European Economic Letters
ISSN 2323-5233
Vol 14, Issue 3 (2024)
http://eelet.org.uk

The Anglo-Indians of Odisha – The Origins and Naming of a Mixed-Race Community

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Abstract

Anglo-Indians are a mixed-race Indian minority community, perhaps one of the oldest community of mixed descent in the world. The Anglo-Indians are the only Indian community,that is defined in the Constitution of India and are identified by their European surnames, which signify their European descent from their male progenitors. The word 'Anglo' denotes their mainly British descent, and 'Indian' refers to the Indian ancestry of this community. Though the prefix 'Anglo', indicates a relation to England or the English people and implies that the community descended exclusively from the Welsh, English, Scottish or the Irish, it is in fact misleading as in the course of history, the male line could have been from any European country. This article explores the ethnic origins of the Anglo-Indians and their eventual formation into a community and is contextualized in the historical attempts of Anglo-Indians to build a presence in politics and the public sphere.

Key-words: Anglo-Indian, Identity, Mixed-race community, Eurasian, Ethnicity

Introduction

The colonial experience is responsible for the production of mixed-race identities across a range of Asian societies. Thus there is a need to learn and understand what mixed race communities mean and in these times of social change, examine their lived experiences and the impact on their sense of belonging and identity. Törngren et al., (2021), [1] note that multiracials are a rapidly growing demographic in much of the world while Rico et al.(2023) note an increase of over 150% (since 2010) in the United States, where 15% of adoloescents and children are multi-racial. [2] Thus, the increasing interest worldwide in mixed race and ethnic identities has prompted a study of the Anglo-Indian community .

Megan Mills points out that research on Anglo-Indians has generally been a 'sort of academic pilgrimage route of some decades standing involving one Anglo-Indian concentration and then another. In Madras, Calcutta, Bombay, Lucknow and at assorted hill stations serving urban centres, it would seem that Anglo-Indians have repeatedly been surveyed or interviewed. India's principal railway junctions and workshop centres have similarly offered predictable vantage points for researchers' (Mills Op.cit. p. 50) .[3]

As a result, Mills feels that individuals and families who are not attached to the urban groups of Anglo-Indians have contributed significant information. Researchers have ignored the fact that the community is spread all over India and have mostly neglected work in smaller towns and cities while concentrating on groups of Anglo-Indians living in certain areas. Yet Odisha, with a vital railway junction at Khurda Road, once the home of around two hundred Anglo-Indian families, has never been written about, and there has been no research work on the community in Odisha or its identity-related experiences. This article seeks to plug that gap by attempting to collect and analyse identity-related experiences and identity development, validation and belonging (Maragh-Lloyd & Corsbie-Massay,2022).[4]

Studies on Anglo-Indians do not entirely address how they see themselves, and in a time when so many have broken the endogamous tag of the community by marrying outside it, this is of the utmost importance. Past identity-related experiences, according to the narrative approach to identity development, are often the base on which narratives and meanings are constructed by individuals (McLean & Pasupathi, 2012) [5]. Therefore, focusing only on Anglo-Indians in

the metros or the diaspora would not be telling the entire story, as those living in less cosmopolitan settings have their own values, aspirations and lived experiences. Their identity-related experiences, memories, aspirations, community identity and the autobiographical narratives they construct about these experiences may vary significantly from those in more cosmopolitan settings. There has been an attempt to study the 'overlooked historical and geographical presence of Anglo-Indians in small towns and non-metropolitan cities over several generations' (Andrews, Gera Roy 2021) [6] but the work has not considered any town or city in Odisha.

In this article,we trace the origins of the Anglo-Indian community and the travails it faced owing to official policy and social attitudes which were outright racist during the British Raj. The proscription enacted by the British, coupled with the situation just before and after Indian Independence and its impact on the community's identity, is examined .

The Community

The Constitution of Independent India, which came into effect on January 26, 1950, in Article 366(2), defines an Anglo-Indian as follows:

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.[7]

This definition is in fact reproduced from the Government of India Act of 1935 which included a definition of the Anglo-Indian community .This definition came into being ,owing to the efforts of Sir Henry Gidney leader of the community in India,who led a deputation to London in 1925, to petition, the Secretary of State for India, to clarify the political and legal position of Anglo-Indians (Anthony, 1969, p. 97,104-8)[8].

This definition emphasizes two essential facts about the Anglo-Indians. It specifies their European "descent" from the male line and, second, that they are natives of India by being born "within the territory of India of parents habitually resident therein." This dual heritage has set them apart as an Indian community with a distinct linguistic and cultural identity. Throughout this article, the term 'Anglo-Indian' will be used with reference to the definition of that term in Article 366(2) of the Constitution of India, 1950.

The population figures for Anglo-Indians over the years, as gleaned from various sources, are as follows:

Year	Population
1911	159283 [9]
1921	113090 [10]
1931	138298 [11]
1941	250000-300000[12]
1947	100,000[13]
1951	111637 [14]
1961	223781[15]
1994	3-4 lakh [16]
2019	3.5 lakhs [17]

Though the Anglo-Indian community has typically been located in urban areas, in large numbers, in Calcutta, West Bengal, Chennai, Tamil Nadu, Cochin, Kerala and Mumbai in Maharashtra, there are members of the community who lived and worked away from these centres, in other states of India. Though many have migrated for work or education to other states, Anglo-Indians still live across the country.

The Constitution of India guaranteed the community political representation through nominations in Central and State legislatures. State Legislative Assemblies of twelve states in India nominated Anglo-Indians to their legislatures [18](Dias, 2019). However, Odisha has never nominated an Anglo-Indian to serve in its Legislative Assembly. Dias mentions some states that offered Anglo-Indians seats in professional courses [19] (Dias, 2019). The state of Odisha has never extended any support of this nature to the community in Odisha. It is also one of the ten states that have yet to constitute a State Minorities Commission.[20] Around two hundred Anglo-Indian families were living in Odisha until the 1980s. Fifty-five families live in Bhubaneswar, Cuttack, Jharsguda, Berhampur and the railway town of Khurda Road (KUR), which has the highest number of families.

Lionel Caplan wrote that Anglo-Indians were 'hardly present at all in histories of modern India' (Caplan, 2001) [21], and Alison Blunt echoes that sentiment when she notes that the history of the community has remained a largely 'hidden history' [22](Blunt, 2005) which applies to the community in Odisha . The only information in the public domain is the local media reports of community Christmas and New Year celebrations. In a more significant national context, we found no literature on Odisha's Anglo-Indians.

Most community members in Odisha are in the teaching profession, and many Anglo-Indian teachers are well-known and respected. At the Tata Steel Literary Meet, held in February 2023 at the Bhubaneswar Club. Mr Barry O'Brien, the author of *The Anglo-Indians-Portrait of a Community*, was being interviewed by Prof. Sashmi Nayak. O'Brien, speaking about his work and community, was suddenly at a loss for words. Prof. Nayak suddenly shifted her attention to the audience and noticed that among the small group of Anglo-Indians seated was her teacher, Mr Gordon 'Bobby' Barren, and her children's teacher, Mrs Sonja Maria Benjamin. She drew the audience's attention to both these teachers, mentioning their excellence in the classroom, (an opinion shared by the second author whose daughter Mr. Barren taught), and asked the audience to give them a standing ovation. The media persons there expressed surprise at learning that Anglo-Indians were still living in Odisha.[23]

Methodology

We were not limited in any way, by the difficulties that researchers face while surveying such ethnic minority groups, such as low frequency in the population, difficult to access or being geographically unclustered. One Anglo-Indian family living in Berhampur was contacted over the phone, while the rest of our respondents were available in the twin cities of Bhubaneswar and Cuttack and the railway town of Jatni. To the best of our knowledge, there are no Anglo-Indian families living in other parts of Odisha.

The Anglo-Indians in Odisha fit the definition of an ethnic group as defined by Bulmer:

collectivity within a larger population having real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared past, and a cultural focus upon one or more symbolic elements which define the group's identity, such as kinship, religion, language, shared territory, nationality or physical appearance(Bulmer,1999).[24]

Weedon, quoting Weeks' theorizations on identity, says: "Identity is about belonging, about what you have in common with some people and what differentiates you from others. At its most basic, it gives you a sense of personal location, the stable core to your individuality"(Weedon,2004)[25] Weedon himself believes that , "this is a world in which the legacies of colonialism, including migration and the creation of diasporas, along with processes of globalization have put taken-for-granted ideas of identity and belonging into question" [26] .

Referring to cultural hybridity, Alison Blunt, refers to Bhabhas' in-between space' – that carries the burden of the meaning of culture"(Blunt, 2005) [27]. This 'space' plays a role in making identity and is in a constant state of flux and transition (Khan,2016). [28] Thus, Shope, in his article on Anglo-Indian identity, mentions a "production of identity", especially of the hybrid or mixed races ", that is marked simultaneously by continuity and change" (Shope, 2004)[29].

We kept in mind that ethnic identity is flexible, not static, and liable to change as social circumstances change. We set out to test Andrews' suggestion 'that while Anglo-Indian identity is fluid, variable and changing, it was not in a state of crisis' [30] Karlsen and Nazroo(2006) mention that ethnic minority groups must be conscious of being a part of that group and choose the characteristics (for ex. language, ancestry) they wish to use to define themselves, though stereotypes imposed by others may influence these choices.[31] To identify our groups we went by the practice of the UK's Office of National Statistics(ONS), quoted in Font and Mendez(2013) [32].

[Because) membership of an ethnic group is something that is subjectively meaningful to the person concerned [...] we are unable to base ethnic identification upon objective, quantifiable information as we would, say, for age or gender. And this means that we should rather ask people which group they see themselves as belonging to (ONS 2003:9). [33]

Our respondents were unanimous that they were all 'Anglo-Indians', and that is how they saw themselves, while most chose not to discuss any stereotype in the initial stages of our enquiry. We focused on using oral testimony to capture the memories and lived experiences and compared it with textual research and our own impressions and analysis of the discussions. Thus, we settled for unstructured interviews, creating focus groups and house meetings to gather information for this article.

We kept our interviews informal and unstructured while trying to be conversational. We sometimes introduced a topic or shared an anecdote that any of our respondents had shared and then just listened. Several of our seniors became misty eyed while recounting their memories while one gentleman broke down completely. The younger generation were happy to share their thoughts and were interested in hearing stories of the past as they felt that it would keep the culture and way of life alive in the minds of future generations. Though the first author is of the exact ethnic origins as the respondents, we did not experience any adverse effects when discussing controversial or taboo topics and neither were there worries about confidentiality that may arise when respondents are ethnically matched to the interviewer, who may be from a relatively small community (Grewal and Ritchie, 2006). [34]

We conducted twelve house meetings in the homes of our respondents, with at least five different families participating in each. House meetings, a technique developed in the 1950s, are deliberative group conversations with six to twelve participants who know each other (Cortes, 2006)[35]. Such meetings create a space to have a dialogue about issues that matter to a community (Kong, 2010) [36]. The fact that the first author is an insider was also helpful in gaining access to community members.

We also used focus group discussions which is a technique where a researcher assembles a group of individuals to discuss a specific topic, aiming to draw understandings from the complex personal experiences, beliefs, perceptions and attitudes of the participants through a moderated interaction (Morgan, 1996)[37]. Both these methods, house meetings and focus groups employ the strategy of group conversation and encourage connection between participants and the telling of stories based on lived experiences, which is in line with what we are trying to achieve. More importantly, we were conscious that oral narratives typically include elements' which the narrators regard as the unvarnished truth… of archetype , stereotype or myth' (Burke,1992)[38].

Our focus groups consisted of twelve participants each, with ages ranging from the age of 20 to 87 years. One group comprised Anglo-Indians residing in Odisha; the second was Anglo-Indians originally from Odisha but presently residing in other states or countries. The participation of two Anglo-Indian MLAs (one from a railway town) and one former Member of Parliament in the focus group enriched the discussions and added perspective. In order to tell those stories, we paid particular attention to the senior citizens in the focus group and the community as they were more likely to have experienced much more as they had been born before and around Independence. In India, all those aged 60 years and above are considered senior citizens. We also interviewed members of the local communities who had lived or worked with Anglo-Indians and knew the community.

We conducted three focus group meetings, two in September and October 2020 and one in October 2021. On 14th October 2021, seventy-two Anglo-Indians attended a community meeting organized by the authors on the study's objectives. However, owing to pandemic-related fears, some seniors could not attend. In December 2021, we met several seniors at a Christmas Tree, an event which is held on Christmas Eve, for children where a Santa Claus distributes gifts and treats which is followed by a ride on an open truck, with Santa ,singing Christmas carols. Following this, there were follow-up meetings at social gatherings and community functions in 2023. In addition, we conducted interviews with our respondents to extract their narratives and perspectives. In terms of writing, where there are direct quotes from the participants, we have not used their names in order to protect their identity, although we include brief biographical details for context.

In order to fully understand the formation of identity and a sense of community, we must begin with how this group of people came into being so the following sections deals with the origin of the community and its naming.

I Origins

The origin of the Anglo-Indian community goes back centuries to the earliest contact between Europe and India. Historically, the community dates back to the time when Vasco de Gama landed at Panthalayini Kollam near Calicut, on the southwest coast of India, in May 1498, after discovering the sea route to India around the Cape of Good Hope. Cabral, the Portuguese commander, arrived at Cochin, in December 1500, and entered into a treaty of alliance with the Raja of Cochin, to take care of the factories left behind, at Cochin. The Portuguese activities in India were unchallenged, by any European power, and before the end of the the16th Century, the Portuguese had acquired, either through military conquests or treaties with native rulers, vast territories, and soon many factories sprang up along the western shores of India from Calicut to Diu. [39]

Goodrich mentions how authorities disagree with the primary objective of the Portuguese invasion of India. However, whether it was to strengthen their position against the Arabs, to open a rich new source of revenue and commerce, or to spread the Christian gospel, the fact remains that a large part of Portuguese policy was colonial. And it is this aspect of

the Portuguese expansion which is of particular interest here. For reasons difficult to reconstruct, their soldiers and merchants were encouraged to marry and make permanent homes in India. Ordinarily, they were not allowed to take European women with them, [40] but they were able to find wives among the orphan girls sent out from Lisbon[41] or among the native women. Elaborate explanations abound regarding intermarriage that the Portuguese deliberately and unremittingly fostered. Some writers say that the Portuguese carried to India a habit from their native land of marrying the Moorish invaders.[42] Others believe that this was part of the program of Christian proselyting [43] and still others believe that the Portuguese used this means of founding permanent colonies in India loyal to the Crown. [44]

There is little evidence that the Portuguese were consistent in their attitudes toward intermarriage. Most writers dealing with this aspect of Portuguese behaviour in India have derived their information from the material dealing with Alfonso de Albuquerque, the second governor of the Portuguese territories. [45]

Still, some believe that the Portuguese-produced community was born out of 'political sagacity combined with great human warmth',[46] unlike the East India Company, which would subsequently do so purely out of economic considerations. One must keep in mind, though, that this was the general style of colonialism followed by the Portuguese and the Spanish, who found it more convenient to rule once they had adapted to the local culture, and happily revised the systems of racial hierarchy in their colonies to suit themselves. Intermarriage with the local community was a part of their colonial policy.

The Portuguese permitted and encouraged their soldiers or *soldados* to marry local women and become casados or married men. This policy, known as *politica dos casamentos* or politics through marriage, would help them create a community loyal to the colonizers yet comfortable living in the colonies. *Casados* were permitted to stay on permanently in the colony. Many former soldiers did so as civilians and became traders, landowners, business people, or government servants after marrying and settling into their new home. The Portuguese, thus, began assimilating into Indian society by marrying local women and were, therefore, the first European progenitors of the first mixed-race community in India. These descendants of the Portugese in Kerala were the Luso-Indians. Charles Dias writes in his book: The Portuguese in Malabar: 'In the course of the sixteenth Century, the Portuguese created a dispersed structure of territorial holdings peopled by a Portuguese-Asiatic community called Luso-Indians with adistinct Portuguese Catholic identity. The paradox was that though the numbers of Portuguese settlers and slaves in India were limited, their maritime commercial influence was considerable.' [47]The locals referred to the Luso-Indians and the Portugese as '*parangis*', derived from the Arabic word for foreigner, or '*feringhee*'. [48]

Alfonso Albuquerque, the second Governor of Portuguese colonies in India, facilitated the formation of this community and encouraged his men to marry the widows of Muslim warriors slain in battles with the Portuguese. [49] He was a colonialist and a missionary and offered dowries of land, cattle and six horses to the married couples while insisting that the women were converted to Christianity.[50]

Since it took many months to sail from Portugal to this lucrative part of the world, only men ventured forth. Soon, many a *fidalgo*, or nobleman, wishing to settle down permanently in India, sought the hand of a local woman to marry. Dias also writes about how 'daughters of the Portuguese officers killed in wars were sent to India' to marry Portuguese soldiers' in annual batches from the orphanages of Lisbon and Porto'.[51] The Portuguese government “initially, in its concern for the morals of its employees in the East, it sent batches of women to India. However, the sending of women-folk being very costly, could not be continued for long, and so the Portuguese government encouraged marriages of their men with native girls." [52]

Once Albuquerque received several requests from Portuguese men to marry native women, the Portuguese reasoned that 'there was a moral motive to encourage (mixed) marriages rather than concubinage. Albuquerque, 'encouraged Portuguese men to marry Indian women by providing them dowries and money, allotting them land and houses within Fort Cochin, and exempting them from paying customs'. [53] "Albuquerque's intentions were obviously those of a colonizer and a missionary to settle permanently and hence he encouraged his soldiers to marry native women baptised as Christians.[54] He, however, permitted, only men of approved character to marry. Further, "The women they married were the daughters of principal men of the land”. [55]

The emergence of the Luso-Indians also impacted the Indian community in some ways, especially with regard to religion. Many women married to Portuguese settlers were from Muslim families with an eye on commerce and profit since most wealthy and well-established merchants and traders were Muslims. According to Padua(2005),church records also show that several marriages recorded in Cochin in 1514 included women from the Muslim, Malabari, Nair, Christian, Brahmin, and even Javanese and Canarian communities.[56] Dias mentions that in less than two years since the inception of the forward-thinking governor's policy, as many as 450 men married local women. The women were baptized and converted to the Catholic Church. Although this made the Portuguese unpopular, it multiplied the number of Christians and gave the faith greater momentum in India.[57] Besides Muslims, many Hindus also converted to Christianity, thanks to

evangelists like Francis Xavier and Robert de Nobili. Many converts, men and women, abandoned their caste names and culture. They adopted a Portuguese lifestyle, changing their names and habits; some even took the names of the priests who baptized them while others took their name from gravestones, thus coining the epithet 'gravestone or graveyard Christians'. 'This led to uncertainty and confusion about who was a mestizo and who was a native convert. The uncertainty, though growing less relevant by the day, persists even now (O'Brien, 2022).' [58]

Marriage alliances between the local women and the Portuguese and their descendants helped strengthen the Portuguese power, with the idea that the mixed-race community would not only help integration but also remain a loyal bulwark of support to the colonials. The new community would then facilitate trade by acting as middlemen, thus enabling a stable empire in India. This earliest form of social engineering was later on adopted by the British to further their own interests in India.

The Luso-Indian community grew on the Malabar Coast owing to the liberal policies of the Portuguese, and many Indian women married and converted to Catholicism. However, Indians ostracised their offspring. The Portuguese-established factories and armouries employed Luso-Indians, but many became destitute when the Dutch defeated the Portuguese in the early 1660s. 'The Luso-Indians rapidly sank in the social scale and within a short period of time a majority of them reverted to Indian stocks, and are today known as Goanese, a community residing in Goa, Bombay and the West Coast of India. This apart, in the larger cities of India like Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, the Luso-Indians had retained their European characteristics, and many of them ultimately amalgamated with the newly-born mixed community of British descent, the Anglo-Indians.' [59] However, there are those that believe that the Indo-Portugese population is distinct from the Goans,who are Luso-Indians and bear closer connection to other Christian groups and are less able to trace their European ancestry. Campos stated that a great many had adopted English and were regarded as Anglo-Indians. [60] In the 1960's Gist and Wright observed that some Indians of Indo-Portuguese ethnicity could understand Portuguese though they could not read it .[61]

The community in Kerala are the descendants of the Portuguese and Luso-Indians, and many families with ' surnames like Correia, de Costa, de Coutho, de Cunha, de Cruz, de Mello, de Silva, Dias, Fernandez, Gomez, Lopez, Mendez, Netto, Pereira, Rodrigues, de Rozario, Rebeiro...all of Portuguese origin'. [62]

By 1605, the Dutch established their first factory in India at Masulipatnam, eventually destroying the Portuguese power in India. Their interests in the country were purely commercial, but unlike the Portuguese, the Dutch reduced the possibility of intermarriage as they allowed their factors and soldiers to take only European wives. However, some writers refer to Eurasians in 1614 Pulicat born out of marriages between Indian women and Dutch colonials which indicates that as long as the women were Christian and the marriage legitmate, there was no official sanction. [63] The Dutch also traded at Nagapatinam and Tuticorin after 1620 and seized Cochin from the Portuguese in 1633. [64] By 1679, the Dutch had established substantial settlements at Pulicat, Masulipatam (present-day Machilipatnam) and Bumlipatam (present-day Bheemunipatnam) that were once a part of the Madras Residency, and Balasore (in Odisha), besides Nagapatnam , Cochin and in Bengal. The Luso-Indians were pushed out of their ancestral enclaves to suburban islands and rural interiors. [65]

By the end of the seventeenth Century, even the Dutch were offering three months pay to those of their men who married locally.[66] There seem to have been some intermarriages with the natives as some Eurasians have Dutch family names as Vauspall, Cuyper, Van Dort, Van Ingen, Brohier de Kuyser, Hendricks, Van Buerle, Hoogewerf, Van Haeften, Delafosse, Hessing and other anglicised derivatives. However, there does not seem to have been a significant number of Dutch Eurasians who, though not ostracised by the Dutch, were also not considered citizens of the Netherlands. The Dutch, however, were more interested in consolidating their position in the Indonesian Archipelago and Ceylon and did not retain a permanent power base in India.

Other European companies also made their way to India, such as the Danes of Tranquebar (1620-1845),who used German mercenaries to achieve power,[67] so some Anglo-Indians have Scandinavian surnames like Anderson or Peterson. German titles like Reinhardt or Weber began to be used. Anglo-Indians with surnames such as Marshall/Marscholl, Muller/Miller or Schmidt/Smith ,sometimes descend from Swiss German mercenaries. [68] Similarly, the Swiss also partnered with the Dutch and the British. The Swiss fighting force had fighters from Central Europe, adding the Polish, Hungarian, Czech and Austrian strains to the present-day mixed-race community. These bands of European settlers often took Indian wives, whose offspring helped augment the Eurasian or Anglo-Indian community in India.

After the Dutch and the English, the French founded the French East India Company in 1664, setting up their first factory at Surat in 1668, the second at Masulipatnam and then came the settlements at Pondicherry and Chandernagore in Bengal.[69] The French became significant contenders with the British for domination of the Indian trade, married freely with the natives, and did not seem to have discriminated to any large extent against the mixed race community, and Dupleix, the Governor of Pondicherry, had an Anglo-Indian wife.[70]Surnames such as La Rive, de Lang, Le Grand, Dique,

(le) Couchier, Fanthom (from Fantome) , Bower (from(La) Bouverie or Bouvier), Bouchediere and many other derivatives reflect the French ancestry of the community.The Huguenots, a religious group of French Protestants who held to the Reformed tradition of Protestantism, also added to the ethnic mix, and their descendants have surnames such as Crommelin, Chardins, Amsincks, Trapauds or Lefebvres. [71]

Though the English ruled India, the Scots and Irish played their part. Cain writes about how British racial thinking propounded the belief that Scottish culture produced a being that was more acceptable to Indian subjects, emotionally inclined and industrious.[72] As a result, the Scots dominated the civil and lower branches of the administration and produced many Anglo-Indian families of their own. Anglo-Indian families with surnames such as Wilson, Willson, Cunningham, Hamilton and Montgomery have descended from Irish subgroups, the Scotch Irish of Northern Ireland and Western Scotland and the Protestant Anglo-Irish of Southern Island. Thus, the French, Dutch, Germans, Flemish, Italians and Danes also intermarried with Indian women [73] and produced many Eurasians or Anglo-Indians as we know them today. Thus during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, microcosmic Anglo-Indian communities sprang up where Europeans traded with India [74].

Even before the Portuguese, Armenian traders maintained a presence in India and there were also alliances between Armenians, Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans. Anglo-Indians have also inter-married with India's Hakka Chinese and there are, in some cities, Anglo-Indian Jews of Sephardic and European origins.[75] Thus, the term Anglo-Indian is a misnomer because the paternal lineage of the community can be traced to Armenia, Italy, France, Scotland, Ireland, Spain, Wales, Portugal and not just Britain.

II Naming

During the Dutch regime, the mixed descents were called *Wallandez* or *Oollanday*. *Mestices*(mixed) was in use, as were other names common in the past in Kerala were '*Calikar*', *Chi-Chi*, and *Chattakar* (Chatta- trouser, Kar- a person who wears them). [76] While an Anglo-Indian in Tamil Nadu is fondly referred to as *Appakaarar*- a man who eats hoppers, a breakfast dish of rice batter with coconut milk [77], in Odisha, the most favoured term, especially in Odisha town, is *Sahibo*.

In the early days, the members of the Anglo-Indian community were referred to by derogatory terms such as 'half-caste', 'half-breed', 'mixed blood' or 'country-born'. Until the end of the eighteenth century, the term used to refer to the community was 'country born' until the term half-caste replaced it. The community, which had always identified with the British, sought to replace the term *half-caste* owing to its racial connotations, which they resented.

As early as 1802, the community seemed to indicate that they preferred *Eurasian*, a combination of Europe and Asia [78]. A shared Christian faith, similarity of occupation, domicile and intermarriage contributed to bringing Anglo-Indians together and pointed to a developing sense of identity in the 1820s. The community sought to replace an unwanted racial with a geographic term which would identify them as British in India. The search for a suitable name, which provoked much debate in the 1820s, reflected the embryo state of the community itself. [79]

In Calcutta, Governor-General Lord Hastings was petitioned by the community in 1818, asking him inter-alia 'to abrogate the degrading term of "half-caste" from the Public Records of the Government', and to use *Eurasian* instead. [80] By 1822, the term Indo-Briton was also in use, but in 1825, community members in Calcutta, at a meeting at the Calcutta Town Hall, chose the term *East Indian*, possibly owing to its connotations with the East India Company.[81] Thus, *East Indian* was a term widely used for the community in the 1820s and 1830s, and so was the much-hated term *half-caste*.

In 1827, the community petitioned the Government in Madras to abolish half-caste in official documents, though they were unclear about which term should replace it. Some wanted Eurasian, others *Anglo-Asian, Indo-Briton, East Indian, Asiatick Briton, or Anglo-Indian.* [81] However, the governor-in-council, to help Indo-Dutchmen and Indo-Germans identify with Britain, nominated the term *Indo-Briton*. [82] Though the term *East Indian* was officially used in Calcutta, the term *Indo-Briton* continued in Madras until the 1840s.[83] By the late nineteenth century, the term *Eurasian* , came in to replace both these designations. The community found the term Eurasian acceptable until crime novelists such as Edgar Wallace started using the term 'Eurasian' to paint cowardly but cunning and treacherous characters; the name fell into disrepute, and the community discarded it.[84]It was in 1826, that Major-General Sir John Malcolm used the term *Anglo-Indian* to refer to the community:

> *The descendants of Europeans by native mothers, usually termed half-castes or Anglo-Indians, if they do not form part of the English community in India, are closely allied to it.*(Malcolm, 1826) [85]

In 1897, a deputation led by J .R. Wallace petitioned the Secretary of State for India to recognise and give official recognition to using the term 'Anglo-Indian', but were refused. Wallace declared that 'Britishers we are and Britishers we ever must be. Once we relinquish this name (Anglo-Indian) …we become estranged from our proud heritage as Britishers'.After that, Lord Curzon also denied the request for the same designation and the term 'Eurasian' remained in use (Anthony, 1969).[86]

Until 1901, the term 'Eurasians' was also used by the Censors who complained that 'Eurasians are prone to describe themselves as Europeans, and it seems certain that considerable part of the gain recorded at the present census is artificial and is due to… counteracting this source of error'. **[87]** Finally, in 1911, the then Viceroy Lord Hardinge sanctioned the use of the term Anglo-Indian to describe the community in the census taken in that year, thus reclassifying the group as Anglo-Indian (Moreno, 1923) **[88]**. The Censors explained that the change emanating from the Government of India' was effected because "Eurasian, their former designation ... [was] very unpopular amongst them.**[89]** The prefix 'Anglo' reflected the predominantly British ancestry, but the fact that most Anglo-Indians were Catholics reminds us of the degree to which their origins were Irish, French and Portuguese. **[90]** The term was then officially recognised by the government as descriptive of persons of mixed descent.**[91]**

The term "Anglo-Indian" is sometimes associated with the term 'Domiciled European', which is technically incorrect as the Domiciled European was 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.

Over 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." Thus, it was common to refer to the community as the Domiciled European and Anglo-Indian Community. 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. Though the British socially ostracised both groups, they favoured the Domiciled Europeans in employment. It is essential to note that although the term 'Anglo-Indian' was also applied to British officials and merchants of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries , it is used here to refer to persons of mixed European-Indian ancestry and belong to a specific 'community'. However, the community had a 'trinity of status'. They were considered natives of India for employment, European British subjects for defence purposes, and non-Europeans with regard to the British Army. As mentioned earlier , it was through the efforts of Sir Henry Gidney, leader of the community in India, that the Government of India Act of 1935 included a definition of the Anglo-Indian community, which was later on used in the Constitution of India.**[92]**

Conclusion

The article highlights that the paternal lineage of the Anglo-Indian community can be traced to Armenia, Italy, France, Scotland, Ireland, Spain, Wales, Portugal and not just Britain. Thus the term ‘Anglo’ may not be entirely appropriate as the community is non-homogenous. Future research could focus on the community, especially in the non-metropolitan areas and smaller states in India to explore how the members of the community view themselves and how language, lifestyle and regional location influence their sense of identity.

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See Mills p.71 Feringhis are excluded by Anglo-Indians on account of their low literacy and use of Malayalam as the first language. Moreover, caste persists among them and is not tolerated by Anglo-Indians. Feringhis cannot verify descent from Europeans and many derive from forced converts to Christianity as opposed to other groups which developed as Christian by birth or by choice. In the 1930s, the Feringhis attempted to join Sir Henry Gidney's Anglo-Indian association. Kenneth E. Wallace endorsed their admission along with other Indian Christians in the hope of a larger bargaining entity. In the 1990s, some South Indian Anglo-Indian organizations admit English-speaking Feringhis but the AIAIA based in New Delhi has not altered its position. Under the stipulations of the Constitution of India (1950), Feringhis arc not Anglo-Indians for they cannot establish their descent from European progenitors; this determinant was upheld by the decision of a 1955 governmental hearing.
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