,198	15,379,499	243	72	99

¹ Ibid.

² Statistics collected from the Quinquennial Reviews on Education, 1917-1937.

TABLE III

Table showing the sources of expenditure on Anglo-Indian Education. 1

Year	Government Funds	Board Funds	Fees	Other Sources	Total Expenditure	Percentage of Cost	
						From Public Funds	From Fees and Other Sources
1922	Rs. 4,670,968	Rs. 21,653	Rs. 4,906,770	Rs. 3,673,835	Rs. 13,273,226	35.3%	64.7%
1927	Rs. 5,098,162	Rs. 52,236	Rs. 5,394,471	Rs. 4,516,594	Rs. 15,061,418	34.2	65.8
1932	Rs. 4,718,670	Rs. 50,764	Rs. 6,243,495	Rs. 4,526,227	Rs. 15,539,156	30.7	69.3
1937	Rs. 4,565,878	Rs. 34,810	Rs. 6,282,607	Rs. 4,496,204	Rs. 15,379,499	29.9	70.1

Eleventh Quinquennial Review on Education (1932-37), Vol. I, p. 236.

Three sources provided funds which met the total expenditure on Anglo-Indian education. They were public funds (including government grants and Board funds), fees and other sources, namely subscriptions, endowments, Church and Mission funds.

An interesting fact emerges from a study of Table I and Table II. Though government contribution increased by about 39% between the years 1917 and 1933, fees increased by 61% and other sources by nearly 75%. In other words, the Community was meeting a larger proportion of the cost of its education than before.¹ From 1927 onwards the proportion of government contribution decreased while that of fees and other sources saw a corresponding increase.

The cost of European education was often contrasted with the cost of Indian education in order to prove that the former was proportionately higher and that European and Anglo-Indian schools received preferential treatment. The average annual cost of educating a pupil in an Anglo-Indian school was Rs. 243 whereas the average annual cost of an Indian student studying in a vernacular secondary school was Rs. 42.3 and Rs. 7.7 in a primary school.² Government contribution to both Indian and European education was on a ratio of 13:100—the government gave Rs. 13 for every Indian student while it contributed approximately Rs. 100 for every Anglo-Indian student.³ But in making such comparisons, essential differences should be borne in mind:

¹Reports from Commissioners, Inspectors and others (3), East India, Vol. X, Session 25, June 1929-August 1930, 10L C, Vol. 10, 1929-30.

²Eleventh Quinquennial Review on Education, p. 112.

³V. V. Oak, England's Educational Policy in India (Madras: B. G. Paul & Co., 1925), p. 107.

1) Large numbers of European and Anglo-Indian schools were boarding institutions which served the children of the scattered Anglo-Indian population throughout the length and breadth of the country. Thus the annual cost per pupil in these schools included boarding charges while the annual cost per pupil in Indian schools included only tuition. The standard of living of Anglo-Indians approximated European standards and the teachers in these schools received much higher salaries than teachers in Indian schools. This in turn led to an increase in tuition which was approximately Rs. 100 per pupil annually in an Anglo-Indian school as compared with Rs. 5 per pupil annually in an Indian school.

2) More than 5/6 of the total number of Indian pupils were in primary classes, more than half of these being Class I. Moreover, most Indian primary schools gave free education. The proportion of free pupils in European and Anglo-Indian schools was much smaller, and a much higher proportion of students in these schools were in the middle and high schools—a fact which raised the average cost considerably.

3) As already stated, large sums of money for Anglo-Indian education was derived from other sources of which government contribution and public funds made up 35% as compared with 65% given for all other classes of education.

Thus it can be seen that though European and Anglo-Indian education was more expensive than Indian education, it was also true that it

received more financial support from private sources in some form or another.¹

Despite the many strong arguments advocating that Anglo-Indian education become a Central Reserved subject, the government did not accede to this request. The Council of the European Association had urged that the centralization of European education would lead to economy, uniformity in education, increased efficiency, improved inspection and the adequate safeguarding of the reasonable requirements of European education in India.²

The government, on the other hand, wisely concluded that the control of European and Anglo-Indian education by the central government would still further isolate the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled Community from other communities of India, at a time when the former were claiming that they were being denied the benefits of Indianization. This apparent contradiction of claims, namely the request for special treatment of European education, on the one hand, and the right of the privileges of Indianization, on the other, did not do the Community much good. Indian leaders, like N. C. Kelkar, often lashed out scathingly at requests made by Gidney on behalf of his Community's 'special interests.' Speaking in the Legislative Assembly on February 25, 1930, Kelkar accused Gidney of "running with the hare and hunting with the hounds"—

His community is a kind of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, with two faces, one towards the

¹Reports from Commissioners, Inspectors and others, pp. 234-35.

²Ibid., p. 237.

Indian, the other towards the European. . . .
 He is an Indian when there is a policy of
 Indianization. He is included among the
 Indians in filling the 75% of posts reserved
 for Indians. . . . But when it is a question
 of reaping the special educational facilities
 through schools reserved for Europeans,
 then he is an European and not an Indian.¹

An Indian Statutory Commission presided over by Sir Philip Hartog in 1929 recommended that European and Anglo-Indian education should remain under provincial control on grounds that:

a) there was no basis for supposing that the Central Legislature would be more liberal than the Provincial Legislatures which were in closer touch with the schools in their province and would take a natural pride in the welfare of these schools;

b) if European and Anglo-Indian education came under the jurisdiction of the Government of India, the Community would be deprived of the existing facilities for higher, professional and technical education provided by the provinces.²

The Hartog Commission, however, paid tribute to the work and accomplishments of European and Anglo-Indian schools, many of which were Mission schools:

These institutions were not only content to impart good education; they also sought to give moral and religious training, which,

¹India. The Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. II, 25th Feb., 1930, p. 1072. (Hereafter cited as India, The Legislative Assembly Debates.)

²Indian Statutory Commission, Interim Report of the Indian Statutory Commission (Review of growth of education in British India by the Auxiliary Committee appointed by the Commission), Sept. 1929, Chapter XI, p. 238, Cmd. 3407.

though at times influenced by a spirit of proselytism, yet preserved Indian education from being divorced from the ethical and spiritual aspects of life.¹

The Mission schools did a great deal of useful, educational, social and philanthropic work among the depressed classes, outcasts, aborigines and hill tribes. Most of their schools, such as Serampore College, St. Paul's and St. Xavier's College in Bengal, the Christian Colleges in Madras City, St. Joseph's College in Trichinopoly, the Wilson and St. Xavier's Colleges in Bombay and St. Stephen's in Delhi, had high traditions and excellent standards.²

TABLE IV

Educational institutions maintained by Christian missions.³

<u>Provinces</u>	<u>Colleges</u>	<u>Secondary Schools</u>	<u>Primary Schools</u>	<u>Special Schools</u>	<u>Total</u>
Madras	20	193	7,718	89	8,020
Bombay		No information.			
Bengal	9	73	642	136	860
United Provinces	13	100	144	21	278
Punjab		No information.			
Burma		No information.			
Bihar and Orissa	1	52	857	32	942
Central Provinces	1	65	178	4	248
Assam	-	19	667	4	690

¹Ibid., p. 246.²Ibid., p. 248.³Ibid.

At the same time the Commission pointed out the deficiencies in the European system and the great need for a closer alliance with the Indian school system. For one, the admission of Indian pupils to Anglo-Indian schools was restricted to a maximum of 15% by the European Schools Code of 1905. However, this restriction was relaxed in most provinces and gradually increased to 25%. In Burma there was no restriction at all. There were mixed feelings with regard to this relaxation on the part of many leaders of the Community. While the Heads of Anglo-Indian schools favoured an open-door policy of admission of Indian students, many expressed the fear that this could not be done "without sacrificing the Christian character and British tone of the schools . . . thus defeating the fundamental objects for which they exist."¹

The following table shows that the proportion of Indian students doubled in the 15 years between 1922 and 1937:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Enrolment</u>	<u>Number of Indian Pupils</u>	<u>Percentage of Indian Pupils</u>
1922	46, 620	4, 834	11. 5
1927	53, 151	9, 599	18. 0
1932	57, 948	13, 055	22. 5
1937	63, 198	17, 189	27. 2 ²

¹Memorandum submitted on behalf of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Community of India for the consideration of the Chairman and Members of the Indian Statutory Commission, The Anglo-Indian Review, Vol. XVIII, No. 7, July 1928, p. 38.

²Statistics collected from the Quinquennial Reviews on Education from 1922-1937.

It must be admitted, however, that this policy of the Anglo-Indian schools was a major factor in isolating their school system from the educational interests of the country. Moreover, as the Hartog Commission stated,

... any educational system which trains large numbers of pupils of several communities in segregated schools and colleges may accentuate racial and communal differences and prove an obstacle to the attainment of unity, and many will feel that the aim should rather be to break down barriers that exist between classes and communities by bringing together as many pupils as possible into common or mixed schools and colleges in which they can live and work side by side.¹

The second factor causing much controversy was the advisability of retaining the Cambridge University School Certificate Examination as the School-leaving Examination in most Anglo-Indian schools. Advocates of the Cambridge examination contended that it was important to maintain a uniform standard of education in Anglo-Indian schools, especially as Anglo-Indians were an All-India community. In the absence of any existing common school-leaving examination and owing to differences in the standard of the Matriculation and High School examinations in many provinces, the Inter-Provincial Board for Anglo-Indian and European Education felt compelled to retain the Cambridge University School Certificate Examinations.

¹Indian Statutory Commission, Interim Report, p. 240, Cmd. 3407.

There were some obvious advantages in favour of these examinations as they demanded a uniform and high standard of education and were recognized throughout the world. Moreover, students with a Cambridge School Certificate gained admission to universities in the United Kingdom without having to appear for any pre-university examination. This privilege was not given to Matriculate students of Indian universities.

Despite its many advantages, the Cambridge School Certificate Examination was considered unsuitable for the Indian school system. It was considered

... an alien system of examination ... out of touch with the schools and with the lives and experience of the children and ... most misleading when they dominate the work of the lower classes. ... The Indian high schools, intermediate colleges and universities provide a continuous educational course, the stages of which are marked by the High Schools, the Intermediate and University degree examinations. ... Satisfactory though the Cambridge examinations may be for a boy leaving school and directly entering on a business or profession, the stages marked by them hardly coincide with any definite stage of the full Indian educational course and it is difficult ... to render them suitable as entrance examinations to the courses of study provided in Indian universities.¹

Nevertheless, despite these objections, most Anglo-Indian schools continued to retain the Cambridge School Certificate Examination, especially as most of the Directors of Public Instruction,

¹ Ibid., p. 241.

Inspectors and senior teachers were imported from England at much higher salaries than those recruited in India. In fact, few Anglo-Indians were given control over their own schools and few ever rose to positions of authority. This was due primarily to three main factors. First of all the bureaucracy of the educational department was mainly British—the plea being that men with requisite qualifications were not available in India. Secondly, the heads of denominational schools usually belonged to religious bodies and were directed from their headquarters in England or in Rome. Thirdly, the low salaries and unemployment prospects did not attract many Anglo-Indians (especially the men) to the teaching profession. The result was that the control of education and educational policy was in the hands of Englishmen who did not identify with the Community and deprived the latter of the leadership that was so vital to their future survival. This policy of the government was severely criticized by leaders of the Community like Gidney but the government showed little interest in the matter. Speaking in the Legislative Assembly on February 16, 1932, Gidney had this to say:

As far as European education is concerned, I can say that the Government of India exercises very little or no control or interest in this matter. . . . In my opinion the present system of European education as it is taught in our European schools is completely out of step with the rapidly changing India and our own economic needs. I refer to the Senior Cambridge system of examinations imported into European schools and enforced on the Anglo-Indian community at a prohibitive cost and encourages an alienation of the community

from Indian universities and other Indian communities. . . . The result is that European education in this country for our boys and girls is a most expensive item and what is more our own educationists are denied, except in subordinate positions, the inherent right possessed of all communities, that is the right to shape and train its own youth. The entire community resents this denial of its rights and demands it from the Government of India.¹

In fact Gidney went so far as to say that this system of education had been so designed that it constituted nothing more than "a stepping-stone or an incubator for subordinate Government service."²

The whole matter of Anglo-Indian education was taken up at the third session of the Round Table Conference when a special sub-committee, chaired by Lord Irwin, reviewed the entire system of European and Anglo-Indian schools. The recommendations of the Irwin Committee will be dealt with in detail in a later chapter. The most important result of the Irwin Committee was the recognition of the special needs and circumstances of the Anglo-Indian community and the necessity of maintaining a proper and adequate standard of their education. The financial stability, so vital to Anglo-Indian education, was also ensured because the Irwin Committee recommended that the special grants to the Anglo-Indian schools should be provided by statute in the Government of India Act of 1935.

Thus Anglo-Indian education received statutory protection by the Government of India Act of 1935 which gave the Anglo-Indians

¹India. The Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. II, 25th Feb., 1930, p. 858.

²*Ibid.*, p. 859.

time to adjust themselves to changing political conditions and an opportunity to improve their educational standards.

Despite the various loopholes and disadvantages of a separate system of education in India for the Community, it may be observed that it was through the retention of their schools that Anglo-Indians have preserved their own distinct sub-culture and exist today as one of the many minority groups in independent India.

Today Anglo-Indian schools are some of the finest in the country, contributing greatly to the enrichment of the educational and cultural resources of the country. Anglo-Indian schools enjoy a well-deserved reputation as

... institutions which not only produce good examination results but which mould the character and personality of their pupils and shape them into mature, well-balanced young men and women and worthy citizens of free India.¹

¹Cited in Desouza, p. 257.

CHAPTER -III

ORGANIZATION AND LEADERSHIP

In the preceding chapter we have seen that education was of vital importance for the moral and material welfare of the Community as a whole. Anglo-Indians were not only developing and improving their educational qualifications but in so doing were being drawn together by common education, common aspirations and common loyalties. In other words group consciousness was becoming more evident and by 1909, Anglo-Indians were beginning to coalesce around local organizations or associations and looking to their leaders for some sort of direction in their communal lives.

This was all the more important as Indians throughout the country were making rapid strides in political mobilization through various organizations and interest groups. On the local front, Indian involvement and participation in civic government and administration had received an impetus under the administration of Ripon. At the same time Indian nationalism was gaining momentum under the direction and leadership of the Indian National Congress established in 1885.

Muslims on the other hand, finding themselves outstripped by Hindus in education as well as in government positions (especially in provinces where they were numerically outnumbered) preferred to form their own political organizations. As early as 1882, the National Mohammedan Association had presented the government with a memorial

in which Muslims demanded among other concessions, patronage in matters of employment.¹ This demand for preferential treatment of Muslims had been tacitly encouraged by the government towards the close of the nineteenth century due largely to a study made by W.W. Hunter in 1872 on the causes of Muslim discontent (particularly in Bengal).² While analysing the causes for the general backwardness of the Muslim population, Hunter maintained that Government was largely to blame for the Muslim decline and he made a "thinly disguised plea for official favouritism to Muslims in the matter of civil employment and for combining Muslim religious instruction with western education and to make the latter more attractive to them."³ That Government responded favourably to this suggestion can be seen from the following resolution issued in July 1885 to local governments:

The Governor-General-in-Council desires that in those provinces where Mohammedans do not receive their full share of State employment, the Local Government and High Courts will endeavour to redress this inequality as opportunity offers, and will impress upon their subordinate officers the importance of attending to this in their selection of candidates for appointments of the class referred to. . . .⁴

¹Seal, The Emergence of Indian Nationalism, p. 312.

² Mehrotra, pp. 253-254.

³Ibid., p. 254.

⁴Cited in S.R. Mehrotra, Resolution of Govt. of India, 15 July, 1885, Selections from the Records of the Govt. of India, Home Dept., No. CCV, p. 389.

In other words the government had encouraged in principle the idea of special safeguards of minorities as in the case of the Muslims to whom they gave special consideration. By 1906, the Muslim League was formed and the Muslim demands for special consideration became more adamant.

A general review of the years 1905-10 indicates that it was a period of great political unrest and insecurity in India. Feelings ran high as disappointment and disillusionment crept into the ranks of the Indian National Congress. The old guard or moderates headed by men like G. K. Gokhale and W. C. Bannerjee had a great respect for the British constitution and British democracy as being the best safeguard for civil liberties and freedom of men. Under their leadership, the Congress party had been pressing for change of government policy and for a greater share of Indians in the governing of their country:

It demanded a larger share in public services for the Indians, advanced its right to voice the many grievances on behalf of the people, and emphasized increasingly progressive political ideas such as popular elections, elected legislatures, unrestricted press, liberal and equitable taxation, representation of Indians in the executive councils of central and provincial governments, and even direct representation in the British Parliament.¹

All this was advocated by policies of constitutional agitation. However, the influence of the moderates was soon to be challenged

¹M. N. Das, India Under Morley and Minto (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1964), p. 88.

by a more radical party of young extremists who called themselves the 'New Party,' so as to distinguish themselves from the old organization. They denounced the moderates for following a policy of 'mendicancy' with the government. They were not satisfied by the demands by the moderates for isolated reforms or the removal of particular grievances. What they wanted was radical change in the system of government itself—a substitution of an autocratic bureaucracy by a free and democratic system of government unfettered by foreign control. The extremists under the leadership of dynamic and forceful personalities like Aurobindo Ghose, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Bepin Chandra Pal, emphasized mass appeal and direct action.

In 1905, communal tension between Muslims and Hindus reached a straining point as a result of the partition of Bengal by Curzon. Its subsequent reversal only exacerbated the situation as Muslims felt betrayed by the British. Hindus regarded the partition as an attempt on the part of the British to set Muslim against Hindu—another scheme of their 'Divide and Rule' policy. The partition appeared to be made on communal lines as Muslims predominated in East Bengal and Hindus in West Bengal.¹ Hindu agitation over partition identified itself with the swadeshi² movement directed towards the keeping up of anti-

¹See Richard P. Cronin, British Policy and Administration in Bengal (1905-1912: partition and the new province of E. Bengal and Assam, 1st ed. (Calcutta: Firma KLM, 1977).

²Swadeshi, lit., "of one's own country," means the encouragement of Indian trade and industry. It was usually associated with the boycott of British and other foreign goods.

British and anti-government feeling. At these meetings speakers would elaborate on "the evils of British rule, the necessity for unity and patriotism, and the boycott of English and other foreign goods."¹

John Morley was Secretary of State and Lord Minto was Viceroy when the first wave of political unrest swept through India. Though the two men did not see eye to eye on all policies, they had agreed that conciliation, not repression, was the right policy for the government to follow. However, the reforms that they were to introduce in 1909 were never intended to be a prelude to any form of self-government nor even Representative Government. Their aim was to introduce a scheme of administrative improvement designed to win over the loyal and moderate elements in India. The reforms were intended to form an effective bridge between the Government of India and the educated natives.²

The reforms of 1909 granted separate electorates to minorities for the first time. This system of communal representation was very disappointing to that growing breed of nationalists—the Indian Congress party, as in their view it was nothing short of a tacit encouragement, by the government, of communalism which ran counter to the interests of nationalism. The government, on the other hand, claimed that it had to protect the interests of the minorities in a country whose people were already divided by race, caste and religion.

¹Das, p. 43.

²S. R. Mehrotra, India and the Commonwealth 1885-1929 (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1965), p. 48.

In the light of these developments, therefore, it was imperative that all minority groups, including the Anglo-Indian Community, strengthen their organizations from within so as to present a strong block of solidarity and a common platform of grievances which would be voiced by their representatives on the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils.

It is necessary to examine the position first of all in terms of population of the Community at this time. Anglo-Indians essentially employed in the Public Services were scattered all over the country. There was, however, a large concentration of Anglo-Indians in the big cities and provinces. They were most numerous in Madras (26,209) and Bengal (20,893); next came Burma (8,449) and Bombay (6,899). Mysore and the United Provinces had between 5,000 and 6,000 each.¹

The Census Report of the United Provinces for the year 1911 showed a sudden rise in numbers of Anglo-Indians living in that province. This increase was a significant fact especially as the last decade of the nineteenth century had shown a marked decline in Anglo-Indian population.

TABLE V

Statistics of Anglo-Indians²

<u>Province, State or Agency</u>	<u>1901</u>	<u>1911</u>
India	87,050	100,451
Bengal	18,050	19,838
Bombay	6,689	9,175
United Provinces	5,230	8,094

¹Imperial Gazetteer of India, The Indian Empire, Vol. I, G RR (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1907), p. 477.

²Source: India Census, 1911, Vol. I, Chapter IV - Religion, Subsidiary Table VI (Calcutta, 1913), p. 146.

This apparent contradiction in figures, namely a steady decline followed by a sudden increase in population as illustrated by the above statistics, can be attributed to the fact that Anglo-Indians disliked the term "Eurasian" (a term by which they were then known) and declared themselves as "European." On the other hand, many Indian Christians classified themselves as Anglo-Indians. The numbers seem to rise significantly in 1911, the year in which the nomenclature "Anglo-Indian" received official acceptance. There can be no doubt this acceptance made a considerable difference to the accuracy of the census figures.

Organizations Within the Community—the Anglo-Indian Associations

There were at least three important Anglo-Indian organizations by the time the Morley-Minto reforms were formulated. They were the Anglo-Indian Empire League with its headquarters at Allahabad; the Domiciled European and Anglo-Indian Association of Bengal with its centre at Calcutta, and the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association of South India with its base in Madras.

The Anglo-Indian Empire League, founded in 1908, had steadily and gradually attained ascendancy over the other associations and had several branches in various parts of the country. However, despite its growing influence, internal rivalries and bickering among the leaders stood in the way of unification of the existing associations. The necessity for a single organization representing and speaking for all Anglo-Indians were especially important in view of the recent political concessions granted through separate electorates. For the

first time, Anglo-Indians could be represented by their own members in the Central and Provincial Councils. Organization and leadership within the associations were critical factors if the Community was to benefit from these and future reforms. In fact this feeling of apprehension was present among Anglo-Indians themselves as an excerpt from The Eurasian—a journal of the Domiciled European and Anglo-Indian Association of Bengal—seems to indicate:

If there is one thing more certain than any other it is that the Government will give us nothing unless we ask for it with persistent importunity. The time for the exercise of this essential political weapon is slipping past us. Are we to remain supine and apathetic to the end, and justify the charge of inefficiency so often hurled at us? Is there no Eurasian or European in India bold enough and inspired enough to preach a crusade for the reconquest of our sacred places? ¹

From this one can conclude that there was a desperate need both for a strong and effective leadership as well as for a single unified body representing the entire Anglo-Indian Community. In fact Charles Palmer, the founder of the League, had intended to make his organization representative of and spokesman for Anglo-Indians throughout the country:

It was his intention as he gained an increasing number of adherents to the new point of view to establish provincial and district branches of the League which would work in the consciousness that they were part of a larger body. ²

¹The Eurasian, Aug. 22, 1908, p. 175, IOL SW 197.

²Kenneth E. Wallace, Life of Sir Henry Gidney (Calcutta: A. Mukherjee & Co., 1947), p. 37.

This was no easy task, for even at this early stage the Anglo-Indian Associations already in existence were strictly provincial in outlook and activities and their leaders allowed petty jealousies to come in the way of unified action. However, several attempts had been made by some of the Associations to formulate a consistent programme which would lead to an eventual merger of the different Associations. Thus, on December 13, 1916, a Joint Committee was formed in Calcutta by the Anglo-Indian Empire League at which the President-in-Chief of the League, J. H. Abbott, presided. The following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

- i) That the Anglo-Indian Community is being injured by the existence of more than one organization claiming to represent its interest;
- ii) That this joint meeting is unanimously of opinion that an amalgamation of the League and all its Branches in India and Burma and the Associations in India is desirable in the best interests of the Community.¹

Three days later, on December 20, 1916, the President of the Bengal Branch, T. G. Cuyper presided over another meeting which elaborated further on the amalgamation scheme. They concluded that

- i) The name of the reconstructed organization would be—The United Anglo-Indian Association.
- ii) That all Provincial Branches of the body formed by the amalgamation of the League and Associations, should have autonomy in all matters relating to their own provincial areas and in local finance, boundaries of provinces to be determined later.

¹The Anglo-Indian Empire League, Bengal Branch, Report of the years 1915-1916, 1916-1917, p. 3, IOL P/T 2170.

- iii) That the financial contribution to be made by each Branch to the funds of the central organization be not less than 25% and not more than 40% of its collected annual subscriptions.¹

The Anglo-Indian Association of Calcutta also sent its representative, Captain W.J. Clifford, to attend the meeting. From this it was obvious that both the League as well as the Anglo-Indian Associations were seriously working on a set of draft rules suitable for the working of a new amalgamated organization. However, despite these attempts and efforts by individual leaders to obtain this objective, the matter in 1918 was still unresolved. The Anglo-Indian Empire League had more than 150 branches in various centres of India and a membership of over 6,000 but it functioned independently of the other Associations.²

At this point it is necessary to examine the kind of leadership that had evolved in order to better understand the internal politics which had so far eluded amalgamation. The League, we have seen, was clearly the dominating association but power was concentrated in the Allahabad branch (the headquarters of the League) which was a forceful and militant organization. Abbott, who was President-in-Chief of the League, had also been the Anglo-Indian representative in the Imperial Legislative Council since 1913. As such he exerted

¹Ibid., p. 4.

²Letter No. 407, M2, Rangoon, 22nd Aug., 1918, Govt. of India, Home Dept. (Public), Proceedings, 371-79, May 1919, NAI.

considerable influence over the League and together with C.T. Robbie, a chemist who was the Honorary Secretary, and a printer named Liddell held the reins of power. Perhaps it was the reluctance of leaders like Abbott to surrender their authority to an amalgamated body that impeded the all-important task of unification. Abbott, who had presided at an earlier meeting (1916) to work on this issue, now favoured federation rather than amalgamation and to that effect set up a Federal Council known as the Domiciled European and Anglo-Indian Federation at Allahabad.¹ A.D. Pickford, a prominent English businessman in Calcutta, attributed this persistent disunity to the personal ambition and selfish interests of Abbott and his cohorts.

These people see the possibility of the power which they had hitherto wielded passing out of their hands by reason of the fact that no independent body is likely to look at a place like Allahabad for leadership. . . . I feel no hesitation in imputing hostile motives to the folk up-country. . . . I attended what was supposed to be an All-India Meeting at which . . . the intention was quite clear to pass resolutions negating the principle of provincial autonomy accepted in December.²

Rivalry among the leaders was the main impediment as all the organizations had one aim in common, namely the social, moral and intellectual advancement of the Community, it should have been otherwise possible for some form of cooperation to be worked out.

The idea of amalgamation which became a thorny issue in later years

¹Ibid., Notes, p. 3.

²Ibid., A.D. Pickford to Sir William Vincent (Home Member, Govt. of India) demi-official, Calcutta, 26 June, 1919, p. 14, NAI.

had been an aspiration of the League founders at the start.

Besides disunity within the ranks of the leaders, there was another fundamental problem which impeded the growth and development of the Associations in general. This was the attitude of Government towards the Anglo-Indian Associations. According to Rule 21 of the Government Servants' Conduct rule, government employees were forbidden to join associations of a political nature. As all the Anglo-Indian Associations had been established for the social, moral and material welfare of the Community at large, this rule should not have posed any problem. But this was not the case. Provincial governments differed in their views regarding the activities of the Associations. They also differed in their definition of what constituted a "political nature." The material welfare of the members of the Community was often a question of job protection which frequently necessitated representations on behalf of individuals. If this action was interpreted as 'political interests,' then the local government was also likely to view the activities of the Association as 'political' not 'social.' This was the case of the Anglo-Indian Empire League (U. P.) whose activities were regarded as political while its sister body in Bengal was treated as a social organization. In fact, the Home Department, in a letter dated 12th August, 1910, permitted government servants to join the Anglo-Indian Association (Calcutta) on the understanding that if the Association actively engaged in any political movement, government employees would refrain from participating in it. However, when J. H. Abbott, as President of the Allahabad

branch of the Anglo-Indian Empire League tried to obtain the same concession for the League in 1913 he was informed

... since the objects and activities of the League unlike those of the various provincial Anglo-Indian Associations were largely political, the Government of India were unable to authorize their servants joining the League consistently with the provisions of the rule in question.¹

In August 1914, Abbott furnished the Government of India with a copy of its rules and again pressed for some declaration regarding the position of Government servants in relation to it. As a consequence all local governments were sent a circular, dated October 6, 1914, from the Home Department. The objects of the League were stated to be "... inter alia, the promotion of the social, moral and intellectual advancement of the domiciled ... communities ... and the protection of their common interests." The Home Department ruled that

... so long as the activities of the League were confined to social or material advancement of the domiciled community it was doubtful if there was any harm in a Government servant belonging to the League and taking an interest in its work. If, however, the League embarked on political agitation e.g. for its electoral representation on Legislative Councils, or for or against measures advocated by Government or by members of other communities, then the Association of Government servants with the League would at once become objectionable. It would be for provincial governments to decide whether the League as

¹Ibid., Notes, p. 1. See Public A, Aug. 1913, nos. 64-67.

a whole in their province or any branch of it was infringing this condition and to take any action that was called for.¹

The inconsistency between the orders of 1910 and 1914 led to some difference in the action of local governments in this matter. Some followed the orders of 1910 and others applied those of 1914. The United Provinces Government followed the latter orders and in letters covering the years 1917-18, it informed the League that

... inasmuch as its President took part with the Presidents of Representatives of other Associations in a Deputation and Memorial to the Secretary of State which Memorial dealt with political reforms the United Provinces Association might therefore be said to have embarked on a political campaign and that henceforth Government servants must cease to be members.²

From the standpoint of those trying to organize Anglo-Indians it was imperative that the government make one ruling to apply to all Associations. The existence of two contradictory rulings on the same question was both unfair and disadvantageous to the welfare of the Community. It was especially important that the Government of India make an authoritative declaration on the subject as there was a movement towards amalgamation by the various associations. Government attitude towards the Associations had a direct bearing on their membership. Any effort to press for the political claims of the Community could be considered a political movement. Thus Anglo-

¹Ibid., No. 420 - C, pp. 1-2, NAI.

²Ibid., Proceedings, No. 375, p. 5, NAI.

Indians, largely employed in the Public Services and therefore "Government servants," were hesitant to join the Associations for fear of repercussions. These factors were most damaging as they cut off the very source of natural leadership as men with potential abilities were most likely in Government employment.

The Leadership Struggle—A New Dimension

In 1919, the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were passed and with them the government introduced a new scheme of Indianization of the Services. This was a crucial period for the Community which would now have to face severe competition with Indians for jobs, especially in the public sector. Quick and effective measures would have to be taken by the Associations to ensure that Government protect the economic rights of the Community. What the latter required, therefore, was obviously a more competent and enlightened leadership which would be able to unify the Associations and represent the claims of Anglo-Indians throughout the country.

Until now Abbott's position as President-in-Chief of the Anglo-Indian Empire League had remained unchallenged. He was in no way ready to relinquish his control voluntarily, but by a curious twist of circumstances his leadership was upset and he was displaced by Henry Gidney in 1919.

Gidney brought to the unexpected contest with Abbott an unusual combination of qualities that were to place him at the helm of Anglo-Indian affairs for the next 22 years.

Gidney's grandfather was an Englishman who lost his life in active service in India during the siege of Lucknow (1857). His father came out to India in the Royal Navy and then obtained employment in the Great Peninsular Railway. Settled in the small town of Igatpuri (85 miles east of Bombay in the Western Ghats), he married a lady of mixed Spanish and Eurasian descent who bore him three children.

Henry (b. in 1873) was the youngest and a very spirited and fun-loving lad. However, despite his hot-headedness and flair for trouble, Henry turned out an excellent student, matriculating at the unusually early age of 13 1/2 years. He was barely 16 when he appeared for and stood first in the entrance examination to the Indian Medical Department (I.M.D.), a subordinate service attached to the British Army and open only to Anglo-Indians. Gidney then went on to pursue a medical career and in a few years earned a reputation as one of the finest ophthalmic surgeons in the country. Gidney's ambition however, did not allow him to stop here. He was, in the words of Frank Anthony, fired by an "irresistible ambition" to join the Indian Medical Service which was largely the preserve of British surgeons and medical men.¹ In order to join this service Gidney knew he would have to appear for competitive examinations in England. Accordingly, Gidney proceeded to England where, despite financial difficulty, he successfully passed the London Entrance and the I.M.S.

¹Anthony, Britain's Betrayal in India, p. 88.

examinations. He returned to India in 1898 as an officer of the I. M. S., thereby fulfilling not only his ambition but his need for self-determination and decision-making—characteristics that were to stand him in good stead in the years ahead. Within the next few years Gidney's skill as an ophthalmic surgeon won wide acclaim— at the same time he continued with further medical studies. By 1910 he had risen to the rank of Brevet Major and had added a string of degrees to his name—F. R. C. S. (Ed.), D. P. H. (Cantab.), L. R. C. P., M. R. C. P. (E) and D. O. (Oxon.). In 1911, he became the youngest man to be elected Fellow of the Royal Society (Eng.). Despite all these honours, Gidney faced repeated injustices of discrimination of race and colour. Often he was not given recognition for a deed of valour or skill because he was an Eurasian. This was ironic because Henry's father was an Englishman but he inherited a dark complexion from his mother which was not an asset in those days of prejudice. Henry's uncle, Frank Gidney, was Governor of the Isle of Man during the war of 1914-18 and many doors open to his son, Capt. Frank Gidney (Henry's first cousin) were closed to Henry for all his ability. Finally, fed up with this discriminatory treatment, Gidney resigned from Medical service at the end of the war, having attained the rank of Lieutenant-colonel. After retiring from the I. M. S., Gidney set up a lucrative private practice in Bombay where, in addition to his professional duties, he took to civic work, gaining his first experience of such work in the Municipal Corporation of Bombay. He was made

a Justice of the Peace by the Governor of Bombay in 1919.¹

Gidney also became involved almost immediately with Anglo-Indian organizations. In 1918 he joined the Anglo-Indian Empire League and later that same year was elected President of the Bombay branch. In the following year he was, in addition to President (Bombay) the Senior Vice-President of the Central Council. It was in both these capacities that he attended the Annual General Meeting of the League at Allahabad in 1919. It was then that he became aware that the rules for electing a president were being completely ignored. In other words, it had become an acceptable fact that Abbott would remain the undisputed President of the League and hence it was not necessary to hold elections for the position. Up to this point, it is said that ~~Gidney~~ had never entertained the idea of running for President but the highhanded conduct of the Central Council under Abbott was enough to provoke his wrath.²

Gidney demanded an immediate election for President and offered himself then and there as a candidate. The result was a tie, but the Chairman of the Council gave his casting vote in favour of ~~Gidney~~ who immediately occupied the President's Chair. The outcome of this was a bitter vendetta waged against ~~Gidney~~ by Abbott. ~~Gidney~~ on the other hand, whether out of personal ambition or love of challenge, carried his opposition to Abbott even further. This

¹Wallace, p. 32.

²Ibid., p. 38.

time it was for nomination to the Legislative Assembly where one seat was reserved for the Community under the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms of 1919. The two contestants for the seat were once again Gidney and the incumbent, Abbott. Abbott's strength lay mainly in Jhansi where he busied himself getting supporters to sign petitions compiled into books for his nomination. Gidney, however, employed a different strategy. He made a whirlwind tour of India visiting all the local branches and making his name and presence familiar to Anglo-Indian leaders throughout the country. It seems that leaders of other associations saw the Abbott versus Gidney rivalry as a good opportunity for breaking the monopolistic control of Abbott. In fact, Gidney was so sure of winning that he stood for election and won in Jhansi, Abbott's stronghold and place of residence for the last 40 years. Ironically enough, Gidney himself held both positions securely, if not unchallenged, for the next twenty years till his death in May 1942.

In the ensuing years after his election to the Assembly, Gidney devoted his time to revamping the leadership and organization of the Community. Gidney moved to Calcutta, which became his headquarters. In 1925, he replaced J.W. Chippendale as President of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association of Calcutta when the latter resigned to accept a judgeship in the Calcutta Small Cause Court.¹

¹"Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association Bengal," Summary of Annual Report for 1925, The Anglo-Indian Review, Vol. VII, No. 4, July 1926, p. 17.

It was a subtle move on Gidney's part to gain control of the Calcutta organization. He subsequently dissolved his own organization, formerly the Anglo-Indian Empire League, of which he was President-in-Chief, and converted the Bengal Association into the All-India body. This action by Gidney was rather questionable considering that he was still President-in-Chief. Wallace explains it this way: "Gidney believed that all that is lawful may not be expedient."¹ He added further that Gidney had taken this course because it was more economical and legally more convenient. Besides Gidney could capitalize on the well-established traditions of the old Bengal Association, formed in 1876 and inseparably linked with the names of pioneer Anglo-Indian leaders like Chambers, Wallace, Madge and Stark.²

No sooner had Gidney's feud with Abbott abated than he faced another challenge to his new position. Herbert Alick Stark, a prominent educationist, and Harry Barton, General Secretary to the Indian Telegraph Association, both powerful men in the community, spearheaded a bitter and vicious campaign against Gidney. Ostensibly, the dispute centred on the type of organization that should be adopted—was it to be a federation as proposed by Barton and Stark or amalgamation, which was favoured by Gidney. Actually there was little difference between the two as supporters of both agreed in principle to the formation of one Central Council to voice the needs of the Community throughout India.

¹Wallace, p. 40.

²Ibid.

The dispute really centred around autonomy. The "federation" supporters wanted to retain complete freedom in all matters pertaining to their local branches. They agreed to send financial contributions for the maintenance of the Central Council in proportion to the membership of each branch. The "amalgamation" policy, on the other hand, insisted on complete executive control over the local branch councils. This control would be invested in a Council of eight permanent residents in Calcutta, the proposed headquarters of the amalgamated body. Forty per cent of the total receipts of each branch, regardless of membership size, would be sent for the maintenance of the Central Council which would initiate policy and be the single body speaking for the Anglo-Indian Community.¹

It appears, however, that personal animosities and jealousies were mainly responsible for this bitter dispute among the leaders. Both Stark and Barton had their own personal grievances against Gidney which stemmed from earlier events.

Stark prided himself on his reputation as an educationist. He was a member of the Education Department and the first Anglo-Indian to rise to the position of an Inspector of European schools. His views on educational matters were greatly respected and despite his rivalry with Gidney, Stark was actively involved in all educational matters connected with the Community. In fact his views had a bearing on the Irwin Committee's Report on Anglo-Indian education

¹Proceedings of Round Table Conference held at The Town Hall, Calcutta on the 9th April, 1926, The Anglo-Indian Review, Vol. VI, No. 3, June 1926, pp. i-ix.

in 1932 (see Chapter V, pp. 277-286 for details). Stark was also closely associated with the Anglican Church which often exercised a voice in government circles. In 1923 he led a deputation to England on behalf of the Anglo-Indian Community. Although his memorandum was accepted by the Secretary of State for India (Lord Peel), Stark's request for a personal interview was denied. Shortly after, there was a change in government and the Anglo-Indian memorandum did not receive the consideration and attention the leaders had anticipated. Stark was definitely a disappointed man and when Gidney decided to lead another deputation in 1925, Stark took it as a personal affront to his own efforts. Moreover, Stark saw himself as Gidney's patron as he had been instrumental in establishing Gidney in Calcutta and thus resented the latter's rapid ascendancy to power in a city which had long been his own political stronghold.

Stark himself never ran for the All-India leadership of the Community yet he bitterly resented Gidney's forceful and dynamic personality which tended to diminish his own image. Besides his involvement in Community affairs, long before Gidney arrived on the scene, Stark credited himself as being the founder and first President of the Anglo-Indian Association in London in 1923—although Gidney also claimed the same achievement.

This London Association was independent of the Anglo-Indian Associations in India though it kept in touch with them. It had among its members Presidents of the various associations in India and Burma and honorary members, many of whom were former British officials

and statesmen in India.

One of its functions was to act as liaison between the Anglo-Indian associations in India and British friends of the Community, both in and out of Parliament.¹ The London Association provided valuable financial assistance to the Anglo-Indian schools in India as well as help in obtaining facilities for higher education in England (see Appendix III-A). The following tribute was paid to the London Association by an old friend of the Community and headmaster of La Martinière College, Calcutta:

It has done and is doing excellent work. It is able to look at Anglo-Indian questions particularly and without being unduly affected by sentiment, and escapes the danger of not being able to see the wood for the trees.²

The London Association was testimony to the foresight and wisdom of men like Stark and Gidney. It was therefore most unfortunate that personal feelings at times clouded their vision causing them to lash out at each other at every opportunity.

Stark used the journal, The Anglo-Indian Citizen, of which he was editor, to satirize, criticize and oftentimes ridicule Gidney. The following verse in The Anglo-Indian Citizen speaks for itself:

Dining Hal

Hal's going to London—
Give him a dinner!
On deputation
Give him a dinner!
Hal's back from London—
Give him a dinner!
His deputation—??
Give him a dinner!³

¹ Arden Wood; "The Problem of the Domiciled Community in India," The Anglo-Indian Citizen, Vol. VII, No. 9, Sept., p. 157.

² Ibid.

³ Cited in The Anglo-Indian Citizen, Vol. VII, No. 11, Nov., p. 185, (anonymous).

This was an obvious reference to Gidney's deputation of 1925 and to the many luncheons and dinners in his honour on his return. Stark never stopped chastising him for having incurred heavy expenses which were borne by all the Associations. Stark's deputation was at the expense of the deputees and did not cost the Association anything.¹ The difference, however, was that Gidney drummed up enough publicity and support (financial contributions included) for his deputation to prove to the British Parliament that he was in fact the spokesman of the whole Community. Stark's deputation was largely the work of a few individuals representing the Calcutta Anglo-Indian Association.

Stark's animosity towards Gidney literally oozed out of his writing. He referred to Gidney as the "I" specialist (Gidney was an ophthalmologist) and berated him for his constant requests for financial contributions. His bitterness and cynicism towards Gidney's accomplishments are displayed in the following poem:

HAL LOQUITUR

1925

I wish you, Sirs, to understand
 That with the Indians we must band.
 'Tis true I said at Takta Ghat,
 From British folk we ne'er should part:
 But blot that out. I've changed my mind.
 In chop and change, my strength I find.
 "Sons of India," be this our creed;
 The Englishman's a broken reed.
 I'll give him an effectual snub,
 At Calcutta's Rotary Club;

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 10, Oct., p. 168 (Editorial note).

And then to England I will go,
 And bid Lord Birkenhead to show
 Why we should have an Indian status,
 And not one that will inflate us.
 I'll beard the lion in his den,
 And terrorise him with my pen.
 With statesmen great I'll dine and sup—
 My Deputation's on—STUMP UP!"

1926

"You stumped up royally and well.
 What I did with your tin I'll tell.
 I tipped my glass with Winterton,
 I scared Sir Laming Worthington;
 I made Lord Birkenhead sit up,
 I bayed the Premier Archbishop!
 I starred it, splashed it, day by day,
 And here I'm back—your M. L. A.
 Ricketts alone with me can mate,
 Whose sacrifices were as great.
 But hold, I have a word to say,
 Your Member's costs you've got to pay.
 You've given me many a bowl and cup—
 Now, for your Member's Fund—STUMP UP!"

1928

"Lord Birkenhead has no backbone.
 For bread he's given us a stone.
 My monocle! my button-hole!
 'Tis time I played another role.
 That we are Indians let's declare,
 One common lot with them we'll share.
 But, ah! I must not fizzle out;
 (I know full well what I'm about.)
 In Simon's pie I'll put my finger—
 But not, oh, not through Indian Singa,
 I'll hitch myself to Arthur Froom,
 An Englishman, he'll give me room.
 I'll purr adroitly in his ear,
 And tell him—What?—I am not clear.
 And for this most exacting job,
 I want but 70,000 bob.
 Once more with statesmen great I'll sup—
 You've got no cash—but still, STUMP UP!"

November '28

"It doesn't matter what I say,
 Each labourer's worthy of his pay;
 'Tis true that Simon knocked me dumb,
 But that is nothing much, come, come,
 My services I won't give up
 You've got to pay, so please—STUMP UP!"¹

The dispute between Stark and Gidney sometimes took on more serious dimensions. In fact Stark often vented his spleen on Gidney by attacking him openly in the press which he did once too often without justifiable cause. In the June issue of the Anglo-Indian Citizen, 1926, Stark thought it his duty in the interests of the Community in general and Government servants in particular, to issue a warning to all those who intended to join the amalgamated body on grounds that the Association was a political organization and government servants were prohibited from joining such bodies. "Philanthropic motives" were said to be responsible for this particular move by Stark. In response Gidney sent a complete copy of a Government order, permitting its employees to join the Anglo-Indian Association, to the editor of the Englishman. Owing to lack of space only excerpts of the order appeared in the Englishman, whereupon Stark seized on the opportunity to denounce Gidney as having withheld certain parts of the Government order so as to deliberately mislead both the editor and Government servants belonging to his own community. Gidney accordingly brought a suit of defamation of character against Stark. Only Stark's retraction and a public apology kept this dispute from

¹Ibid., Vol. VII, No. 12, Dec., p. 217 (anonymous).

permanently dividing the Anglo-Indian leadership.

Perhaps it was Gidney's flamboyant personality which singled him out as a leader and his assertive nature, which his enemies called autocracy and dictatorship, that seemed to invite criticism as well as admiration. According to Wallace, who held the editorship of The Anglo-Indian Citizen for several years and was a long-time supporter of Stark, the latter was an able but somewhat disappointed man who believed that had he been a European, he would have gone much further in the educational service. He had also suffered racial discrimination from the European membership in a little mofussil club and again in London when he was asked to move from the boarding-house in which he was staying.¹

Stark found an ally in Barton, a powerful Union leader as General Secretary of the Indian Telegraph Association. Next to Railways, the Telegraph Department was the area where Anglo-Indians were most numerous employed. Instead of joining with Gidney in his fight for economic protection and job security for Anglo-Indians employed in the Public Services, Barton joined with Stark in a vitriolic attack on Gidney. Moreover, he used his position as General Secretary of the Indian Telegraph Association to keep Anglo-Indian employees away from the All-India Association on grounds that it had a political orientation which would thus be detrimental to their interests.

¹Wallace, p. 47.

Probably Barton regarded Gidney as a rival who threatened his own authority as leader of another powerful union, The Indian Telegraph Association which had a large Anglo-Indian membership. The following article printed in The Statesman seems to support this conclusion:

Indian Telegraph Association

At the annual general meeting of the Indian Telegraph Association held on Sunday, both the President and General Secretary laid stress on the need for keeping the Association free of anything approaching a communal feature and the shutting of its doors against any meddling interference by communal bodies, Indian or Anglo-Indian, and to follow steadfastly, the policy of the Association in defending, without distinction, the service interests of Indians and Anglo-Indians.¹

Matters came to a head when Barton fell out with Gidney because the latter opposed his nomination to the Bengal legislative Council in 1926 by putting up two of his own candidates in the Anglo-Indian elections. The policy was that eligible candidates should first stand for election in their own electorates after which they would be nominated by the Government to the Legislative Council. Gidney's candidates (nicknamed the two Macs) were L. T. Maguire, a well-known lawyer, and E. T. McCluskie, a wealthy real estate agent. Their contestants were Barton and E. S. Pushong, M. D. In the ensuing election the two Macs romped home to a resounding victory. Barton never forgave Gidney for this public humiliation and joined

¹The Statesman, June 15, 1926.

forces with Stark to form a separate Anglo-Indian federation.

There appeared to be a purpose to Gidney's ostensible opposition of Stark and Barton other than personal feelings. So long as Stark remained in the public eye, he impeded the work of amalgamation. Barton likewise was too temperamental and tactless to represent the Community's interests in the Bengal Legislative Council. He had alienated both the government and other unions (Postal and Telegram) by advocating indiscreet policies and making adverse public statements about the government. The government had already indicated its tacit displeasure of him by showing preference for Maguire over Barton as the Anglo-Indian representative in the Legislative Assembly during Gidney's absence in England in 1925. Excerpts from a letter to the Editor of the Anglo-Indian Review gives some indication as to the reasons for Barton's unpopularity.

Barton was accused of having caused more harm than good for Anglo-Indians in the Railways, Customs and Telegraph departments. He was believed to have instigated a combined Telegraph-Railway strike "which ended in a hopeless fiasco and for participating in which a good few Railway employees were still suffering."¹ Moreover his indiscreet and somewhat tactless handling of labour relations in the Customs department had likewise proved damaging to the Anglo-Indian cause:

¹Letter to the Editor, The Anglo-Indian Review, Oct., 1926, Vol. VI, No. 7, p. 16.

If discourteous letters, tactlessness and the creation of a spirit of non-co-operation between employer and employee constitute the ultima thule of the activities of the President of the Association, then indeed Mr Barton may be said to have succeeded. . . . Is it also a fact that official reports of the last Legislative Assembly published the fact that the Government of India . . . reprimanded the President of the Customs' Association, Mr Barton whom they charged with 'misbehaviour' in his capacity as President?¹

Besides these charges the writer claimed that Barton's attempts to hold two positions at the same time, namely, that of General Secretary of the Indian Telegraph Association and Anglo-Indian representative in the Legislative Council would amount to a conflict of interests:

. . . He cannot honestly in his capacity as the Anglo-Indian M.L.C. and as a salaried General Secretary of the Indian Telegraph Association serve two communities. He must relinquish either one position or the other.²

No doubt Barton, like all leaders, must have had his fair share of enemies and the fact that he held an important union position made him the target of much criticism. Obviously he was a man of ability but the time had come for a new direction in leadership.

Gidney realized that he needed the support of the entire Anglo-Indian population throughout the length of the country, not merely the backing of a few local associations whose leadership was often torn with dissensions and party politics. What he needed was

¹ Ibid.

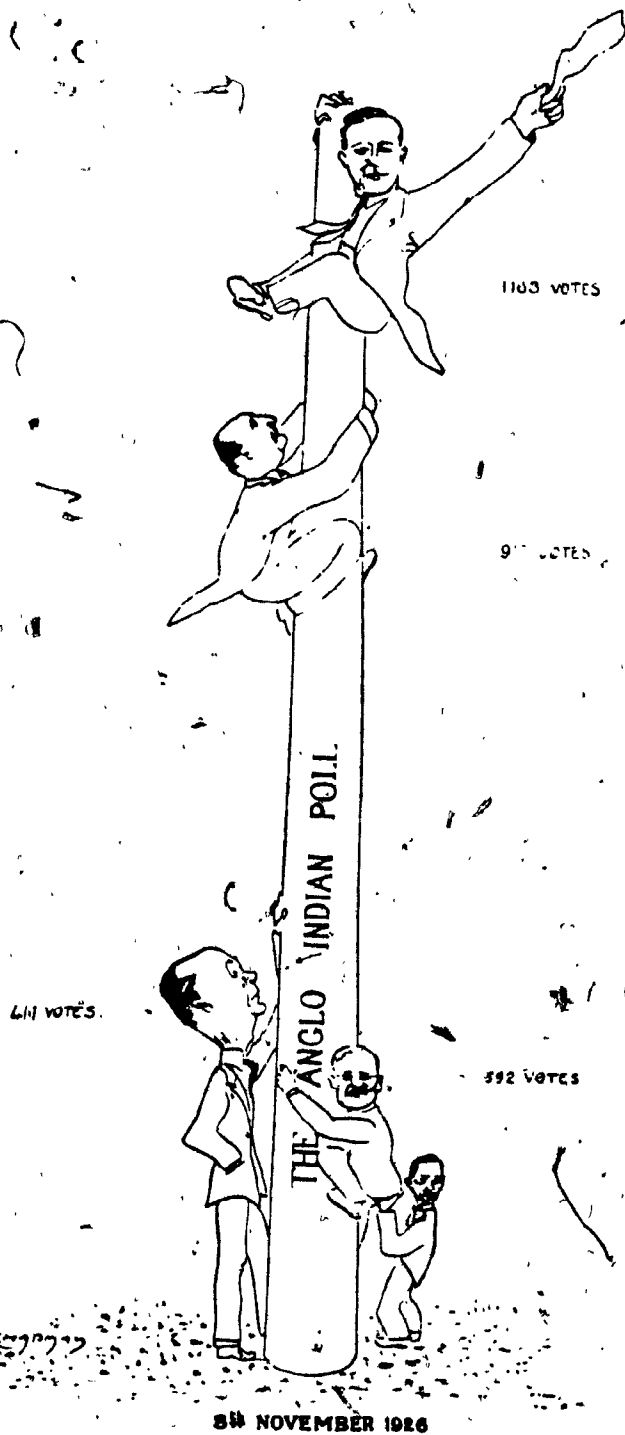
² Ibid.

a substantial turnout of voters who could be enrolled on the electoral lists. Gidney decided to use the Anglo-Indian elections in 1926 as a starting point to generate interest and concern within the Community. Polling stations were set up in Calcutta and the suburbs and a large scale electioneering campaign was set off by both sides. In fact it was this sort of publicity that was important for the Community's recognition as a viable minority group. Public speeches, mass rallies and addresses were made by all contesting candidates. It is said that during the last fortnight preceding the election there was not a single street in Calcutta which was not ornamented by posters and billboards advertising the desirable qualities of the respective candidates.¹ The Domiciled European and Anglo-Indian Association of Calcutta did much to instil into every potential Anglo-Indian voter the value of the proper exercise of the franchise.

In Calcutta and its suburbs there were five polling stations, the largest being at the Central Municipal Office. In Municipal Office 850 voters were recorded; Chitpore 13; Sealdah 102; Kidderpore 120 and Garden Reach 37, making a total of 1122 voters for Calcutta and its suburbs. The total electorate of this area being 3400 ie 30% recorded their votes. In the Mofussil which included about 30 different districts, there were about 80 polling stations. The total electorate was 950, and the total number of voters registered was 458 ie over 50% recorded their votes. . . . This gave a total Bengal Presidency Electorate of 4500 and the total number of voters was 1580.²

¹The Anglo-Indian Review, Nov. & Dec., 1926, Vol. VI, No. 8, p. 2.

²Ibid., p. 3.



Source: The Anglo-Indian Review, Christmas Edition, 1926, p. 38.

Maguire and McCluskie won a resounding victory over Barton and Pushong. Maguire obtained 1163 votes as against Barton's 592 votes and McCluskie received 915 votes as against Pushong's 419 votes.

Two important results emerged from the Anglo-Indian elections. First, Gidney achieved his purpose of giving prominence to the position of the Community and its interests in its future elective representation. Secondly, the elections received government recognition at the same time demonstrating that the Anglo-Indians were a responsible community. Moreover, with two strong representatives in the Legislative Council, the Community's interests could be better looked after. This vigorous canvassing and political vitalization was also a first step toward a spirited presentation to the Indian Statutory Commission in 1929. Local newspapers gave the elections a good coverage which helped to make an impact on the reading public. On the 12th November 1926, The Pioneer had this to write about the Anglo-Indian elections:

The appearance of rival candidates for seats in the Anglo-Indian interest in the Bengal Council shows that the community is shaking off political lethargy and is seeking to be assured that its elected representatives justify their claim for support with more sense of reality.

.....
.....
The present and future India requires the attention of the community which of late has shown a prudent and commendable resolve to stand on its own legs. Not by trailing its coat in front of the Government,

but by steady insistence on its claim by merit to a fair share in the work of developing a national India will its political salvation be won. . . .

On the negative side, the election also demonstrated the fact that less than 50% of the voters turned out. This apathy of the Anglo-Indian Community was the main obstacle to any form of concerted action. Some kind of central force was needed to propel all the Associations into action and at the same time generate interest in the projects and achievements of individual Associations. Thus the Madras Association was involved in civic affairs, land-ownership and the promotion of industrial and technical trades but it kept aloof from the other organizations which could not benefit from the example of the southern organization. The same was the case of the C. P. Provincial Branch of the Anglo-Indian Association, Nagpur, which was actively involved in civic elections. In 1924, the Nagpur Association put forward some of its own candidates to run in the municipal elections of the Civil Station. Unfortunately due to poor organization and bad planning of the electoral wards only one of the two Anglo-Indian candidates seeking election was successful. Had the electoral wards been constituted more advantageously, the four large Anglo-Indian settlements (Starky Town, Clark Town, Byramji Town and the Railway Settlement) would have succeeded in obtaining the election of both candidates. Instead one of the candidates had to compete in a ward made up largely of factory workers and mill-hands who

naturally preferred their own nominee.¹

Thus it can be seen that Associations (like the Nagpur Association) were eager to participate in civic affairs as well as in various kinds of social work which would promote the health and well-being of citizens generally. But because there was no consistent course of action taken by the Associations as a whole, these individual efforts did not have any permanent effects.

The two or three years following Gidney's deputation to England in 1925 were a period of mud-slinging and scurrilous attacks among the leaders. Nevertheless, despite these ill-feelings they were able to bury their differences if only temporarily, in order to draft a memorandum to the Simon Commission in 1928. In fact the leaders published the following letter in order to reassure the Community, which looked askance at their leaders, that they were taking a united stand.

Anglo-Indian Unity

To
The Editor,
"The Anglo-Indian Citizen."

Sir,
With reference to the letters that have recently appeared in the public Press with regard to disunity in the Anglo-Union Community, we the undersigned desire to inform your readers that, while difference of opinion may exist in regard to the form our communal organisation should take and which

¹Review of the Proceedings of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association, Central Provinces, Provincial Branch, Nagpur, 1924, Appendix E, p. 48, Govt. of India, Home Dept: (Public), Part B, Deposit, F 356 of 1925, NAI.

also we, individually and collectively, feel will soon be settled, in all issues of vital importance to the community Anglo-Indians are certainly not and have never been divided. This was clearly proved a few days ago when the undersigned and other persons interested in communal affairs met informally to consider what joint action is to be taken for the communal good with particular reference to the impending visit of the Royal Statutory Commission. We strongly deprecate some members of the community rushing into print on matters of which they are uninformed, and making statements which impede the efforts that are being made for the good of the community at the present critical time.

Yours, etc.,

H. Gidney,
H. Barton,
Louis T. Maguire,
Herbert A. Stark,
E. T. McCluskie.¹

The amalgamation versus federation issue wasted much time and energy but in the end Gidney was able to achieve his long sought after quest for amalgamation of the various associations. Gidney arranged a Round Table Conference in Calcutta on April 9, 1926 and invited the leaders of the different branches of the League to attend. In a stirring speech he acknowledged the dangers of disunity and petty jealousies and made a desperate plea for unity:

It requires no special intuition or political sagacity to see that no community can hope to exist much less thrive in India without unity of thought, unity of action, unified in policy, or, to realize that nothing in pro-

¹The Anglo-Indian Citizen, Feb., 1928, Vol. VII, No. 2,
p. 32.

gression can rest in its original place. The urgent need of unification into one compact representative body with a central and administrative organization in the interests of the community must be obvious to each one of us—not forgetting that the interests of the majority of Anglo-Indians are not provincial interests. Most of us are mainly maintained by the All-India Services, and, as these are directly under the Central Government, it is all the more imperative that the community should have a strong central body which should be able to speak on matters Imperial with authority, and without fear of contradiction and opposition within ourselves, secure against such interruptions as we have already unfortunately suffered in too many glaring instances. Government cannot and will not be impressed by the representations of a distracted and irresponsible community torn by internecine factions and whose accredited representative is not supported by a strong and fully representative Association.¹

His warning did not go unheeded. Gidney was able to bring together five Associations which came to be known as the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association, All-India and Burma. Shortly after, nineteen branches applied for recognition; they were accepted and given permission to open further branches under the new name. The Allahabad and Madras Associations kept aloof though the former eventually joined the amalgamated body in 1928. Perhaps the fact that it owned valuable assets and landed estate worth over Rs. 300,000 may have had something to do with its reluctance to be included in the merger. The Madras Association has always been

¹Proceedings of Round Table Conference, 9th April, 1926, The Anglo-Indian Review, June 1926, Vol. VII, No. 3, p. i.



Source: The Anglo-Indian Review, July 1926, Vol. VII, No. 4, p. 12.

X'MAS

PRESIDENT

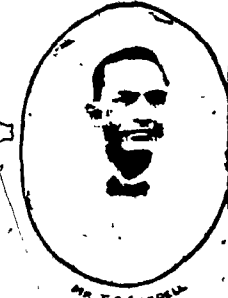
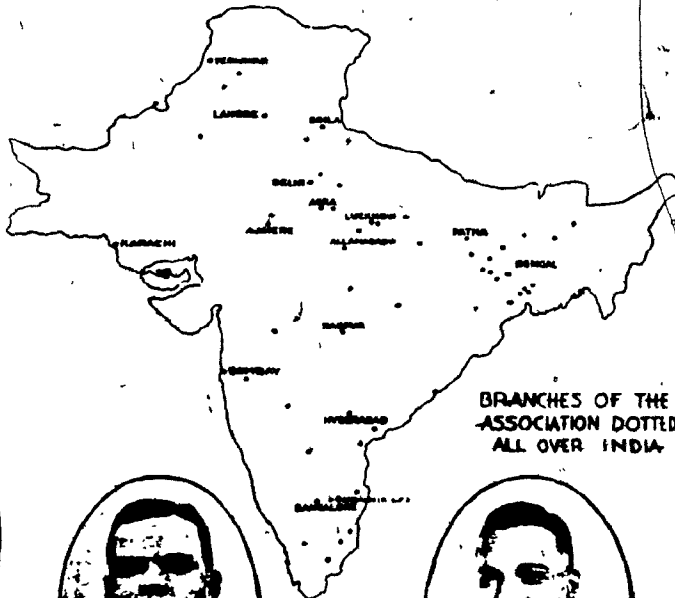
1935

MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNING BODY

MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNING BODY



ANGLO-INDIAN & DOMICILED EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION ALL INDIA & BURMA



BRANCHES OF THE ASSOCIATION DOTTED ALL OVER INDIA

an independent organization which is still in existence today representing largely the interests of Anglo-Indians in Southern India. The Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association of Burma voted for amalgamation, but remained in fact an affiliated and semi-independent organization until Burma's political severance from India in 1937. On the 9th of August, 1926, the new "amalgamated" Association was accepted and registered by the Registrar of Joint Stock Companies under the Indian Companies Act (Act VII of 1923) as the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association, All India and Burma.¹

The amalgamation issue was in Gidney's opinion central to the whole question of Anglo-Indian survival in an India where rapid political developments were taking place. He also knew that the Indian Statutory Commission would arrive in India in 1929 and he wanted the Anglo-Indian Community to show one united front to the Government. The fact that this controversy continued for several years because of petty jealousies and personal rivalries did have some positive effects. For one thing it engendered interest and enthusiasm among Anglo-Indians in communal affairs, though a few diehards like Stark and Barton were not won over. Wallace, who had been an important collaborator of Stark, was gradually won over to Gidney's view that a single strong organization was necessary. He then tried to persuade Gidney and Stark to end their feud and for a

¹Annual Report of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association, All-India and Burma, 1926, p. 11.

while the two men patched up their differences. A temporary truce was effected during the Simon Commission's visit to India when the leaders joined together to draft a memorandum. Nevertheless not long after there was an irreconcilable split because Stark objected to the publication of the memorandum by Gidney, calling it a breach of trust. Wallace, to quote his own words, was fed up with the situation:

In the end the personal animosities and the anti-Indian bias of the Federation tired me, while also about this time my personal dealings with Gidney showed that he was much maligned.¹

This clearly indicates that younger leaders like Wallace were frustrated with these internal rivalries and with Stark's over-emphasis on the British connection and his refusal to come to terms with Indian reality. This was also the final break between Stark and Gidney.

For the first time in the history of the Community there was a concerted effort within its own organization to procure active participation from its members. In 1927, a year after the amalgamated body was formed, an All-India tour was undertaken by the Travelling Secretary, L.P. Atkinson. This was a Public Relations position created to stimulate activity within the Associations. It took Atkinson almost six months to tour the length and breadth of the country from Peshawar in the North to Villapuram in the South, from Calcutta in the East to Bombay on the West. At the

¹Wallace, p. 45.

President's Christmas Message

28, THEATRE ROAD,
CALCUTTA
X'MAS 1928.

My Dear Friend,

Brotherhood is the mightiest force in the world. Brotherhood supplies the greatest need of the world and to-day the world needs brotherhood more than anything else.

My message with the season's greetings is, if you cannot inaugurate, if you cannot initiate, then co-operate. If you are the last man in the line, still stay in the line

With willing co-operation the Association would be created into a boundless store of usefulness and power, but for the lack of it the community suffers and the work is retarded.

Consider to-day what the Association has accomplished for you, even during the last twelve months and if you can tell yourself honestly that you are faithfully trying to fulfill your duty to each other and standing loyally by those who are fighting the good fight to secure the 'greatest happiness for the greatest numbers,' we shall have gone far towards achieving that unity and solidarity without which as a Community we shall neither get nor deserve the respect of our fellow-men.

Let us begin this New Year assuring each other that our best endeavours will be directed to promote a spirit of good fellowship, not only among ourselves, but the peoples with whom we have to live.

Yours loyally,
H. GIDNEY.

end of the tour, Atkinson had visited 10 existing branches of the Association, opened 20 new branches and given 52 speeches publicising the work of the All-India organization.¹ The value of this propaganda work was reflected in the fact that within one year of its existence the

... Association's strength had increased from 33 to 77 branches, an increase of 133%—an eloquent testimony to the value of amalgamation.²

In January 1928, the journal of the Association, The Anglo-Indian Review published a statistical chart showing the total membership strength in all the existing branches of the Association, (see Appendix III-B). The chart also revealed the percentage of potential members who for various reasons or another had not been persuaded to join the associations. The potential strength of a branch was based on the number of working members in that particular station. The number of working members was arrived at by a somewhat complicated calculation taking 20% of the female Anglo-Indian population over 18 years plus the male population over 18 years of age less 10% for those unemployed and those over 60 years of age.³

Numbers revealed at this stage were not always accurate due to many reasons. For one, there were no Associations in many isolated areas where Anglo-Indian families were stationed. Secondly,

¹Annual Report of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association, All-India and Burma, 1927, p. 27.

²Ibid., p. 14.

³The Anglo-Indian Review, Jan., 1928, Vol. XVIII, No. 1,
p. 5.

poverty and unemployment made it often impossible for families to pay even the monthly subscription rate of one rupee per family to the Association. Finally there was still a large percentage of fair complexioned Anglo-Indians who declared themselves to be Europeans. It was claimed that about 30% of the total Anglo-Indian population in 1928 were in this category.¹

Nevertheless, membership strength of the Association provided some sort of yardstick for leaders and organizers to assess the situation and devise ways and means to encourage new members. This was not always an easy task as

... unfortunately the field of recruitment is considerably narrowed in a community of small numbers by the fact of differences of opinion, personal prejudice, service conditions, apathy, neglect of their own and community's interests and often a fear of suffering in advancement or social status by membership of an Anglo-Indian organization.²

One of the main tasks of the Associations was to enlarge their membership by providing incentives and programmes that would encourage Anglo-Indians to join them.

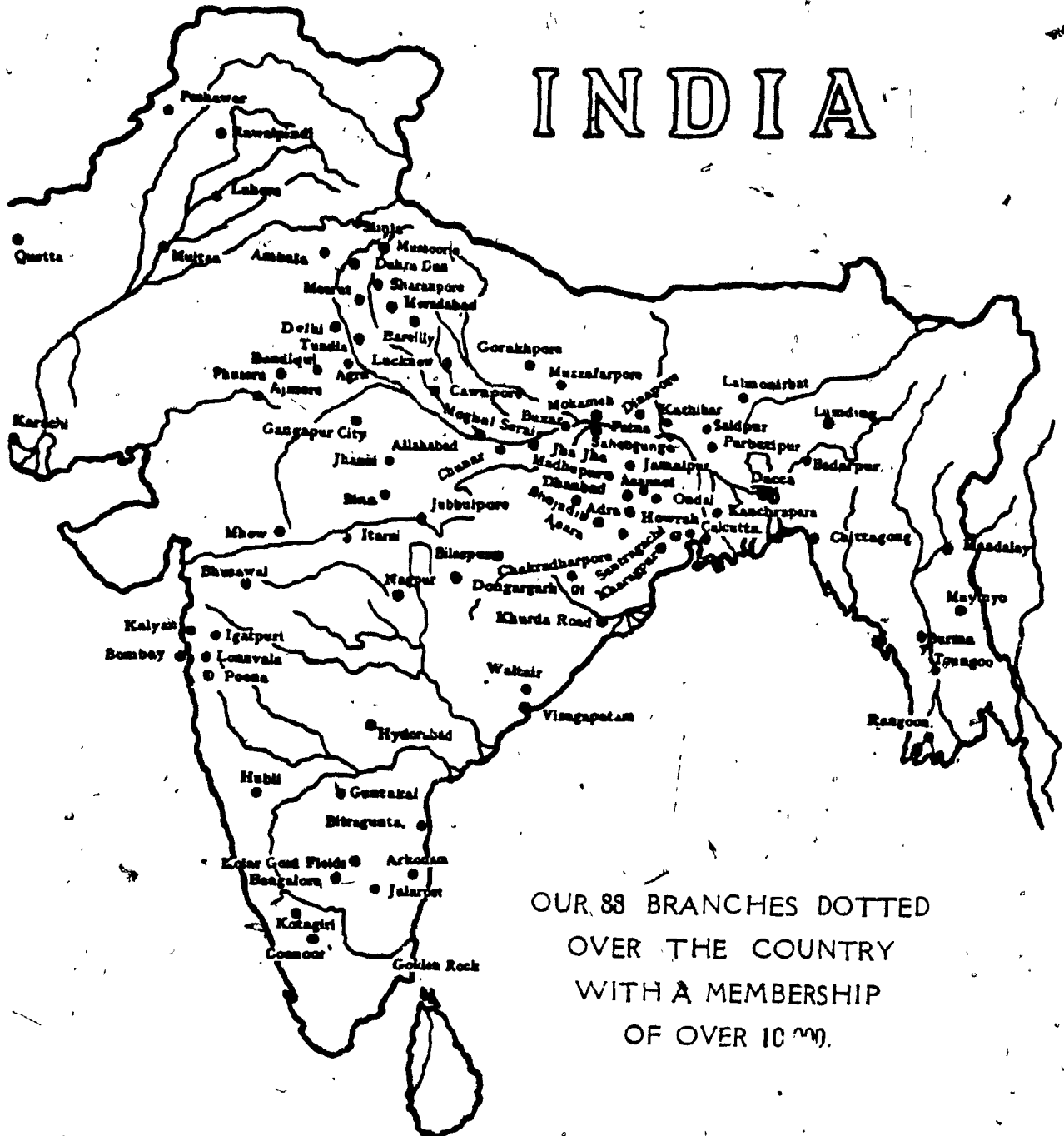
The Rewards of Unity

The cumulative efforts of the Associations slowly began to take effect and much was done for the betterment of the Community. Progress was sometimes slow but nevertheless there was a definite

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

The Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association All-India & Burma.



Source: The Anglo-Indian Review, Christmas 1928, Vol. XIX, No. 11 & 12, p. 32.

change for the better as the Community was now better organized and under a more aggressive leadership.

Much useful work was accomplished in the following areas:

Higher Education

Since education or rather the lack of it was the main obstacle to the procurement of employment, the Associations devoted a great deal of time and money to provide facilities for the education of their young men and women. The prime mover in this respect was Gidney who inaugurated a Higher Education Fund in June 1926. The object of this fund was primarily to help deserving boys and girls of the Community to secure a higher vocational, technical and industrial education. The Viceroy, Lord Irwin, donated a sum of Rs. 500 to the fund and contributions were made by other individuals and Associations. The money increased by leaps and bounds because of the clever manner by which it was raised and subsequently invested. The Associations ran lotteries for three famous Calcutta horse races—the Derby, St. Leger and the Viceroy's Cup. 25% of the gross proceeds of the races were deducted for Association expenses and other funds including the Higher Education Fund. The rest was dispersed in cash prizes among the lucky winners of the lotteries. The Higher Education Fund was independent of the Association funds. The money collected was invested in government securities and the interest alone was used for scholarship purposes. The Fund itself was placed under the control of a Board of Trustees and administered

DERBY SWEEP STAKE

FOR THE
ASSOCIATION FUNDS INCLUDING THE
ANGLO-INDIAN HIGHER EDUCATION FUND

This Sweep Stake is now open and tickets
are available. :: :: ::

It has secured the confidence of our
members, and is growing in size and
popularity. :: :: ::

The Committee has decided (1), to follow the
Rangoon Galle Sweep Stake in deducting all ex-
penses incurred from the total money collected by
the sale of tickets. The balance to be divided in
prizes as stated on each ticket. :: ::

(2) To charge Rs. 2 - per ticket for the Derby
Sweep which it feels sure will meet with the popu-
lar acceptance of our members. :: ::

SECRETARY (SWEEP STAKE)

A. I. & D. E. ASSOCIATION. (All India & Burma.)

28, Theatre Road, :: CALCUTTA.

Source: The Anglo-Indian Review, April 1928, Vol. XVIII, No. 4,
p. 27.

ST. LEGER SWEEP STAKE

This Sweep Stake is now open and tickets are available. :: :: ::

It has secured the confidence of our members and is growing in size and Popularity. :: :: ::

The Committee has decided (1), that 25 per cent. of the gross proceeds be deducted for Association expenses and other Funds, including the Higher Education Fund. The balance will be divided as follows:

1st PRIZE	..	..	50	0/	0
2nd PRIZE	..	..	20	0/	0
3rd PRIZE	..	..	10	0/	0
Starters	..	...	10	0/	0
Non-Starters	..	..	10	0/	0

(2) To charge Re. 1/- per ticket for the St. Leger Sweep.

Apply—

SECRETARY (SWEEP STAKE)

A. I. & D. E. ASSOCIATION.

28, Theatre Road,

::

CALCUTTA.

TABLE VI

Anglo-Indian Higher Education Fund 1926¹

Names	Address	Donation		Remarks
		Rs. A.	P.	
His Excellency Lord Irwin	Viceroy and Governor-General of India, Simla	500	0 0	
Ladies of Peshawar proceeds of a Dance through Col. Gidney Peshawar		590	0 0	
Mr. J. P. Thornber	Main Road, Dadar, Bombay	101	0 0	
Dr. deFontaine	C/o, Messrs. Thos. Cook & Sons, Calcutta	100	0 0	Payment by instalments Paid Rs. 20.
Mr. R. Hardless	Chunar	2	0 0	
Delhi Branch, Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association	Mr. Pickford, A. T. S.	50	0 0	
Col. E. F. Pench, C. I. E.	Meerut	5	0 0	
Jhajha Branch, Anglo-Indian Association	Jhajha, E. I. Ry.	36	0 0	
Moghalserai Revels	Moghalserai, E. I. Ry.	40	0 0	
Do. Branch Monthly subscription	Do.	4	0 0	
	TOTAL	1,428	14 0	
	Less due from Dr. deFontaine	80	0 0	
	GRAND TOTAL	1,348	14 0	

Calcutta,
I-7-1926.

H. GIDNEY.

Lt. Col., I.M.S. (Retd.)

¹The Anglo-Indian Review, July 1926, Vol. VII, No. 4, p. 33.

by competent Anglo-Indian members. Scholarships were given to deserving candidates and took the form of loans rather than stipends. These were to be repaid in fixed instalments when the recipient obtained employment. There appeared to be wisdom in providing this form of financial assistance as it placed the onus on the individual without depriving him of his dignity or stifling his initiative. Gidney saw to it that trust funds and scholarships left by wealthy Anglo-Indians were opened up for deserving Anglo-Indian candidates. One such fund was the Desouza Indian Civil Service Scholarship (founded in 1888) which till 1920 had not been awarded to anyone for study in England. In 1926, the All-India Association published advertisements in the principal Indian newspapers inviting applications from candidates between the ages of 18-21 years who were eligible and desirous of proceeding to England to compete for the Indian Civil Service examination. Out of a total of 36 applicants, 5 were selected by a committee of responsible Anglo-Indians.¹ Other scholarship funds like the

Virginia Cuyper and Griffith Scholarship funds were likewise administered by duly appointed trustees. The underlying idea behind these policies was obviously to groom the up-coming generation of qualified Anglo-Indians to take their place as future leaders of the Community.

Many local branches took the initiative of setting up scholarships and providing training for Anglo-Indian youth in secretarial

¹Annual Report of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association, All-India and Burma, 1926, p. 13.

schools and for the training of nurses.

Religious Organizations

Besides the Associations, the Anglo-Indian Community was strongly represented in the membership of other bodies. These included the Churches, mainly Anglican and Roman Catholic. The Churches were beginning to realize that the economic life of their congregations must be attended to, as well as their spiritual well-being. Thus they assisted the Associations in their self-help programmes; provided money and food to needy members and offered stipends and grants for education.

Social Welfare

The Associations also made valuable contributions in the area of social welfare. A Central Unemployment Relief Fund was established to ease the hardships of unemployment caused often by the Government's retrenchment policies in the thirties. Various local Associations financed hostels, homes for the aged and orphanages, some of which are still in existence today such as The Tollygunge Home in Calcutta and the Dr. Graham Homes in Kalimpong (West Bengal).

Social Organizations

The Rangers Club of Calcutta (founded in 1896) was the most influential Anglo-Indian social organization. Though ostensibly a social and recreational club, it contributed generously to charitable and

NOTA BENE.

The Christmas Number of the Anglo-Indian Review will be out by December 20, 1926.

Only a limited number of copies will be issued—so book your order now to avoid disappointment.

If you are a subscriber you will get your copy for one rupee; if not, you will get it for One-Four. Delivery extra.



The Viceroy's
Sweepstakes
Offer you a chance
to be rich:

It also enriches
The Anglo-Indian
Higher Education
Fund.

If you have not already taken Tickets: look sharp, lest you should be too late. Don't forget to tell your friends.

TO HELP

YOUR SONS

by contributing your mite
— however wee —

To the Anglo-Indian
Higher Education
Fund.



Special Features of the Christmas Number—

It will be profusely illustrated, including tricolour pictures.

There will be a large number of portraits of

—distinguished British Statesmen interested in our affairs;

—distinguished Government officials;

—Presidents and Secretaries of various branches

Reading matter will include, among other subjects, Colonel Gidney's Reminiscences of his Shikar days illustrated with actual photographs.

SUN LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY OF CANADA.

Head Office—MONTREAL
(INCORPORATED 1865.)

Total Assurance in Force Dec. 31st, 1927

Rs. 4,07,66,86,794

New Assurance paid for during 1927

Rs. 89,97,48,050

*(The largest new business of any Company
constituted in the British Empire)*

ASSETS

Rs. 1,09,94,68,175

*(The Company's Assets have doubled in the
last 4 years.)*

*The above figures are based on the official rate
of exchange of 1s. 6d. per £ or 36½ cents per
Rupee.*

*Scale of Dividends to Policyholders increas-
ed for the eighth successive year.*

*On current basis annual cash dividends under
20-year Endowment Policies allowed to accu-
mulate at compound interest work out at
548 - 656 per thousand sum assured accord-
ing to age at entry, equivalent to annual
bonus of 27½%, 32¾%.*

*Applications for appointment as Agent will
be considered from gentlemen of good
social standing and preferably able and
willing to devote their whole time and
energy to the Company's work.*

Enquiries should be addressed to—
District Manager,
Calcutta Branch,
12, Dalhousie Square (East)
Calcutta.

*By becoming a Policyholder of the SUN LIFE
OF CANADA you join a Family of 5½
Lakhs of Persons Co-operating to Secure
the Benefits of LIFE ASSURANCE to their
Dependents or to themselves in old age.*

educational programmes. The Club particularly encouraged sports and athletic programmes. Some of the finest hockey and football teams were sponsored by the Calcutta Rangers Club. It also ran the highly successful Calcutta Rangers Sweepstake which enabled it to make large donations to charities irrespective of caste or community.¹ The Guide and Scout Organizations provided a great incentive for the Anglo-Indian youth as did the Young Men and Young Women's Christian Associations. The Associations themselves provided recreational facilities for the Community. Dances, whist-drives, bingo, tennis, swimming and other cultural and physical activities brought Anglo-Indians together. Thus the Associations became a common meeting place for the exchange of ideas and other matters of common interest—all of which helped to stimulate a spirit of community consciousness.

Publications

One of the most effective methods employed by the Anglo-Indian organizations to channel information about the Community and provide a link in communications between the various branches and sister Associations through "the periodical press." A journal with a wide circulation and providing both news and propaganda was The Anglo-Indian Review—the official journal of the All-India Association started in the 1920's. Gidney revived the journal from bankruptcy in 1926 and used his own finances to place it on a sound basis. It

¹Anthony, p. 360.

Advertisement for subscription to Anglo-Indian Citizen

THE ANGLO-INDIAN & DOMICILED EUROPEAN FEDERATION, BENGAL

(Registered under Section 26, Act 1913.)

The Objects of the Federation are—

CIVIC, ECONOMIC, PATRIOTIC AND BENEVOLENT.

The Federation maintains four scholarships amounting to Rs. 1,500 per annum.

Our Watchword—CO-OPERATE and EDUCATE.

Join us and do your bit.

RATES OF SUBSCRIPTION.

Single Member	Ra. 6 per annum.
Family	" 8 " "
Members of Service Associations	" 3 " "
Working Girls	" 3 " "

President—H. BARTON, Esq.

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C. Prince-Foster, Esq.
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G. W. Gregory, Esq.
Mrs. B. Platel.
Miss Arratoon.
K. Wallace, Esq. (*ex-officio*).
E. T. Pope, Esq., Hon. Secy. and Treasurer.

Address—55, FREE SCHOOL STREET, CALCUTTA.

Source: Anglo-Indian Citizen, June 1928, Vol. VII, No. 6, p. 83.

was, of course, strongly biased in favour of Gidney. Monthly issues contained information about members of the Community from all over India. Also included were speeches and addresses of the President, accounts of activities of the local branches, social and cultural festivities and other matters of interest to the Community. The journal also promoted higher education and self-help programmes, as well as advertised grants and stipends for needy members. The Anglo-Indian Citizen was the official journal of the rival Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Federation and followed much the same pattern as The Anglo-Indian Review.

Though these journals were strongly communal in content and often too effusive in praise of the achievements of individual leaders, they did serve to stimulate and evoke an interest in public issues among Anglo-Indians. The Anglo-Indian Review regularly published the financial statements of individual branches as well as those of the Central Administration. These statements provided some sort of yardstick which reflected the financial stability of the organizations and at the same time was one way of bringing into line those Associations which were in default of regular contributions to the Central Office. Finance was a key factor in ensuring the success of the numerous projects and campaigns undertaken by the Associations. It was also necessary for the Associations to promote propaganda work, both with a view of enlarging their membership, as well as to stimulate public opinion and interest in

the affairs of the Community. Funds were required to finance various deputations, like visits to England, tours, stationery and printing costs of newsletters, memoranda and other expenses including luncheons and dinners, incurred on behalf of the Community. The last named were especially important as it was during these social engagements that leaders like Gidney made contacts with leading British officials, peers and influential Indian leaders whose position and support played a great part in helping the Anglo-Indian cause.

By the time the Simon Commission appeared in India in 1928, the Anglo-Indian Community was clearly moving in a more purposeful direction. Steered by the aggressive leadership of Gidney, the Community was beginning to be more assertive toward both the Indian and the Britisher. Through its representatives in the Legislative Assembly and the Provincial Councils, the Anglo-Indian Community was voicing its grievances effectively and protesting more vehemently against the disabilities imposed upon its members, and was now fighting to retain existing privileges.

The Community had, as Wallace puts it, its quota of eccentrics and megalomaniacs¹ but it also had leaders of the calibre of Barton, Abbott, Stark, Gidney and many others who left their impression on the Community which they served. They endeavoured not only to look after the best interests of the Community, but also to steer them into and along with the mainstream of Indian national life.

¹Wallace, p. 42.

CHAPTER IV

THE REFORM ERA AND ITS EFFECT ON THE ANGLO-INDIAN COMMUNITY 1919-1928

A Troubled Decade in Indian Politics 1909-1919

On August 20, 1917, E. S. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India made the following announcement in the House of Commons:

The policy of His Majesty's Government with which the Government of India are in complete accord is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire.¹

This announcement was followed by a comprehensive joint report in July 1918, by Lord Montagu and Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy. The recommendations of the report ushered in the well-known Montagu-Chelmsford reforms which were embodied in the Government of India Act of 1919.

British statesmen themselves failed to recognize that the Act of 1919 with its promise of responsible government marked the beginning of the end of British rule in India. Nor did the Indian politicians realize fully the profound significance of the changes wrought in 1919—changes that would eventually lead to the attainment of greater

¹ Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms (Calcutta: Superintendent Govt. Printing, India, 1918), p. 1.

power and self-government¹ and finally to independence.

There were obviously many weighty considerations that prompted the Government of India to follow through on the recommendations of the Montagu-Chelmsford report. In order to understand the reasons for this new position by the government, it is necessary to examine briefly the events of the decade preceding the Government of India Act of 1919. To begin with, the Act of 1909, despite its provisions for giving Indians greater representation in the Central and Provincial Legislative Councils, was extremely disappointing. One seat was reserved on the Governor General's Council and one on each of the provincial executive councils for Indian members. Though they were now able to exercise some direct influence on questions of administration and finance, the real power still remained with the government. The result was unsatisfactory to both parties. As the authors of the next reforms noted,

Narrow franchises and indirect elections failed to encourage in members a sense of responsibility to the people generally, and made it impossible, except in special constituencies, for those who had votes to use them with perception and effect. Moreover the responsibility for the administration remained undivided: with the result that the Governments found themselves far more exposed to questions and criticism than hitherto, questions and criticism were uninformed by a real sense of responsibility. The conception of a responsible executive, wholly or partially remained with the Government and the Councils were left with no functions but criticism.²

¹S. R. Mehrotra, India and the Commonwealth (1885-1929) pp. 208-10.

²Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, p. 52.

Clearly then the reforms of 1909 provided no solution to Indian political aspirations nor could they check the rising tide of national consciousness. Nevertheless, despite widespread discontent with the limited nature of these reforms, they were still in the context of the times, a substantial advance. The councils had become forums for the airing of controversies and grievances both in India and abroad. Thus Indian politicians used the councils to express their bitter resentment at the treatment of their countrymen settled in South Africa and the restrictions on the entry of Indians into the Dominions and British East Africa. They likewise strongly criticized the system of recruiting Indian labourers to work under indentures in the colonies, particularly Fiji, under scandalous conditions.¹

Meanwhile on the home front, Indian Muslims were daily joining the ranks of the discontented. They were still chafing at the government's reversal of the partition of Bengal in 1912. They had hoped to secure a more important control over affairs in East Bengal and Assam where they numbered 60 per cent of the population. Moreover, Muslim leaders were worried at the steady decline over the years of their influence on British administration. This was due partly to British distrust as a result of their role in the Mutiny and partly because of the reluctance of Muslims to avail of western educa-

¹See H. R. Tinker, A New System of Slavery: the export of Indian labour overseas 1830-1920 (London: Oxford University Press, 1974, Published for Institute of Race Relations). Refer also to Karen Ray, "The Abolition of Indentured Immigration and the Politics of Indian Nationalism 1894-1917" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, McGill University, 1980).

tion as readily as the Hindu higher castes. Consequently, there was a declining proportion of Muslims in responsible positions in Government service.¹

The All-India Muslim League, founded in 1906, received its main support from wealthy landowners in the United Provinces and Bombay. It had hitherto adopted a pro-British policy but in March 1911, due mainly to Jinnah, a Bombay lawyer, the League adopted as its ideal the attainment of self-government and there was a distinct change in attitude towards the government. Muslim feelings were still further estranged by the not too sympathetic attitude of the government towards the plight of Turkey at war with Italy and the Balkan states in 1912.

Indian Muslims had for centuries looked outside India for their cultural inspiration; and, with the decline in their influence, some of them . . . became attracted to the idea of owning an allegiance to the Sultan of Turkey as Khalif and as the symbol of the temporal power of their faith.²

A society was formed called the Khuddami-Kaaba, committed to preserving the integrity of the Turkish kingdom as responsible for the safety of the sacred places of Islam. The Khilafat

¹ A good discussion of Muslim grievances during this period can be found in F.C. Robinson, Separatism among Indian Muslims, "the politics of U.P. Muslims, 1860-1923," (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974), and Cronin, British Policy and Administration in Bengal 1905-1912.

² Algernon Rumbold, Watershed in India, 1914-1922 (University of London: The Athlone Press, 1979), p. 10.

movement,¹ launched in support of the Sultan, often found expression in sporadic riots whenever stories and rumours were published of Muslim persecution by the Balkan powers.

It was obvious that Muslims, as the largest minority group in India, faced many anxieties about their future. On the one hand was their age old rivalry with the Hindus and on the other was a feeling by some Muslim intellectuals that co-operation with the Indian National Congress would be in their interests if they were to gain any concessions from the British. In his presidential address to the Muslim League in 1916, Jinnah pledged Muslim support of the Indian National Congress:

The All-India Muslim League stands abreast of the Indian National Congress and is ready to participate in any patriotic efforts for the advancement of the country as a whole. In fact this readiness of the educated Muslims . . . to work shoulder to shoulder with the other Indian communities for the common good of all is to my mind the strongest proof of the value and need of this great Muslim political organization. . . .²

Trouble was also brewing among the Sikhs in the Punjab. In fact a dangerous movement was organized among Sikh colonies in California, British Columbia and the far East. It was planned that

¹Useful material on this subject can be found in A. Niemeijer, The Khilafat Movement in India, 1919-24 (The Hague: Nijoff, 1972).

²From presidential address by M. A. Jinnah to the Muslim League 1916, reprinted in, John R. McLane, ed., The Political Awakening in India (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1970), p. 116.

groups from these colonies would return to India in 1914 in order to organize a revolution in the Punjab:

They were able to work on restlessness among Sikhs in the Punjab, due to revivalism of their faith, plague, the rising prices of foodgrains, drastic rumours about the war, stories that the Raj was over, and nostalgia for the kingdom of Ranjit Singh.¹

Consequently from 1914 onwards, gangs of Sikhs would raid police stations, murder officials and derail trains. There was also a plot for the seduction of Sikh regiments in the Indian army. However, the Punjab Government administered by Michael O'Dwyer got wind of the plot and the ringleaders were quickly arrested.

The Sikh and Muslim unrest precipitated the need for extraordinary defence precautions by the government especially as Britain herself was engaged in World War I. In March 1915, the Defence of India Act was passed which gave provincial governments the right to appoint commissions of three judges to try political cases quickly without the usual proceedings or appeal.²

Meanwhile another powerful force, known as the Home League movement, was started by Annie Besant,³ one of the most remarkable and colourful leaders of the Indian Nationalist movement. Her aim

¹Rumbold, p. 32.

²Ibid., pp. 32-33.

³Annie Besant (born October 1, 1847) was the daughter of a London physician and an Irish mother. She married the Rev. Frank Besant in 1867 but separated from him in 1873 when she found she could not accept the orthodox teachings of Christianity. It is said that she was converted to socialism by G.B. Shaw in 1884. In 1889, she became a theosophist and a follower of Madame H.P. Blavatsky and shortly after she went to India, where she spent the remainder of her life actively involved in Indian politics.

was the building up of a complete self-government from village councils, through District and Municipal boards and provincial legislative assemblies to a National Parliament equal in its powers to the Legislative bodies of the self-governing colonies.¹

Her cause was taken up by Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the forceful leader of the Indian extremists. Tilak formed his Home Rule League in Maharashtra in April 1916 and Besant formed hers in Madras in May 1916. The Home Rule League movement did not gain a foothold all over the country partly because of the opposition of Brahmin moderates who disliked both Tilak and Annie Besant. However, the movement did make headway in Madras, Maharashtra, Gujarat and Bombay. This was due both to Annie Besant's personal qualities of leadership and the ample financial resources at her disposal available through the theosophical society and private donations. She was able to constitute a network of local branches which the Congress party lacked. In fact, in the areas where she operated the Congress was overshadowed: "Her weapons were cheap newspapers, like her New India, vernacular pamphlets, itinerant preachers, and private discussion groups."² So successful were her efforts that the government took stern measures and interned Annie Besant in June 1917. Tilak protested her internment vehemently. His passion for freedom led

¹R. R. Sethi, "Growth of the Indian National Congress," The Cambridge History of India, Vol. VI (Lucknow: Chand & Co., 1958), p. 610.

²Rumbold, p. 47.

him to promote lathi (bamboo stick) clubs, anti-cow killing societies and to revive ancient Hindu festivals—Shivaji and Ganpati—all with a view to stimulating the spirit of nationalism and uniting his Hindu brethren in one common cause. The government knew that Tilak was a formidable leader to contend with. He had already suffered two imprisonments in 1897 (released on September 6, 1898) and again in 1909 when he was sent to Mandalay in Burma for sedition and treason. He usually used the columns of vernacular papers, the Kesari and the Mahratta as a means of anti-government propaganda. In fact it was Tilak's appraisal of the Muzzafarpur bombing in 1908¹ in his paper, the Kesari, that got him into trouble with the Government and earned him a long imprisonment of six years. He was released in 1914. Tilak insisted that the bomb was less a by-product of nationalist agitation than of "the exasperation produced by the autocratic exercise of power by the unrestrained and powerful white official class."² - On June 9, he wrote in the Kesari:

Muskets and guns may be taken away from the subjects by means of the Arms Act, and the manufacture too, of guns and muskets without the permission of Government, may be stopped; but is it possible to stop or do away with the bomb by means of laws or the supervision of officials or the busy

¹On the 30th April, 1908, a young Bengali, Khudiram Bose hurled a bomb, at District Judge Kingsford's carriage, killing two English women who happened to be riding in it.

²Cited in Stanley A. Wolpert, Revolution and Reform in the Making of Modern India (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962), p. 219.

swarming of the detective police? The bomb has more of the form of knowledge than a bullet it is 'magic' (Jadu) it is a 'sacred formula' (mantra), an 'amulet' (todga).¹

Tilak's message in 1908 was loud and clear, namely that coercive measures would not guarantee further outbreaks of violence. He believed that nothing short of self-government would appease the people. He was ready to start a passive resistance movement to secure Annie Besant's release when Montagu made his famous announcement of August 20, 1917. This led to a petering out of the Home Rule Movement shortly after.

This was not surprising as after all there was another side to the nationalist movement which was not revolutionary or radical.² The moderates had always opposed violence. Were it not for the loyalty of this party and the vast majority of the people of India during World War I, rebellion would have disrupted the country at a time when Britain was engaged in active fighting on another front.

M. K. Gandhi, later to be known as "Father of the Nation," supported the ideals and methods of the moderates and denounced those of the extremists. Throughout the War, he preached

... absolutely unconditional and whole-hearted co-operation with the Government on the part of educated India in the war effort and emphasized what he considered to be the elementary

¹ Ibid., pp. 219-220.

² See B. R. Nanda, Gokhale, the Moderates and the British Raj (Princeton, N.J.: University Press, 1977).

truth that if the Empire perished, with it would perish their cherished political aspirations for their own country.¹

In 1916, in an effort to win over the Muslim League to their demand for self-government, the Indian National Congress entered into an agreement with the League known as the Lucknow Pact. The price paid by Congress was the acceptance of separate electorates for Muslims, a measure which had hitherto been bitterly criticized by the Hindus. The seats were to be allotted on an All-India basis, which meant that when a community was in a minority, it was given more seats than its population justified in order that it might have a more effective position. This principle was later incorporated in the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919.

Besides the political agitation and manouvering by Indian and British politicians, the country was beset by distress of another kind. There were serious shortages of foodgrains, cloth, salt, kerosene and other staples of Indian life. At the same time the end of the war brought about large scale unemployment adding to the already tense situation. Then the monsoon failed in 1918 and large areas of the country were affected by drought.

As if matters were not bad enough, India was devastated by an influenza epidemic. It began in June 1918 and raged throughout the rest of the year. Its effects were disastrous as the population

¹D. G. Tendulkar, Mahatma: Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Vol. 1 (Bombay, 1951), p. 280.

was already suffering from malnutrition. It was most severe in the Central Provinces, Central India, the United Provinces, Bombay, Delhi, the Punjab and Rajputana. It was estimated that the death toll from influenza alone was about six million.¹

Amidst all the chaos, the government sought to bring order and discipline by enforcing a series of repressive orders like the Defence of India Act of 1915² and the Rowlatt Act of 1919. British officials were given extraordinary powers to deal with conspiracy and sedition. In some provinces like the Punjab, the measures adopted by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Lt.-Governor of the Punjab, were extremely severe. Other ordinances gagged the vernacular press and banned public meetings. Instead of helping the situation, matters only worsened and wholesale rioting broke out in Amritsar and other parts of Punjab. The most incredible atrocity committed by the enforcement of these stringent measures was the Jallianwalla Bagh Massacre in Amritsar on April 13, 1919. Brigadier-General R. E. H. Dyer opened fire on a large but unarmed crowd of several thousand Indians gathered in the Jallianwalla Bagh for a public meeting. According to Dyer, this was in direct contravention of a proclamation which stated "that any gathering of four men would be looked upon and

¹Rumbold, p. 168.

²The Defence of India Act and the rules made for its interpretation and enforcement constituted the Indian equivalent of the Defence of the Realm Act in the United Kingdom. It was passed for the duration of the War and for six months afterwards.

treated as an unlawful assembly and dispersed by force of arms if necessary."¹ Several hundred people were killed and the wounded were left unattended. Though Dyer was subsequently removed from his command the whole incident left a blot on the memory of British rule. In Britain, Montagu determined to push through his bill, censored the news of the disturbances and minimized what was happening until Parliament was definitely committed to the Reform policy. Both Montagu and Chelmsford felt that the early introduction of the bill would be the best salve for the wounds inflicted in April.² To that end it was submitted to Parliament for its first reading in June, 1919. The bill passed through Parliament without much debate due chiefly to the personal lobbying by Montagu who was determined to appease the moderates by the reforms. However, relations became strained between Montagu and Chelmsford in the ensuing months as the two politicians did not see eye to eye on many issues. Nevertheless Montagu's adroit management secured rapid passage of the bill through both Houses of Parliament and it received Royal assent in December, 1919.

The 1919 Reforms introduced partial responsibility in the provinces by giving the governor power to appoint from among the elected members of his Legislative Council one or more ministers

¹Cited in W. R. Smith, Nationalism and Reform in India (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938), p. 235. See Raja Ram, The Jallianwalla Bagh Massacre (Chandigarh, Punjab University, Publication Bureau, 1969) for details concerning this incident.

²Rumbold, p. 157.

to hold office during his pleasure. A system of dual government was introduced with subjects divided into "Central," controlled by the Government of India, and "Provincial" which were under the control of the governor in council. Provincial subjects were still further divided into "Reserved," coming directly under the control of the governor and his executive council and "Transferred" subjects, were to be administered by the governor and his ministers.

In all, there were 47 Central subjects directly under the Governor-General and Council. Some of these were Defence, External Affairs, Communication and Transport, Customs, Finance, Civil and Criminal Law, Commerce and Ecclesiastical Affairs. Quite obviously power was concentrated in the Central Government. Moreover, the system of dyarchy in the provinces led to much confusion as the Legislature was asked to legislate on matters which were not in their control but on the reserved list under the governor and his executive council. The Legislature thus had responsibility without power whereas the Governor and his Council had power without responsibility. A system of bicameral legislature was introduced in the Centre—the Upper House, called the Council of State, was to be

... composed of 50 members, exclusive of the Governor-General who would be president, with power to appoint a vice-president, who would normally take his place: not more than 25 would be officials including members of the executive council and 4 would be non-officials nominated by the Governor-General.¹

¹Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, p. 178.

The Government of India would command a majority in this House which would be the final legislative authority on all essential proposals. The Lower House known as the Indian Legislative Assembly was to be made up of 100 members. Two-thirds of this total would be returned by election; one third would be nominated by the Governor-General of which not less than a third would be non-officials selected with the object of representing minority or special interests.¹

This then was the situation in India in 1919 when the bill became law in December of that year. Much was left to be settled such as the franchise, detailed composition of the legislatures, regulation of relations between the centre and the provinces, the subjects to be transferred, the question of joint or separate purses and the safeguarding of the interests of the services. It was proposed that a joint select committee would be re-appointed in 1920 to examine these subjects.² A statutory commission would be set up after ten years to enquire into the working of this new system of government.

Indianness and Its Effects on the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Community (1918-1928)

Under the Government of India Act, 1919, the Anglo-Indian Community was officially recognized and given special representation in both the Central and Provincial Legislatures. An Anglo-Indian was defined thus:

¹ Ibid., p. 175.

² Rumbold, p. 168.

Every person, being a British subject and resident in British India, of (a) European descent in the male line who is not comprised in the above definition, of (b) mixed Asiatic descent, whose father, grandfather or more remote ancestor in the male line was born in the continent of Europe, Canada, Newfoundland, Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa or the United States of America, and who is not entered in the European electoral roll. In applying the above definitions it is proposed that the declaration of an elector that he is a European or Anglo-Indian shall be accepted by the officer charged with the preparation of the electoral roll, unless he is satisfied that the declaration is not made in good faith, in which case the officer shall record in writing his reasons for refusing to accept the declaration of the elector.

The proposal to enfranchise persons domiciled elsewhere than in the United Kingdom will be subject to any action which may be taken in view of the reciprocity resolution passed at the Imperial Conference held in 1917.¹

These political gains were, however, offset by the pace of Indianization which was greatly accelerated after the passing of the Act of 1919. Indianization opened up avenues of employment not only in politics but in the essential and public services as well. Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans soon found their economic existence threatened as more and more Indians entered avenues of employment previously their preserve. This was specially marked in the upper subordinate positions in the Customs, Telegraphs, Posts and Railways. It would appear strange that the reforms which were intended to pro-

¹East India—Constitutional Reforms, Appendix XI (London: H. M. S. O., 1919), p. 91.

vide employment to the Indians by and large should prove detrimental to the interests of the Anglo-Indian Community. The whole issue rested on the contentious question of status of the Anglo-Indian. Was he or was he not a native of India? If so, he must also be included in the schemes of Indianization.

Paragraph 6 of the Parliamentary Statute—Victoria 33 of the Government of India Act 1870, states:

... the words 'natives of India' shall include any person born and domiciled within the dominions of Her Majesty in India, of parents habitually resident in India and not established there for temporary purposes only.¹

As such Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans were legally statutory natives of India and therefore eligible for posts open to Indians (also legally defined as 'statutory natives').

The question of status regarding the Anglo-Indian was an old issue and one of the grievances presented by John Ricketts to Parliament as far back as 1830. But the matter was even more crucial in 1919 as the Act of 1919 opened the doors of employment in practically every department of the public services for statutory natives of India. The term "statutory native" though clearly defined on the one hand was ambiguous when applied to the Anglo-Indian. The following statement in the House of Commons by the Under-Secretary of State for India in December 1925 illustrates the ambiguity of Anglo-Indian status:

For the purposes of employment under government and inclusion in schemes of Indianization,

¹Cited in Anglo-Indian Review, Vol. VI, No. 7, p. 4.

members of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Community are statutory natives of India. For the purposes of education and internal security, their status, in so far as it admits of definition, approximates to that of European British subjects.¹

At first glance any reader of this definition would be led to believe that the interests of the Community were well looked after as Anglo-Indians were both "statutory natives of India" as well as "European British subjects." But closer analysis would indicate that this anomalous position would inevitably lead to problems, especially as the interests of the ruling power and those of the Indians were increasingly incompatible. The Anglo-Indian was in the unenviable position of being obliged to choose sides. Historically-speaking, Anglo-Indians had always come down on the side of the British. In the context of the 1920's, a repetition of this pattern would inevitably further alienate his Indian compatriots. But this time such alienation could have significant and perhaps permanent political consequences.

The government was fully aware of the possible consequences of Indianization with regard to the Anglo-Indian Community. Paragraph 346 of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms specifically refers to this subject:

Some reference is needed also to the case of the large Anglo-Indian or Eurasian community which on historic grounds has a strong claim on the consideration of the British Government. It is not easy for them, occupying as they do an intermediate position between the

¹Report of the Indian Statutory Commission, Vol. I, Survey (London: H.M.S.O., May 1930), p. 43.

... races of the East and West, to win for themselves by their own unaided enterprise a secure position in the economy of India. They have been hitherto to a great extent in political and economic dependence on the Government; and they would not be strong enough to withstand the effect of changes which omitted to take account of their peculiar situation. We think that Government must acknowledge and must be given effective power to discharge, the obligation to see that their interests are not prejudicially affected.¹

However, the government had other problems arising from the Dyarchy system of government introduced in 1919. It was also facing the growing hostility of Indian Nationalists and the Muslim League which manifested itself in the non-cooperation and the Khilafat movements.

The Indian Liberals had never really been satisfied with the Act of 1919, but they agreed to work with the reforms firstly, because of their faith in Montagu and secondly, because they believed the Act offered prospects for further advance which they would be foolish to reject. Nevertheless, the Act had hardly been put into operation when the Liberals themselves started pressing for its revision. In September 1921, Rai J.N. Majumdar moved a resolution in the Legislative Assembly suggesting steps by which full autonomy would be granted in the provinces and all subjects except defence, foreign and political relations would be transferred to responsible ministers at the centre in 1924. Dominion self-government was to be attained by 1930.² At the same time the Indians (Liberals) began exerting pressure for the

¹Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, 1918, pp. 217-218.

²See India. Legislative Assembly Debates., 1921, Vol. II, p. 956.

early appointment of a Statutory Commission as contemplated by the Act of 1919. Alarmed at this state of affairs, Parliament appointed a Royal Commission on the Superior Civil Services in India in 1923, with Viscount Lee of Fareham as Chairman. The Lee Commission, as it came to be known, was to stress:

... the necessity for maintaining a standard of administration in conformity with the responsibilities of the Crown for the Government of India, and the declared policy of Parliament in respect of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration and the experience now gained by the operation of the system of government established by the Government of India. Act in respect of the superior Civil Services in India.¹

In short, the Lee Commission had been sent to speed up the pace of Indianization—a scheme that proved to be most injurious to the Anglo-Indian Community. The Lee Commission introduced a series of quotas and percentages to safeguard the employment of minorities. However, due to the fact that Anglo-Indians were not included in the 70-75 per cent quota set aside for Indians, their numbers fell drastically in the upper subordinate positions of the essential services. In fact in the recommendations by the Lee Commission there was a tacit omission of the term "Domiciled Community."

Every department of the Superior Services was to be Indianized so that the European element would gradually be phased out. Direct recruitment to the Indian Civil Service was to be on the basis of parity

¹Report of the Royal Commission on the Superior Civil Services in India, 27th March, 1924, p. 1, Cms. 2128.

between Europeans and Indians so as to:

... produce a 50-50 cadre in about 15 years, by which time the whole situation will again have come under review by the second Statutory Commission.¹

The underlying idea behind the recommendations of the Lee Commission was to devise a scheme that would satisfy the Indian demand for Indianization of the services without making too great a sacrifice of "efficiency" or of the vested rights of existing European officers. In order to placate the European element, detailed proposals were made to improve the financial conditions of the services and to safeguard their tenure of office and the opportunities for promotion. Though technically the Indian and British officials were to receive the same basic pay, all officers recruited in England, Indian or British, received an overseas allowance. But even in this a distinction was made:

... a British officer could remit his overseas pay to England at the rate of 2 s. to the rupee whereas the Indian officer was denied this privilege unless he actually had a wife living in Europe. There was also a proposal that every officer of non-Asiatic domicile should receive during his normal term of service four return passages for himself and his wife and one child. This privilege was to be extended to Indian officers of the Indian Civil Service recruited in England, but not to their families.²

These and other distinctions favouring the British official made the Lee Report highly unpopular with the Indian members of

¹Ibid., p. 19.

²Smith, p. 215.

Anglo-Indian Deputation to London (1925)



Mr. Gibbon Mr. Kunning Col. Gidney Mr. Griffiths Major Owen

Source: The Anglo-Indian Review, Christmas 1926, p. 16.

the Legislative Assembly. An amendment virtually rejecting the Report was adopted by a vote of 68 to 46 on the grounds that it sanctioned racial discrimination, and embodied the "illogical" assumption that a reformed constitution could be operated within the framework of the existing administrative system. They demanded a complete cessation of recruitment in England and that control of the services by the Secretary of State should be transferred to the Government of India and the provincial governments.¹ Despite this opposition, the British government and the Government of India felt that the recommendations of the Lee Commission were beneficial and they were gradually implemented.

The leaders of the Anglo-Indian Community alerted their people to the gravity of the situation. Their anxieties found expression in two deputations to England in 1923 and 1925. Both deputations presented weighty memoranda to two successive Secretaries of State, requesting the House of Commons to heed their grievances and protect them from economic obliteration.

Two difficulties faced the government from the outset with respect to the Anglo-Indian situation. First of all the British themselves had created the enigma of status for the Anglo-Indian by stating on the one hand that he was a "statutory native" and as such "eligible for practically all appointments for which Indians were eligible, and no change in this respect was contemplated by the Govern-

¹India. Legislative Assembly Debates, 12 Sept. 1924, Vol. IV, pp. 3362-3364.

ment."¹ At the same time for purposes of defence Anglo-Indians were considered European British subjects and given preferential treatment whenever expediency called for it. For example, the Auxiliary Force which was the "second line of defence" was almost entirely manned by the Domiciled Community. The second problem and perhaps the greatest obstacle was education. Anglo-Indians were educated under the European Code System which was not geared towards the Indian university system. As such, only a very small proportion of Anglo-Indians possessed university degrees which now became a criterion for employment in the Public Services and certain upper subordinate positions. Till now Anglo-Indians had regarded employment in these services more or less as their birthright and as such seldom bothered to pursue higher education which till now had not stood in the way of their advancement. Anglo-Indians often restricted their own prospects by their dependence on government for appointments in upper subordinate positions in particular departments, preferring nomination to competition with the Indian. Consequently when the schemes for Indianization were implemented, Anglo-Indians were caught napping and were the first to feel their effects.

Though the government had declared that it would reserve one-third of the total number of appointments in services administered by the Central Government for qualified members of minority groups, it would not commit itself to a definite percentage for any particular

¹ Govt. of India, Foreign & Political Dept. (Est.), F 1327 of 1922, NAI.

community. In reply to the Community's request for special safeguards in employment, the Government of India's official response was that:

... their policy had been restricted to securing that no one community should obtain an undue preponderance; and the reservation of posts [had] been made for qualified members of minority communities generally.¹

It was not until September 1928 that the Secretary of State officially replied to the Anglo-Indian deputation of 1925. The Government's tardiness was in some measure due to the fact that it was genuinely in a quandary regarding the Anglo-Indian position. At the same time the government was not prepared to take any responsibility for the problems arising out of the ambiguity of Anglo-Indian status. In his despatch of September 11, 1928, the Secretary of State dismissed this grievance thus:

The position of the community as intermediate between pure Europeans and pure Indians, no doubt gives rise to certain anomalies, but these anomalies rise from the attempt to accord recognition to its exceptional position and therefore cannot in the opinion of the Government of India, constitute a grievance.²

He further advised the Community:

... that they should endeavour to open out for themselves a wider range of employment and depend less completely on government service and stressed the vital importance for the purpose of securing employment

¹Govt. of India, Home Dept. (Est.), F 164 of 1928, NAI.

²Ibid.

whether in government service or in other occupations, of improved standards of education, which will enable the community to face with confidence the increased competition which must confront it.¹

The government had made it clear that Anglo-Indians must not continually turn to it for support but had to meet Indians on equal terms. In the meanwhile, the Statutory Commission presided over by Sir John Simon was already in India drawing up further plans for responsible government. Unsatisfied with the Secretary of State's reply to the 1925 deputation, the Community presented a third memorandum, addressed to the Simon Commission. It reiterated most of the earlier demands but in respect to economic protection, the views of the Community (represented by Gidney and other Anglo-Indian leaders) had altered radically. In place of previous demands for permanent protection, the Community asked for a short period of time to prepare itself for the change:

In view of the fact that the economic protection of our Community has been very seriously and prejudicially affected by the introduction of the Reforms and the progress of and misapplications of the policy of Indianization we urge that adequate safeguards be provided by statutory enactment for a stated period in the Provincial Civil Service, Provincial Judicial Service, Government of India and Provincial Government Secretariats, Salt, Forest, Survey, Police and other services.²

¹Ibid.

²"Memorandum submitted on behalf of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Community of India for the consideration of the Chairman and Members of the Indian Statutory Commission," Anglo-Indian Review, Vol. XVIII, No. 7, July 1928, pp. 54-55.

The Viceroy, Lord Irwin, nominated six members from the Assembly to the Indian Central Committee which was to assist the Simon Commission. The Community fully expected that their representative, Colonel Gidney, would be appointed on the Committee. However, no such appointment was made on grounds that the numerical insignificance of the members of the Community in comparison with other communities of India, did not justify a representation on the Committee. Instead the European representative on the Central Committee, Sir Arthur Frome, agreed to represent the interests of the Anglo-Indian Community with Gidney as his special adviser. Gidney was, however, subsequently selected as a delegate of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Community to all three Round Table Conferences held in London between 1930 and 1932. He was also appointed as a member of the Minorities, Services and Franchise sub-committees where he tenaciously fought for the protection of employment and education of his people.

A Focus on the Problem—Indianization of the Public Services

While the Indians and the Europeans were squabbling among themselves for positions, the Anglo-Indian was somehow lost in the shuffle. In fact, though the government had declared that Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans were to count as Indians so far as Indianization of the services was concerned, cases had been reported in which an Anglo-Indian had been discharged "to make place for an Indian."¹ It is necessary, therefore, to examine how the implementation of the Indianization policy in different departments (especially

¹Govt. of India, Foreign & Political Dept. (Est.), F 378 of 1924, NAI

the public services) particularly affected Anglo-Indian employment.

Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India

The personnel of the Foreign and Political Department were recruited from the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Army and the Provincial Service, and only applicants of exceptional merit were accepted. Despite the restrictions and high standards, entry to this department was open to statutory natives of India. As such, members of the Domiciled Community should have been eligible, provided they had the necessary qualifications.

The highly publicized case of E. H. Lincoln which occurred early in the reform era proved that eligible Anglo-Indian candidates were in fact refused permission to apply for such appointments. On March 17, 1922, Lincoln, Additional District Magistrate, Delhi, and member of the Domiciled Community wrote to E. B. Holwell (C. I. E.) asking for government rules concerning appointments of provincial service officers to the Political Department as he wished to apply. The following is the text of the letter he received in reply:

Delhi
March 20, 1922

Dear Sir,

Mr. Howell has asked me to reply to your personal letter to him of the 17th March, 1922. Recruitment to the Political Department of the Government of India from the Provincial Civil Service is confined to Indians and in these circumstances I am afraid that you are not eligible for appointment to the Political Department.

yours truly,

Sd. P. G. Lincoln¹

¹ Govt. of India, Foreign & Political Dept. (Est.), F 511 of 1922, NAI.

The Lincoln case was obviously another misinterpretation of the term "statutory native of India" in reference to the Anglo-Indian. Practically every deputation by the Community dealt with the question of status, but the government would not or could not clarify its official stand. Lincoln's plight was a case in point of ambivalence and inconsistency in official policy.

In the face of increasing pressure from the Indians for a greater share of appointments and the persistent demands of the Anglo-Indian community for a voice to be heard, the Secretary of State finally circulated a dispatch to all heads of local governments defining the term "Indian" for purposes of recruitment: "Decision that the term 'Indian' bears the same interpretation as 'Natives of India,' and as such includes Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans who are therefore eligible for appointment to the Political Department under the Indianization scheme of 1921." ¹

Nevertheless, there were wide discrepancies in the implementation of the Indianization policy, so much so that the Home Department, on the orders of the Secretary of State, asked the Foreign and Political Department in May, 1924, to make a thorough investigation concerning recruitment to the services under its administrative control. ²

¹Govt. of India, Foreign & Political Dept. (Est.), F 525 of 1927, NAI.

²Govt. of India, Home Dept. (Ests.), F 121 of 1925, NAI.

In some cases, like that of E.H. Lincoln, the matter was eventually set right,¹ but most often the plight of the Anglo-Indian depended on the attitude of the official on the spot.

Provincial Services

For some time prior to the 1919 Reforms, appointments to the Provincial Services were made by nomination from suitable Anglo-Indian and Indian candidates. The educational qualifications required from the Anglo-Indian was the Senior Cambridge Certificate or equivalent secondary school final examination certificate. The Indian, on the other hand, was expected to possess a university degree on the grounds that his secondary education did not equip him with a mastery of the English language. As the mother tongue of the Anglo-Indian was English, it was convenient for the Department to waive his lower education qualifications. However, this distinction was bound to cause ill will and as the schemes for Indianization gained momentum, the government was forced to change its policy. The system of nomination to the Provincial Services was replaced by competitive examinations open to those possessing university degrees.

This meant the virtual elimination of Anglo-Indians from recruitment and promotion to the Provincial Services as they were educated in schools under the European Code,² since the educational

¹Govt. of India, Foreign & Political Dept. (Est.), F 532 of 1927, NAI.

²See Chapter II, "Anglo-Indian Education," pp. 100-105 and pp. 110-122.

syllabus of these schools was not designed to lead up to Indian universities. Consequently, Anglo-Indians generally lacked the educational qualifications for employment in the Provincial Services which were required by their new policy.

The figures given below indicate how the Community was replaced by Indians in Government Departments, particularly in the higher Provincial Services.

TABLE VII

Clerks in the Indian and Bengal Offices in Calcutta from 1840-1890¹

<u>Year</u>	<u>Authority</u>	<u>Percentage of Anglo-Indians</u>	<u>Percentage of Indians</u>
1840	Scott's Directory	90.56	0.44
1890	Acctt. Genl's Statement	18.17	81.85

Provincial Civil Services, Deputy Magistrates and Deputy Collectors

<u>Year</u>	<u>Anglo-Indians</u>	<u>Indians</u>	<u>Percentage of Anglo-Indians</u>
1862	67	145	31.6
1922	12	319	3.6

Sub-Judges and Munsiffs

<u>Year</u>	<u>Anglo-Indians</u>	<u>Indians</u>	<u>Percentage of Anglo-Indians</u>
1862	23	56	29.1
1922	0	293	0

Provincial Services of Bengal

No. of Anglo-Indians	75
No. of Indians	3,030
Percentage of Anglo-Indians of Indians	2.5
"	97.5

¹"Memorandum submitted -----," Anglo-Indian Review, Vol. VI, No. 1.

TABLE VIII

Statement showing the number of Anglo-Indians and domiciled Europeans holding appointments in the Provincial Service in the U. P.¹

	<u>Actual Cadre</u>	<u>No. of Anglo- Indians</u>
1. Prov. Civil Service (Executive)	406	28
2. Prov. Civil Service (Judicial)	169	-
3. Prov. Educational Service	131	14
4. Prov. Agricultural Service	13	-
5. Prov. Forest Service	33	7
6. Prov. Civil Veterinary Service	3	1
7. Prov. Engineering Service	93	20
8. Prov. Medical Service	168	24
9. Prov. Excise Service	9	5
10. Prov. Income Tax Service	21 (plus 25 Coll.)	1
11. Prov. Opium Service	35	24
12. Prov. Police Service	40	9

The same educational disqualification arose with regard to employment of Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans in the Indian (Imperial) Police Service.

The Government hedged around the problem by leaving the decision of waiving certain educational standards to the discretion of the local authorities.

¹Letter from T. Sloan, I. C. S. Deputy Secretary, to Govt., U. P. Appointment Dept. to the Secretary to the Governor of Home Dept. Simla, Aug. 18, 1922, Govt. of India, Home Dept. (Est.), F 475 of 1922, NAI.

After considering various alternatives the Government of India have come to the decision that the best solution of the difficulty is to waive the condition regarding the Intermediate qualification in special cases and in such cases to accept the Cambridge Senior in lieu thereof both for Indians and for members of the Anglo-Indian or Domiciled European Community alike who apply for admission to the Exam provided in the opinion of the local Government they seem promising young men, and of sufficient general education and in all ways suitable for selection to the Indian Police.¹

Local authorities did not always react sympathetically towards the Anglo-Indian and the years to come saw fewer Anglo-Indians in the Provincial and Superior Services.

TABLE IX

The degree to which the Government services in Bengal have already been Indianized is indicated by the following statement²

<u>Service</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Percentage of Indians</u>	<u>Percentage of Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans</u>
Clerical & Ministerial	1840	0.4	99.6
Clerical & Ministerial	1920	97.0	3.0
Deputy Magistrates	1862	68.4	31.6
Deputy Magistrates	1922	96.4	3.6
Sub-judges & Munsiffs	1862	70.9	29.1
Sub-judges & Munsiffs	1922	100.00	0.0
Provincial Services	1922	97.5	2.5

¹Ibid., Official letter from C.W. Gwynne, Esq., O.B. E.I.C.S. dtd. Simla, 6th Nov. 1922.

²Enclosure to Ser. No. 1, Govt. of India, Foreign & Political Dept. (Est.), F378 of 1924, NAI.

The Railways

Perhaps the most dramatic repercussion of Indianization on Anglo-Indian employment was felt in the railways.

This department had provided the mainstay of employment for the Community ever since railways had been introduced in the country. Few Indians were employed, as they were not attracted by the privations and risks attached to railway service, especially in its pioneer stage. Those who were employed were usually lower subordinates or menials. Railway Agents and other British officials who worked closely with Anglo-Indians publicly testified to their particular aptitude for work in the railways.¹ This is reflected in the fact that till 1920, therefore, Anglo-Indians held a high percentage of appointments in the upper subordinate grades; the higher cadre almost always consisted of Europeans or covenanted British officers. The expansion of the railway network brought a steady revenue to the government and at the same time insured stable and almost hereditary employment to the Anglo-Indian.

The government, recognizing the loyalty of the Community, gave them ready employment but in return demanded compulsory enlistment in the Indian Auxiliary Force. The Auxiliary Force was frequently called upon to protect railway property, suppress strikes and in general, help maintain law and order, especially during communal disturbances.

¹India. Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. IV, 11th March, 1924, p. 1497.

This apparent security in employment, the obvious favour shown to the Community by reserving for them a fixed quota of jobs, and their involvement in the Auxiliary Force were all factors that roused both the aspirations and the hostility of the Indians.

Under pressure from Indian members in the Legislature, the government throughout the 1920's and '30's was subjected to a barrage of questions and demand for statistics concerning employment of Anglo-Indians in the railways.

The subject invariably came up during the debates on the railway budget which formed a large percentage of the general budget. Indian members of the House objected to the large amounts of money allotted to the railway budget. In fact it was claimed that the percentage had increased over the years and this was not conducive to budgetary economy. The following figures illustrate this increase:

<u>Budget Year</u>	<u>Railway as Percentage of Budget</u>
1891 - 1895	45%
1920 - 1921	65.54%
1927 - 1928	67.49% ¹

It was alleged that these increases only benefited the upper subordinate and official grades where Europeans and Anglo-Indians were mainly employed. There was usually a two-way tussle between the government and Indian members of the opposition—the 'bone of contention'

¹India. Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. II, Part II, 22nd Feb., 1927, p. 1141.

being the large proportion of Anglo-Indians employed in the railways. Charges of preferential treatment and racial discrimination were made against the government by both Indians and Colonel Gidney (the Anglo-Indian representative in the House) concerning Anglo-Indian employment in the railways. Each side claimed that the other was favoured by the government. From the Indians' point of view it seemed that:

... all the plums of office ... all the cushy jobs ... all the highly paid remunerative posts go to Anglo-Indians and Europeans and ... that Indians were in a most negligible minority in these posts.¹

The government was accused of creating class differences by giving Anglo-Indians and Europeans higher scales of pay, better amenities in housing, allowances and other fringe benefits than the Indians.

C. S. Ranga Iyer had this to say about railway policy:

The policy of the Government of India for the purpose of recruitment seems to be to consider matters from three points of view, by introducing three communities on the scene—the Anglo-Indian, the European and the Indian. Such are the obstacles placed in this race for progress. Such is the railway policy—even as the political policy is to sub-divide the Indian community into Hindus, Muslims and the depressed class. This is ... racial discrimination with a vengeance.²

The Anglo-Indian grievance, voiced by Gidney, was that

Indianization with its so called economy ... was being exercised and effected under the

¹India. Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. V, Part I, 5th Feb., 1925, p. 783.

²India. Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. II, 25th Feb., 1929, p. 1200.

guise of dismissals because they [the government] want to replace Anglo-Indians by Indians.¹

The government was charged with placing the Anglo-Indians in a most difficult position:

... the playthings of yesterday, the unrecognized convenience of today, and the forgotten of tomorrow, disowned by the European, not wanted by the Indian, and neglected by the Government of India, the official trustee of its future.²

The government, in order to avoid embarrassment, at first attempted to conceal the facts and figures of Anglo-Indians employed in different grades of the railway by placing them under the category of "other classes." It is difficult to understand why the Government of India adopted this evasive policy, especially as various Commerce Members, Railway Commissioners and the Secretary of State (Birkenhead) himself had testified to the valuable and loyal service rendered by the Anglo-Indian community in the railways. Instead of openly admitting that Anglo-Indians were employed in a large proportion by virtue of their long association, devotion and efficiency, they tried to cover up the facts. This was probably because the government wished to persuade the Indian opposition to agree to a restoration of grants in the railway budget by showing a marked increase in Indianization.

¹India. Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. IV, Parts II & III, 11th March, 1924, p. 1495.

²India. Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. V, Part I, 5th Feb., 1925, p. 797.

By not admitting the actual numbers of Anglo-Indians employed however, the Government only reinforced Indian suspicion that it was guilty of /making a distinction between the Anglo-Indian and Indian. Indian members in the Legislative Assembly usually opposed the increases in the budget and moved large cuts so that retrenchment would occur in the superior (and expensive) grades and Indians recruited in larger numbers in the lower (and cheaper) grades.¹

The extent to which the Community depended on railway employment can be seen from the following statement submitted by Gidney in his Memorandum to the Secretary of State in 1925:

The Domiciled Community, that is, Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans, has about 20,000 of its members employed as Railway subordinates who with their families amount to a total of 80,000, which means that of our total population of about 200,000 nearly one-half are either employed, or directly dependent on the Railways for their existence.²

The retrenchment of Anglo-Indians on the railways constituted a grave crisis in the life of the Community. The British officials themselves were aware of the drastic effects Indianization would have on the Anglo-Indian community. The Honourable Sir George Rainey, Commerce Member, in the course of the Railway Budget debate, cautioned the government thus:

¹Ibid., 27th Feb., p. 1721.

²"Memorandum submitted by the Deputation of the Delegates representing the Anglo-Indian & Domiciled European Community of India and Burma to the Rt. Hon. the Secretary of State for India," Birkenhead Papers, July 30th, 1925, p. 9, IOL MSS. EUR. D 707/31-45.

The point I want to make plain, if I can is this. There are certain things we cannot do. For one thing, we could not . . . oust Anglo-Indians from the appointments the individuals actually hold in order to replace them by Indians. There is also another aspect of the case to which I think it is necessary to refer here. When as a matter of history, members of a particular community have held a very large number of appointments of a particular class, inevitably the whole economic organization of the community becomes involved with that fact. That is a point which the Government of India cannot possibly ignore and to take measures which would summarily involve a sudden violent dislocation of the economic existence of an important community would clearly be a matter in which the Government of India ought to proceed very cautiously. I want to give that warning.¹

Nevertheless, the government continued to replace Anglo-Indians with Indians not only in the upper subordinate grades but in the superior Railway services as well. Once again educational qualifications stood in the way of the Anglo-Indian as a university degree had become a prerequisite for entry into these departments.

As it was, very few Anglo-Indians were ever appointed or promoted from the upper subordinate cadre to the Superior Grade. Those who were, did so usually in an officiating capacity sometimes for the entire length of service. In time, Indians with higher educational qualifications replaced Anglo-Indians in officiating positions.

Sir George Rainey, while presenting the Railway budget in 1928 gave the Assembly the following facts concerning Indianization of

¹India. Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. I, 25th Feb., 1928, p. 808.

the Superior Railway Services.

32% of the permanent gazetted appointments created in 1925, and of the vacancies which occurred during that year in such appointments on State-managed Railways were filled by Indians. In 1926-27 the percentage practically doubled; it was over 62%. This year, on the latest available figures it seems probable that 42 Indians will be appointed to Superior Railway services, including the 13 candidates who, as announced last week, were successful in the examinations for the Indian Railway Services of Engineers and the Transportation and Commercial Departments of the State-managed Railways. We are only expecting 18 European recruits this year for the State-managed Railways, so Indians are likely to obtain 70% of the appointments. We are rapidly reaching the percentage recommended as our aim by the Lee Commission.¹

The communal percentages for employment, from 1925-27, in the subordinate Railway services were as follows:

Europeans	25.0%
Anglo-Indians	44.4%
Indians including other classes	29.6% ²

In the Superior Railway Services the communal percentages from 1925-27 were:

Europeans	70.9%
Anglo-Indians	8.0%
Indians including other classes	21.1% ³

¹ibid., 20th Feb., 1928, p. 538.

²Reports by the Railway Board on Indian Railways for 1924-25, 1925-26 & 1926-27, cited in: Anglo-Indian Review, Vol. XXVIII, No. 7 (July 1928), p. 13.

³ibid., Report of the Railway Board on Indian Railways, 1926-27, Vol. II.

Indianization of the Railways was taking place at so rapid a rate, that it was feared that within a period of 15 years, most of the officials would be Indians. This in turn would rebound on the whole system of promotions from lower subordinates to upper subordinates who were appointed by Selection Committees from the Superior grade. If in time 70% of Railway officials were to be Indians, it was natural to expect that these committees would appoint Indian applicants in preference to Anglo-Indians.

Leaders of the Community realized that complete Indianization of the Railways was inevitable. Consequently, their only recourse was to ask the government (in their memorandum to the Simon Commission) to protect the jobs of the Community for a stated period of 30 years. During this time, Anglo-Indians would have to readjust to the new conditions (lower pay scales and higher educational qualifications) or equip themselves for occupations other than Railway service.

In the 1925 deputation, Gidney had asked that the future of his people on the Railways be permanently safeguarded. However, the Secretary of State made it clear in his reply in 1928 that

... the Government of India have never been prepared to set aside any definite percentage of appointments for any particular community. Their policy has been restricted to securing that no one community should obtain an undue preponderance.¹

The Government was, however, prepared to reserve in the Superior Railway services, a fixed proportion of vacancies for the

¹Govt. of India, Home Dept. (Ests.), F 164 of 1928, NAI.

nomination of properly qualified candidates in order to redress inequalities of communal representation. Anglo-Indians would be eligible together with other minority communities to share in this reservation. Besides this a proportion of vacancies would be set aside for candidates meriting promotion to the Superior Railway service from the subordinate grades (Anglo-Indians were most numerous in this grade).

However, the position of Anglo-Indians in the subordinate branches of the Service, including the Upper Subordinate posts, was more difficult. The government while recognizing the aptitude and merit of Anglo-Indians in the Railways stated

... that members of the community are bound in future to meet increased competition from Indians and that the recruitment schemes or the subordinate Railway services will be based on a reasonable standard of general education.¹

The government agreed that time should be afforded the community so that they could avail themselves of a higher general education, without their position in the Railways being meanwhile endangered.

From the foregoing facts, it is evident that Indianization would, even by government admission, seriously restrict the opportunities of employment for Anglo-Indians in the Railways.

Railway employment was not merely a livelihood to the Anglo-Indian—it was a whole way of life which was in serious danger of dislocation.

¹ Ibid.

Indian Telegraph Department

Next to the Railways, the Telegraph Department was another major wage-earning source for the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled Community. Here too, the Community prided itself with having been among the pioneer workers of the telegraph system. Just as railway employment had been at first unattractive to the Indian so also were the Telegraphs.

Till the year 1878, every branch of the Department was manned entirely by Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans. Though Indians were gradually admitted, the Government of India ruled in 1902-03 that the percentage of Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans should not fall below 66 2/3%. This percentage was steadily maintained till about 1916, during which year the government, recognizing the contribution of Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans to the Telegraphs, raised their salaries, status and prospects.¹

However, in keeping with the schemes for Indianization, the percentage of Anglo-Indians dropped to about 50% in 1920 and 40% in 1929 as more and more Indians entered the Department, both in the lower subordinate grades as well as in the Superior appointments.

The process which had characterized the Indianization of the railways was repeated in the Telegraph Department. Anglo-Indians were gradually being ousted by Indians in the subordinate ranks and eliminated from the Superior Telegraphs services because their lower

¹"Memorandum submitted -----," Anglo-Indian Review, Vol. VI, No. 7, p. 19.

educational qualifications prevented them from competing with Indian graduates. Those hardest hit were men who had more than 25 years of service and had spent practically their whole lives in the Telegraphs.

Gidney submitted the following statistics to the Simon Commission, with reference to the Calcutta Telegraph Office—one of the largest Presidency Offices in India.

1913-1918

Anglo-Indians ...	329
Indians	99

1918-1923

Anglo-Indians ...	252 (decreased by 77)
Indians	178 (increased by 75)

1923-1928

Anglo-Indians ...	166 (decreased by 163)
Indians	242 (increased by 143) ¹

Regarding the Superior Telegraph services, Gidney maintained:

Displacement of our labour at the rate that is being witnessed today is bound to react on and seriously disturb the domestic economy of a large section of the community, for, it must be remembered that there are, today, about 2,000 Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European employees in this Department who, with their wives and children, constitute a total of about 8,000 of the Domiciled Community employed or dependent on the Telegraph Department.²

The memorandum to the Simon Commission put forward two basic demands on behalf of the Community:

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., p. 20.

1) that the percentage of Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans be raised to the level of 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ % in certain sections of the subordinate Telegraph service for a period of 25 years and that for the succeeding 25 years it should not be allowed to fall below 50% and,

2) 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ % of appointments to the Superior Services should be reserved for suitable members of the Community, by promotion from the Subordinate Service.

These requests for job protection were made not only on the grounds of past services but on the grounds that the government itself had introduced the principle of employing particular communities for particular services. Thus recruitment into the Indian Army was open only to the "martial races" such as Sikhs, Pathans, or Gurkhas.

Moreover, the government was quite used to bending the rules of recruitment whenever the exigency of the moment required it. In fact, a special amendment to the Government of India Act (1915-1916), Section 99, Article 37 of the Civil Service Regulation, allowed the government to waive certain requirements and appoint persons to reserved offices.

Government of India Act — 1915-16

Power to appoint certain persons to reserved offices

99 - (1) The authorities in India by whom appointments are made to offices in the I. C. S., may appoint to any such office any person of proved merit and ability domiciled in British India and born of parents habitually resident in India and not established for temporary purposes only, although the person so appointed has not been admitted to that service in accordance with the foregoing provisions of this Act.

(2) Every such appointment shall be made subject to such rules as may be prescribed by the Governor-General in Council and sanctioned by the Secretary of State in Council with the concurrence of a majority of votes at a meeting of the Council of India.

(3) The Governor-General in Council may, by resolution define and limit the qualifications of persons who may be appointed under this section, but every resolution made for that purpose shall be subject to the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council, and shall not have force until it has been laid for 30 days before both Houses of Parliament.¹

The Community was now requesting the government to apply the same principle of reservation for special employment in the Telegraph Department.

Customs

The displacement of Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans was nowhere more marked than in the Customs Department. From the inception of the Preventive Branch of the Customs Service in Calcutta in 1852, for instance, until the introduction of the Reforms in 1920, the entire department was staffed by Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans. Within the next eight years, 1/5 of these employees had been replaced by Indians.²

Similarly, there was a reduction in the Appraisers' Branch of the Calcutta Custom Service. Till 1909, Europeans and Anglo-Indians

¹Govt. of India, Foreign & Political Dept. (Est.), F 1327 of 1922, NAI.

²"Memorandum submitted ----," Anglo-Indian Review, Vol. VI, No. 7, p. 21.

had entirely staffed this department, but since 1920, when the Reforms were introduced, Indians were admitted into both the Customs Preventive Service, and the Customs Appraisers' Department.

TABLE X (a)
Customs Preventive Service, Calcutta

<u>Years</u>	<u>1918-1919</u>	<u>1919-1920</u>	<u>1920-1921</u>	<u>1921-1922</u>	<u>1922-1923</u>	<u>1923-1924</u>	<u>1924-1925</u>	<u>1925-1926</u>	<u>1926-1927</u>	<u>1927-1928</u>
Number of Anglo-Indians & Domiciled Europeans	-	249	240	235	230	222	214	208	204	201
Number of Indians	Nil	5	14	19	24	32	40	46	50	53
Approx. Percentage of Indians	Nil	2	5 1/2	7 1/2	9 1/2	12 1/2	15 1/2	18	20	20 3/4

Sanctioned Strength:

Inspectors	14
Officers	240
Total	<u>254</u> ¹

TABLE X (b)

Customs Appraisers' Department, Calcutta

<u>Years</u>	<u>1908</u>	<u>1909</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1914</u>	<u>1917</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1922</u>	<u>1924</u>	<u>1926</u>	<u>1927</u>
Number of Indians Employed	Nil	1	3	5	8	9	10	18	20	22

Present Strength Indians 22

Present Strength Anglo-Indians & Domiciled Europeans..... 16

Sanctioned Strength 38²

¹Ibid., p. 22.

²Ibid.

The following entry regarding the Indianization of the Public Services is not only revealing, but is proof that the authorities themselves were questioning the implementation of the scheme which was bringing about a large displacement of Anglo-Indians from departments which they had hitherto served efficiently.

To what lengths the fétish of Indianization can be carried is illustrated by the introduction of Indians into the Customs Service, a service in which special knowledge is essential of the articles imported for European consumption—a knowledge of which is not possessed by 1% of Indians, who have never heard of, or seen, much less used, articles which a Customs officer has to identify, classify and appraise for duty. It is prayed that a statistical investigation be made of the percentage in which throughout British India, Hindus and Mohammedans and Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans are serving in the Provincial, Subordinate and Ministerial Services of Government; and that the elimination of Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans from the public services be arrested.¹

Postal Service

The degree requirement for entry into the Superior grades of the Postal Service precluded Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans among whom were very few graduates. The lower subordinate appointments were comprised mainly of Indians; members of the Community were not attracted to these positions because of the low wages and low standard of living in the mofussil.

¹Enclo. to Ser. No. 1, Govt. of India, Foreign & Political Dept. (Est.), F 378 of 1924, NAI.

From 1924 onwards no new appointment was given to members of the Community in the officers grade of the Probationary Superintendents' Department. It was, however, in the lower grade of Postmasters earning Rs. 160 - 250 that the effects of Indianization were very pronounced—here the ratio of employment was 123 (Indians) to 5 (Anglo-Indians).

The Indian Medical Department (Military Branch)

The Indian Medical Department (I. M. D.) was the only department that was exclusively reserved for Anglo-Indians and members of the Domiciled Community. It was the Junior Medical Service working with British troops under orders of the Royal Army Medical Corps. Members of the I. M. D. received a 5-year medical diploma from the Medical Colleges in Calcutta and Madras. It was considered subordinate to the Indian Medical Service and though a few illustrious Anglo-Indians (including Gidney himself) entered this department, the high educational standards and the cost of study in England prevented most from joining its ranks. However, the Community could be proud of the I. M. D. as they had rendered meritorious service in the First World War working closely with the British Army on the front.

Despite the fact that the I. M. D. was an All-India Service directly under the Secretary of State, invidious distinctions existed in pay scales, allowance, housing, etc. between officers of the I. M. D. and other British officers holding the same rank in the British Army.

However, there were many other grievances. The main issue was the retrenchment of members of the I. M. D. in the post-World

War I period. The Government, having utilized their services for many years, had no qualms about dispensing with their services as the I.M.D. had outlived its usefulness. The existence of the I.M.D. was being seriously threatened by the Royal Army Medical Corps (R. A. M. C.) which was recruited in England and whose personnel were taking over a large number of duties previously assigned to the I.M.D., thus making the services of the latter redundant. The Military Assistant surgeons who were usually from the I.M.D. had "through no fault of his own become largely superfluous, his sphere of usefulness being confined for the most part to medico-clerical duties, or to posts such as that of assistant to specialists in X-rays or laboratories."¹

As if this was not bad enough, civil appointments which were previously open to members of the I.M.D. were now being denied them by some of the provincial governments. Till the introduction of the Reforms and Indianization of the services, a certain percentage of medical appointments were reserved for members of the I.M.D. These men were specially selected by the Director-General of the I.M.S. by merit of their ability and qualifications. Most of the civil appointments were in Presidency hospitals, lunatic asylums, leper hospitals, jails, etc.

The Central government absolved itself of all responsibility as medicine was a "Transferred" subject, outside the control of the Government of India. The provincial governments of the United

¹"Secretary of State's Despatch," Birkenhead Papers, Military No. 27, Oct. 22, 1925, IOL MSS. EUR. D 703/4-45.

Provinces and the Punjab closed the civil appointments to members of the I.M.D. as it was said that they considered their diplomas inferior to the Licentiate Degree in Surgery and the Bachelor of Medicine degree of various Indian universities.

Lord Birkenhead, the Secretary of State, admitted to the problems facing the I.M.D.

. . . I fully realize that the disappearance of the Indian Medical Department would be a heavy blow to the Anglo-Indian community which has already been prejudicially affected in the matter of employment by the trend of recent events in India. . . .¹

At best the government was ready to retain the Department on its present lines, without any general improvement of status or qualifications. The government felt it was clearly "the duty of the community itself or its leaders, to find a remedy for this state of affairs."²

If members of the I.M.D. wished to be eligible for civil appointments they would have to take the initiative themselves and upgrade their qualifications. The government would assist by granting Assistant Surgeons of warrant rank in military employment, and of Asiatic domicile a free (second class return passage by transport, when proceeding on study leave to the United Kingdom. Short of expressing a general sympathy for the future of the I.M.D., the government was clearly not prepared to take any definite course of action to prevent its probable extinction.

¹Ibid.

²Govt. of India, Army Dept. (A-D-L), F 31982/1 of Sept. 11, 1925, p. viii.

During the reform era there were two long-standing grievances which were discussed (mainly because of Gidney's insistence) but never really resolved. One concerned the eligibility of Anglo-Indians to enter the army and the other was the question of "jury rights."

With regard to the army, once again the "status" of the Anglo-Indian proved to be the stumbling-block as he was precluded from entering the ranks of either the British or the Indian Defence forces. The injustice of the situation was illustrated by Gidney in the Legislative Assembly when he questioned the government on its army policy:

Lt. Col. H. A. J. Gidney: (a) Will Government be pleased to state under what category members of the domiciled community come, so far as admission into the ranks of the British and Indian armies is concerned.

(i) Are they ranked as Europeans or Indians?

(ii) If Europeans, why are they denied admission into the British Army?

(iii) If Indians, why are they denied admission into the Indian Army, especially the eight experimental units of the Indian Army?

(b) Will Government be pleased to make a definite pronouncement as to what position and share the domiciled community are to be given in the contemplated changes in the Indian Army? Is it the intention of Government to continue to ignore the domiciled community in this respect?

Mr. E. Burdon: I regret that I am unable to reply to this question today. I have had to call for certain information which is not immediately available and which has not yet been received regarding the position of members of the domiciled community in respect of enlistment in the British Army. When my inquiries have been completed, I will communicate the result to the Honourable Member at once. I hope he will excuse the present delay which

I can assure him is unavoidable.

Mr. N.M. Joshi: May I ask whether that information will be published as an answer to this question?

Mr. E. Burdon: I have not the slightest objection to having it published if the Honourable Member wishes it done. I had intended communicating it to Col. Gidney.

Mr. N.M. Joshi: I thought the question was of importance and might be published.

Mr. E. Burdon: Certainly I will do so.¹

This was an example of Gidney's astuteness in forcing the government to admit that its enlistment policy in the Defence Forces was discriminatory towards the Community. Moreover, he succeeded in securing both an open declaration by the government representative to publish the government's policy on the subject and also, at the insistence of an Indian member, to communicate the same to the House.

In 1927, Gidney was still hammering away at the government's policy towards the Community and the Armed Forces. The Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, Sir William Birdwood, in a speech before the House openly sympathized with the Anglo-Indian Community with regard to employment in the army. He affirmed that they had been placed in an invidious position through no fault of their own. While professing his desire to help the Community to obtain employment in the ancillary services—Signal Units, Transport and the like, he said he could do so if Anglo-Indians agreed to accept Indian rates of pay. He claimed that grounds of economy prevented him from doing otherwise.

¹India. Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. IV, 24th March, 1924, pp. 2094-95.

This provoked the ire of Gidney for the government had a record of shamelessly exploiting the Community's services as in the First World War and then casting them off whenever they had no further need of them. Gidney's indignation at the condescending attitude of the Commander-in-Chief is apparent:

His Excellency's reply staggered me for more reasons than one. I did not ask for his sympathy, we have had so much of it and sympathy is a starvation diet. . . . The doors of both armies are closed to the Community today and why? The Indian Army is closed to me because (1) it is constituted on the caste system and there is no Anglo-Indian caste in its composition—indeed we have no caste, (2) it is impossible for me to live on Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 per month, the Indian soldiers' pay. The British army is closed, because I am not a pure Britisher. As a community I have for a century sought for and been refused admission into the British army or a unit of any one—no reasons have hitherto been given. It is now only in 1927 after the Reforms and the cry to Indianize the army, I am told, I can be admitted, but only on the same terms as Indian soldiers. . . . His Excellency views the term economy as an army economy. My idea of this economy is my standard of living. Give me a salary according to my standard of living and it matters not what you call me. I have never asked to be given the same pay as the British soldier.¹

The grievance of the Anglo-Indian Community regarding admission to the army was never adequately dealt with. Gidney brought the matter up persistently in his deputation of 1925, in his memorandum to the Simon Commission in 1928 and again in 1934. On these occasions

¹India, Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. II, 4th March, 1927, pp. 1715-16.

Gidney never failed to slip in his oft-repeated request for a separate Anglo-Indian Unit—a dream that never materialized.¹

Gidney realized that these requests of his appeared to contradict the very basis for his claim to have his people included in the schemes for Indianization:

... this keen desire to enter the British Army as European British subjects and at the same time to seek admission into other employments as statutory natives of India might sound very anomalous, but it is not of my seeking. I have been given this conflicting and anomalous position and so long as the Indian Government gives me the status and rights of a European British subject in the Auxiliary Force, the second line of defence of the British army in India, so long will I press my claims and my rights to be accorded those privileges and rights given to all other European British subjects in India.²

It seems obvious, therefore, that the Government had no intention of granting Anglo-Indians the same "rights" and "privileges" as other British subjects nor was it willing to release them from their obligation of serving in the Auxiliary Force.

The second and perhaps greater injustice was that the Anglo-Indian was denied "jury rights," that is, the right to be tried by a judge and jury of his own choice. This privilege was accorded both to the Britisher as well as the Indian (Hindu or Muslim) and was the settlement of an old controversy between the two. Both sides claimed that it was essential in the interests of justice that they should be

¹Ibid., p. 1718.

²Ibid., p. 1716.

allowed to choose a jury familiar with their language, manners and customs. A Racial Distinctions Committee was set up to study the problem and as a result of its deliberations a compromise was effected:

Accordingly, by section 14 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1923, both the European British subject and the Indian British subject were given the privilege of demanding that the majority of the jury shall be composed of Europeans or Americans for the former and Indian British subjects for the latter, and by clause (ii) of that section, this privilege was also extended to both Europeans (other than European British subjects) and Americans; whereas, a British subject of European descent is in a worse position than even an alien, unless he can prove that he is a European British subject.¹

The British subject of European descent was obviously an Anglo-Indian or Domiciled European and was required to furnish proof of legitimacy—a stipulation which was not required from the Indian or Britisher. Though Gidney brought up the matter of jury rights many times, the British authorities were not ready to make any concessions because any attempt "to legislate to confer a special privilege was out of the range of practical politics."² The authorities went through the whole charade of suggesting that Gidney propose a bill introducing a further amendment to the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, but the bill never came up for discussion and the matter was shelved. There were besides many other issues and grievances which likewise resulted from misconceptions and misapplications of the Indianization policy

¹"Memorandum submitted ---," Anglo-Indian Review, Anglo-Indian Review, Vol. VI, No. 7, p. 53.

²Govt. of India, Home Dept. (Judicial), F 144 of 1925, NAI.

which caused much hardship to the Community as a whole. Viscount Burnham referred to the bleak prospects of Anglo-Indian employment and the need to help the Community in these words:

... They have suffered very severely and their position at the moment is extremely bad indeed.

I think that some protection should be given to them in the new Constitution, and any practical protection should be given because they have rendered great services to the country and they deserve all the protection that can be given to them.¹

The need for job protection and special consideration for the Community was emphasized repeatedly by men like Burnham and other high-ranking officials. The government finally guaranteed special safeguards in employment and education for a specified period of time in the Government of India Act of 1935 but it took several years before the policy was actually put into operation.

¹"Joint Select Committee," cited in Anglo-Indian Review, Aug. 1933, Vol. XXIV, p. 13.

CHAPTER V

CONSTITUTION IN THE MAKING 1928-1935

The Political Spectrum and the Evolution of a New Constitution (1930-35)

The five years preceding the promulgation of the Government of India Act of 1935 were crucial both to the cause of Indian nationalism as well as for the government beset by domestic and political problems in England. To begin with, in May 1929, the Conservative government, led by Stanley Baldwin, was ousted from power and was replaced by the minority Labour administration headed by Ramsay MacDonald, with Wedgewood Benn as Secretary of State for India. During his term of office as Secretary of State, Birkenhead's "India Policy" had been one of reaction and repression rather than one of concession. Thus Indians were jubilant at the Labour Party's victory, especially as MacDonald had made a public statement concerning India's future at a Conference of Commonwealth Labour Parties:

I hope that within a period of months rather than years there will be another Dominion added to the Commonwealth of Nations . . . a Dominion which will find respect as an equal within the Commonwealth. I refer to India.¹

At the same time, the government was faced with the negative reaction and stiff opposition of most Indian parties to the Indian Statutory (Simon) Commission, appointed in November 1927 to review

¹Cited in Vishnoo Bhagwan, Constitutional History of India and National Movement (Delhi: Atma Ram & Sons, 1972), p. 181.

the Reforms of 1919. The all-white Commission had been appointed by Birkenhead, then Secretary of State, who shared with Irwin, the Viceroy, the blame for selecting a body of this kind without a single Indian representative. The reasoning behind this was that a mixed commission representing diverse Indian interests would have resulted in communal rivalry, thereby minimizing the possibility of agreement. If this was good strategy it certainly was not good politics. Birkenhead and his associates may not have deliberately intended to insult and humiliate the Indian people but they were ignorant of racial psychology.¹

Consequently, the Indian Congress Party as well as other more militant parties decided to boycott the Commission. They were the No-changers, Swarajists, Responsive Cooperatives and members of the Independent Congress Party. The main political leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha, Jayakar, Malaviya and Moonje also joined in the Congress boycott as did many members of the National Liberal Federation.² Despite this impressive display of nationalist solidarity, however, divisions remained along caste lines within the Hindu body. Thus the non-Brahman or Justice Party of Madras as well as the Untouchables decided to cooperate with the Commission.³

The Muslim League was also split in its decision to boycott the Commission. One group, led by Jinnah, was in favour of the

¹W. R. Smith, Nationalism and Reform in India, p. 375.

²R. J. Moore, The Crisis of Indian Unity (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), p. 34.

³Ibid.

boycott while another, led by Mohammed Shafi,¹ supported the Commission. So great was the opposition that Shafi convened a rival session of the League at Lahore on December 31, 1927. An anti-boycott manifesto was issued by the Punjab Muslim leaders to all Muslims warning that "a resort to the sterile policy of boycott would bring nothing but shame and sorrow. . . ."² The rift in the Muslim League was also due to one party (Jinnah's) supporting the Nehru Report and the other party (Shafi's) rejecting it. The Nehru Report (August 10, 1928) was an answer to Birkenhead's taunting challenge that Indians themselves would not be able to frame a constitution acceptable to all parties. Already, communal rivalry was threatening to surface which appeared to justify Birkenhead's comment. The Nehru Report, named after Motilal Nehru, the principal figure in the committee which drafted it, contained proposals for a new constitution with Dominion Status as the goal:

It contained a Bill of Rights, a description of the machinery of government, a proposal for the creation of a Supreme Court, a suggestion that the provinces should be re-distributed on a linguistic basis, a discussion

¹Mohammed Shafi (b. 1869) was a prominent member of the Muslim Community—President of the All-India Muslim League 1913; President, All-India Muslim Educational Conference 1916; Member, Provincial and Imperial Legislative Councils 1909-1919; education member, Govt. of India, 1919-1922; law member, Govt. of India, 1922-1924. He led the campaign in support of the Simon Commission and favoured cooperation of the Muslims with the government.

²Cited in Uma Kaura, Muslims and Indian Nationalism (New Delhi: Manohar Book Service, 1977), p. 32.

of the relations between the Dominions and the Indian States. . . .¹

The recommendations were unanimously accepted by the Hindu parties except as to the basis of the constitution. While the majority favoured Dominion Status as the immediate goal, a minority, led by Jawaharlal Nehru (son of Motilal Nehru) and Subhas Chandra Bose, demanded complete independence. As regards the communal problem, the Report recommended joint, as opposed to separate, electorates with reservation of seats for minorities (except in the Punjab and Bengal) on a population basis with the right to contest seats other than those reserved for them. But the principle of extra weightage was not conceded.

The Nehru Report did not get the backing of the entire Muslim Community, though Congress Muslims like Ali Imam, Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari and Abul Kalam Azad supported it.² On March 31, 1929 the All-India Muslim League rejected the Nehru Report and put forward instead Jinnah's "Fourteen Points," as being the minimum conditions acceptable to the Muslims. Jinnah's proposals were also an attempt to bring together all Muslims from different parties—the Shafi League, the Khilafists, the Congress Muslims and his own followers. Basically, Jinnah's "Fourteen Points" represented the same demands which the Muslim leaders had been making since 1927:

¹Smith, pp. 373-74.

²For further insight of Muslim reaction towards the Nehru Report see Mushirul Hasan, Muslims and the Congress (New Delhi: Manohar Book Service, 1979), pp. 86-87.

The legislatures and other elected bodies were to be constituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province without reducing the majorities in any province to a minority or even equality. Muslim representation in the Central Legislature was to be not less than one-third. The Muslims were to be given adequate share in all the services of the state on a communal basis. And lastly it was laid down that when all the other points were accepted by the Congress, the League might agree to joint electorates.¹

The rejection of the Nehru Report by the largest minority in India—the Muslims—was an ominous indication that communal harmony would be a major factor to contend with before any constitution could be agreed upon.

Even before the Statutory Commission could publish its report, in June 1930, Lord Irwin decided to take conciliatory steps to diffuse Indian opposition. Taking his cue from the Nehru Report and its demand for Dominion Status, Irwin felt that the time was ripe for an official statement to that effect. He hoped thereby to gain the support of moderate Hindu and Muslim nationalists. Irwin was so convinced of the positive effects of such a step that he flew to England to obtain the Prime Minister's consent. In his opinion, the matter required immediate action especially as the Indian National Congress, under Gandhi's guidance, had issued an ultimatum to the government that if

¹Cited in Kaura, p. 49; also in C. H. Philips, ed., The Evolution of India and Pakistan, Select Documents (London: 1962), p. 234.

the Nehru Report was not accepted in full on or before December 31, 1929, a nation-wide Civil Disobedience movement would be launched. Having received official approval, Irwin returned to India and made this momentous declaration which was published in a Gazette of India Extraordinary on October 31, 1929:

I am authorized on behalf of His Majesty's government to state clearly that in their judgement, it is implicit in the declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress, as there contemplated, is the attainment of Dominion Status.

Irwin also referred to the prospect of a Round Table Conference in London at which representatives of British India and Indian States would meet the British government to discuss the report of the Indian Statutory Commission and other proposals dealing with a forthcoming Indian constitution.

The announcement created a furore in England and was severely criticized by both Liberals and Conservatives. The term "Dominion Status" had been variously interpreted by different statesmen at different times. In fact on November 5, 1929, The Times published ten different quotations covering the period from 1917 to 1927 in which the word "Dominion" was used to illustrate the goal of British policy in India. The following are some of the quotations as they appeared in The Times—

June 5, 1919

Mr. Montagu On Second Reading of Government of India Bill.

That pronouncement of August 20, 1917 was made in order to achieve what I believe is

the only logical, the only possible, the only acceptable meaning of Empire and Democracy—namely, an opportunity to all nations flying the Imperial flag to control their own destinies.

February 9, 1921

The Duke of Connaught At The Inauguration of The Council of State And Legislative Assembly.

I am the bearer of a message from His Majesty, the King-Emperor. It is this:

'For years, it may be for generations, patriotic and loyal Indians have dreamed of Swaraj independence for their motherland. Today you have beginnings of Swaraj within my Empire, and widest scope and ample opportunity for progress to the liberty which my other Dominions enjoy.'

February 26, 1924

Lord Olivier, in the House of Lords As Secretary of State for India.

His Majesty's Government, having themselves the same ultimate aim as the Indian Swaraj Party, namely, the substitution of responsible Indian Dominion government for the present admittedly transitional political Constitution, are earnestly desirous of availing themselves in whatever may be found the best possible method of this manifest disposition towards effectual consultation.

March 18, 1927

Lord Birkenhead as Secretary of State for India.

There was much that might be gladly offered and loyally accepted which would afford a precious promise of a Constitution which might last for long, and might bring India really, and perhaps permanently, on equal terms as an honoured partner into that free community of British Dominions which men knew as the Empire.

May 24, 1927

Stanley Baldwin as Prime Minister.

Some ten years ago it was declared that the aim of British policy was:

'The progressive realization of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the Empire.' Since then great strides towards that goal have been made, and in all the joint activities of the British Commonwealth of Nations India now plays her part, and in the fullness of time we look forward to seeing her in equal partnership with the Dominions.

The foregoing excerpts indicate that Irwin's announcement was nothing more than a reiteration of promises made in the past and a 'face-saving device' to appease the Indians. Opposition parties in England, however, used the Irwin declaration to embarrass the Labour Party (which had now formed a coalition government with the Liberals) as the round of Parliamentary debates on the subject seemed to indicate. Despite the criticism, Irwin stuck steadfastly to his own reasons for the announcement:

... whatever might be the exact definition of Dominion Status worked out by ingenious disciples of the law, it in no way touched my conviction that you could not, without losing India from the Commonwealth, hold out a future for her less honourable than that to which constitutional development had brought Canada or Australia.¹

However, the Parliamentary debates and the vitriolic attacks made by British politicians on the government's support of Irwin's declaration

¹Cited in Moore, The Crisis of Indian Unity, p. 93. See also S. Gopal, The Viceroyalty of Lord Irwin, 1926-1931 (Oxford: 1957)

were being carefully noted by Indian leaders. The latter regarded the uproar as further proof of Britain's insincerity. Indian parties were now turning increasingly to Gandhi for leadership and guidance. Having failed to win communal support for the Nehru Report, Gandhi felt it was useless to attend the Round Table Conference without settling the problem of communal representation. Moreover, Gandhi's doubts concerning British policy were further intensified after his interview with Irwin on December 23, 1929. Other eminent leaders, like Motilal Nehru, Tej Bahadur Sapru, Vallabhbhai Patel and Mohammed Ali Jinnah, also attended the meeting. Gandhi presented an ultimatum on behalf of the Congress party stating that the latter would participate in a Round Table Conference only if His Majesty's government could give an assurance that its purpose was to draft a new constitution embodying Dominion Status for India. Irwin, however, replied that it was impossible to state beforehand the action of the Conference or to restrict the liberty of Parliament.¹ At best he could say that the Conference was free to discuss any proposals put before it but could not confirm that it would, in fact, draft a particular constitution.

The Indian leaders returned disappointed and in the ensuing months, Gandhi became the central figure in Indian politics. He was caught between two groups that needed his support and leadership—namely the liberal or moderates and the more militant group led by Jawaharlal Nehru. Gandhi decided to support the latter and on

¹Smith, p. 382.

December 31, 1929, at Lahore, the Congress rejected the Round Table Conference initiative and proposed to resort to a nation-wide Civil Disobedience movement for the achievement of complete independence. In Gandhi's opinion the time had come for conflict rather than compromise. This, he believed, was the only effective method of achieving national solidarity and swaraj:

In the distressing political scene of communal demands, provincial differences and erupting violence, satyagraha was the only weapon he could conceive of as purifying public life and neutralizing violence.¹

The Civil Disobedience Movement (1930-31)

The Civil Disobedience movement, launched by Gandhi, proved to be not only the greatest challenge to British power in India but was in fact the testing-point of his own leadership. At the core of the movement was Gandhi's special weapon, namely, satyagraha. This was a Gujarati word concocted by Gandhi to describe striving non-violently to the point of sacrifice rather than fighting to attain one's vision of truth.² It was in Gandhi's perception the only leavening agent whereby he could bring about a moral regeneration of society and with it a fount of inner strength. Once he was able to accomplish this, he hoped to use the Civil Disobedience movement as a means of welding together diverse groups into one united solid force with which to oppose the alien power:

¹Judith M. Brown, Gandhi and Civil Disobedience (London: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 74.

²Ibid., p. 16.

He was convinced that a joint struggle on a basic common issue was the only way to unite India's different communities since negotiation and political accommodation had failed.¹

The movement took on a variety of forms—fasting, non-violent picketing, boycott of foreign goods (particularly cloth), 'hartals' (strikes), withholding of the Salt tax dramatized by Gandhi's march to Dandi (March 1930). Gandhi and most of the important Indian leaders who joined him were imprisoned and thousands of Congress volunteers courted imprisonment. Though the government reacted with strong repressive measures, it could not curb the spirit of the movement. Moreover, the boycott of foreign cloth was hurting imports and the no-tax campaigns were beginning to affect the treasury.

Ultimately Gandhi gained the upper hand. Due largely to the intervention of two liberal Indians, Sapru and Jayakar, a truce was effected between Gandhi and the Viceroy. This was the Gandhi-Irwin Pact (March 5, 1931) by which Gandhi agreed to suspend Civil Disobedience and to ensure Congress participation in the second Round Table Conference. The government in turn agreed to withdraw all repressive ordinances, release Civil Disobedience prisoners, restore forfeited lands and reinstate officers in local governments.²

Speaking generally, Gandhi's Civil Disobedience movement did succeed in rousing the nation to take a united stand. However,

¹Ibid., p. 95.

²Moore, pp. 184-185.

there were some sections of the population that did not support it. Contrary to Gandhi's belief that communal disunity would be dispelled by the movement, the breach between Muslims and Hindus, for instance, was further widened. The bulk of the Muslims under Jinnah joined the British in condemning the Civil Disobedience movement. Often it was the cause of communal riots as in the case of the Cawnpore riots. On March 25, 1931, Muslim shopkeepers refused to close their shops in memory of Bhagat Singh, a convicted Punjabi revolutionary who was executed for murdering two police officers. Fighting broke out between the two communities and the situation was uncontrollable for two days.

Gandhi and the rest of the Working Committee were already released on January 26, 1931. He received a mandate from the Congress Working Committee at the Karachi Congress (March 1931) to be the sole representative of the Congress at the second Round Table Conference in London. Though he acquired the unique role of sole Congress spokesman, the burden of settling the communal problem was also to lie heavily on his shoulders.

The Round Table Conference and the Position of the Minorities

In light of the political unrest in India, the British Prime Minister MacDonald, on Irwin's recommendation, thought it necessary to hold a Round Table Conference in London, in the hope that the Indians would be appeased and that some form of agreement could be reached with regard to the communal question. The British

government was placed in an extremely embarrassing position, caught as it was between the opposition of British political parties (Liberals and Conservatives) and the anger of the Indians bitterly disappointed with the Simon Commission's Report and the evasiveness of the government with regard to the granting of Dominion Status.

The government had to make three major concessions in order to obtain Indian participation at the Round Table Conference. The first was an official reassurance by Irwin that the attainment of Dominion status was the natural completion of India's constitutional growth. Secondly, the government stated that it would not use the Simon Commission's Report as a basis for discussion at the Conference nor would any members of the Committee be included in the British delegation at the Conference. Thirdly, the government published a dispatch (removing some of the more objectionable features of the Report) which was presented to the delegates at the Round Table Conference on November 14, 1930.¹

Accordingly during the period from November 1930 to December 1933, three Round Table Conferences were held in London. They were attended by representatives of Britain, British India and the Indian States. His Majesty's government informed the Indian delegates that though its policy was to convert the present system of government into a responsibly-governed Federation of States and Provinces, there would

¹East India (Constitutional Reforms) Govt. of India's despatch on proposals for constitutional reform, dated 29 September 1930. See Reforms No. 1 of 1930, views preliminary to the Round Table Conference, Cmd. 3700.

be a transition period during which responsible government would be subject to certain limitations or safeguards as recommended in the Report of the Statutory Commission.¹

The first Round Table Conference was held in London from November 12, 1930 to January 13, 1931. It was attended by 16 delegates from the United Kingdom, 16 from the Indian States and 57 from British India (including Burma).² After the initial five days of formal speech-making and debate as to the general character of the future Constitution of India, the Conference set up nine sub-committees to report on special problems.

The British Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald, suggested three basic principles on which discussion should be centred in the Conference. Firstly, a federation was proposed between British India and the Princely States. Interestingly enough, the federal principle was accepted by all including the representatives of the States who had all along opposed such a scheme. The Maharaja of Bikaner, speaking on behalf of the Princes, stated that the rulers were prepared to join an All-India Federation conditional on the recognition of the States' treaty rights. The details of such a federal structure were to be worked out by the Sub-Committee on Federal Structure, chaired by Lord Sankey.

¹Smith, pp. 399-400.

²See India Round Table Conference (First Session, 12th Nov., 1930 - 19th Jan., 1931, Proceedings (London: H. M. S. O., 1931), Cmd 3778.

Secondly, the provinces were to be given full responsible powers subject to certain safeguards. The granting of provincial autonomy was acceptable to all, though differences arose regarding the safeguards to be introduced and the checks to be imposed on responsible ministers in the provinces. A classification of central and provincial subjects was to be prepared in collaboration with the Sub-Committee on Provincial Constitutions chaired by Arthur Henderson.

Thirdly, a modified system of dyarchy would be established at the Centre, subject to certain reservations. Thus Defence and Foreign Affairs would be directly controlled by the Viceroy:

... the legitimate interests of minorities would be protected, the sanctity of contracts and other vested rights, especially those relating to Finance and the Public Services, would be fully guaranteed; and finally, the Viceroy and the Provincial Governors would be given adequate emergency powers to take charge of the administration in the event of a breakdown of the ordinary normal operations of government.¹

The communal issue threatened to be by far the greatest obstacle to agreement for it entailed endless discussion and revealed vast differences of opinion. The Muslims themselves were not in agreement with regard to their claims. The Punjab Muslims insisted on separate electorates while Jinnah stood by his "Fourteen Points Formula." Any hope of compromise on the part of the Muslims was dispelled by the intransigence of Moonje, a diehard Hindu

¹Smith, p. 401. See also India Round Table Conference (First Session), Proceedings, pp. 498-509, Cmd. 3778.

Mahasabha leader who had come to the Conference determined to maintain his opposition to the Muslim demands until the end.¹

The Sikhs further complicated the situation by putting forward their claims for special protection. They constituted 11% of the population in the Punjab and demanded that their share of 19% of the seats in that province should be raised to 30%. This increase could only be secured by reducing the quota of Muslim seats.²

Sir Hubert Carr represented the resident European non-official community and K. T. Paul was the representative of the Indian Christians. Gidney was the spokesman for the Anglo-Indians and he pleaded for special safeguards and adequate protection for his community. These claims were all the more crucial since the Muslim-Hindu conflict seemed to eclipse the demands of the smaller minorities. Gidney used every opportunity whether in the various sub-committees (franchise, defence and services and minorities) to which he had been appointed or outside the Conference to press home the claims of the Anglo-Indian community as a responsibility of both the British and the Indians:

... the treatment accorded to the Anglo-Indian community, small as it is ... will be a touchstone by which the quality of Indian and British statesmanship and equity will be judged in the

¹Kaura, p. 64. Also refer to India Round Table Conference (First Session), 12th Nov., 1930 - 19th Jan., 1931 (Sub-Committees Reports; Conference Resolution and Prime Minister's Statement), Sub-Committee III (Minorities), pp. 45-49, Cmd. 3772.

²Kaura, p. 64.

future. We can be dispossessed of all that we have and truly ruined. . . . But if it is done, it will be done to the everlasting discredit of the two countries to which we belong.¹

Gidney went on further to demand that the safeguards he wanted for his community should be guaranteed by statute and not by the usual Instrument of Instructions which had never been put into operation. He wanted that this protection be embodied

. . . in the fundamental document of the new Indian constitution a declaration with all the authority of India and Great Britain behind it, to the effect that we shall not be expropriated from our employments and the other positions which we have created by our labour and our service merely because we are partly Indian and partly European. In short, I want to ensure that a reformed India will not result in a deformed Anglo-India.²

Gidney narrowed his claims for protection to two specific areas. One was employment in government services and the second was the protection of Anglo-Indian education. For he argued that these safeguards were both crucial and inseparable as "the education of the child is mainly dependent on the economic security of the parent."³

¹India Round Table Conference (First Session), 12th Nov., 1930-19th Jan., 1931, Proceedings, p. 75, Cmd. 3778.

²Ibid., p. 76.

³India Round Table Conference (First Session), 12th Nov., 1930-19th Jan., 1931, Proceedings of the Minorities Sub-Committee, p. 93, IOR, I. R. T. C.

The Services Sub-Committee of the first Round Table Conference was sympathetic to these apprehensions of the Community and passed the following resolution:

The Sub-Committee recognizes the special position of the Anglo-Indian community in respect of public employment, and recommends that special consideration should be given to their claim for employment in the Services.

Thus, Gidney was able to obtain recognition of the peculiar problems of his community and support for special safeguards of employment. The Conference adjourned in January 1931 without anything substantial being agreed upon mainly because of the Congress boycott and the intransigence of communal demands. In June 1931, a Knighthood was conferred on Gidney in recognition of his ceaseless and valuable efforts on behalf of his people.

The Second Round Table Conference (September 7, 1931 - December 1, 1931) and the Communal Impasse

Before the second Round Table Conference convened in September 1931, some very significant changes took place in the British political scene. The Labour party government collapsed and Ramsay MacDonald, though still Prime Minister, headed a national government constituted by a coalition between the Liberals and the Conservatives. Sir Samuel Hoare, a staunch Conservative, replaced Wedgewood Benn as Secretary of State for India. Lord Irwin, the Liberal Viceroy was succeeded by the stern and somewhat inflexible Lord Willingdon. By the time the second Round Table Conference

was ready to convene, there was a distinct hardening of British policy towards India. This was due largely to the opposition of Conservatives, like Churchill, towards what was seen as a lenient Indian policy advocated by the government in dealing with the Civil Disobedience movement. In fact, Churchill

... attacked the whole round table conference principle, lock, stock and barrel and expressed horror that provision had been made for further discussions to be held on Indian constitutional advance.¹

Moreover, the timing for the Round Table Conference was bad as England was in the throes of an economic slump aggravated by the boycott in India of Lancashire cloth. The gold standard was suspended in September and the government underwent a political reshuffling—in short, these factors did not contribute to a better and more sympathetic treatment of the Indian situation.

Nevertheless, the second Round Table Conference was perhaps the most important of all three sessions especially because it was attended by Gandhi, the sole representative of the Congress and, in his opinion, the single spokesman for the whole of India. Despite this latter, somewhat pretentious claim of the Mahatma, his role placed him in a very difficult situation. He had come to the Conference with a very specific mandate from the Congress with regard to the communal settlement, namely the acceptance of joint electorates as the basis for representation in the future constitution with

¹J.A. Cross, Sir Samuel Hoare, A Political Biography (London: Jonathan Cape, 1977), p. 137.

weightage of seats for Hindus and Muslims in provinces where they represented less than 25% of the population.¹

Thus his main task as Congress representative was to gain approval of the Congress demand from the delegates at the Conference. At the same time he knew that success of his mission would be seen as a crucial test of his leadership. It was a difficult position to be in and may have been the reason for many arbitrary and often contradictory statements made by him. In an address to the Minorities Sub-Committee on October 1, 1931, he expressed his desire to accommodate all interest groups:

Who am I to deny political status to any single interest or class or even individual in India? As a representative of the Congress I should be unworthy of the trust that has been reposed in me by the Congress if I were guilty of sacrificing a single national interest.²

At the same time he qualified his position as a "humble messenger of peace"³ who was powerless to impose his views on others—

I have no authority behind me to carry my opinion against the opinion of anybody. I have simply given expression to my views in the national interest, and I shall give expression to these views whenever they are opportune.⁴

¹Kaura, p. 73.

²The Collected Works of M. K. Gandhi, Vol. XLVIII, Sept. 1931-Jan. 1932 (New Delhi: The Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of India, 1971), p. 103.

³*Ibid.*, p. 104.

⁴*Ibid.*

Gandhi rejected the principle of separate representation for any minority group except the Sikhs and Muslims. In doing so, he alienated the Depressed Classes, the Indian Christians, the Anglo-Indians and Europeans—each of whom were pressing for separate representation. His reason for rejecting their claims was that the implementation of all these demands would amount to a "heartless process of vivisection"¹ detrimental to national unity.

He was ready to accommodate Muslim demands in the hope that they would drop their support of the other minorities. But he offended many eminent Muslim delegates by his insistence on Ansari's presence at the Conference. In Gandhi's opinion, Ansari was the only true representative of the Muslims—a claim that did not sit well with the other Muslims who resented Ansari's pro-Congress leanings.

Gandhi likewise offended Dr. Ambedkar by asserting that he did not speak for all the Untouchables and that his demand for separate electorates was tantamount to perpetuating the stigma attached to the Depressed Classes:

Dr. Ambedkar, able as he is, has unhappily lost his head over this question. He sees blood wherever Hinduism is. If he was a real representative, I should have withdrawn. . . . I repudiate his claim to represent them. I am the representative of the depressed classes.²

¹Young India, 5 November 1931, reprinted in M. K. Gandhi, Communal Unity (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, Aug., 1949), p. 190.

²The Collected Works of M. K. Gandhi, p. 258.

Gandhi accused the British of being the cause of communal rivalry by their policy of "Divide and Rule." He claimed that minorities like the Anglo-Indians, Europeans and Indian Christians had every right to demand civic rights but he was indignant that they should ask for separate representation. In fact he went so far as charging Anglo-Indians with seeking their own interests without meriting them:

Why are Anglo-Indians afraid of their interests being neglected? Because they are Anglo-Indians? No, they are afraid because they have not served India. . . . Let the Anglo-Indians enter the legislatures by the open door of service.¹

He likewise chastised the Europeans for seeking separate representation—

Is it not a shame that Englishmen still claim privileges in a country they have helped to impoverish and claim separate elections in a poor nation's legislature? No, I will never be guilty of parcelling out my country to these groups. It will be nothing short of vivisection of a whole nation.²

The upshot of Gandhi's tactless handling of the minorities led the representatives of the Muslims, the Depressed Classes, the Anglo-Indians, the Europeans and Indian Christians to join forces in their demand for communal representation. In a memorandum submitted to the Minorities Sub-Committee on November 13, 1931, the five parties demanded that they

¹Young India, 5 November 1931, reprinted in M. K. Gandhi, Communal Unity, p. 190.

²Ibid., p. 191.

... shall have representation in all legislatures through separate electorates ... provided that after a lapse of ten years, it will be open to Muslims in the Punjab and Bengal and any minority communities in any other provinces to accept joint electorates with or without reservation of seats with the consent of the community concerned. ... With regard to the Depressed Classes no change to joint electorates shall be made until after 20 years experience of separate electorates and until direct adult suffrage for the community has been established.¹

With this alliance,² Gandhi had no choice but to admit failure in the settling of the communal issue which he referred now to the British Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald, to resolve by impartial arbitration.

Gidney and the Minority Pact

Gidney, the Anglo-Indian representative, claimed full credit for bringing about the Pact which embodied a Declaration of Rights for all minority communities similar to the one he had presented at the first Round Table Conference on January 19, 1931. It was an astute move to counteract the efforts of Gandhi to isolate the smaller minorities. Gidney described their position as being pawns in a game

¹India Round Table Conference (Second Session), 7th Sept., 1931 - 1st Dec., 1931, Appendix III, "Provisions for a Settlement of the Communal Problem, put forward by Muslims, Depressed Classes, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and Europeans," Proceedings (London: H.M.S.O., 1932), p. 68, Cmd. 3997.

²This agreement was variously referred to as the Minorities' Pact or Minority Pact.

of political chess in which the principal players were England, Mahatma Gandhi representing Congress and the Aga Khan representing the Muslims:

I saw the Prime Minister of England with his two Lieutenants, the Lord Chancellor and the Secretary of State for India occupying the position of Referee or Umpire. While the Mahatma held the Queen piece and the Aga Khan operated the King piece, we the minorities were represented on that board in the shape of pawns. . . . But the most unfortunate part of this game was that Mahatma Gandhi . . . and His Highness the Aga Khan . . . instead of mating with each other, expended their tactics and energies to checkmate each other, and the final result was . . . the Minority Pact. . . .¹

According to Gidney, the Minority Pact was the only constructive piece of work that was achieved in the second Round Table Conference. The Pact, in his opinion, would prevent further schism and "was a practical step towards the solution of the minorities problem."² At the same time the Pact represented the voices of 160 million people who demanded a recognition of their rights.³

In a stirring speech to members of the Legislative Assembly, Gidney defended the Minority Pact which he felt was unduly attacked, especially when there were many other unresolved matters to deal with—such as federation with the States, responsibility at the Centre

¹India. Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. III, 14th March, 1932, p. 1965.

²The Times (London), December 1, 1931, p. 15c.

³India. Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. III, 14th March, 1932, p. 1968.

and various other issues. He made this appeal before the House:

Let us stop this bickering and together set to work to gain for India her goal on constitutional lines. The Minority Pact is out to achieve this end with your help or without it, but let us all work together to attain this end.¹

The Communal Award, announced by Ramsay MacDonald on August 16, 1932, was a direct outcome of the Minority Pact. The Award in general gave separate electorates in all eleven provinces of British India to the Muslims and to other minority groups—the Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, Europeans and Depressed Classes—in provinces where they were sufficiently represented. Seats in provincial legislatures were allocated on a communal basis.² The Award made liberal concessions to the Muslims. In the Punjab, they gained 89 seats and in Bengal, they were given 119 seats. Large weightage was given to the resident European community in Bengal, in order to hold the balance of power between the two communities.

* The Muslims were, in general, won over and the interests of the Europeans and Anglo-Indians and other minority groups firmly safeguarded until such time as an alternative scheme was devised and agreed upon by all the communities concerned.³

¹Ibid.

²See East India (Constitutional Reforms), Communal Decision (London: H. M. S. O., 1932), para. 11, p. 4, Cmd. 4147.

³For an excellent account of the reaction to the Communal Award refer to "Review of the Politics of the British Commonwealth," The Round Table Quarterly Magazine, XXIII, Dec., 1932 (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd.), pp. 142-161.

The Anglo-Indian community in particular obtained a breathing space in these crucial years of decision-making and political change.

The third session of the Round Table Conference opened in London on November 17, 1932 and lasted till December 24, 1932. During this comparatively short and somewhat uneventful period, the Conference re-affirmed the decisions and reports of the different sub-committees formed during the second Round-Table Conference. Nothing substantial came out of the Conference as it was not attended by the Congress which had renewed the Civil Disobedience movement in protest against separate electorates. The Labour Party in England also refused to attend the Conference which they felt was unrepresentative. The Princes likewise were conspicuous by their absence. They could not agree among themselves as to the type of constitutional structure they should form in an All-India federation. Though the Princes sent a delegation, it was obvious that they were still far from agreeing to accession. The Conference did, however, focus on three main problems—safeguards, the terms under which the States would enter the federation and the allocation of residuary legislative powers.¹ The franchise, the judiciary and other topics were discussed. Some of the Indian delegates suggested that a Bill of Rights be incorporated in the new Constitution but the idea was rejected by the British government which was strongly dominated by the Conservative Party.

¹Smith, p. 417.

The question of safeguards and the system by which they would be implemented was widely discussed at the Conference. It was in this area that the Anglo-Indian community gained an important concession, namely the need for according special protection to Anglo-Indian education. This was due to the acceptance at the Conference of the Irwin Committee's Report on Anglo-Indian Education.

The Irwin Report on Anglo-Indian Education

The whole question of Anglo-Indian education has been dealt with in an earlier chapter. However, at this critical juncture in Indian politics, the preservation of Anglo-Indian education was central to the economic survival of the Community as a whole. Leaders of the Community had been persistent in their requests that Anglo-Indian education should be brought under the control of the Central government and administered as a "Reserved" subject. These requests had been turned down on grounds that this would isolate the Anglo-Indian community even more from the Indian school system.

Under the new Constitution, European and Anglo-Indian education would be a "Transferred" subject and its grants-in-aid would be under the jurisdiction of every provincial legislature. As it was, the subject of grants-in-aid for European education had been under repeated attack in the Legislative Assembly on grounds of economy (European grants-in-aid were considerably higher than the Indian educational grants-in-aid). Hence it was obvious to leaders like Gidney that unless the British government accorded special protection

to their system of education and continued the grants-in-aid, Anglo-Indian schools were in danger of eventual extinction. It was feared that the breakdown of the educational framework would jeopardize the cultural, religious and economic survival of the Community itself.

Gidney must be given full credit for laying the groundwork for obtaining this protection. In the first Round Table Conference, he had pleaded for protection of Anglo-Indian employment and education for a certain period of time during which his people would learn to adjust to the new conditions. The right of protection for education, language and religion was claimed by the minority communities in the Minority Pact.

One of the special claims of the Anglo-Indian community, as contained in the Pact, was "the right to administer and control its own educational institution, that is European education, subject to the control of the Minister."¹ There was also a request for the continuance of the grants-in-aid and scholarships already being offered.

Gidney realized, however, that most Indian leaders were not sympathetic to the Community's claim for educational protection. Hence he decided to take the initiative by writing directly to Samuel Hoare, the Secretary of State, on October 25, 1932, requesting a full and careful examination of the entire subject of Anglo-Indian education,

¹India Round Table Conference (Second Session), 7th Sept., 1931 - 1st Dec., 1931, Appendix III, p. 70, Cmd. 3997.

... particularly of ... educational needs and the inclusion therein of provisions without which the entire educational future of the community would be very seriously imperilled.¹

Gidney's letter was a carefully worded and forceful brief presented on behalf of the Community. Basically, his demands centred around the following points:

1) That the financial and general control of the Department of European education should be vested in the Central government with the Viceroy possessing special powers of certification which could be used when necessary. This last measure was obviously to counteract the possible reduction of grants-in-aid for European education by the majority communities represented in the provincial governments and legislatures.

2) That a special All-India Department be created for the control of European education, under the Minister for Education, Government of India. The Department would be administered by a Director assisted by a sufficient staff of European and Anglo-Indian Inspectors who would be deputed to the different provinces.

3) That special provision be made for a uniform Code of European Education, throughout India, so as to establish a uniform standard of scholarship and methods of instruction.

4) That special provision be made for the inclusion of at least one of the vernaculars of India as a compulsory subject. This ver-

¹Letter from Gidney to Hoare, October 25, 1932, reprinted in Anglo-Indian Review, Feb., 1933, Vol. XXIV, No. 2, p. 11.

nacular language would vary according to the province in which each school was situated and would replace one of the modern European languages on the curricula.

5) That special provision be made for the employment of qualified Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans in the superior staff of their schools.

6) That adequate provision be made for the inauguration and maintenance of colleges and schools for the training of both sexes of the Community for teaching and administrative positions on equal terms with Europeans who had till now been recruited overseas.¹

In the interim, that is between October, 1932 (when Gidney wrote to Hoare) to 7th December, 1932 (when Hoare announced the formation of a sub-committee on Anglo-Indian education) Gidney worked tirelessly to drum up every kind of support for special protection of education for his Community. In fact, he did not allow a single day or a single opportunity to pass if there was the slightest chance of gaining support for the Anglo-Indian cause. Hence from the first day of his arrival in England (18th Nov., 1932) to attend the third Round Table Conference, Gidney went all out on a campaign to secure support for the protection of European education through statutory safeguards. Thus he made it a point to make his presence seen and felt:

¹Ibid., pp. 11-12.

Not only in the conference room but outside, at social functions, interviews, dinners, luncheons, in private correspondence, in public addresses and in the press—on every conceivable occasion, he dinned these points into every ear within reach, till people could not but be aware of the Anglo-Indian and his problems. . . .¹

Gidney paved the way carefully so as to secure the maximum cooperation and sympathy from British Peers, Members of Parliament, Indian leaders like Jayakar, Sapru and Mohammad Iqbal. An example of his astuteness and sagacity can be seen in the preliminary steps he took to obtain the support of the India Office. First of all he established a good social standing with R. H. Butler, Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for India. During the many luncheons and other social engagements attended by Gidney and Butler alike, the former invariably brought up the topic of European education. In the end he obtained both a sympathetic hearing as well as Butler's assurance that he would assist Gidney in any way possible.

On 25th November, 1932, Gidney spent the whole day telephoning different members of the various sub-committees on the Round Table Conference, in order to gain their support as time was short and he needed to cover every base as soon as possible.

Gidney's next move was to wait for an opportune moment to introduce before Parliament the subject of European education and his request that it be made a Reserved subject under Central control. To quote

¹Wallace, Life of Sir Henry Gidney, pp. 132-133.

his own words:

... I shall feel my way and the temper of the House. If the wicket is a good one I shall bowl, or I shall be bowled out; so I shall wait and see. We are now at the most vital part of our work and I must make my demands abundantly clear and get a 'Yea' or 'Nay.' . . .¹

This clearly illustrates the cautious and careful planning of Gidney's every move. In order to gauge the "temper of the House," he obtained the help of Sir Walter Smyles (a former tea-planter from Assam) to ask questions in the House of Commons so as to demonstrate to the Secretary of State (India) that the House was fully aware of the importance of the subject. The results were successful, as that same day Hoare sent Gidney a letter asking whether he would agree to the formation of a sub-committee to study the whole subject of the reservation of European education. Gidney, of course, assented readily as this was what he had wanted. He expressed his feelings thus: "This is my first victory at this Round Table Conference, but I hope it will not be my last."²

Hoare reacted favourably to Gidney's request (letter dated 25 October, 1932) and on December 7, 1932, he formally announced the formation of a sub-committee of five members set up to enquire into Anglo-Indian and European education.³ The Committee was chaired

¹From "Sir Henry Gidney's Diary," reprinted in Anglo-Indian Review, January 1933, Vol. XXIV, No. 1, p. 11.

²*Ibid.*, p. 12.

³The Indian members of the sub-committee objected to the name "European Education." Finally it was agreed that the subject be referred to as "Anglo-Indian and European Education." See Wallace, p. 166.

by Lord Irwin, former Viceroy of India and Minister of the Board of Education in England, with Sir Hubert Carr (the European delegate to the Round Table Conference), Sir Mohammed Iqbal (the great Muslim poet of India), M. R. Jayakar, a leading liberal Indian politician and ex-Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, and Henry Gidney.

In a speech delivered to the Irwin Committee on December 8, 1932, Gidney reiterated his demands for protection of Anglo-Indian education. At the same time, he chastised the government for failing to protect the interests of the Community adequately:

What have you done for or given to the Anglo-Indian community? You have [sic] recognized its great services to India and the Empire? You admit it is being crushed out of existence by the larger communities; you admit the justification of its fears; you offer it your heartfelt sympathy, and the need for adequate protection, but when we ask for statutory protection we are given expressions of sympathy and pious promises of goodwill and favourable consideration . . . we can no longer live on empty promises, we want deeds not words.¹

The Sub-Committee recognized the special needs and circumstances of the Anglo-Indian Community and the necessity for maintaining a proper and adequate standard of their education. After studying the proposals made by Gidney and the entire area of European education, the Sub-Committee submitted the following recommendations for approval at the Round Table Conference:

¹"Speech delivered by Sir Henry Gidney at the Anglo-Indian Education Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference on the 8th December 1932," reprinted in the Anglo-Indian Review, Feb., 1933, Vol. XXIV, No. 2, p. 19.

1) It should be provided by statute that there should be no reduction in existing grants-in-aid for the Community in any province other than a reduction pro rata with a reduction in the general educational grants-in-aid, save with the consent of a majority of three-quarters of the Legislature concerned. These provisions should be without prejudice to the special powers of the Governor for the protection of the Minorities.

2) Each province should forthwith and before the new Constitution comes into force create a Board for Anglo-Indian Education. This Board would consist of the Education and Finance Ministers of the provinces, one representative from each of the universities in the province, one representative of the Managers of Anglo-Indian schools and two Anglo-Indians. These Boards would be nominated by the Governors in consultation with the Minister of Education. The duties of the Board would be to make representations to the Ministers as to the amount of the grant deemed necessary to discharge their duties; to administer these grants and to advise the Ministers on matters of administration concerning Anglo-Indian education.

3) An Inter-Provincial Board for Anglo-Indian education would be established in order to ensure uniformity of educational standards and co-ordination of Anglo-Indian education.

4) The Inspectorate of Anglo-Indian Schools should be appointed by the Inter-Provincial Board and should be placed under its general direction. The Inspectorate would be under the jurisdiction of a Chief

Inspector acting in consultation with the Provincial Board of Education.

5) The cost of the Inter-Provincial Board and of the Inspectorate should be borne by the provinces in proportions to be decided by the Board. Failing agreement, the matter would be settled by arbitration.¹

The Sub-Committee did not recommend that Anglo-Indian education be transferred to the Central government as it was not in the best interests of the Community to isolate itself from the provincial field.

Though Gidney's request that Anglo-Indian education be under the Central government was not granted, he obtained adequate statutory protection for the grants-in-aid and other grants under Provincial jurisdiction. In this he was able to win the support of Jayakar who spent several hours convincing Gidney that control of Anglo-Indian education, by the Central government, would have more disadvantages than advantages:

While Jayakar was dead against centralization in any form . . . which he said cut right across Provincial autonomy and would constitute a marked and glaring case of preferential treatment he professed great and genuine concern for the future education of the Anglo-Indian Community and claimed that in his refusal to centralise European Education he was sure he was serving the best interests of the Community among whom he had many great friends; he would be the last to wreck European schools

¹India Round Table Conference (Third Session), 17th November, 1932 - 24th December 1932, Education of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Communities in India, Report of Committee (London: H.M. S. O., 1933), pp. 69-70, Cmd. 4238.

by associating himself with any destructive policy at the Round Table Conference or any Committee. . . .¹

Gidney is said to "have crossed swords" with Jayakar for four days over the matter. Finally they came to terms:

. . . I suggested to Mr Jayakar that in the event of giving up Centralisation and accepting Provincialisation of European Education, he should agree to giving all the safeguards I demanded re. grants-in-aid and other grants, unification and standardisation of European Education, an Inspectorate and allow the Community to play a part in the administration of its own schools and that these safe-guards be embodied in the Constitution itself (apart from its general inclusion in the Fundamental Rights), or in the preamble to the Act, or in specific terms in the Instrument of Instructions to Governors. . . .²

These recommendations were accepted at the Conference and with this Anglo-Indian education was safely protected in the new Constitution.

For Gidney, this was a personal triumph and he considered the Irwin Report the "Magna Carta" of the Community.

The next stage in the process of Constitution-making was the publication on March 8, 1933, of the government's Proposals for Indian Constitutional Reform, also called The White Paper. A Joint Select-Committee was appointed in April 1933 to study these proposals—the product of the Simon Commission, three Round Table Conferences

¹"Sir Henry Gidney's Diary," reprinted in the Anglo-Indian Review, February 1933, Vol. XXIV, No. 2, p. 25.

²Ibid.

and a mass of material from various reports and studies. It took several months and many meetings during which hundreds of witnesses were examined,¹ before the Joint Select-Committee was able to submit a Draft Report on the new Bill which was placed before Parliament on February 19, 1935. Next came a painfully slow process of Parliamentary debates on the Bill. In fact each time the Bill came up for reading, amendments were proposed and resolutions were passed. Finally after a prolonged debate, the Bill passed through both Houses of Parliament and received Royal Assent on August 2, 1935.

During the stage when the White Paper was being studied, Gidney, who was one of the members of the British Indian delegation appointed to the Joint Select Committee, once again renewed, with fresh vigour, his efforts on behalf of the Community. Besides participating in the day to day proceedings of the Committee, he submitted himself to a penetrating cross-examination by the Joint Select Committee on matters concerning the Anglo-Indian Community. Gidney's reasons for this somewhat unusual move, namely to appear as a witness and allow himself to be cross-examined by members of his own Committee, were mainly because he felt he was the best informed person to supply accurate information on Anglo-Indian affairs.

¹Gidney was a member of the British Indian delegation appointed to the Joint Select Committee and was closely associated with its deliberations. Though a delegate he appeared as a witness submitting himself to a thorough cross-examination by the Committee.

In addition to giving evidence, Gidney also submitted the Committee with an exhaustive memorandum on behalf of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association of India, in which he stated the problems of his Community with regard to status, Indianization and its effects on employment of Anglo-Indians, the army and jury rights. His memorandum contained an impressive supply of statistics and other evidence supporting his grievances. Gidney was fully aware that the recommendations of the Joint Committee would form the basis for constitutional proposals in the Bill of 1935. He once again reiterated his demands for statutory protection of the Anglo-Indian Community using every persuasive power to win the support of both Indian and British delegates on the Committee. Gidney not only appealed to both sides, but in no uncertain terms laid the responsibility for the future protection of the Anglo-Indian Community on India and England as joint-trustees:

... I feel it a sacred duty to my Community, maybe my last effort, to place before you an appeal. In doing so, let me assure you and the British Parliament that the Community, ... does not approach you as beggars, but as suitors in a just and honourable cause. ... Let me assure you ... that the loyalty of Anglo-Indians is to both England and India, it must be so. In the fusion of these two countries we find our truest welfare and in the growth of affection, trust and cooperation between them we find our highest contentment. In short ... the Anglo-Indian Community is the joint responsibility and neither can disclaim its honourable obligation to protect us. ...¹

¹Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform (1932-33), Vol. IIC, Appendix D, 10th November 1933 (London: H. M. S. O., 1934), p. 2395.

His efforts got a wide coverage by the British press and Gidney made sure through letters to the editors of leading newspapers that the British public was aware of the Anglo-Indian situation. Thus on the 12th Sept., 1933, The Times published a letter from Gidney to the editor in which he defined the term "Anglo-Indian." His reasons were obviously to dispel any misconceptions connected with the term.

R. H. Butler, in a congratulatory speech given at a luncheon by the Anglo-Indian Association at the Coventry Restaurant, commended Gidney for the work he had done for his Community:

I should like to take this opportunity of paying a public tribute to Sir Henry Gidney on his excellent work for the Anglo-Indian Community and which I feel sure has been duly recognised and appreciated by his community and the Anglo-Indian Associations, both in London and in India. He has not only been an indefatigable worker in your cause, but so far a successful one. The protection and employment of the Anglo-Indian Community in the Public Services is one example of his efforts and another example . . . is the future of Anglo-Indian education. . . .¹

Tributes by well-known personalities like Butler, served not only to enhance Gidney's prestige but made an impression on the reading public with regard to Anglo-Indian affairs.

The Government of India Act of 1935 and Its Significance for the Anglo-Indian Community

The fundamental concept of the Act was the granting of complete provincial autonomy as a preparation for representative govern-

¹"Under Secretary of State for India and Anglo-Indians," Speech reprinted in the Anglo-Indian Review, August 1933, Vol. XXIV, No. 8, p. 19. See also The Times (London), July 27, 1933, p. 14(b).

ment. However, though dyarchy was removed from the provinces it was re-introduced at the Centre. In other words, power was still vested in the Federal government, with the Governor-General as the cornerstone of the entire constitution of India. Thus important portfolios, such as Defence, External Affairs, Ecclesiastical Affairs and the administration of tribal areas were to be directly administered by the Governor-General, assisted by three counsellors. Even in matters of law, the London Privy Council had the last word over the Federal Court.

Obviously, the new Constitution was rigid. The sole authority to amend it was the British government under the discretion of the Governor-General who was strictly responsible to the Secretary of State.

The Act made a provision for an All-India Federation which was to consist of 11 Governors' provinces, six provinces administered by Chief Commissioners and of those Indian princely states which agreed to join the Federation. The proposal for an All-India Federation was conditional as far as the States were concerned but obligatory for the provinces in British India. If a State wished to join the Federation, its ruler was to execute an Instrument of Accession specifying the powers it would delegate to the Central government.

The Princes, however, were reluctant to join the Federation, much to the disappointment of the British government, as they realized that their sovereignty would be curbed in such a scheme. So when the provincial part of the Act was enforced in April 1937, the States

decided to postpone entry into Federation. Finally, the Governor-General suspended the scheme on September 11, 1939, as the British government was more concerned with the outbreak of World War II and did not wish to risk further dissatisfaction by pushing the scheme for Federation.¹

There was a great deal of negative reaction to the Act from most of the Indian parties. Jawaharlal Nehru, the Congress President at that time, denounced the Act as "a machine with strong brakes but no engine." He called upon the country to reject the new Constitution and to accept the resolution passed by the Indian National Congress:

This meeting reiterates the opinion of the people of India that the Government of India Act of 1935 has been designed to perpetuate the domination and exploitation of the Indian people and to strengthen the hold of British Imperialism on India. This meeting declares that the Indian people do not recognize the right of any external power of authority to dictate the political and economic structure of India.²

There was even more suspicion of Britain's intentions as there was no specific reference to Dominion Status in the preamble. Framers of the Act claimed that this inclusion was unnecessary as it was already implied in the Government of India Act of 1919. It

¹For attitude of Princes towards an All-India Federation see Barbara N. Ramusack, The Princes of India in the twilight of Empire: dissolution of a patron-client system, 1914-1939 (Columbus: Published for the University of Cincinnati by the Ohio State University Press, 1978).

²Cited in R. R. Sethi, "The Government of India Act, 1935," The Cambridge History of India, Vol. VI (Lucknow: Chand & Co., 1958), p. 642.

was, however, an unfortunate omission as it was interpreted in India as in some way seeking to evade frank acceptance of Dominion Status as the ultimate goal of British policy.¹

Despite the dissatisfaction felt towards the Act on grounds of it being an ingenious blend of privileges and restrictions, it was an historic step containing within it the seeds of independence.

One of the most controversial aspects of the Act was the provision of elaborate safeguards for minorities. Indian reaction was strong as this was considered a ploy of the British to 'Divide and Rule.' It was also objected to on grounds that it detracted a great deal from the so-called responsible government in the provinces. Ministers would not have complete authority over subordinates who belonged to minority groups especially as the latter's interests were safeguarded.

The Act in this respect was, however, of special significance to the Anglo-Indian community. It recognized the rights of the Anglo-Indians in respect of appointments in the Posts and Telegraphs, Railways and Customs Departments. The Act also clearly defined the status of the Anglo-Indian, protected Anglo-Indian education and other vital concerns of the Community.

It must be said at this point that the question of safeguards and specific percentages of employment in the Railway, Telegraph,

¹A. B. Keith, A Constitutional History of India, 1600-1935 (Allahabad: Central Book Depot, 1961), p. 316.

Postal and Customs Departments was granted after a great struggle. It was a cumulative result of Gidney's persistence and the efforts of Peers in the House of Lords who ardently championed the cause of the Anglo-Indian community.¹

Gidney's repeated requests to obtain the insertion of a protective clause for the Anglo-Indian community in the Constitution had been denied by the Joint Select Committee. While acknowledging the claim of the Community for special consideration because of its history and record of public service, the Committee nevertheless felt "that it would not be in the best interests of the community to single it out for any special statutory protection in this respect. . . ."² Instead, it recommended that measures providing protection of all minority groups (including the Anglo-Indian community) should be referred to in the Instrument of Instructions for the special attention of the Governor-General and Governors.

However, due to further lobbying by members of Parliament and British officials in England, the Government of India Home Department published a Resolution on July 4, 1934 in which it was stated that

... steps must be taken to prevent . . . anything in the nature of a rapid displacement

¹Lord Burnham, Sir Reginald Craddock, Lord Hardinge (former Viceroy of India) and Lord Lloyd were some of the most consistent supporters of the Anglo-Indian cause.

²Joint Select Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform (1933-34), Vol. I, Part II, Proceedings (London: H. M. S. O., 1934), p. 170, para. 308.

of Anglo-Indians from the existing position, which might occasion a violent dislocation of the economic structure of the community.¹

Section III, paragraph 7 (i) of the Resolution provided that 9% of the total vacancies in gazetted posts on the railways for which recruitment was made on an All-India basis would be reserved for Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans.

Section IV, Paragraph 9 (i) (a) of the same Resolution stated that 8% (8.8% was usually held by Anglo-Indians) of all the subordinate posts on the railways would be reserved for Anglo-Indians. This percentage would be obtained by fixing a separate percentage:

(i) for each railway taking into consideration the number of Anglo-Indians presently employed;

(ii) for each branch or department of the Railway service, so as to ensure that Anglo-Indians maintain employment in those branches in which they were presently employed such as Mechanical Engineering, Civil Engineering and Traffic departments.²

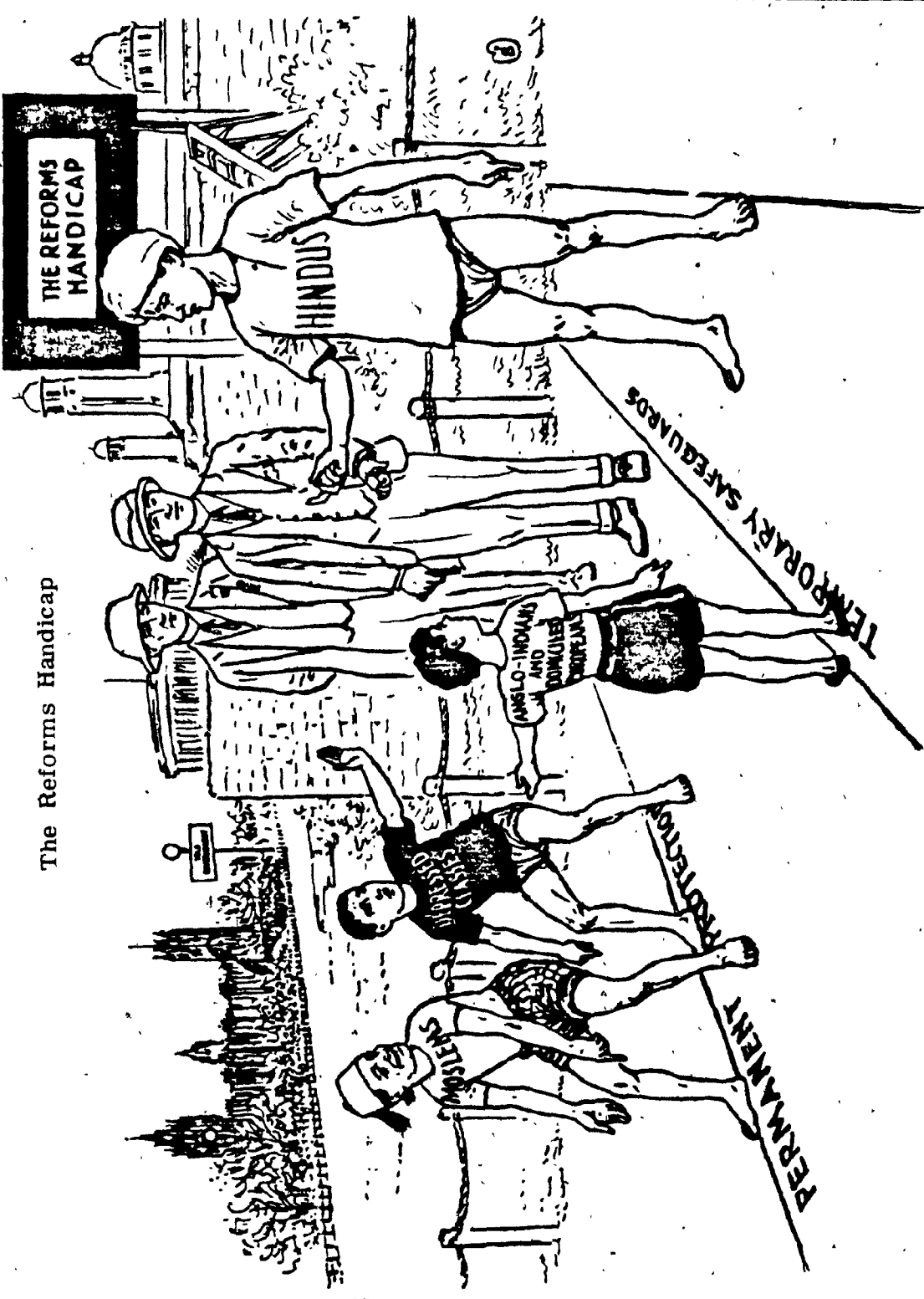
Posts in the higher grades of the subordinate services would not be reserved and promotion to these grades would be made solely on merit.

Paragraph 9 (2) protected Anglo-Indian employment in the Posts and Telegraph Department. The Community held about 2.2%

¹ Joint Select Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform, Vol. II, Record C-1, Govt. of India, Home Department Resolution, dated 4th July, 1934 (London: H. M. S. O., 1934), Section 1 - General, para. 2.

² ibid., Section IV - Rules for Services recruited locally, para. 9 (1) (a).

The Reforms Handicap



HINDUS: (200,000,000) } "Come back all of you We must start level"
 MUSLIMS: (68,000,000) } "No. We are smaller than you and we will start from here of not run at all. This is a
 DEPRESSED CLASSES: (52,000,000) } handicap race."
 ANGLO-INDIANS & DOMICILED EUROPEANS: (200,000) } "They are much bigger than I, anyhow; and I only want a small start"

Source: The Anglo-Indian Review, Christmas 1928, Vol. XIX, No. 11 & 12, p. 17.

of all subordinate posts. The Resolution proposed that a reservation be made of 5% of the vacancies in the branches, departments or categories which members of the Community might reasonably be expected to enter. This would enable them to maintain their existing percentage of posts. Paragraph 9 (3) provided for the continuance of the existing system of recruitment of Anglo-Indians in the Customs department—that is in the Appraising department as well as in the Preventive service.

The amendments marked the success of Gidney's efforts through the Legislative Assembly, the Round Table Conferences and lobbying in the Houses of Parliament to ensure the economic survival of Anglo-Indians. Thus it can be seen that the Resolution of July 4, 1934, was of special significance to the Community because this was the first time that the government had made a specific reference to the manner in which the reserved percentages were to be distributed. Furthermore it stated that these percentages could not be altered except with the personal consent of the Governor-General. At the same time, however, a closer examination of the Resolution revealed many loopholes. The Community held only $8\frac{1}{3}\%$ of the total number of positions reserved for all minority groups (excluding Muslims) and thus the slightest drop in percentages or misapplication of different clauses of the Resolution would result in the loss of hundreds of jobs. As in the case of the subordinate posts in the Railway—the Resolution stated that 8% of these posts would be reserved in the future instead of the 8.8% previ-

ously held by the Community. This meant a reduction of .8% or 1,300 appointments.

The Railway Department was roughly divided into three broad divisions, namely 1) the Superior Railway Service, 2) the Subordinate Service, and 3) the Menial Service. Anglo-Indians were largely employed in the Upper Subordinate grade of the Subordinate Services (8.8%). There was also a large number of Anglo-Indians in the Lower Gazetted Service (lower grade of the Superior Railway Service) to which most of them had been promoted from the Upper Subordinate grade. According to the Resolution of July 4th, the government would not make any special reservation of appointments for Anglo-Indians in the Lower Gazetted Services. The government would only intervene when and if the percentage of Anglo-Indians in that grade fell below 9%. Since declining percentages were inevitable in the face of Indianization and as those holding Lower Gazetted Service posts were excluded from the Superior Railway Services (because recruitment to the latter was through competitive examination of the Public Service Commission requiring high academic qualifications), there would be practically no appointments of Anglo-Indians in the Superior Services of the Railways. This in turn would affect Anglo-Indian employment at two levels: 1) in the Upper Subordinate grades as the various committees that selected candidates for the Upper Subordinate grades were made up of officers from the Superior Railway Service. Since there were no Anglo-Indians in these grades it

was more than likely that fewer Anglo-Indians would be employed in the Upper Subordinate grades and, 2) in the Lower Gazetted Service where the number of Anglo-Indians promoted from the Upper Subordinate level would decrease due to their fall in numbers in this latter grade.

The Resolution did not take into consideration the class, kind and category of job which Anglo-Indians had hitherto held. This affected the Anglo-Indian in the area of remuneration.

Since the adoption of the Resolution, new rates of pay had been introduced based on the principle of standardizing wages. As these rates were lower than those received by Anglo-Indians previously, the effect would be disastrous:

It will not only be impossible for an Anglo-Indian to live on such low salaries, but these salaries will assuredly drive the Community out of Railway employment—and so cause a 'violent dislocation of the economic structure of the Community,' which the Government of India Resolution avows it seeks to prevent.¹

The same policy was to be applied to the Telegraph Department where 5% of the jobs reserved for Anglo-Indians would be diffused through the various clerical branches of the Posts and Telegraph departments, thereby depriving them of technical positions in the Engineering, Wireless, Telephone and Telegraph operative branches. These were departments where Anglo-Indians had been

¹"Representation Submitted to the Secretary of State and Members of Parliament by Sir Henry Gidney," reprinted in the Anglo-Indian Review, Vol. XXVI, No. 7, July 1935.

TABLE XI

Revised Scales of Pay on Railways¹

<u>Designation of Post</u>	<u>E. I. R. Company scale in 1925</u>	<u>Period taken</u>	<u>Revised Scales introduced in October 1934</u>	<u>Period taken to reach Maximum in each rating</u>
<u>(Locomotive Power)</u>				
Boy Fireman (Cleaners)	Not in existence		Rs. 10-15	3 yrs.
Fireman	Rs. 80-10-120	5 yrs.	Rs. 30-5-50	5 yrs.
Shunters	Rs. 140-150	2 yrs.	Rs. 70-5-80	3 yrs.
Drivers IV Gr.	-	-	Rs. 40-5/2-50	5 yrs.
Drivers III Gr.	-	-	Rs. 90-10/2-120	8 yrs.
Drivers II Gr.	Rs. 160-240	9 yrs.	Rs. 140-10/2-160	5 yrs.
Drivers I Gr.	Rs. 260-320	8 yrs.	Rs. 170-10/2-180	3 yrs.
<u>(Traffic)</u>				
Ticket				
Collectors	Rs. 70-5-120	11 yrs.	Rs. 30-3-45/5-60	9 yrs.
Gunner, Guards	Rs. 85-10-125	5 yrs.	Rs. 30-3-45/5-60	9 yrs.
Pilot Guards	Rs. 130-10-210	9 yrs.	Rs. 65-5/2-85	9 yrs.
Conductor				
Guards	Rs. 100-10-200	11 yrs.	Rs. 65-5/2-85	9 yrs.
Head Ticket Collectors				
Grade II	Rs. 180-10-230	5 yrs.	Rs. 65-5/2-85	9 yrs.
Guards Grade I	Rs. 105/110-10 210	11 yrs.	Rs. 100-10/2-120	5 yrs.

TABLE XII

The Effect of the Revised Scales of Pay for Telegraphists in the Telegraph Department²

<u>Old Rate of pay in force prior to 1925</u>	<u>Average rate per mensem in 22 years</u>	<u>New rate of pay introduced from 1st July '31</u>	<u>Average rate per mensem in 22 years (new rate)</u>	<u>Average decrease</u>
Rs. 80-5-110/ 10/250	Rs. 191-3-0 or £3-3-8 per wk.	Rs. 45/45-3- 60/4-120	Rs. 82-10-8 or £1-7-7 per wk.	Rs. 108-8-4/ or £1-16-1 per wk. (a reduc- tion of 56.6%)

¹Ibid.²Ibid., p. 13.

most useful to the government "especially from a strategic value point . . . for defence purposes. . . ." ¹ Thus it was necessary for the government not only to reserve a fixed percentage of jobs for Anglo-Indians but to allocate these jobs at levels where they were usually employed. Unless this was done within a few years, the percentages of Anglo-Indians employment would be limited to lower subordinate grades and the Community would face both job dislocation and a lowering of status—both of which would have serious repercussions on their economic existence.

Despite the assurance provided to the Community through the recommendations of the Joint Select Committee and the Resolution of July 4, there was no specific reference to the Anglo-Indian Community in the Instrument of Instructions when the Bill came up before the House of Commons in April 1935. In actual fact, the Instrument of Instructions proposed to instruct the Governor-General and the Governors that in the matter of securing "a due proportion of appointments to the several communities," they shall be guided "in this respect by the accepted policy prevailing before the issue of these Our Instructions." ²

Quite obviously the above instructions were vague, for phrases like "due proportion" and "accepted policy" were purely declaratory

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

² Great Britain, Parliament, Parliamentary Debates (House of Lords), 5th ser., Vol. 98 (24 July 1935), (London: H. M. S. O., 1935), Col. 840.

and were of no real value. Ambiguous phraseology of this nature was subject to a variety of interpretations. Moreover, it did not include any reference to the protection sought by the Anglo-Indian Community in the Public Services.

In the light of the forthcoming constitutional changes, it was specifically important that the Community be given some form of economic protection because

... with the grant of Provincial autonomy and Responsibility in the Centre, the Departments in which the Anglo-Indian Community are employed will be placed under the complete control of the various Ministers and it will be against the principles underlying Provincial Autonomy and Responsibility in the Centre for either the Governor-General or the Governors to interfere with the day-to-day administration of any of the Services.¹

This means that the fate of the Community would be left largely to the mercy and discretion of the officials implementing the Act. This had happened too often in the history of the Community—it was not prepared to let that history repeat itself without a fight.

Various peers and British officials, from time to time, testified publicly to the meritorious services and loyalty of the Anglo-Indian Community but emotional speeches and other tributes were not enough to procure the required alteration in the Instrument of Instructions for a specific clause with regard to the Community. Moreover there were other clauses that also required amendment in

¹Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform (1932-33), Minutes of Evidence, Vol. II C (London: H. M. S. O., 1934), p. 1959.

order to protect fully the interests of the Anglo-Indians. The non-committal attitude of the government was attacked by Winston Churchill in the House of Commons on the 4th of April, 1935:

... I do not see what the Anglo-Indians have got out of all these tributes, except this vague undertaking to do something or other, to give careful attention to the matter.....

.....
 Something should be done to assure this community that in the present transference of sovereignty they are not merely to be stereotyped at the position which they now hold, but are to have an opportunity of expansion because of their merits, in these services for which they are so peculiarly fitted and in which their collaboration is an essential part of the defensive arrangements of the British power in India.¹

Churchill went on to chastise the government for its inability to form a clearly defined policy with regard to the Community whose cause had been represented on numerous occasions by their leader
 Gidney:

... Here was all the power of the Government of the day and the Secretary of State and the Viceroy, exercised through a thousand occasions at least, to shape and turn and smooth the passage of this policy; and here was this poor Sir Henry Gidney come over here to represent the Anglo-Indian Community. Anything more unequal I cannot imagine.²

Despite these and other arguments, no amendments were forthcoming.

Furthermore the efforts of Applin (President of the London Anglo-

¹Great Britain, Parliament, Parliamentary Debates (House of Commons) 5th ser., Vol. 300 (4th April 1935) (London: H.M.S.O., 1935), Col. 560-561.

²Ibid., Col. 562.

Indian Association) to move for an amendment when the Bill was presented before the House of Commons in April 1935 met with failure. Gidney was convinced that some immediate steps had to be taken in order to save the situation especially as he had received a cable from his friend Lord Lloyd asking him whether he was satisfied with the Resolution of July 4. Gidney replied in a lengthy cable that he was not and began making preparations for a hurried trip to England.¹ Gidney took this initiative without the full support of the Association as many of his colleagues and friends (including Lord Hardinge) were sceptical whether these last minute efforts would bring about changes in the Bill. Undaunted by this lack of cooperation and by his own failing health, Gidney left India arriving in London on July 6th, 1935, in a last desperate bid to bring about an amendment, as the Bill was due to pass through its third and final stage before the House of Lords.

As before, Gidney spent each day contacting his old friends and associates in the Houses of Parliament, including R. H. Butler, the Under-Secretary of the India Office, who had been of assistance before. Butler granted Gidney an immediate interview (July 11th) and the latter presented him with all the facts concerning the loopholes in the Resolution of July 4 and the urgent necessity for moving certain amendments. Gidney states in his diary:

¹Wallace, p. 148.

... Indeed I spared no one and nothing in the Government of India Resolution and I feel that the Government of India will move very guardedly especially with a view to employing us only in those sections of services and in those jobs into which we have in the past sought entrance. . . .¹

However, Butler, though sympathetic, said he was awaiting further instructions from the Government of India and would take action accordingly. Gidney's last hope was the Amending Committee of the "Diehard" party who were won over by Gidney's sincere, though emotional, presentation of the problems facing the Anglo-Indian Community. The results of that meeting are best described by Gidney himself:

... I went in and was greeted with great courtesy, Lord Rankellieur, Chyde and Lady Atholl, Marquess of Salisbury being present. I sat to the left of Lord Rankellieur, who graciously allowed me the privilege of stating my brief. I asked for about ten minutes. . . . When I came to the part of my brief where I said we were being enlisted on Rs. 10 a month and were being made to join the Auxiliary Force as a pre-requisite I lost complete control and burst out weeping. I am not ashamed to say so. . . . It was then that gracious lady, the Duchess of Atholl, who seeing the condition I was in put her hand on my shoulder and asked me to be of good cheer. My amendment was accepted.²

It was agreed that Lord Lloyd would move for an amendment in the House of Lords on July 18th when the Bill was in the Report stage.

¹"Sir Henry Gidney's Diary," reprinted in the Anglo-Indian Review, Vol. XXVI, No. 8, August 1935, p. 29.

²Wallace, p. 150.

Gidney worked tirelessly to prepare a brief for Lord Lloyd and notes for his reference. His work was done under very trying conditions as he was keeping poor health and he did not have sufficient finances to hire a secretary.

Lloyd moved two amendments on July 18, 1935. The first was with regard to Clause 83 of the India Bill regarding educational grants-in-aid to Anglo-Indian and European schools. After presenting the House with the facts, Lloyd later withdrew the amendment on the assurance by the Secretary of State, the Marquis of Zetland, that he would give greater consideration to the clause at the third reading of the Bill. Later that same day, Lloyd moved the second amendment with regard to Clause 241 (2) of the Government of India Act concerning the employment of Anglo-Indians in the Railways.

Clause 241 (2) of the Government of India Act read as follows:

In framing rules for the regulation of recruitment to superior railway posts the Federal Railway Authority shall consult the Federal Public Service Commission, and in the recruitment of officers generally shall give effect to any instructions which may be issued by the Governor-General for the purpose of securing, so far as practicable to each community in India a fair representation in the railway services of the Federation, but, save as aforesaid, it shall not be obligatory on the Authority to consult with, or otherwise avail themselves of the services of, the Federal Public Service Commission.¹

As it stood the foregoing clause made no definite commitment to the Community. The terms "recruitment of officers generally"

¹Great Britain, Parliament, Parliamentary Debates (House of Lords), 5th ser., Vol. 98 (19 July 1935) (London: H.M.S.O., 1935), Col. 573.

and "fair representation" were not in keeping with the special recommendations of the First Round Table Conference, the July 4th Resolution of the Government of India and the Report of the Joint Select Committee. Finally, on July 24, 1935, Lord Lloyd moved a series of amendments for a second time, which were accepted by the House of Lords. With regard to Railway appointments in Clause 241 subsection (2), the clause "the recruitment of officers generally" was to be deleted and replaced by

... recruitment to such posts and in recruitment generally for railway purposes shall have due regard to the past association of the Anglo-Indian Community with railway services in India, and particularly to the specific class, character and numerical percentages of the posts hitherto held by members of that community and the remuneration attaching to such posts...¹

The following clause was inserted with regard to the Customs,

Posts and Telegraph Services:

In framing the rules for the regulations of recruitments to posts in the postal and telegraph services, the Governor-General or person authorised by him in that behalf shall have due regard to the past association of the Anglo-Indian Community with the said services, and particularly to the specific class, character and numerical percentages of the posts previously held in the said services by members of the said community and to the remuneration attaching to such posts.²

¹Ibid. (24 July 1935), Col. 837.

²Ibid., Col. 841.

A further amendment was moved and adopted by inserting the word "Customs" in line 2 of the above clause. The phrase "remuneration attaching to such posts" was an effort to provide a scale of pay in keeping with the standard of living Anglo-Indians were used to.

The Government assured the continuation of the grants-in-aid and protection of Anglo-Indian education by inserting an addition in Clause 83 (1):

If in the last complete financial year before the commencement of this Part of this Act a grant for the benefit of the Anglo-Indian and European communities or either of them was included in the grants made in any province for education, then in each subsequent financial year, not being a year in which the Provincial Legislative Assembly otherwise resolve by a majority which includes at least three-fourths of the members of the Assembly, a grant shall be made for the benefit of the said community or communities not less in amount than the average of the grants made for its or their benefit in ten financial years ending on the thirty-first day of March, nineteen hundred and thirty-three.¹

After "then" the phrase "as defined in Part I of the First Schedule to this Act" was inserted.

An amendment moved by Lord Lloyd to exclude the offspring of European mothers and Indian children was disallowed by the Secretary of State on the grounds that while the interests of the Community should be protected, these schools catered to the children

¹Great Britain, Parliament, Parliamentary Debates (House of Lords), 5th ser., Vol. 98 (24 July 1935), Col. 830.

of Europeans, Jews, Armenians and about 20% of other Indian communities. Except for indigent grants given ad hoc to Anglo-Indians there was no reason to deprive any children attending Anglo-Indian, schools of benefits under the Government grants-in-aid scheme.

The Definition and Status of an Anglo-Indian

The status of the Anglo-Indian had been a long-standing controversy and grievance of the Community. It was most important now, when the Government of India Act of 1935 was clearly establishing safeguards for the minorities that the status of the Anglo-Indian be once and for all clearly defined. This would affect the number of appointments he would be entitled to and was necessary for franchise purposes.

An amendment to the First Schedule of the Act was moved by Lt. -Col. R. V. K. Applin in the House of Commons on May 7, 1935 and the following definition of the term Anglo-Indian was accepted:

An Anglo-Indian means a person whose father or any of whose other male progenitors in the male line is or was of European descent but who is a native of India as defined in the said section six.¹

The term "European" was defined thus:

A European means a person whose father or any of whose other male progenitors in the male line is or was of European descent and who is not a native of India as defined in section six of the Government of India Act 1870.²

¹Great Britain, Parliament, Parliamentary Debates (House of Commons), 5th ser., Vol. 301 (7 May, 1935) (London: H. M. S. O., 1935), Col. 890.

²Ibid.

These definitions technically put a stop to any further misconceptions and misinterpretations regarding status and therefore rights of both Europeans and Anglo-Indians. The European would not be able to encroach on employment reserved for the Community as he had often done in the past; the Anglo-Indian was made aware in no uncertain terms that he was a "native of India" and his interests would be safeguarded along with other minority groups.

The provisions relating to the franchise were set out in the sixth schedule of the Act. Clause 12 of Schedule 6 extended the franchise qualifications not only to members of the Auxiliary Force but also to the wives and widows of those who had served on the Force for at least four years. The qualifications as far as they applied to Anglo-Indian electors were briefly, assessment to income tax, motor and municipal taxation, payment of house rent (these items varied from province to province), educational qualifications of at least Matriculation or Junior Cambridge certificate, or being a retired pensioner or discharged soldier. The same qualifications (except the last) applied to women but in addition a woman could vote as the wife of any such qualified person.

Seats in the Federal Assembly were to be filled by Anglo-Indian representatives chosen from ad hoc electoral colleges (made up of representatives of the Community in the Provincial Assemblies or Councils) (see Appendix V-A).

In the Provinces in keeping with the Communal Award, elections were to be held on a communal basis; separate electoral

rolls being drawn up for each community in each province. Accordingly the Anglo-Indian Community was granted separate rolls in the provinces of Bengal, Bombay, Madras, United Provinces, the Punjab, the Central Provinces, and Bihar and Orissa (see Appendix V-B and Appendix V-C).

Although the Government of India Act 1935 was placed in the statute book in July 1935, the important provisions incorporated therein for safeguarding the economic interests of the Community were not given full effect for a few years. In fact it was only after repeated requests by Gidney that the matter was given closer attention. In 1937, the Government of India formed an informal Committee known as the Stewart Committee to examine whether or not the obligation upon the Government of India with regard to the Anglo-Indian community had been fulfilled.

As a result of the Stewart Committee's Report, the Government of India issued a Resolution on May 1, 1939 embodying its recommendations concerning the implementation of Section 242 of the Government of India Act, 1935. In fulfilment of its obligations, the Government of India decided to make a special reservation of 2 1/2% for Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans in the Superior Railway Service; in the Customs Department, a reservation of 3% of the directly recruited posts in the Appraisers' Service (in addition to the existing provision in the Preventive Service). In the Telegraph Department, there was an increase from 20% to 40% in the reservation of posts in the grade of telegraphists. As regards remuneration,

the Government of India decided to fix the minimum remuneration of Anglo-Indians employed in the Railway and Post and Telegraph Departments at Rs. 60 per month. The excess over the pay scale was to be made up by a grant of a special allowance as compensation for their service in the Auxiliary force.¹

This action by the government came none too soon for India was shortly after plunged into war as Britain's ally in September, 1939. The government, pressed as it was with problems both in England and abroad, would not have been able to look after the interests of the Community.

The Government of India Act of 1935 was not the panacea for Anglo-Indian problems. It did, however, give the Community the stability and protection it needed to adjust to the new conditions. Thus Anglo-Indians were given an extension of time during which they could acquire new skills and qualifications which would open up a wider range of employment outside the government sphere. It was also necessary for Anglo-Indians to develop a different outlook on their future position in a free and independent India. That there was an increasing awareness of this need for change is best expressed in the following address by the Governing body of the All-India Association to the President-in-Chief (Gidney) on the occasion of his birthday:

¹ Govt. of India, Home Department (Est.), F of 14th May, 1938 and Govt. of India, Home Department (Est.), (Special) F of 24th Feb., 1939, NAI.

... Some of us are apt to forget that we are governed by wider forces than ourselves and that international and national tendencies, modern thought and experiment, trade depressions, unemployment and poverty are not special to the Anglo-Indian community.... The world is trying to evolve a more equitable order—an order of equal opportunities for all... an order which does not gain one an advantage at another's expense.... If we wish to help towards a better order we must re-think our position and develop at once a new orientation—nothing must be too sacred or radical for our acceptance or rejection if it tends to the good of humanity as a whole.¹

The Government of India Act of 1935 gave the Community a concrete base upon which it could build and develop the hopes and aspirations of Anglo-Indians in the years to come.

¹Annual Report of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association, All-India and Burma, 1935, Appendix A, p. 28.

CONCLUSION

The Anglo-Indian Community in the 1930's was a more cohesive group than it had been at the start of the twentieth century. This was due to a number of processes working within the Community and the result of political and economic changes during the Reform era.

The impact of certain events or historical situations on the economic and social position of Anglo-Indians as a group could only be assessed against a comprehensive background and within a clearly outlined historical framework.

The first step in the development of a community consciousness in the Anglo-Indians resulted paradoxically from changed policies in India towards them in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The policies and attitudes adopted by the British bureaucracy in India had a great bearing on the lives of those under their administration and in this case the Anglo-Indians who formed an important part of the subordinate structure of British rule. Many of these policies, however, were influenced by politics in England, the party in power often imposing its ideas on India. Thus it was pointed out that towards the close of the eighteenth century, individual and sporadic cases of prejudice were transformed into a well-entrenched official policy. This change in attitude followed soon after the enactment of the Regulating Act (1773) and Pitt's India Bill (1784), both of which symbolized the beginning of British intervention in the affairs of the East India Company. It

was only when the British government undertook the task of building a colonial empire in India, that this change towards the Anglo-Indian as a group became official policy, culminating as it did in the discriminatory orders passed between 1786-1795.

The administrative responsibilities of the Governor-General and the whole government of the Company's territories in India were more clearly defined by the India Act of 1784. From henceforth, the affairs of the Company were under the scrutiny of Parliament and the governors-general themselves were accountable for the proper administration of the Company. This does not imply that official policies were determined solely by directives and legislation arising in England, a great deal also depended on the personal attitudes—likes and dislikes of the official on the spot. Thus Cornwallis, the first governor-general under the Act of 1784, went to India with all the prejudices and attitudes of an Englishman who had never worked among native people. He was firmly convinced that everything eastern was corrupt and therefore it is understandable why he regarded the Eurasian presence as evidence of this corruption. A number of other factors besides personal attitudes of important officials like Cornwallis, also contributed to the virtual elimination of Anglo-Indians from all positions of trust and responsibility. Thus there was the contentious patronage issue; the exaggerated and somewhat unfounded fears of a "mulatto" rebellion like that in far-off Haiti in 1791 and Valentia's biased report concerning the half-caste—all combining to reinforce any existing prejudices towards the Anglo-

Indian. What is significant here is the fact that Anglo-Indians were singled out as people belonging to a proscribed class. This isolation of Anglo-Indians led to the inevitable process of change and a gradual transition began to take place within the group.

In most group formations, the phenomenon of change within any group of people is often brought about in reaction to social, economic and political pressures from without. How members of different groups or as in the case of India, different castes respond to external pressures can be assessed by focussing on processes within the group thus formed.

In the case of the Anglo-Indians, two processes began to take effect almost simultaneously. One was the beginnings of group-consciousness as Anglo-Indians were drawn together by common disabilities and common grievances. The second process was the emergence of a spirit of enterprise and resourcefulness among Anglo-Indians who began to realize the necessity of self-reliance. Much has been written about the "sweet uses" of adversity and its redeeming qualities for "deep, unspeakable suffering may . . . be called a baptism, a regeneration, the initiation into a new state."¹ By force of circumstances it was necessary for Anglo-Indians to go through such a process of "regeneration" which was the beginning or initiation into a new state of slow but gradual self-assertiveness. Thrown on their own resources,

¹George Eliot, Adam Bede (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 6th printing, April 1961), Ch. 42, p. 436.

Anglo-Indians had to find ways and means to survive—in other words they had to find alternative employment. Hundreds of Anglo-Indian sons of British officers and soldiers who aspired to a military career, turned to the armies of the native Princes for employment. Here many rose to high positions, winning fame and fortune like Hearsey and Skinner. Some like John Doveton left large sums of money for education and the establishment of schools. This new spirit of initiative was demonstrated in the early efforts of Anglo-Indians to establish their own technical and educational institutions. The whole question of education was dealt with in some detail as it was crucial for the economic and cultural survival of the Community.

Through a system of grants-in-aid from the government together with other funds, a separate system of education was set up for the Community. The retention of a separate system of education had some decided advantages, such as the teaching of Christian morals and religious instruction, discipline, and a standard of education suitable for a general course of studies. However, this system imposed severe limitations on the future prospects of Anglo-Indians in the field of higher education. The curricula and management were run on European lines and the schools followed a British system of education which was totally unsuited to those Anglo-Indians intending to pursue higher education in the Indian universities. Anglo-Indian schools tended to produce students with a good general background of education so that they were often "over qualified" for the subordinate jobs they held.

However, when it came to higher positions and superior grades, the lower educational qualifications were a great drawback to Anglo-Indians who had to compete with the more qualified Indian graduates. Moreover, the Community was isolated from the rest of the Indian people as admission of Indian children to Anglo-Indian schools was restricted, thereby widening the gulf between the Anglo-Indian and the Indian. The latter bitterly resented the pro-British attitudes and western attachment of the Community which often disassociated itself with everything Indian.

Nevertheless, it was through the preservation of its schools that the Community was able to retain a distinct cultural and linguistic identity. The Community obtained educational safeguards largely through the efforts of Gidney and the recommendations of the Irwin Committee in 1932. Education was thus the main factor towards advancement and as already stated, vital to the economic existence of the Community as a whole.

Another process which was going on in the Anglo-Indian Community was a growing attempt to control its own affairs. Thus there was an increased participation in collective determination by the members of the various organizations. This process began in the earlier, though short-lived organizations of the nineteenth century and continued through the broader structures of the early twentieth century, such as the Anglo-Indian Empire League and culminated in the All-India Anglo-Indian Association. The leadership struggle and the growth and development of Anglo-Indian Associations were directly responsible for the

emergence of Anglo-Indians as a small but distinct social and political entity. For the first time in the history of the Community a spirit of group-consciousness and pride was beginning to prevail and a sense of solidarity and unity was achieved by the amalgamation of most of these organizations into one All-India body which became the spokesman and representative of the entire Community. The need for organization and unified action was most critical as important political developments were taking place in the country and day by day Indian nationalism was gaining new ground and the Community had to fight for the safeguarding of its existing rights and for economic protection. The good work of the Associations began to bear fruit as Anglo-Indians received assistance in such areas as higher education, social welfare, employment and numerous other self-help programmes—all intended to develop a self-sufficiency in the Anglo-Indian who had till now been very dependent on government employment.

The government itself had created this dependence especially in the post-Mutiny period when Anglo-Indians were shown governmental favour in matters of employment in the Railways, Telegraphs, Postal, Customs and the Public Works Department. This mark of favour was ostensibly to reward the Community for its loyalty and service rendered during the Mutiny but more importantly because it was expedient to secure the services of a group bound as it was to the British by ties of blood. However, the British had a history of shamelessly exploiting this loyalty of the Community and of abdicating its responsibility towards

the Anglo-Indian whenever it felt the need to do so. Thus towards the close of the nineteenth century the government sought to appease the Indians through a scheme of reforms and a policy of Indianization, but it chose to ignore the claims of the Community for economic protection. Thus Anglo-Indian employment was greatly imperilled with the increasing entry of Indians into departments formerly dominated by the former. It was shown how and to what extent the economic position of Anglo-Indians had been jeopardized by the policy of Indianization of the services. Attention was also drawn to the ambivalent, non-committal and somewhat callous policies of the government in dealing with the Community. Despite two deputations to England in 1923 and 1925 presenting the grievances and disabilities of the Community, the Government was not prepared to take any decisive action in favour of Anglo-Indians.

Towards the end of the 1920's changes in education and employment were becoming obvious as Anglo-Indians moved slowly away from traditional occupations (such as in the Railways and Telegraphs) into new occupational areas in the private sector. It is true, of course, that the vast majority of Anglo-Indians still preferred employment in the public services and as such suffered from the retrenchment and Indianization schemes of the government during the following decades. Nevertheless, a small but significant number were entering the legal, medical and educational professions and it was this occupationally mobile group that would provide the Community

its source for future leadership. Among these leaders, Henry Gidney was clearly the most outstanding.

Much credit must be given to Gidney for his unflagging efforts on behalf of the Community in the years preceding the passing of the Government of India Act (1935). Due to his spirited policies and timely action he was able to obtain major concessions and safeguards for the Community in education and employment. The Community was given a period of grace during which Anglo-Indians would learn to adjust to the new conditions or acquire other trades and skills outside their traditional sphere of work in the Railways, Telegraphs and other departments of the essential services.

Gidney made maximum use of his position in the Indian Legislative Assembly in fighting the Anglo-Indian cause. This involved not only fiery speeches, but a constant use of rebuttals, counter-rebuttals and questions and answers. This was no enviable task as Gidney was the single Anglo-Indian member in a House composed of representatives of various Indian communities as well as large blocs of official and European members. Gidney often had his back to the wall but he nevertheless seized every opportunity to bring into the glare of public criticism, those government policies and situational anomalies that were detrimental to the welfare of his people.

Often the only recourse left to Gidney was to capitalize on the situation, in the House where there were large anti-government blocs. If this meant an attack on the Government whose actions were being

carefully monitored by the Indian opposition, in order to get redress of grievances or to publicize some injustice done to his Community, Gidney never failed to do so. At the same time he did not spare the Indian members especially when the latter attacked Anglo-Indian employment, educational grants or anything else affecting the Community. He was a fine political tennis player—careful not only to return the service but to place the ball to his advantage in his opponents' court.

Despite the odds, Gidney stood in the Assembly, session after session, championing the rights of his people, fighting, pleading and defending their claim for economic protection. He put the same zeal into his efforts in his dealings with the British Parliament when he fought for statutory protection for his Community. In fact Gidney is best known for his contribution in the three Round Table Conferences, and the Joint Select Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform, a contribution the British government itself recognized. However, he suffered many disappointments and was often discouraged because of the apathy of his own Community. Moreover, his leadership was questioned several times and he was often faced with the Community's disinterestedness and lack of appreciation of his efforts. The inestimable services rendered by him till his death in 1942 were extolled before the Legislative Assembly by his successor, Frank Anthony:

His whole life represented the realization, the incarnation of his motto: 'The impossible is possible. . . .' To an unorganized and politically inarticulate community, he gave, by his gift for leadership his genius for organization,

a very definite place in Indian national life, and while the protection and advancement of Anglo-Indian interests represented the beginning and end of his political creed, he never forgot that he was a son of India. To his leadership, his guidance and his inspirations is due the fact that the Anglo-Indian Community has become increasingly aware of its position as one of the Indian communities.¹

In summing up this study of the Anglo-Indian Community, a few final conclusions seem appropriate. First of all the Community by the end of the 1930's had undergone a great change and was no longer a totally subservient, demoralized class of people content to subsist off the crumbs of British or Indian patronage. Secondly, despite the petty jealousies and internal strife which was paralleled in other communities, the Anglo-Indian Community emerged re-fortified and strengthened under the umbrella of a strong leadership. Thirdly, the Government of India Act and its implications for the Community marked the first step towards the severance, to come 12 years later with India's independence in 1947, of its British connection. The cutting of the Community's "umbilical cord" with Britain was the best thing that could have happened as Anglo-Indians from henceforth would be able to take their place as citizens of India unfettered by ties of loyalty and tradition to the British and the so-called "call of the blood."

The Anglo-Indian Community is today a living reminder to the Indian people not only of the colonial presence which they might

¹Frank Anthony in India. The Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. III, Sept. 1942 (Delhi: Government of India Press, 1930), p. 59.

be glad to forget, but that there was something good which accrued from western culture and rule. This assumption is drawn from the place that Anglo-Indian education holds in India today and the fact that Anglo-Indian schools are packed to capacity by a vast majority of Indian students. This may be due to the excellent standard of scholarship that most of these schools maintain or it may be that the Anglo-Indian schools represent the common meeting-ground of east and west. Anglo-Indians today preserve a distinctive character and at the same time enjoy equal opportunities with all other citizens of India.

The continued existence of the Community will depend to a large extent on the success of the All-India Anglo-Indian Association and other Anglo-Indian organizations, in holding the Community together. The leadership will have to be strong and enlightened and members of the Community will need to be constantly imbued with a sense of community pride and self-consciousness that will distinguish it from the other communities in India.

The life span of the Anglo-Indian Community will depend in large measure on the two strong bulwarks of the Community that have sustained it through the most difficult periods of its history, namely its educational institutions and its organized structure under a strong leadership, both legacies of the work of first Henry Gidney and more recently of Frank Anthony.

Will the Community be able to hold its own or will it merge eventually with the more dominant Indian culture? Only time can tell,

but whatever the outcome, Anglo-Indians are no longer hostages to fortune but arbiters of their own fate. Moreover, this small but highly visible group can be proud of having left its imprint on the educational and economic development of modern India.

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APPENDIX I - A

Opportunities in the Public Service

The following tables set out the numbers employed in government posts with salaries of Rs. 75 per month and over; they show the size of the Hindu and Muslim share in this group and to what extent the better paid (and more responsible) posts were held by Europeans.

TABLE 1

Number and distribution, by race and religion, of government appointments in British India at Rs. 75 per month and over, 1867, 1877, and 1887

	1867	1877	1887
Europeans			
Number	4,760	5,701	6,154
Percentage	35	32	29
Eurasians			
Number	2,633	3,448	4,164
Percentage	20	19	19
Hindus			
Number	5,090	7,450	9,757
Percentage	38	42	45
Muslims			
Number	918	1,176	1,391
Percentage	7	7	7
Totals	13,431	17,775	21,466

Source: Govt. of India, Home Dept. (Est.), A, Proceedings, June 1904, no. 103, pp. 118-19, NAI.

Cited in A. Seal, The Emergence of Indian Nationalism (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1968), pp. 361-363.

TABLE 2

Number and distribution, by race and religion, of appointments directly under the government of India (imperial) at Rs. 75 per month and over, 1867, 1877, and 1887

	1867	1877	1887
Europeans			
Number	563	1,070	1,828
Percentage	27	29	30
Eurasians			
Number	1,047	1,513	2,296
Percentage	50	41	38
Hindus			
Number	462	1,012	1,750
Percentage	22	28	29
Muslims			
Number	22	90	185
Percentage	1	2	3
Totals	2,094	3,685	6,059

Source: Govt. of India, Home Dept. (Est.), A, Proceedings, June 1904, no. 103, pp. 122-3, NAI.

TABLE 3

Number and distribution, by race and religion, of government appointments in Bengal at Rs. 75 per month and over, 1867, 1877, and 1887

	1867	1877	1887
Europeans			
Number	1,080	1,212	968
Percentage	35	33	25
Eurasians			
Number	457	449	387
Percentage	15	12	10
Hindus			
Number	1,334	1,868	2,286
Percentage	44	50	60
Muslims			
Number	177	183	166
Percentage	6	5	5
Totals	3,048	3,712	3,807

Source: Govt. of India, Home Dept. (Est.), A, Proceedings, June 1904, no. 103, pp. 131-2, NAI.

TABLE 4

Number and distribution, by race and religion, of government appointments in Bombay at Rs. 75 per month and over, 1867, 1877, and 1887

	1867	1877	1887
Europeans			
Number	762	917	960
Percentage	38	37	34
Eurasians			
Number	101	151	157
Percentage	5	6	6
Hindus (including Parsis)			
Number	1,056	1,330	1,557
Percentage	53	54	55
Muslims			
Number	68	93	129
Percentage	4	3	5
Totals	1,987	2,491	2,803

Source: Govt. of India, Home Dept. (Est.), A, Proceedings, June 1904, no. 103, pp/ 128-9, NAI.

TABLE 5

Number and distribution, by race and religion, of government appointments in Madras at Rs. 75 per month and over, 1867, 1877, and 1887

	1867	1877	1887
Europeans			
Number	412	594	601
Percentage	25	28	23
Eurasians			
Number	440	543	565
Percentage	27	25	22
Hindus			
Number	756	960	1,315
Percentage	46	45	51
Muslims			
Number	41	45	91
Percentage	2	2	4
Totals	1,649	2,142	2,572

Source: Govt. of India, Home Dept. (Est.), A, Proceedings, June 1904, no. 103, pp. 125-6, NAI.

APPENDIX I - B
Number and proportion of appointments

TABLE I India (General)
(i) Number of appointments

Pay	1887						1887						1897						1903						
	Total	Europeans	Burghers	Hindus	Muham- madans	Total	Total	Europeans	Burghers	Hindus	Muham- madans	Total	Europeans	Burghers	Hindus	Muham- madans	Total	Europeans	Burghers	Hindus	Muham- madans				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
75-100	2,179	161	439	1,394	185	3,039	143	510	2,119	267	4,139	206	750	2,824	359	5,192	265	847	3,554	526	6,209	336	914	4,321	638
100-200	5,658	1,030	1,604	2,560	464	6,811	890	1,912	3,459	550	8,487	1,112	2,413	4,338	624	10,298	1,157	2,753	5,602	786	11,546	1,199	2,981	6,378	958
200-300	1,897	581	367	782	187	2,451	529	596	1,127	199	3,003	791	567	1,412	233	3,417	668	688	1,760	301	3,635	646	784	1,897	308
300-400	864	528	139	186	31	1,274	645	235	346	48	1,310	549	250	455	58	1,576	582	392	517	85	1,785	604	422	657	102
400-500	651	469	47	88	46	919	554	118	193	54	854	333	101	352	68	1,132	507	177	384	64	1,273	569	194	441	69
500-600	608	531	21	43	13	883	728	45	90	20	1,048	781	53	188	26	879	585	58	204	32	964	655	68	197	44
600-700	311	257	7	31	16	415	324	15	51	25	414	301	15	88	10	403	284	19	108	14	468	311	30	114	11
700-800	322	304	3	12	3	297	257	7	28	5	490	444	8	31	7	472	387	17	56	12	427	356	16	46	6
800-900	188	182	2	1	3	459	434	3	15	7	394	347	4	38	5	505	439	9	50	7	415	332	9	64	10
900-1,000	105	105				208	202	2	4		293	283	3	7		189	163	5	16	5	218	197	2	16	3
1,000-1,200	156	143	2	11		279	262	2	14	1	240	225		13	2	451	408	49	29	5	437	382	11	33	11
1,200-1,400	70	70				154	150	2	2		169	164		5		172	162		7	3	151	143		7	1
1,400-1,600	77	75	2			69	68		1		93	92		1		94	90	1	2	1	161	145	2	11	3
1,600-1,800	35	35				69	69				68	67		1		83	80			2	73	70		1	2
1,800-2,000	41	41				81	80	1			104	104				113	112				140	138		1	1
2,000-2,500	88	88				160	160				163	163				188	180				190	181		1	1
2,500-3,000	102	102				113	113				98	99				101	99		2		99	94		4	
3,000-3,500	11	11				19	19				23	23				24	22		1		27	26		1	
3,500-4,000	25	25				26	26				36	32				48	40		6		30	28		1	
4,000 and over . . .	43	42	1		1	49	48		1		39	38		1		34	34				62	56		6	3
Total	13,431	4,760	2,633	5,090	918	17,775	5,701	3,448	7,450	1,176	21,486	6,154	4,164	9,757	1,391	25,370	8,244	4,965	12,305	1,845	28,278	6,468	5,435	14,202	1,173

The column for Hindus include Buddhists and all Asiatics other than Muhammadans.

Source: B. B. Misra, The Administrative History of India 1834-1947 (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 228-229.

APPENDIX I - B
 Number and proportion of appointments
 TABLE 2 India (General)
 (ii) Proportion of appointments

Pay	1867					1877					1887					1893									
	% on total appointments	Europeans	Eurasians	Hindus	Muham-madans	% on total appointments	Europeans	Eurasians	Hindus	Muham-madans	% on total appointments	Europeans	Eurasians	Hindus	Muham-madans	% on total appointments	Europeans	Eurasians	Hindus	Muham-madans					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
75-100	16	7	20	64	9	17	5	17	69	9	19	5	18	68	9	21	5	16	69	10	22	5	15	70	10
100-200	42	18	29	45	8	38	13	28	51	8	40	13	28	51	8	41	11	27	54	8	41	10	28	55	9
200-300	34	30	19	41	10	14	22	24	46	8	14	26	19	47	8	14	20	20	52	8	13	18	22	52	8
300-400	7	61	16	19	4	7	51	18	27	4	6	42	19	38	4	6	37	25	33	5	6	34	23	37	6
400-500	5	72	7	14	7	5	60	13	21	6	4	39	12	41	8	4	45	15	34	6	4	45	15	35	5
500-600	5	87	4	7	2	5	83	5	10	2	5	75	5	18	2	3	67	7	23	3	3	68	7	20	5
600-700	2	83	2	10	5	2	78	4	12	6	2	73	4	21	2	2	66	5	26	3	2	67	6	25	2
700-800	2	94	1	4	1	2	87	2	9	2	2	91	2	6	1	2	82	2	13	1	2	83	4	11	2
800-900	1	100	1	1	1	3	95	1	3	1	2	88	1	10	1	2	87	1	10	1	1	80	2	16	2
900-1,000	1	100	1	1	1	3	95	1	3	1	2	88	1	10	1	2	87	1	10	1	1	80	2	16	2
1,000-1,200	1	92	1	7	1	2	94	1	5	1	1	94	1	5	1	2	90	2	7	1	2	87	3	7	3
1,200-1,400	1	100	1	1	1	1	98	1	1	1	1	97	1	3	1	1	96	1	4	1	1	95	4	4	1
1,400-1,600	1	100	1	1	1	1	99	1	1	1	1	98	1	1	1	1	96	1	2	1	1	90	1	7	2
1,600-1,800	1	100	1	1	1	1	100	1	1	1	1	98	1	2	1	1	96	1	1	1	1	90	1	7	2
1,800-2,000	1	100	1	1	1	1	99	1	1	1	1	100	1	2	1	1	98	1	1	1	1	96	1	1	1
2,000-2,500	1	100	1	1	1	1	100	1	1	1	1	100	1	1	1	1	98	1	1	1	1	94	1	4	1
2,500-3,000	1	100	1	1	1	1	100	1	1	1	1	100	1	1	1	1	98	1	2	1	1	95	1	4	1
3,000-3,500	1	100	1	1	1	1	100	1	1	1	1	100	1	1	1	1	98	1	2	1	1	97	1	4	1
3,500-4,000	1	100	1	1	1	1	100	1	1	1	1	89	1	8	3	1	83	1	13	4	1	93	1	3	3
4,000 and over	1	97	1	3	1	1	98	1	2	1	1	97	1	3	1	1	100	1	1	1	1	90	1	10	3
Total	100	35	20	38	7	100	32	19	42	7	100	29	19	45	7	100	25	20	48	7	100	23	19	50	8

Source: Ibid.

APPENDIX I - B

TABLE 3

India (General)

(iii) Proportion of appointments

Pay	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000
TOTAL	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000
75 - 100	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000
100 - 200	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000
200 - 300	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000
300 - 400	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000
400 - 500	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000
500 - 600	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000
600 - 700	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000
700 - 800	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000
800 - 900	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000
900 - 1,000	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000
1,000 - 2,000	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000
2,000 and over	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000	0000000000

Note: - In the diagram the symbol 0 represents Europeans, 0 Eurasians, 0 Hindus and 0 Muhammadans. Each symbol represents 10 per cent of the total number of appointments. Ordinarily proportions under 5 per cent have been ignored and those between 5 and 10 taken as 10. In some cases, however, half symbols have been used to represent a percentage of less than 5.

Source: Ibid., p. 230.

APPENDIX II-A

Table showing the number of Anglo-Indian and European pupils according to sex in the Provinces, 1

Province	Pupils - 1932			Pupils - 1937		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Madras	5, 125	5, 056	10, 181	5, 305	5, 379	10, 684
Bombay	2, 421	3, 016	5, 437	2, 313	2, 871	5, 184
Bengal	5, 250	4, 471	9, 721	5, 245	4, 609	9, 874
United Provinces	3, 230	2, 536	5, 766	3, 191	2, 663	5, 854
Punjab	1, 151	1, 388	2, 539	1, 287	1, 423	2, 710
Burma	3, 325	3, 166	6, 491	3, 334	3, 236	6, 570
Bihar	806	790	1, 596	608	604	1, 212
Central Provinces	938	994	1, 932	903	1, 018	1, 921
Assam	171	165	336	201	216	417
North-West Frontier Province	17	23	40	32	45	77
Sind & Baluchistan	76	84	160	303	351	654
Orissa	-	-	-	127	221	348
Delhi	78	80	158	113	143	256
Ajmer-Merwara	417	262	679	351	355	706
Bangalore	1, 357	1, 153	2, 510	1, 492	1, 346	2, 838
Other Adminis- tered Areas	546	709	1, 255	564	658	1, 222
British India	24, 908	23, 893	48, 801	25, 369	25, 138	50, 507

¹ Eleventh Quinquennial Review (1932-37), Vol. II, p. 180.

APPENDIX II-B

Table showing the different types of European Educational Institutions throughout India.¹

Provinces	Arts Colleges	Professional Colleges	Secondary Schools			Primary Schools	Special including Normal Schools	Grand Total
			High School	Middle School	Total			
Madras	-	-	33	22	55	18	4	77
Bombay	-	-	18	11	29	-	3	32
Bengal	-	1	45	3	48	15	4	68
United Provinces	4	1	24	11	35	10	-	50
Punjab	2	2	11	8	19	7	2	32
Burma	-	-	23	9	32	4	2	38
Behar	-	-	4	-	4	13	-	17
Central Provinces	-	-	10	10	20	17	-	37
Assam	-	-	3	-	3	-	-	4
North-West Frontier	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	1
Sind	-	-	2	1	3	-	-	3
Orissa	-	-	1	-	1	2	-	3
Delhi	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	2
Ajmer-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Merwara	-	4	2	-	2	7	-	9
Bangalore	-	-	8	3	11	7	1	19
Other Administrative Areas	-	-	4	3	7	4	-	11
British India	7	4	188	84	272	104	16	403

¹ Eleventh Quinquennial Review (1932-37), Vol. II, p. 178.

APPENDIX II-C

Table showing Anglo-Indian boys and girls by stages of Instruction.¹

<u>Stages of Instruction</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>School:</u>			
Primary (Classes I - IV)	12, 809	13, 673	26, 482
Middle (Classes V - VII)	6, 799	6, 738	13, 537
High (Classes VIII - X)	4, 313	3, 691	8, 004
Vocational & Technical Schools	529	641	1, 170
TOTAL	24, 450	24, 743	49, 193
<u>Collegiate & University:</u>			
Intermediate Classes	456	148	604
University Degree Classes	199	89	288
Postgraduate & Research	25	9	34
Tèchnological & Vocational	220	136	356
Pupils in unrecognised Institutions	19	13	32
GRAND TOTAL	25, 369	25, 138	50, 507

¹Figures taken from Tables IV A & B and V A & B, Eleventh Quinquennial Review (1932-37), Vol. II, pp. 28-35.

APPENDIX III-A

Grants to European Schools in India Made by the London Association
from 1914 to March 1928

	Rs.		Rs.
All Saints' Children's Home and Bishop Cotton School for Girls' Hostel, Nagpur.	22,000	Cathedral High Schools, Bombay	3,100
All Saints' Diocesan College, Naini Tal	15,000	Christ Church Schools (Boys and Girls), Jubbulpore	20,043
American Baptist Mission School, Mandalay	2,976	Christ Church School, Madras	150
Anglo-Indian Home and Taylor's High School, Poona	10,000	Christ Church School, Simla ..	3,000
Auckland House School, Simla	30,000	Church of England Orphanage, Mussoorie	300
Ayrcliff Girls' High School, Simla	32,000	Civil Orphan Asylum, Madras.	2,162
Baldwin Boys' High School, Bangalore	1,000	Clarence School, Bangalore..	4,000
Baptist European High School, Rangoon	9,406	Diocesan Girls' High School, Darjeeling	8,844
Bishop Corrie's High School, Madras	3,428	Diocesan Boys' School, Naini Tai	5,000
Bishop Cotton's Girls' School, Bangalore	10,000	Diocesan Boys' School, Rangoon	21,000
Bishop Cotton's School, Simla	5,000	Dumbarnie Home, Mussoorie.	2,500
Bishop Johnson's Orphanage, Allahabad	1,000	European Girls' School, Mandalay	7,032
Bishop's High School, Poona	16,000	European Boys' School, Ranchi	20,000
Bishop Education Society's Schools	71,838	European Girls' School, Ranchi	10,000
Bombay Education Society's Schools (conditional)	10,000	Girls' High School, Allahabad.	5,000
Bombay Scottish Orphanage, Mahim	23,751	Gouldsmith Free Day School, Calcutta	15,000
Boys' High School, Allahabad	3,550	Grammar School, Karachi ...	3,000
Breek's Memorial School, Ootacamund	5,000	Hebron School, Coonoor	13,000
Caineville House School, Mussoorie	1,400	Henry Allen Memorial Boys' School, Wynberg, Mussoorie	30,000
Calcutta Girls' High School.	30,000	Home Missionary Society of India Children's Home, Coonoor	10,000
Cathedral High School for Boys, Lahore	2,000	Indo-British Institution, Bombay	2,530
Cathedral High School for Girls, Lahore	3,000	Kimmins High School for Girls, Panchgani	27,000
		La Martinière (Boys), Calcutta	8,000
		Mayo Orphanage and Industrial School, Simla	750
		McConaghey School, Lucknow.	2,644
		Methodist Episcopal Girls' School, Thandaung	3,224
		Panchgani Boys' High School.	800
		Pensioners' School, Poona ..	600

APPENDIX III-A (Cont'd)

	Rs.		Rs.
Philander Smith College, Naini Tal.....	33, 000	St. Paul's Home for Girls, Calcutta	35, 000
Queen's Hill School, Darjeeling.....	43, 114	St. Peter's Schools, Khandala .	15, 555
Pratt Memorial School, Calcutta	3, 050	St. Thomas's Schools (late Calcutta Free School), Calcutta	38, 600
St. Andrew's Colonial Homes, Kalimpong	2, 500	St. Thomas's Parish School, Dehra Dun.....	3, 000
St. Andrew's Free School, Bangalore	992	Scottish Education Society, Bombay	1, 200
St. Denys School, Murree	17, 000	Scottish Orphanage, Bombay ..	3, 177
St. James' High School, Calcutta	25, 000	Stanes School, Coonoor.....	15, 000
St. John's School, Toungoo	468	Stanes High School, Coimbatore.....	17, 000
St. John's Parish School, Meerut	3, 500	Stewart School (late Protestant European School and Orphan- age), Cuttack.....	19, 899
St. John's Vestry School, Trichinopoly.....	11, 500	Woodstock School, Mussoorie .	30, 000
St. Mary's School, Mandalay	18, 150	Wynberg School and Orphanage, Mussoorie	1, 500
St. Mary's Schools, Poona	8, 100	Younghusband Collegiate Hostel, Lahore.....	15, 000
St. Mary's School, Belgaum.....	2, 000	Total Rs.	<u>912, 843</u>
St. Matthew's Boys' School, Moulmein.....	11, 010		
St. Matthew's School, Vepery, Madras.....	1, 500		

Source: The Anglo-Indian Citizen, Nov. 1928, p. 192.

APPENDIX III-B

Comparative statement showing the strength of Membership of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association, All India & Burma and subscribers to the Anglo-Indian Review in stations in which branches of the Association exist.

(a) Nos.	(b) Stations	(c) Population who should be members			(d) Member- ship of Assocn.	(e) % of age (c)	(f) Subscribers to A. I. R.	(g) % of (f) to (c)
		Male	Female	Total				
1.	Agra	288	66	354	180	51.0%	75	21.0%
2.	Ajmer	204	35	239	232	97.0	51	21.0
3.	Bangalore City	997	300	1297	222	17.0	151	11.5
4.	Calcutta	3308	790	4098	652	16.0	190	4.5
5.	Bombay	1338	232	1570	200	13.0	52	3.3
6.	Karachi	148	30	178	173	97.1	50	28.1
7.	Kolar Gold Fields	384	82	466	375	80.1	140	30.0
8.	Lahore	379	48	427	100	23.4	40	9.6
9.	Lucknow	359	49	408	119	46.6	73	17.85
10.	Nagpur	548	102	650	140	21.6	10	1.5
11.	Quetta	-	-	-	50	-	21	-
12.	Simla	103	29	132	198	150.0	41	31.1
13.	Vizagapatam	378	63	441	98	22.2	15	3.4
14.	Rangoon	1094	467	2561	441	17.2	151	5.9
15.	Adra	-	-	-	114	-	130	-
16.	Allahabad	381	87	468	190	40.0	155	33.2
17.	Arkonam	-	-	-	40	-	36	-
18.	Ambala	328	62	390	15	3.9	4	1.0
19.	Asansol	-	-	-	389	-	76	-
20.	Bandiqui	-	-	-	36	-	2	-
21.	Parbatipur	-	-	-	26	-	23	-
22.	Bareilly	26	2	28	30	100.7	20	71.5
23.	Bhusawal	-	-	-	80	-	60	-
24.	Bilaspur	73	14	87	46	53.0	53	60.0
25.	Bina	-	-	-	30	-	14	-
26.	Bitragunta	-	-	-	20	-	23	-
27.	Cawnpore	179	41	220	105	47.6	79	35.9
28.	Chakradharpore	-	-	-	100	-	77	-
29.	Chittagong	109	24	133	74	55.6	21	15.75
30.	Coonoor	-	-	-	50	-	8	-
31.	Dacca	60	12	72	20	27.8	10	13.9
32.	Dehra Dun	232	93	325	60	18.5	24	13.4
33.	Dhanbad	-	-	-	111	-	88	-
34.	Dinapore	-	-	-	81	-	27	-
35.	Dongargarh	-	-	-	27	-	30	-
36.	Gangapur City	-	-	-	15	-	31	-
37.	Gorakhpore	62	13	75	43	57.2	11	14.65
38.	Guntakal	-	-	-	20	-	15	-

APPENDIX III-B (cont'd)

(a)	(b)	(c)		(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	
39.	Howrah	199	39	238	109	45.8%	23	9.7%
40.	Hubli	-	-	-	60	-	20	-
41.	Hyderabad	409	112	521	58	11.2	22	4.2
42.	Igatpuri	-	-	-	20	-	6	-
43.	Itarsi	-	-	-	15	-	15	-
44.	Jalarpet	-	-	-	46	-	30	-
45.	Jamalpur	-	-	-	97	-	90	-
46.	Jha Jha	-	-	-	48	-	21	-
47.	Jubbulpore	234	36	270	248	92.0	69	25.5
48.	Kanchrapara	-	-	-	92	-	53	-
49.	Khargpur	-	-	-	181	-	117	-
50.	Kalayan	-	-	-	15	-	-	-
51.	Katihar	-	-	-	25	-	4	-
52.	Khurda Road	-	-	-	60	-	43	-
53.	Kotagiri	-	-	-	15	-	3	-
54.	Lonavla	-	-	-	90	-	18	-
55.	Meerut	77	18	95	63	66.5	40	42.0
56.	Mhow	-	-	-	15	-	15	-
57.	Moghulserai	-	-	-	37	-	29	-
58.	Moradabad	38	8	46	80	174.0	29	65.0
59.	Multan	34	8	42	12	28.5	4	9.5
60.	Mussoorie	-	-	-	50	-	21	-
61.	Muzzafarpore	7	1	8	15	187.5	14	175.0
62.	Ondal	-	-	-	25	-	12	-
63.	Peshawar	14	1	15	35	233.0	23	153.5
64.	Poona	306	94	400	60	15.0	22	5.5
65.	Phulera	-	-	-	37	-	6	-
66.	Rawalpindi	78	16	94	40	42.5	37	39.4
67.	Saharanpur	99	23	122	20	16.4	31	25.4
68.	Saidpur	-	-	-	32	-	24	-
69.	Salem	31	6	37	15	40.5	3	8.1
70.	Santragachi	-	-	-	17	-	6	-
71.	Golden Rock	132	35	167	82	49.0	52	40.0
72.	Tundla	-	-	-	76	-	72	-
73.	Waltair	-	-	-	40	-	2	-
74.	Patna	269	47	316	30	9.5	12	3.8
75.	Sahebgunge	-	-	-	15	-	2	-
76.	Jhansi	-	-	-	31	-	6	-
77.	Lalmonirhaut	-	-	-	26	-	5	-
	Life & other mem- bers not shown				750		717	

Source: The Anglo-Indian Review, Jan. 1928, Vol. XVIII, No. 1, pp. 6-7.

APPENDIX V - A

A. D. 1935.

Table of Seats
The Federal Assembly
Representatives of British India

Province	General Seats:		Total of general seats reserved for Scheduled castes	Sikh Seats	Muhamadan Seats		Anglo-Indian Seats		Euro-pean Seats		Indian Christian Seats		Seats for representatives of commerce and industry	Land-holders of labour	Women's Seats
	Total Seats	General seats reserved			Muhamadan Seats	Anglo-Indian Seats	Euro-pean Seats	Indian Christian Seats							
Madras	37	19	4	-	8	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	
Bombay	30	13	2	-	6	1	1	3	1	1	2	2	2	2	
Bengal	37	10	3	-	17	1	1	3	1	1	2	2	1	1	
United Provinces	37	19	3	-	12	1	1	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Punjab	30	6	1	6	14	-	1	-	1	1	1	-	-	1	
Bihar	30	16	2	-	9	-	1	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Central Provinces and Berar	15	9	2	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	
Assam	10	4	1	-	3	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	
North-West Frontier Province	5	1	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Orissa	5	4	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Sind	5	1	-	-	3	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	
British Baluchistan	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Delhi	2	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Ajmer-Merwara	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Coorg	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Non-Provincial Seats	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	-	
Totals	250	105	19	6	82	4	8	8	11	7	10	9	9		

Source: Govt. of India Bill, Vol. II - Schedules (London: H. M. S. O., May 1935), p. 300.

A. D. 1935.

APPENDIX V - B
Table of Seats
Provincial Legislative Assemblies

Province	Total Seats	Seats for representatives back-ward areas and tribes		Total of General Scheduled, Castes and Tribes Seats	General Seats		Seats for representatives of commerce, industry, mining and land-holders		Seats for labour	Seats for Women			
		General	Reserved		Muham-Indian	Anglo-Euro-Indian	General	General		Muham-Indian	Anglo-Indian	Christian	
Madras	215	30	1	28	2	3	8	6	1	6	1	1	1
Bombay	175	15	1	29	2	3	3	2	1	7	5	1	1
Bengal	250	30	-	117	3	11	2	5	2	8	2	2	1
United Provinces	228	20	-	64	1	2	2	6	1	3	4	2	-
Punjab	175	8	-	31	1	1	1	5	1	3	1	2	-
Bihar	152	15	7	39	1	2	1	4	1	3	3	1	1
Central Provinces and Berar	112	84	1	14	1	1	-	2	1	2	3	-	-
Assam	108	47	9	7	34	-	1	11	-	4	1	-	-
North-Western Frontier Province	50	9	-	3	36	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Orissa	60	44	6	5	4	-	1	1	-	1	2	-	-
Sind	60	18	-	-	33	-	2	2	-	1	1	1	1

In Bombay seven of the general seats shall be reserved for Marathas.
In the Punjab one of the Landholders seats shall be a seat to be filled by a Tumandar.
In Assam the seat reserved for women shall be a non-communal seat.

Source: Govt. of India Bill, Vol. II - Schedules (London: H. M. S. O., May 1935), p. 324.

APPENDIX V - C (a)

Anglo-Indian Constituencies
(Madras)

Serial No.	Name of Constituency	Extent of Constituency	No. of seats	Popula- tion	No. of voters
1	Anglo-Indian	The Madras Presi- dency	2	28, 630	8, 533

1. Qualifications of electors. — Being an Anglo-Indian who possesses the qualifications requisite under the Sixth Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935.

2. Qualifications of candidates. — Being an elector in the constituency who possesses the qualifications requisite under the Fifth Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935.

3. Returning Officer. — The Collector of Madras.

4. Method of election. — Postal ballot.

Source: Govt. of India Act 1935, Vol. II, Proposals for the Delimitation of Constituencies, Appendices IV - X.

APPENDIX V - C (b)

Anglo-Indian Constituencies
(Bombay)

Serial No.	Name of Constituency	Extent of Constituency and area in square miles	No. of seats	Popula- tion	No. of voters
1	Bombay City and Bom- bay Suburban District	The City of Bombay and the Bombay Sub- urban district ex- cluding the Ambernathpetha (167)	1	8, 731 (incl. Amber- nath).	1, 270
2	Presidency	The Presidency of Bom- bay (excluding the City of Bombay and the South Salsette taluka of the Bombay Suburban district) (77, 054)	1	5, 445	786

1. Qualifications of electors. — As in C (a).

2. Qualifications of candidates. — As in C (a).

3. Returning Officer. — The Collector of Bombay.

4. Method of election. — Direct.

Source: Ibid.

APPENDIX V - C(c)

Anglo-Indian Constituencies
(Bengal)

Serial No.	Name of Constituency	Extent of Constituency	No. of seats	Popula- tion	No. of voters
1	Anglo-Indian	The Presidency of Bengal excluding the Chittagong Hill Tracts	4	27,573	-

1. Qualifications of electors. — Being an Anglo-Indian who possesses the qualifications requisite under the Sixth Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935.

2. Qualifications of candidates. — Being an elector in the constituency who possesses the qualifications requisite under the Fifth Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935. A woman only will be eligible to fill the seat reserved for women.

3. Returning Officer. — An official appointed by the local Government.

4. Method of election. — Direct in areas in which the population is compact; by post where it is scattered. Distributive voting.

Source: Ibid.

APPENDIX V - C (d)

Anglo-Indian Constituencies
(The United Provinces)

Name of Constituency	Extent of Constituency	No. of seats	Popula- tion	Approxi- mate no. of voters
The United Provinces Anglo-Indian Con- stituency.	The United Provinces	1	11,263	2,739

1. Qualifications of electors. — Being an Anglo-Indian in the province, who possesses the franchise qualifications required under the Sixth Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935.

2. Qualifications of candidates. — Being an elector in the constituency, who possesses the qualifications requisite under the Fifth Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935.

3. Returning Officer. — The District Officer.

4. Method of election. — Postal ballot.

Source: Ibid.

APPENDIX V - C (e)

Anglo-Indian Constituencies
(The Punjab)

<u>Name of Constituency</u>	<u>Extent of Constituency</u>	<u>No. of seats</u>	<u>Popula- tion</u>	<u>Approximate no. of voters</u>
Anglo-Indian	The Punjab	1	2,995	400

1. Qualifications of electors. — Being an Anglo-Indian and possessing the qualifications requisite under the Sixth Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935.

2. Qualifications of candidates. — Being an elector in the constituency who possesses the qualifications requisite under paragraph 1 of the Fifth Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935.

3. Returning Officer. — The Director of the Information Bureau, or his Assistant.

4. Method election. — Direct.

Source: Ibid.

APPENDIX V - C (f)

Anglo-Indian Constituencies
(Bihar)

<u>Serial No.</u>	<u>Name of Constituency</u>	<u>Extent of Constituency and area in square miles</u>	<u>No. of seats</u>	<u>Popula- tion</u>	<u>No. of voters</u>
1	Anglo-Indian	The province of Bihar (69,348)	1	5,892	2,000

1. Qualifications of electors. — Being an Anglo-Indian who possesses the qualifications prescribed under the Sixth Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935.

2. Qualifications of candidates. — Being an elector in the constituency, who possesses the qualifications requisite under the Fifth Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935.

3. Returning Officer. — The Deputy Secretary to Government, Legislative Department.

4. Method of election. — Postal ballot.

Source: Ibid.

APPENDIX V - C (g)

Anglo-Indian Constituencies
(The Central Provinces and Berar)

<u>Serial No.</u>	<u>Name of Constituency</u>	<u>Extent of Constituency</u>	<u>No. of seats</u>	<u>Probable no. of voters</u>
1	Anglo-Indian	The Central Provinces and Berar	1	2,000

1. Qualifications of electors. — Being an Anglo-Indian and having the qualifications prescribed in the Sixth Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935.

2. Qualifications of candidates. — Being an elector in the constituency who possesses the qualifications requisite under the Fifth Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935.

3. Returning Officer. — The Chief Secretary to Government.

4. Method of election. — Postal ballot (provisional)

Source: Ibid.